

MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY



HISTORY *of*
UKRAINE-RUS'

Volume One

From Prehistory to the Eleventh Century

History of Ukraine-Rus'

The Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research,
Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

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History of Ukraine-Rus'

Volume 1
From Prehistory to the Eleventh Century

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Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press
Edmonton • 1997 • Toronto

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press

University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
CANADA T6G 2E8

University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario
CANADA M5S 1A1

Copyright © 1997 Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
ISBN 1-8955710-19-7

The typesetting and printing of this volume was made possible
by a grant from the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Hrushevs'kyi Mykhailo, 1866-1934
History of Ukraine-Rus'

Translation of: Istoriiâ Ukraïny-Rusy.
v. 1. From prehistory to the eleventh century.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-895571-19-7 (v. 1)

1. Ukraine — History. I. Skorupsky, Marta. II. Poppe,
Andrzej. III. Sysyn, Frank E. IV. Pasicznyk, Uliana M.
V. Title

DK508.5.H6813 1997 947.7 C97-930436-9

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Printed in Canada

The preparation of volume one of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, has been funded by a generous donation from Petro and Ivanna Stelmach.

Підготовка першого тому англomовного видання *Історії України-Руси* Михайла Грушевського здійснена завдяки щедрому дарові Петра і Іванни Стельмахів.

Foreword

The Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research was established at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, in 1989. The Centre was endowed by Peter Jacyk of Toronto, who requested that the Centre undertake the translation of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (*History of Ukraine-Rus'*). Mr. Jacyk and the Petro Jacyk Educational Foundation have remained enthusiastic and dedicated supporters of the Hrushevsky Translation Project. The Project has also received support from the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies and the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. Individual benefactors have undertaken the sponsorship of particular volumes. Numerous individuals have also contributed to the funding of the Hrushevsky Translation Project.

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Editorial Preface to the Hrushevsky Translation Project

The Hrushevsky Translation Project has set out to publish an English translation of all ten volumes (in eleven books) of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*. Our goal is to produce a translation—the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*—that is accurate, complete, and readable. Given the enormous amount of detailed information that the work contains, the prolific speed with which Hrushevsky worked, and his complex literary style, that goal is a challenge to both the translators and the editors of the volumes.

The edition used for the translation is that reprinted in New York by Knyho-Spilka from 1954 to 1958. The reprint was of the third revised edition of volume 1 (published in 1913); the second editions of volumes 2 (1905), 3 (1905), and 4 (1907); the first editions of volumes 5 (1905), 6 (1907), and 7 (1909); the second edition of volume 8 (1922); the first editions of volume 9, book 1 (1928), and volume 9, book 2 (1931); and the first edition of volume 10 (1936).

We have undertaken to translate Hrushevsky's text and references in full. The introduction to the English translation by Frank E. Sysyn, published in volume 1, discusses the place of the *History* in Ukrainian and European scholarship both when it was originally published and today. The introduction to each volume by its scholarly editor places Hrushevsky's work in the context of modern historical studies of particular periods and topics.

The English translation retains the views held and scholarly usages preferred by Hrushevsky. In evidence here, therefore, is a preference for modern Ukrainian forms for names and terms (e.g., Volodymyr, not Vladimir or Volodimer; *horodyshche*, not *gorodišče*). In some instances, alternate forms of names and places are provided on first occurrence as a help to the reader.

The translation in general follows the practices established by the five-volume *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (University of Toronto Press, 1984–93) and the norms for scholarly publications recommended by *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed. (University of Chicago Press, 1993). Specific editorial decisions and practices include the following.

1. *Geographic names.* Ukrainian forms are used for places on Ukrainian ethnic territory as defined by V. Kubijovyč's map in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*. For places outside Ukrainian ethnic territory, names are usually given according to the form of the country in which they are now located (e.g., Wrocław, not Breslau; Gdańsk, not Danzig; Vitsebsk, not Vitebsk). Places with commonly accepted English forms (e.g., Warsaw, Moscow, Vienna) are given in these forms. Names of rivers flowing through Ukrainian territory are given in their Ukrainian forms; names of rivers flowing through several countries are given in their accepted English form or in the language of the country in which they are predominantly located.
2. *Personal names.* In general, names of historical persons are given in accordance with the forms and spelling of the cultural traditions with which they are associated. For the Old Rus' period, modern Ukrainian forms are usually applied. Non-Ukrainian rulers whose names have well-established English forms (e.g., Constantine the Great) are given in these forms. Rulers for whom no commonly accepted English name exists are usually given in the form

currently used in their respective national historiographies; descriptive appellations, however, are translated (e.g., Bolesław I the Brave). Names of clergymen of Old Rus' and later periods are given in their modern Ukrainian forms (Ilarion; Petro Mohyla). Popes of Rome are given according to English usage. Patriarchs of Constantinople are usually given in the Greek forms used in English.

3. *Transliteration.* In the text, the modified Library of Congress system of transliteration is applied in rendering Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Russian personal names and place-names. The strict Library of Congress system (ligatures omitted) is used in transliterating Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Russian terms and in bibliographic citations. In discussions of linguistic issues and in transliterating Old Rus' and Old Church Slavonic terms and texts, the International Scholarly (Linguistic) System is used. In rendering Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, the system of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* is applied (for Arabic, diacritics appear only in the Bibliography).
4. *Quoted excerpts.* Where Hrushevsky cites a source in his own Ukrainian translation from the original, the citation is usually given only in English translation. Where Hrushevsky cites a passage in a language other than Ukrainian as well as in Ukrainian translation, the citation appears both in the original language and in English translation. Where the original text, whether in Ukrainian or another language, is essential for understanding Hrushevsky's arguments, particularly on linguistic issues, the original has been retained, followed by an English translation.

In text, titles of literary works are given in translation, followed on the work's first mention by the title used by Hrushevsky.

5. *Editorial emendations.* In general, material appearing in brackets in the text is an insertion by the translator or editors. Exceptions are Hrushevsky's interpolations in his citations, marked with the initials 'M. H.' Material in parentheses corresponds to the original text.

In places the translator and/or editors provide corrections (e.g., of misprints in the original) to Hrushevsky's text or additional information. These appear in brackets within the text or as editorial footnotes.

6. *Notes and Bibliography.* The editors have identified all works cited by Hrushevsky and, whenever possible, have provided full bibliographic information in the appended Bibliography. In the footnotes, bibliographic references are given in abbreviated form (author or author and short title) sufficient for the reader to locate the complete bibliographic information in the appended Bibliography. A list of abbreviations used in the Notes and Bibliography is provided. Place of publication is given in the form used in this translation (see item 2, above); when the form on the title page differs markedly, it is also given (e.g., Agram [Zagreb]; Breslau [Wrocław]). The orthography of Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish titles published after 1800 is, in general, modernized.
7. *Index.* The index to each volume includes proper names of persons mentioned in Hrushevsky's text, footnotes, Excursuses, and Notes (including authors cited); geographical terms; and names of peoples. Also included are the titles of literary and historical works.

Editorial Preface to Volume 1

Encompassing a period longer than that of all the other volumes of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* combined, volume 1 demonstrates the breadth of Hrushevsky's scholarship and his mastery of numerous fields. These very qualities taxed the talents, ingenuity, and perseverance of the volume's translator, editors, and scholarly consultants as they endeavored to render it in an accurate and readable English translation and to make the full gamut of Hrushevsky's arguments and utilization of sources and secondary literature accessible to the modern English reader. The result of our efforts is now before the reader.

This translation is of the third edition of volume 1 of Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, first published in Lviv in 1913. The second edition, published in Lviv in 1904, has been consulted, particularly in correcting typographical errors. Two maps published in the second edition have been redrawn for the English edition.

Hrushevsky's use of paragraphs and sentences has been retained in the translation to the extent that English style permits. The translation of Hrushevsky's detailed table of contents gives page numbers for the numerous topics dealt with in the volume. The index provides the locations of personal names, place-names, and ethnonyms. Titles of literary and historical works (e.g., the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*) have been indexed, except for the ubiquitous Primary Chronicle.

English terms that convey the essential meaning of the Ukrainian original have been employed whenever possible. In some cases, Ukrainian words with a particular meaning not readily conveyed in English (e.g., *horodyshche*, *dvoryshche*) have been retained (in italics). A glossary lists certain important Ukrainian terms and the English equivalents that appear in the translation, as well as the limited number of Ukrainian and other foreign terms that have been retained. Fortunately, Hrushevsky provides ample discussion of the meaning and context of such terms.

Exact equivalents occur very rarely, so that most translated terms are approximations.¹ For example, the term 'chiliarch,' used in reference to Greek and Byzantine armies, is used here for the military leader of the thousand (*tysiats'kyi*), in part because it is standard in the literature on Old Rus'. In contrast, *sots'kyi* is rendered as 'head of a hundred' rather than as 'centurion,' which appears in some of the literature, because 'centurion' is too closely associated with the Roman army.

In some instances the meanings of terms vary or are in dispute, and the process of translation became one of interpretation. This was particularly the case for excerpts from the chronicles and other sources. For instance, in Hrushevsky's discussion of the various interpretations and meanings of the word *rid* (*rodъ*), we have rendered this term variously, as 'clan,' 'kin,' or 'stock.' The term *horod* (*gradъ*) is used in the historical sources to mean fortified strongholds

1. Special attention has been paid to the translation of terms in George Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia* (Oxford, 1959) and *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1973), because they have become widely accepted in the English-language literature.

in early times. These fortresses often developed into the core of the towns and cities of Old Rus' and thereby came to designate these towns themselves. The term 'burg' has been used for the early strongholds and in Hrushevsky's discussion of the evolution of the *horod*. In translating Old Rus' sources, the term is usually rendered as 'fortified town,' albeit in some instances the emphasis should be on *fortified* and in others on *town*.

In keeping with Hrushevsky's preference for modern Ukrainian place-names and personal names, rather than the forms used in the Church Slavonic or Old Rus' sources (e.g., Hlib, not Glëb; Volodymyr, not Vladimir or Volodimer; Chernihiv, not Chernigov), we have used the modern Ukrainian variants, in modified Library of Congress transliteration. The names of the churchmen of Old Rus' have also been given in Ukrainian, even though many were Greeks who lived among their Rus' flocks. The appearance of Ukrainian names may not be usual for specialists in the medieval period, but these will be familiar to the general reader of Ukrainian history. The usage also allows for continuity among the volumes, and it circumvents the complex issue of how to transliterate names in medieval and early modern texts. For those accustomed to Russian versions, reading Ukrainian names will enhance seeing the period from Hrushevsky's perspective.

Rendering in English the name of the land, people, state, culture, and church that bear variants of the name *Rus'* is a special problem. 'Rus'' is accepted in English—at least in the specialized literature—as a geographic designation and as the name of the polity centered in Kyiv in the tenth century. By contrast, in forming an adjective or a noun for the polity's inhabitants, scholars still tend to use 'Russian' and 'Russians,' perhaps because 'Rus'ian' and 'Rus'ians' are often perceived as typographical errors. Here we use 'Rus'' both as an adjective (e.g., the Rus' language, the Rus' Church, Rus' society) and as a collective noun for the people (the Rus'), following the precedent established in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* and the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, recently adopted in Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus', 750–1200* (London and New York, 1996). In general, *velykorošiis'kyi* and *velykorošiiany* have been rendered as 'Russian' and 'Russians,' rather than 'Great Russian' and 'Great Russians.'

The principle for geographic names is stated in the editorial preface to the Hrushevsky Translation Project as a whole. The historical period and circumstances under discussion also helped determine the choice of some names. For instance, in this volume the place-names 'Cherson,' rather than 'Korsun,' and 'Theodosia,' rather than 'Teodosiia' or 'Feodosiia,' appear. Classical and other historical names of seas and rivers, however, were usually set aside in favor of modern ones. Hence we have the Black Sea and the Dnipro, rather than the Pontus Euxinus and the Borysthenes.

Hrushevsky's frequent quotations are from a number of languages, both from the originals and from translations (e.g., Arabic sources in French or Russian translation). Whenever possible, the original sources have been checked *de visu* in preparing the English translation. When standard English translations are available and appropriate, they have been consulted and adapted. The Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature has been used whenever possible. A list of translations consulted appears at the end of the volume. Professor Horace Lunt kindly made the draft of his translation of the Primary Chronicle available to the translator and editors, and it proved most valuable in the translation of Chronicle accounts. Quotations from Rus', Greek, and Latin sources have been compared with more recent editions, although the latter have not been added to the Bibliography, for in many cases the texts of primary sources employed by Hrushevsky are still in scholarly use today (e.g., the Bibliotheca Teubneriana

series). Texts are cited in their original language only when Hrushevsky included a citation both in the original and in translation or when the original is needed to follow Hrushevsky's discussion.

Names of literary and historical works are usually given in English (e.g., the *Rus' Law*, the *Encomium and Memorial for Prince Volodymyr*); the Ukrainian name provided by Hrushevsky is given on the work's first mention. Hrushevsky's references to the *Povist' vremennykh lit* have been rendered as 'Primary Chronicle,' except in Excursus 1, in which Hrushevsky discusses theories of the components and sources of the Primary Chronicle, including his view of the *Tale of Bygone Years* proper. When capitalized, 'Chronicle' refers to the Primary Chronicle, although at times it is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning of Hrushevsky's references, that is, whether they are to the entire Primary Chronicle, to a part of it, or to a hypothetical earlier source.

For Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Russian personal names and place-names, the volume uses the modified form of Library of Congress transliteration in the text (e.g., 'Hrushevsky'). In the footnotes, Notes, and Bibliography, the Library of Congress system is used in referring to authors and in citing scholarly literature (e.g., 'Hrushevskiyi'). Modern Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Russian terms are also rendered in this system. When linguistic issues are dealt with or medieval Rus' texts and terms are given in the original, the International Scholarly (Linguistic) System of transliteration is employed (particularly in chapter 5).

The English translation preserves in full the scholarly apparatus that documents Hrushevsky's account of Ukrainian history. In the footnotes, Notes, and Bibliography, authors' names in citations are usually rendered in the language of the published work; in some cases, particularly for ancient and medieval authors, the form of the author's name generally used in English is given (e.g., Herodotus, Pliny). Byzantine authors (e.g., Constantine Porphyrogenetos) are given in the form appearing in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991). References have been corrected and made more precise; obvious errors, arising primarily from misprints (particularly of Arabic and, more often, Roman numerals), have been rectified. In the footnotes, sources and secondary literature have been identified by author (e.g., Leo the Deacon) or author and short title, with sufficient additional information (e.g., volume and page numbers) to locate the reference by consulting the Bibliography. Numbers separated by a colon denote volume and page numbers. The numbers of books, chapters, and lines in the works of classical and medieval authors are separated by periods (e.g., Strabo 7.4.3). Through the use of abbreviations, a list of which precedes the Bibliography, references in the footnotes have been rendered more concisely. Somewhat fuller information, including dates of publication, is provided in Hrushevsky's Notes and Excursuses.

The appended Bibliography, newly compiled and divided into primary sources and secondary literature, reconstructs and presents Hrushevsky's research apparatus. Division into primary sources and secondary literature sometimes posed a difficult decision for the compilers, since some texts were published as appendixes to scholarly works or used by Hrushevsky primarily for their scholarly apparatus. We have attempted *de visu* verification of every scholarly work cited by Hrushevsky, and have achieved it for about 95 percent of the material.

An effort has been made to establish the editions used by Hrushevsky, but in a few instances it has proved impossible to verify them with complete certainty. In the third edition of the first volume, Hrushevsky himself replaced existing notes with references to new editions of the same work or of a historical source. The alphabetized Bibliography makes it easier for the reader to orient himself among Hrushevsky's sources and to grasp the scope of his research. Whenever Hrushevsky refers to a work that appeared as a separate publication as well as in a historical

series, we have cited both versions if they could be identified *de visu*. This makes it easier to gain access to the works cited, for in the nineteenth century many monographs were printed *in toto* or serialized in periodicals published by universities, institutions, and scholarly associations.

We have been unable to check a small number of Hrushevsky's citations *de visu*, although bibliographic verification confirms their existence. It has proved impossible, however, to locate a copy of, or a bibliographic reference to, Aleksandr Pogodin's article entitled 'Lingvisticheskie i istoricheskie zametki o bogakh Vladimira Velikogo' ('Linguistic and historical observations on the gods of Volodymyr the Great'; cited on pp. 241, 244), which Hrushevsky identifies as a work published in 1910 in a collection of essays in honor of Aleksei Sobolevsky. Extensive research in various libraries, including such fundamental depositories of Russica as the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in St. Petersburg and the Lenin Library in Moscow, proved fruitless. No article by Pogodin bearing this title or a related one is to be found in any festschrift dedicated to a Russian scholar published before 1913. Nor have we been able to identify any such article in the relevant literature published before or after 1913.² We did locate a short Russian-language treatise by Pogodin entitled 'An attempt to restore paganism in Volodymyr's time,' whose theme corresponds exactly to that of the article cited by Hrushevsky. This work, written years later, after the author emigrated, cannot be the one to which Hrushevsky referred.³ Yet the article he cites must have existed, and it doubtlessly served as the basis of the treatise published in 1923. This example, interesting in its own right, has been recounted in some detail in order to show that reconstructing the bibliography of the first volume of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* has proved a challenging undertaking even when our research has borne fruit. At the same time, it has amply confirmed our initial convictions about Hrushevsky's extraordinarily detailed knowledge of his sources and the thorough competence of his research.

The Notes and the historiographic discussions appended to Hrushevsky's volume as Excursus 1 and Excursus 2 have been amplified by concise outlines of the current state of research, including appropriate bibliographic citations. Recent bibliographic references concerning all the themes discussed in the first volume are not provided. A list of titles would be misleading and superfluous, particularly given the existence of such bibliographic aids as *Sovetskaia arkhologicheskaia literatura* (published since 1965), which offers a competent guide to the literature since 1918, or the bibliographic section of *Russia Mediaevalis* (volume 1, for 1973, and following), which covers all publications on the medieval history of the Ukrainians, Russians, and Belarusians that have appeared since 1970. One should also mention the Polish encyclopedia of Slavic antiquity and the German and American encyclopedias of the Middle Ages.⁴ The multivolume encyclopedic work by Henryk Łowmiański, related in many respects

2. Two works on Slavic mythology show that Pogodin was interested in this subject at the time. See A. Pogodin, 'Neskol'ko dannykh dlia russkoi mifologii v XV veke,' *Zhivaia starina* 20 (1911), no. 3/4: 425–28; idem, 'Mifologija,' *Ėnsiklopedičeskii slovar' 'Granat,'* 7th ed., vol. 29 (Moscow, 1916), pp. 139–45.

3. A. Pogodin, 'Opyt iazycheskoi restavratsii pri Vladimire,' *Trudy russkikh uchenykh za-granitsei: Sbornik Akademicheskoi gruppy v Berline*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1923), pp. 149–57. In his first footnote, Pogodin states that, having no access to editions of the Primary Chronicle, he is making use of Shakhmatov's reconstruction (1928). Internal evidence shows, nevertheless, that this article is based on the paper 'Linguistic and historical observations on the gods of Volodymyr,' which Hrushevsky had in hand (possibly in manuscript).

4. *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich (Lexicon Antiquitatum Slavicarum)*, an encyclopedic outline of Slavic culture from the earliest times to the late twelfth century, 8 vols. (Wrocław, 1961–91); *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vols. 1–7 (A–S) (Munich, 1977–95), and the more popular *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1982–89).

to Hrushevsky's work and source base, offers a broad treatment of the prehistory and early history of all the Slavic peoples. It also affords ready access to subsequent research on themes developed in the first volume of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Unfortunately, this Polish-language work cannot always be used easily by Western scholars.⁵ A concise critical survey of research on the early history of the East Slavs has recently appeared in German.⁶

* * *

The translator, Marta Skorupsky, has taken a difficult text and rendered it in fluent English. Her effort has been as much a research project as a work of translation. Without her wide intellectual interests and, we dare say, pedantry, it is impossible to conceive how passages on archaeology, linguistics, anthropology, and the classical world could have been rendered so precisely. The consulting editor for the volume, Andrzej Poppe, has written an introduction that places Hrushevsky's work in the context of contemporary historical scholarship in the field and has provided editor's additions to the Notes and Excursuses. Professor Poppe expended every effort to ensure that Hrushevsky's scholarship would be conveyed accurately. He edited the full text with particular attention to the rendering of terms and the accuracy of the translation of source materials. He also identified all the sources and scholarly works mentioned in Hrushevsky's scholarly apparatus. Frank E. Sysyn, editor-in-chief of the Hrushevsky Translation Project, supervised every aspect of the volume's preparation. He also wrote the introduction to the entire *History* that appears in volume 1. Paul Hollingsworth and Bohdan Strumiński read the entire translation, checking accuracy and helping to resolve problems with Church Slavonic, Old Rus', Greek, and Latin texts, and to establish names of persons, places, peoples, and institutions. Uliana Pasicznyk edited the full translation for accuracy and language usage and coordinated the editorial revisions. Myroslav Yurkevich read the final text, edited the Bibliography, and translated Professor Poppe's introduction and editor's additions. Dushan Bednarsky also provided editorial assistance, particularly in standardizing terms. Simon Franklin read the text and advised on the fluency of the translation and the rendering of terms. Bohdan Strumiński and Andrij Hornjatkevyč advised on linguistic terminology and transliterations. Barbara Voytek, Adrian Mandzy, and Volodymyr Mezentsev read the sections on anthropology and archaeology. Maria Subtelny read the text, provided translations of Arabic sources, and checked the accuracy of transliterations from Arabic, Turkic, and Persian. Andrés Riedlmayer advised on Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Hungarian names and terms. Ihor Ševčenko provided advice on Greek texts, Byzantine topics, and the source section of the Bibliography. Martin Dimnik read and commented on the translation of the volume's last three chapters.

Andrzej Poppe, with the assistance of Andrzej Janeczek and Hieronim Grala, compiled a full bibliography of the works cited by Hrushevsky in the volume. Serhii Plokhly assisted in editing the Notes and Bibliography. Dushan Bednarsky entered editorial corrections. Andrij Hornjatkevyč, Serhii Plokhly, and Marko Stech compiled the index. Inge Wilson expertly drew the maps. Nancy Misener assisted in entering corrections.

5. H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, 6 vols. (Warsaw, 1963–85).

6. C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums* (Darmstadt, 1992).

Introduction to the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*

FRANK E. SYSYN

The *History of Ukraine-Rus'* constitutes the most comprehensive account of the ancient, medieval, and early modern history of the Ukrainian people. Written by Ukraine's greatest modern historian, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the *History* remains unsurpassed in its use of sources and literature, even though its last volume was written sixty years ago. In the development of the Ukrainian national movement, it constitutes the scholarly proof that Ukrainians are a people with its own historical process. For Ukrainians the work is comparable in significance to František Palacký's *History of Bohemia* for the Czechs. This great work of Czech national historiography was published in the early nineteenth century, but its Ukrainian counterpart did not appear until the turn of the twentieth. To a considerable degree, the delay reflects the difficulties Ukrainians faced in demonstrating that they were not a subgroup of the Russians or of the Poles, and that they had their own history.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the histories of Russia and Poland had already received academic treatment. The twenty-nine volumes of Sergei Solov'ev and the four volumes of Michał Bobrzyński were the culmination of a series of efforts that stretched back into the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, each of these two 'national' historiographies had considerable difficulty in integrating the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian lands into its account.¹

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Russian history was defined as the development over nine hundred years of a Russian state and a Russian nation. The historians Vasilii Tatishchev (1686–1750) and Nikolai Karamzin (1766–1826) established the view that the polity and culture that emerged around Kyiv in the tenth century was the beginning of Russia and downplayed the discontinuities between Kyivan Rus', the Vladimir-Suzdal Principality, Muscovy, and the Russian Empire. In the nineteenth century Russian historiography evolved without delineating clearly the distinction between the Russian state and the 'Russian' nation. Russia's link to Kyivan Rus' was primarily dynastic: the ruling house of Riuryk and the state that emerged under its Muscovite descendants were the central theme of Russian history. Yet for centuries the dynasty (and its successors) and the state did not control the core area of the old Kyivan polity and did not hold sway over the millions of Ukrainians and Belarusians who were clearly heirs of Kyivan Rus'. Modern Russian historians considered these people Russians, but until the Second Partition of Poland (1793), the majority lived outside the Russian state. Even in the nineteenth century, the Habsburgs, not the Romanovs, held the allegiance of the descendants of the ancient Rus' Principality of Halych. To include these purported 'Russians' in the rubric of Russian history meant to expand Russian history to encompass the histories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Principality of Moldavia, the Cossack Hetmanate, the

1. For Russian and Polish writings on Ukrainian history, including an extensive bibliography, see Stephen Velychenko, *National History as Cultural Process: A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914* (Edmonton, 1992).

Zaporozhian Sich, and the Habsburg domains. It required including institutions and events of no significance to the development of the Muscovite state and the Russian Empire. It also posed the question of how to treat the 'non-Russians'—the Poles, the Jews, the Armenians, the Hungarians—of these 'Russian' lands.

Historians such as Sergei Solov'ev (1820–79) and Vasilii Kliuchevsky (1841–1911) sporadically included events from the Ukrainian and Belarusian past in what was essentially a combination of the history of the Russian state and of an 'all-Russian' people with the 'Great Russians' at the core. Ukrainians challenged these views throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed, the debate over the legacy of Kyivan Rus' between the Russian historian Mikhail Pogodin (1800–1875) and the Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Maksymovych (1804–73) in the 1850s even caused Pogodin to put forth the ultimately untenable thesis that the 'Great Russians' had originally inhabited the Kyiv region and that only after they had moved northeast in the eleventh and twelfth centuries did the Ukrainians ('Little Russians') migrate into the area. In general, however, Russian historians could ignore Ukrainian viewpoints, in part because the government's political persecution muted expression of the Ukrainian historical perspective.

The quandary faced by those writing Polish history was more obvious, because no Polish state existed in the nineteenth century. Therefore historians of 'Poland' wrote the history of the 'Polish lands,' usually defined as the pre-1772 Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They also wrestled increasingly with the question of who the 'Poles' were, both in the present and in the past. While the question in the present was complicated by changing and multiple identities ('Polish' Jews became 'Russian' Jews) and emerging national consciousness (peasants in Silesia became Poles just as nobles in Samogitia decided that being Lithuanian excluded being Polish), there were also problems in identifying the Polish national past. Having accepted the Commonwealth of 1772 as the outer territorial limit of Polish history, historians had to decide how they would treat these territories before 1569, when the Commonwealth was formed, or before 1386, when the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland entered into a dynastic union. They had to determine whether the history of the Grand Duchy was 'Polish' history in the same sense as the history of the Kingdom of Poland. They also had to define Polish history from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, when the Piast domain fractured and reassembled in an altered geopolitical space.

In any account of the Polish lands, the Ukrainians (or Ruthenians) and the Ukrainian territories posed special problems. The annexation of the Halych Principality in the fourteenth century had changed the composition of the Polish state. Polish historians had to decide to what extent the pre-fourteenth-century history of Western Ukraine was Polish history and to what degree Ruthenian culture and Eastern Orthodoxy were Polish. The transfer of the central and eastern Ukrainian lands from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the Kingdom of Poland in 1569 further complicated the issue. The most difficult questions were the Khmelnytsky revolt and the formation of the polities of the Cossack Hetmanate and the Zaporozhian Sich. Were Kyiv and Poltava to be considered part of Polish history in 1610, when they were in the Commonwealth, but not in 1690, when they were not? If Polish history were confined to the 1772 borders, the history of the Ukrainians would be divided along the Dnipro, even though the close relations of Chyhyryn and Pereiaslav as late as 1700 were obvious. The insistence that Ruthenians were a mere branch of the Polish nation could prevail only if one accepted the late seventeenth-century demarcation line of the Dnipro as somehow definitive in the long perspective of history.

The Russian and Polish interpretations of the Ukrainian past clashed in the nineteenth century, and each pointed to the other's inconsistencies. That these interpretations could be maintained so long was due in part to the political and cultural situation that retarded the emergence of a Ukrainian historical interpretation of the past. The quite auspicious beginnings of Ukrainian historiography in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century did not develop into an academic synthesis of Ukrainian history during the second half of the century. The eighteenth century had produced the Cossack chronicles and the tracts on the rights of 'Little Russia' that posited a claim for a Ukrainian historical process centered on, but not limited to, the Hetmanate. The political ramifications of this vision of the past were most forcefully expressed in *Istoriia Rusov* (History of the Rus'), which circulated in numerous early nineteenth-century manuscripts and found its way into print in 1846. If late eighteenth-century texts concentrated on the political entity of 'Little Russia' (the Left-Bank Hetmanate), the early nineteenth-century histories by Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky (1788–1850) and Mykola Markevych (1804–60) provided accounts of 'Little Russia' in the broader Ukrainian sense, in part because the narrower 'Little Russian fatherland' no longer existed. From the 1830s, Mykhailo Maksymovych claimed a Ukrainian history before the Cossack period and underlined the Ukrainian character of Kyivan Rus'. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Cyrillo-Methodians, above all Mykola Kostomarov, conceived of Ukraine as a unique cultural entity with its own historical past and its own political future.²

The clash of historical vision with contemporary politics, along with a language prohibition, arrested the development of Ukrainian historical studies. As the Russian authorities declared Ukrainian activities politically seditious, they censored historical writings and discouraged historians from undertaking general works that might have developed into academic syntheses. Indeed, because the very word 'Ukraine' was banned, scholars had to cloak their discussions in such terms as 'South-Western Russia' or 'Little Russia' so as to avoid charges of disloyalty. Consequently, historians could most easily make contributions by dealing with regional topics or fields such as numismatics and archaeology, or by publishing documents. Since writing in Ukrainian was banned by the Valuev decree (1863) and the Ems ukase (1876), historians could not even develop Ukrainian as a scholarly language.

In this environment, Kostomarov's *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii* (first edition, 1857), which dealt with mid-seventeenth-century Ukraine rather than with the person of the hetman, stood out as one of the few synthesizing works. Most historians, including those grouped around the excellent journal *Kievskaiia starina* (Kyivan antiquity; 1882–1907), collected a mass of information on specific people and incidents, albeit not equally on all periods and fields of history. Volodymyr Antonovych (1834–1908), the leading specialist in Ukrainian history at Kyiv University and founder of the documentary school, wrote outstanding studies on questions of demographic, social, and religious history. The 'documentary school' emphasized the collection and publication of sources, an activity invaluable for Ukrainian historical studies that was also a strategy to demonstrate the existence of the Ukrainian people in the past without openly challenging the imperial authorities. The only general work by Antonovych to appear was an outline of his private lectures, which was published in Ukrainian, but in Habsburg Bukovyna, without his express permission.

2. On Ukrainian historiography, with some attention to Polish and Russian writings, see the special issue of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vols. 5–6 (1957), including Dmytro Doroshenko, 'A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography,' and Olexander Ohloblyn, 'Ukrainian Historiography, 1917–56.'

By the 1890s, Ukrainians had still not produced a work comparable to Palacký's *History of Bohemia*, which had established Czech history as an academic discipline and furthered the Czech national movement. While the impetus behind the writing of the *History of Bohemia* was to provide the Czech nation with a past, the subject of the work was the history of the Bohemian polity, which Palacký brought down only to 1526, when its integration into the Habsburg domains began. The writer of Ukrainian history faced the problem that the unity of the Kyiv-based polity had collapsed in the twelfth century, and independent political entities had disappeared in the fourteenth century. More comparable to the Ukrainian experience was the formation of Czech culture, which developed in resistance to the dominant Germans and the Catholic Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the Hussite movement and wars, which Palacký saw as the quintessence of the Czech spirit. The revival of the Eastern Church in the sixteenth century, the resistance to the Union of Brest, and the Cossack revolts that culminated in the Khmelnytsky movement could be seen as having a similar function in Ukraine.

Ukraine found its Palacký in the person of Mykhailo Hrushevsky.³ From 1894 to 1934, Hrushevsky not only wrote the *magnum opus* of Ukrainian historiography, but also organized and led the two most productive schools of Ukrainian historical studies in modern times, the Shevchenko Scientific Society of Lviv, from 1894 to 1914, and the Institute of History of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, from 1924 to 1930. Hrushevsky's more than 2,000 works in history, literary history, and other fields were matched in accomplishment by his inspiration of scores of younger scholars and his leadership of the Ukrainian national movement. But while the individuals he trained and the institutions he nurtured were destroyed in the vortex of Stalinism, his *History of Ukraine-Rus'*—except for the lost volume ten, part two, left in manuscript—survived. It weathered the Soviet assault on Ukrainian culture because no collective of specialists commanded by Soviet bureaucrats was able to produce a comparable work.⁴

Born in 1866 to the family of an educator, the descendant of Right-Bank clerics, Hrushevsky spent most of his formative years outside Ukraine, in the Caucasus.⁵ Financially secure because of the success of his father's textbook of the Church Slavonic language, Hrushevsky was able to follow the career of his choosing. Living in an environment so varied in culture, religion, and national traditions, and so different from the Ukraine of his parents' reminiscences and of his own observations during visits to relatives, Hrushevsky soon saw the national issue as a fundamental question of his age. As a young gymnasium student in Tbilisi, he was strongly impressed by the classic works of Ukrainian ethnography, history, and literature. This impression was reinforced by the appearance in 1882 of the journal *Kievskaia starina*, which contained an abundance of material on Ukrainian affairs. After initial attempts to work in Ukrainian literature, the young Hrushevsky decided to go to Kyiv, the center of Ukrainophile activities, to study history.

3. This comparison was made in a review of Hrushevsky's *Istoria Ukraïny-Rusi* by Dr. Karel Kadlec. *Sborník Věd Právních a Státních* (henceforth *SVPS*), 9 (1909): 298.

4. On Hrushevsky's life and political career, see Thomas M. Prymak, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: The Politics of National Culture* (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1987), as well as the concise account by L. Wynar and O. Ohloblyn in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* 2: 250–53. For his activities as a historian, see Liubomyr Vynar (Wynar), *Naivvydatnishyi istoryk Ukraïny Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (1866–1934)* (n.p., 1985). On Hrushevsky and his works, see the bibliographies by Lubomyr Wynar, *Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, 1866–1934. Bibliographic Sources* (New York, 1985) and *Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj: Bibliobibliographische Quelle, 1866–1934* (Munich, 1984), and the extensive bibliography in Prymak's book.

5. Information on Hrushevsky's early life comes largely from an autobiography that he wrote in 1906 and revised in 1926. Both of these texts are reprinted in *Velykyi Ukraïnets'* (Kyiv, 1992), pp. 197–213 and 220–40.

The elder Hrushevsky agreed to his son's decision on condition that he refrain from student political activities. In the age of Alexander III, all student organizations were under suspicion, and manifest Ukrainian sympathies could call forth police surveillance. The Ukrainian movement, organized in the Kyiv Hromada, was still reeling from the Ems ukase and the banishment of Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841–95), the leading Ukrainian intellectual of his generation. Although from abroad Drahomanov served as a spokesman for the Ukrainian movement and kept up a stream of criticism of the oppressive policies of the Russian government, the Hromada and Ukrainian leaders in Kyiv were withdrawing from political activities. Their goal became the mere survival of the Ukrainian movement. Professor Volodymyr Antonovych typified the trend with his decision that continuing to research and teach would be of more long-term significance than any hopeless political protest. His student Hrushevsky would prove to be the vindication of that decision.

Under Antonovych's supervision, Hrushevsky received a firm grounding in the examination of extensive sources in order to describe Ukrainian social and economic institutions of the past. Antonovych's work concentrated on the vast sources for the history of Right-Bank Ukraine in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, a time when, significantly, the area had not been part of a Russian state. Hrushevsky followed his mentor's lead in brilliant studies of the medieval history of the Kyiv region and of the early modern nobility and society of the Bar region. He might have been expected to follow Antonovych in making an academic career in the difficult political situation of Imperial Russia, but developments in the neighboring Habsburg Empire were to provide him with a much more conducive environment for furthering Ukrainian historical studies.

In 1890 the dominant Poles of Austrian Galicia showed a willingness to reach an accommodation with the growing Ukrainian national movement in the province. In the 1880s, partly under the influence of Drahomanov and other Eastern Ukrainian intellectuals, the populist or Ukrainian movement had demonstrated new dynamism among the Ruthenians of Galicia. Challenging the more conservative Old Ruthenian movement, which had a pro-Russian wing, the populists thought in all-Ukrainian terms and were open to the liberal and radical political ideas of the Ukrainophiles in the Russian Empire. The Ukrainian leaders in the Russian Empire found the growing Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Galicia regrettable, both because Polish-Ukrainian relations were relatively better in tsarist Russia and because they saw the dispute as weakening resistance to Russian pressure. Antonovych and other Eastern Ukrainian leaders played a role in Polish-Ukrainian negotiations that resulted in the New Era of 1890, a brief lull in the Polish-Ukrainian struggle in Galicia. Although the Polish-Ukrainian accommodation proved abortive, it did yield some concessions to the Ukrainians, the most important of which was the establishment of a chair intended to be in Ukrainian history, with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. The Austrian Minister of Education, Otto von Gauch, did not permit use of the words 'Ukrainian History' in the name of the chair, because, he asserted, 'Ruthenian history is not a concrete scholarly field.' Nonetheless, the Chair in Universal History with specialization in Eastern Europe was de facto in Ukrainian history. Professor Antonovych was called to the chair, but declined and proposed that his student Mykhailo Hrushevsky be appointed instead.

Hrushevsky's arrival in Lviv was the culmination of the process whereby the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the Russian Empire circumvented the imperial authorities' restrictions on Ukrainian activities by transferring them to the Habsburg Empire. Drahomanov, the most prominent political émigré, had greatly advanced this process by becoming a mentor to the more

radical Galician populists, albeit from Switzerland. The symbiosis that emerged among the Ukrainian intellectuals furthered the formation of an all-Ukrainian perspective. Galicia offered the advantages of a territory where publishing could take place in Ukrainian, ideas could be expressed relatively freely, and political movements could be organized. Competition with the nationally minded Poles and the example of national movements throughout the Habsburg Empire stimulated interest in national issues. Galician Ukrainian society was in general more European than Ukrainian society in the Russian Empire, though its Europeanness was of a conservative, Central European, and Catholic kind. The Ukrainians of the province also possessed a religious structure, the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church, which differentiated them from the Poles and could be used in disseminating the national movement.

Galicia benefited from its contacts with the Ukrainians of the Russian Empire in other ways. Galicia was an economic and, in some ways, a cultural backwater of the Habsburg lands. Ukrainians in the province were disadvantaged, comprising a peasantry and a small group of clergy and professionals. By contrast, Eastern Ukraine included areas and cities of considerable economic dynamism. Although primary education lagged behind that in Austrian Galicia, higher education and intellectual life in Eastern Ukraine, often closely connected with that in St. Petersburg and Moscow, was more advanced in many fields. While most Ukrainians in the Russian Empire were peasants, significant groups of nobles and urbanites, especially in the territories of the former Hetmanate, were ethnically Ukrainian. Ukrainians also had greater opportunities for social advancement than in Galicia. This explains why modern Ukrainian culture developed first in Eastern Ukraine and why a greater number of intellectuals of stature emerged there than in Galicia.

The Russian imperial authorities prevented the emergence of a broad-based Ukrainian movement in the Russian Empire, but in so doing they forced Ukrainian activists to direct their attention to the Ruthenians of Galicia. These activists provided a great deal of the intellectual and cultural substance of the Ukrainian movement in Galicia, which became a mass phenomenon in Galicia before the First World War.

The young Hrushevsky's inaugural lecture at Lviv University in 1894 reflected the cultural and intellectual issues of the region.⁶ Since the proclamation of Galician autonomy in 1868, the dominant Poles of Galicia had turned the university into a Polish institution not only in language of instruction, but also in political attitudes. The Ukrainian students, primarily in theology, had become increasingly alienated from the university. Yet if Hrushevsky represented a field whose academic credibility was questioned and a language and people whose position was subordinate in the city and province, he also had reasons to be confident. He came from a historical school in Kyiv that had accomplishments equal or even superior to those of the Polish historians of Lviv.⁷ For all the organizational accomplishments of the Ukrainian leaders and clergymen gathered in the auditorium to hear him, they realized that no local scholar was the equal of Professor Antonovych's student. Most important, Hrushevsky was confident of his broad and modern vision of history.

In his inaugural lecture, Hrushevsky sketched an image of Ukrainian history as the evolution of the Ukrainian people from ancient times to the present. He called for the application of methods and data from all scholarly fields, from anthropology to archaeography, to that

6. For the inaugural lecture, see *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 4 (1894): 140–50.

7. Indeed, whereas the excellent scholarly journal *Kievskaiia starina*, devoted primarily to Ukrainian history, had been issued in Kyiv since 1882, the Polish historical journal in Lviv, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, was founded only in 1886.

endeavor. Addressing the audience in Ukrainian, he demonstrated that a scholarly language appropriate to both sides of the Zbruch River could be forged.⁸ In practice, Hrushevsky was initiating his life's project, the writing of a history of Ukraine. He was to use his lectures at Lviv University to compose this work. He attracted students to seminars where research papers filled the gaps in the project. He reshaped the Shevchenko Scientific Society into a scholarly academy with a library and a source publication program that provided materials for his history. By 1898 he had published the first volume of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, which went up only to the end of the tenth century rather than to the end of the Kyivan Rus' period, as he had originally planned. The last of the published volumes would appear, posthumously, in 1937, bringing the project up only to the 1650s.

The very title of Hrushevsky's work was a programmatic statement. A history of Ukraine-Rus' emphasized the continuity between Kyivan Rus' and modern Ukraine. Written at a time when most Western Ukrainians still called themselves *Rusyni* (Ruthenians), the title served to ease the transition to the new name, Ukraine. In selecting a geographic name, Hrushevsky was defining the categories to be used by his contemporaries. Ukraine was not an administrative entity at that time. In Russia the term was forbidden, and even the accepted 'Little Russia' often did not encompass all the territories inhabited by Ukrainian majorities. To Galician Ukrainians, Ukraine often meant the territories in the Russian Empire. The term 'Great Ukraine,' applied by Galicians to these territories, implied in some way that the Habsburg Ukrainian lands were 'Little Ukraine.' Hrushevsky defined the borders of his Ukraine as the lands in which Ukrainians had traditionally constituted the majority of the population, the object of the striving of the Ukrainian national movement. Most importantly, his use of the term Rus' and the emphasis on continuity with Kyivan Rus' also challenged the monopoly that Russians had on that name and tradition in scholarship and popular opinion.

The subject of Hrushevsky's history was the Ukrainian people and their evolution, both in periods when they possessed states and polities and when they did not. Hrushevsky rejected the view that history should deal only with states and rulers. Deeply imbued with the populist ideology of the Ukrainian national movement, he saw simple people as having their own worth and history. This meant that elites in Ukrainian society, which had often assimilated to other peoples, were of little interest to him. He sought to write the history of the *narod*, and in his conceptualization it was relatively easy to conflate its dual meanings of populace and nation. This conflation has always made it very difficult for commentators to identify his orientation as either left- or right-wing on national or social issues.

In addition to his populist sentiments, Hrushevsky relied on his Kyiv training in the documentary school. He sought out all sources and perused masses of literature. His notes were replete with the latest Western works on archaeology, linguistics, and anthropology. He weighed and dissected sources in reaching a conclusion on any issue. His reader was drawn into the kitchen of scholarship and shown the full array of ingredients and utensils.

Between 1898 and 1901, Hrushevsky published three large volumes. The first was issued in the year that Galician Ukrainian society celebrated the 100th anniversary of the first work of modern Ukrainian literature, Ivan Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* (the travestied *Aeneid*).⁹

8. This did not mean that Hrushevsky was a good stylist in Ukrainian. Ivan Franko called Hrushevsky's prose 'cold' and full of abstractions. He pointed out that there were frequent jumps and lapses in presentation, as well as russicisms and polonisms. Ivan Franko, 'Prychynky do istorii Ukraïny-Rusi,' in *Zibrannia tvoriv u p'iatdesiaty tomakh*, vol. 47 (Kyiv, 1986), pp. 417–55, especially 453–55.

9. The 50th anniversary of the abolition of serfdom in Galicia, the 25th anniversary of the literary activity of Ivan

Hrushevsky, fully recognizing the significance of the occasion, wrote in the preface to volume one: 'I am gratified that the appearance of this book coincides with the centennial of our national rebirth. Let it be a greeting to that event.' Having taken three large volumes to cover Ukrainian history just up to the time of the Galician-Volhynian Principality, Hrushevsky realized that his initial plan to encompass Ukrainian history in five to six volumes would have to be revised. In 1901 Hrushevsky wrote volume four, dealing with the political situation in the Ukrainian lands under Lithuanian and Polish rule from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. He began work on the fifth volume in 1902, but the remarkable tempo of publication slowed, in part because Hrushevsky was seeking additional ways to disseminate his research. His works could not be distributed in Russian-ruled Ukraine because they were in the Ukrainian language, and they could not be read by most Western scholars, who did not know Ukrainian. In 1900 Hrushevsky began to search for a German-language publisher in order to circumvent the Russian ban (German was not proscribed) and to increase the resonance of his work in the West. In early 1903 he found a way to improve the dissemination of his views: he accepted an invitation to lecture at the Russian school in Paris. Although he found Russian students little interested in the Ukrainian question, he used the opportunity to prepare a Russian-language outline of his lectures. He also traveled to London, Berlin, and Leipzig, where he became more familiar with Western scholarship and arranged for the publication of volume one in German. He immediately embarked on a substantial revision of that volume, incorporating recent scholarship for a new Ukrainian edition that would serve as the text for the German version. Even before the German version appeared, Hrushevsky began the revision of volumes two and three. In 1904 he had been informed that the Russian minister Petr Sviatopolk-Mirsky had reacted to his protests and given permission to import the *History* into the Russian Empire. Volumes two and three were out of print, so Hrushevsky revised them. Volume four had appeared in 1903. Deciding that he could not finish volume five under prevailing circumstances, Hrushevsky issued its first part in early 1905, followed by the new versions of volumes two and three.

Political changes further slowed the pace of writing the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. The 1905 revolution in the Russian Empire improved the situation for the Ukrainian movement and for scholarship on Ukraine. Following the lapse in the ban on publishing in Ukrainian, these events offered an opportunity to repeat the Galician advances in the lands where most Ukrainians lived. During the revolutionary events Hrushevsky took an active role as a publicist. His Russian-language outline was reissued with a summary of more recent events. Hrushevsky began to transfer Ukrainian cultural and scholarly activities to Kyiv. The journal *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* (Literary-scientific herald) made the move, and Hrushevsky established a scholarly society in Kyiv. Ultimately the political reaction in the Russian Empire after 1907 and the relatively less favourable conditions for the Ukrainian movement there than in Galicia—above all, the ban on Ukrainian in schools—undermined some of these initiatives. One indication of the continued opposition to the Ukrainian movement was the refusal to give Hrushevsky the chair at Kyiv University for which he applied in 1908. Beginning in the late 1890s, Russian nationalist circles had begun to see Hrushevsky as the architect of 'Mazepist separatism,' and his manifest scholarly achievements infuriated them. They succeeded in denying him the chair.

Franko, and the 250th anniversary of the Khmelnytsky uprising were all marked in the same year. Each event was testimony to the growth of national consciousness and the mobilization of the national movement.

Taking advantage of whatever opportunities were available to him, Hrushevsky divided his energies between Kyiv and Lviv (and, to a degree, St. Petersburg) and turned his attention to writing popular histories of Ukraine.

Hrushevsky did not, however, abandon his major scholarly work. In 1905 he published the second part of volume five, followed by volume six in 1907, thereby completing his account of the Polish and Lithuanian period. Next Hrushevsky began his discussion of what he saw as the third period of Ukrainian history, publishing volume seven under the title of a subseries, 'The History of the Ukrainian Cossacks,' in 1909. This volume, which covered events to 1625, was followed in 1913 by the first part of volume eight, dealing with the years 1625 to 1638. The increasing source base, due in part to Hrushevsky's vigorous archaeographic activities, was overwhelming him. In addition, mindful of the importance of public opinion for the acceptance of his ideas and interpretations in the Russian Empire, Hrushevsky issued part of volume one in Russian translation in 1910; in the course of doing so, he revised the work and put out a third Ukrainian edition of that volume in 1913. In 1913–14, Russian translations of volume seven and the first part of volume eight also appeared.

The outbreak of World War I found Hrushevsky, a Russian citizen, vacationing in the Ukrainian Carpathians of Austrian Galicia. Realizing that his presence abroad would provide propaganda for reactionary Russian forces, who had already begun a campaign against the Ukrainian movement before the war, Hrushevsky decided to return to Kyiv. He was immediately arrested. The intervention of highly placed friends changed his place of exile from Siberia to Simbirsk. Later he was permitted to take up residence in the university city of Kazan. In 1916 the intervention of the Russian Academy of Sciences succeeded in gaining permission for him to live in Moscow under police surveillance.

Before the war Hrushevsky had written a draft of his history up until the Zboriv Agreement of 1649. In Simbirsk he was unable to continue research on the primary sources needed for the *History*, so he had turned his attention to writing a world history in Ukrainian. In Kazan, however, he had returned to his major project, revising and publishing volume eight, part two, for the years 1638 to 1648. With access to the archives and libraries of Moscow, Hrushevsky continued to expand his draft to cover the period up to the spring of 1650 and prepared it for publication. Volume eight, part three, was printed, but the copies were destroyed during the revolutionary events in Moscow and the book reached the public only in 1922, when it was reprinted in Vienna from a single preserved copy.

The Russian Revolution of February 1917 gave Hrushevsky his political freedom. It also resulted in his becoming the president of the first independent Ukrainian state, which took him away from scholarship. During 1917 he headed the Ukrainian Central Rada, which developed into the autonomous and then independent government of Ukraine. In taking the city of Kyiv in early 1918, the Bolshevik artillery specifically targeted Hrushevsky's house, thereby destroying his library, priceless manuscripts, and museum, as well as the materials he had prepared for the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. On 29 April 1918, he was elected president of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR), which evolved out of the Central Rada, but the German military authorities, whom he called in to protect Ukraine from the Bolsheviks, supported a coup by General Pavlo Skoropadsky to depose Hrushevsky and the UNR and to establish the monarchist Hetmanate. The fall of the Central Rada at the end of April removed Hrushevsky from power and the subsequent loss of Kyiv by its successor, the UNR Directory, in January 1919, made him a political refugee. He then served as the foreign representative of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, which he had supported since 1917. After

extensive travels through Western Europe, he settled near Vienna, the initial center of the Ukrainian political emigration. He had lost considerable political authority among the tens of thousands of Ukrainian political émigrés, in part because of his failure to back the UNR fully and because of his political move to the left. He was, however, looked upon as the greatest Ukrainian scholar and was expected to organize Ukrainian scholarly and intellectual life.

Initially Hrushevsky fulfilled these expectations. He organized the Ukrainian Sociological Institute and published a French version of his general history, a discussion of early social organization, and an account of the development of religious thought in Ukraine. In 1922 he turned his attention to his second monumental work, *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury* (History of Ukrainian literature), and published the first three volumes in Lviv. Nevertheless, Hrushevsky was increasingly out of tune with the major trends in Ukrainian historical studies outside Soviet Ukraine. Already in the decade before World War I, the younger generation of Hrushevsky's students in Galicia had departed from their teacher's populist convictions. They instead saw political formations and elites as playing positive roles in historical development, and they studied these phenomena in the Ukrainian past. Thus, while Western Ukraine under Polish rule was open to Hrushevsky's activity, he was increasingly alienated from the dominant historical views. In any event, Lviv under Polish authorities hostile to Ukrainian aspirations, where academics had been forced to establish an underground university and members of Ukrainian armies were denied civil rights, including the right to study, was a far cry from Habsburg Lviv. It was Prague, then rapidly becoming the center of Ukrainian political and scholarly life, that would have seemed the likely place of residence for Hrushevsky. There the Ukrainian Free University, transferred from Vienna in 1922, was developing rapidly with support from Thomas Masaryk and the Czech government.

Hrushevsky's attention, however, was already directed to events in Soviet Ukraine. Although the Ukrainian movement had failed to maintain an independent state, it had succeeded in institutionalizing its view that Ukraine should be a distinct administrative entity and that the Ukrainian nation had its own language and culture. While the Bolsheviks had accepted these tenets, they remained a group with relatively few ethnic Ukrainians in their leadership and even fewer followers versed in Ukrainian culture. When the Soviet leadership adopted a policy of indigenization, accompanied by a reversal of its more radical ideological and social policies, the government in Kyiv sorely needed cadres who would be perceived as legitimately Ukrainian.

In 1923 Hrushevsky began seriously to consider returning to Kyiv. Rumors to that effect caused consternation in Ukrainian political circles, which saw such an action by the first president of the Ukrainian state as a major blow to the cause of Ukrainian independence. Hrushevsky was offered a professorship at the Ukrainian Free University and a number of other posts in the hope that he would abandon his plans. In 1924, however, he decided that he would go to Kyiv instead of Prague. The reasons for his decision have been debated to the present day. Certainly his assertion that he planned to bring his *History of Ukraine-Rus'* up to 1917 and could only do so with access to libraries and archives in Ukraine weighed heavily in his decision.¹⁰

10. See the account by Matvii Stakhiv of his mission in 1923 to dissuade Hrushevsky from returning to Ukraine. Matvii Stakhiv, 'Chomu M. Hrushevs'kyi povernuvsia v 1924 rotsi do Kyieva? (Zhmut faktiv i uryvok zi spohadiv),' in *Mykhailo Hrushevsky u 110 rokovyni narodzhennia 1876 [sic]–1976* (New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto, 1978) (=ZNTSh, vol. 197), pp. 109–47, especially 133.

Accepting an offer by the Kharkiv government, Hrushevsky returned to Kyiv to take up a position at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. He showed his customary energy in organizing scholarship. Reinvigorating the academy's *Zapysky* (Annals), Hrushevsky also revived the journal *Ukraina* (Ukraine). He gathered a talented group of co-workers and launched a number of new series, including *Za sto lit* (In one hundred years), a publication devoted to the nineteenth century. New journals specializing in unearthing and studying sources, such as *Ukrains'kyi arkhiv* (Ukrainian archive), were launched.¹¹ He also continued his work on the *History of Ukrainian Literature*, publishing volumes four and five. Returning to his *magnum opus*, he prepared volume nine on the period 1650 to 1658, publishing it in two separate massive parts in 1928 and 1931. Hrushevsky's research on the *History* was indeed stimulated by his return to the academic environment and archives of Kyiv, but the city did not long provide a conducive environment for his work.

The very sweep of Hrushevsky's activities threatened the communist leadership. They had sought legitimacy by inviting Hrushevsky to return, but then found his revitalization of non-Marxist Ukrainian historiography dangerous, particularly at a time when the Ukrainization policy presented opportunities for the old Ukrainian intelligentsia to reach the masses. Attempts to undermine Hrushevsky by promoting the newly developing Marxist cadres led by Matvii Iavorsky did not have the desired effect. Ultimately the communist authorities in Kharkiv did not decide the fate of Hrushevsky's historical school, for the rising tide of centralization accompanying the ascent of Joseph Stalin engulfed them, too. Ukrainian national communism was judged to be as dangerous as more traditional Ukrainian nationalism in a Soviet state that was increasingly becoming a successor to the Russian Empire. Beginning in 1928, Hrushevsky came under mounting attack by party officials. As arrests and trials of the Ukrainian intelligentsia proceeded, Hrushevsky became an isolated figure.¹² After an all-out attack by V. P. Zatonsky, Hrushevsky was warned to leave for Moscow. Departing in early March 1931, he was arrested in Moscow and sent back to Kyiv, but then returned to Moscow. As Hrushevsky was exiled to Russia, the Institute of History was dismantled and its scholarly programs halted. Deprived of his Ukrainian context, Hrushevsky nevertheless continued his scholarly work, publishing in Russian journals and completing volume ten of his history. Illness overtook him during a trip to Kislovodsk in 1934, and he died under somewhat mysterious circumstances, as the result of an operation. The best testimony of the power of his name was that he was accorded a state funeral in a Ukraine devastated by famine and terror. His daughter Kateryna even succeeded in printing the first part of volume ten of his *History*, dealing with the years 1658–60, before she herself was arrested in the new terror. The second part, sometimes called volume eleven, which covered the period to 1676, remained in manuscript in Kyiv until the 1970s, when it disappeared.

Hrushevsky did not complete his history, but he had written more than 6,000 pages outlining his vision of the Ukrainian past.¹³ His shorter histories allow us to see how he would have

11. On Hrushevsky's archaeological achievements, see B. Krupnyckyj, 'Die Archäographische Tätigkeit M. Hrushevskyjs,' *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, n.s. 11 (1935): 610–21.

12. On the destruction of Ukrainian scholarship, see Mariia Ovcharenko, ed., *Zbirnyk na poshanu ukrains'kykh uchenykh znyshchennykh bol'shevits'koiu Moskvouiu* (Paris and Chicago, 1962) (=ZNTS, vol. 173), in particular N. Polonska-Vasylenko, 'Istorychna nauka v Ukraïni za soviets'koï doby ta dolia istorykiv,' pp. 7–111.

13. On Hrushevsky's historical thought, see Leo Bilas, 'Geschichtsphilosophische und ideologische Voraussetzungen

treated subsequent periods. He viewed the Ukrainian past as a process in which a people had evolved on a given territory under differing political rulers. Although he discussed the territory from the most ancient times, he dated the origins of the Ukrainian people to the fifth century, to the Antae, whom he viewed as Slavs. His goal was to use all available evidence to study periods of the Ukrainian past for which written evidence was sparse. Just as the nineteenth-century historians had turned to ethnography and folklore to understand the past of the common folk who had left few written records, so Hrushevsky turned to the rapidly developing disciplines of historical linguistics, archaeology, anthropology, and sociology to penetrate the distant past of the entire Ukrainian people.

Hrushevsky considered the study of the people, rather than of rulers and states, to be the major advance of nineteenth-century historiography. He was rooted in the nineteenth-century populist tradition that saw Ukrainian history as, above all, an examination of the dispossessed. Indeed, populists considered Ukrainians to be doubly dispossessed. As a primarily peasant and initially serf population, Ukrainians and their history were seen as essentially a populist subject. As a people who had frequently lacked a state of their own and who had been ruled by neighbors, they were excluded from the usual historical discussions. Historians such as Kostomarov, Antonovych, and Lazarevsky had even taken great pride in this dispossession and argued that Ukrainians would not, by nature, form repressive states and elites. This view influenced the study of periods when Ukrainians had possessed political entities and elites, so that they were described in a negative light. The populist tradition viewed its defense of Ukrainian nationality as intrinsically democratic and progressive, but spent little time examining the phenomenon of nation per se—how Ukrainians had evolved as a national community—or analyzing whether the traits it held as endemic to Ukrainians could provide the basis for a modern nation. The backward political and economic life of the Russian Empire and the persecution of Ukrainian activities partially explain how this rather idealized version of Ukrainian identity was maintained. Even the increasing tempo of urbanization and industrialization at the end of the century did not have as great an impact as might be expected in changing these views, because Ukrainian peasants played a relatively limited role in that process.

The political and social conditions of the Russian Empire explain in part Hrushevsky's link to this rather antiquated Ukrainian political tradition, but the connection also stemmed from his own intellectual formation. In general, radical political movements, including revolutionary populism and, by the 1890s, Marxism influenced his generation. By contrast, the Ukrainophile literature of the early nineteenth century and the Ukrainian populism of the 1860s formed Hrushevsky. The organic-work culturalism that typified the Kyiv Hromada of the 1880s and the journal *Kievskaiia starina* strengthened this link. These traditions remained vital even as Hrushevsky set out to accomplish the 'nationalist' enterprise of writing a national history. Undoubtedly the move to Galicia reaffirmed Hrushevsky in the enterprise, since it placed him in an intellectual context where national issues were considered basic and where an increasingly awakened peasantry played an active role in political and cultural life. After all, Hrushevsky's close collaborator in Lviv was the literary titan of peasant stock, Ivan Franko. Yet this situation probably postponed any examination of where the populist ended and the national began. For,

der geschichtlichen und politischen Konzeption M. Hruševskyjs. Zum 90. Geburtstag des ukrainischen Historikers (29 September 1956),’ *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s. 4 (1956–57): 262–92; Illia Vytanovych, ‘Uvahy do metodolohii i istoriosofii Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho’; Omelian Pritsak, ‘Istoriosofiiia Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho,’ in Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 1 (reprint: Kyiv, 1991), pp. XL–LXXIII.

in practice, it was primarily national history that Hrushevsky wrote. In doing so, he did not see the Ukrainian nation as a constant throughout the ages. Indeed, in contrast to his peers among Russian historians, who largely disregarded the question in writing Russian history, Hrushevsky discussed the development of nationality in historical context. He saw the Ukrainian nationality as emerging late and under difficult historical circumstances. The vision of a long process comprising leaps forward and setbacks, but with the Ukrainian people at its core, was essential to his view of history.¹⁴

Hrushevsky also brought a Hegelian structure to his vision of the Ukrainian past. He conceived of Ukrainian history as a thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. He saw Kyivan Rus' as the Ukrainian people's first historical creation, their thesis. He viewed the Cossack period as an antithesis. Both thesis and antithesis contained an element of instability. In the Kyivan Rus' period he saw the tension between the princes and their retinue and communal institutions as unresolved. In the antithesis he saw the Cossacks as embodying elements of national-cultural renewal and social justice. They had led the Ukrainian people in a great upsurge during the Khmelnytsky revolt, but ultimately these vital forces had dissipated. In the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* he did not reach the decline, in the mid-eighteenth century, of Cossack Ukraine. Nor did he deal with what he saw as the synthesis, the modern national revival.

Around the time of his trip to Paris (1903), Hrushevsky also became interested in social theory, above all that of Durkheim.¹⁵ This interest in the newly developing discipline of sociology grew, so that in the period after the failure of Ukrainian state-building Hrushevsky devoted considerable attention to establishing a Ukrainian school of sociology, even encouraging his daughter Kateryna to work in that field. He began to refer to himself as a 'historian-sociologist.' Certainly the field gave him an opportunity to examine primitive societies, and he could feel that he had a better tool for understanding the popular masses, as well as the earliest societies on Ukrainian territory. This new interest helped him in the redrafting of volume one and may have provided an underpinning for his discussion of the Ukrainian Cossacks. Durkheim's method of describing matters in great detail and avoiding synthesis may have influenced Hrushevsky's presentation in volumes nine and ten.¹⁶

In launching his history, Hrushevsky sought to challenge the accepted view of the origin of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. Inherent in his work and broached in a number of reviews that he wrote at the turn of the century, Hrushevsky's new scheme for the study of Rus' history, or East Slavic history (a term he popularized), was most comprehensively presented in an article published in St. Petersburg in 1904. This short piece, perhaps the best known of all his writings, argued that the current, accepted framework for studying 'Russian' history was illogical.¹⁷

14. For Hrushevsky, the concept of a nation or nationality as a collective of individuals united by common characteristics in the present, a communality in the past, and a common set of tasks and aspirations in the future, independent of territorial, political, or confessional divides, was a nineteenth-century phenomenon. He saw earlier concepts of nationality or people as often related to political, religious, and cultural unity. He believed these criteria had often worked against the emergence of the Ukrainian nation (*narod*). For his views, see his 'Razvitie ukrainskikh izuchenii v XIX v. i raskrytie v nikh osnovnykh voprosov ukrainovedeniia,' in *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 1–36, especially pp. 1–2.

15. Illia Vytanovych asserts that Hrushevsky became aware of Durkheim's work through contacts with Maksym Kovalevsky and directly, during his trip to Paris, but his misdating of the trip to 1905 casts doubt on his assertion. 'Uvahy,' p. 51.

16. This is suggested by Illia Vytanovych in 'Uvahy,' p. 51.

17. 'Zvychna skhema "ruskoi" istorii i sprava ratsional'noho ukladu istorii skhidnoho Slov'ianstva,' in *Star'i po*

Based on the claims of Muscovite bookmen, it accepted the theory of dynastic descent from Kyivan Rus' to Vladimir to Moscow to St. Petersburg as an appropriate framework for historical study. Hrushevsky maintained that while this approach may have had some applicability for the history of states, it was totally inadequate for the study of peoples and cultures. After the early period, it dealt with the Belarusians and Ukrainians episodically. It also did not permit examination of the Russians and their origins. Hrushevsky maintained that by appropriating Kyivan Rus'—which properly belonged to Ukrainian history—into Russian history, the traditional scheme did damage to Russian historical studies. Without denying that a collective history of all the East Slavic peoples could be written, Hrushevsky emphasized the need to reexamine each people's history. He declared that he was in the process of doing so for the Ukrainians, and that a similar project was needed for the Belarusians. He stated that the Russian historical past had generally been studied and that once the issue of the Russians' origins was reexamined, a proper national history could emerge. In issuing the third edition of volume one in 1913, Hrushevsky commented on how much acceptance his vision of Ukrainian history had gained since he had begun his project.

Hrushevsky's schema was as controversial as his opinion on the great debate over the role of the Varangians in the formation of the early Rus' state. Deeply committed to the view that rulers had only superficial influence and that Rus' society had developed organically out of ancient roots that went all the way back to the Antae, Hrushevsky almost inevitably chose the anti-Normanist side.

The *History of Ukraine-Rus'* contains relatively few great men or heroes. Even Volodymyr and Danylo do not stand out for heroic deeds. The most troublesome figure for Hrushevsky was Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. In some of his popular writings, he expressed rather favorable opinions of the hetman's accomplishments. In the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, however, Hrushevsky seemed to develop an aversion to the hetman as his lengthy account of Khmelnytsky's age progressed. In this he diverged from the centuries-old Ukrainian tradition that viewed Khmelnytsky as the father of the nation. He also polemicized with contemporaries who belonged to the statist school of Ukrainian historiography, in particular Viacheslav Lypynsky. This younger generation saw Ukrainian elites and politics as positive and considered Khmelnytsky a great statesman. Hrushevsky angrily replied that for him the Ukrainian masses were the only heroes of the Khmelnytsky revolt.

Hrushevsky did, however, accept the traditional Ukrainian attitude toward the Cossacks. He began his subseries on the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks with a document that had just been published by the church historian Platon Zhukovich. In the document, a protest from the early 1620s, Metropolitan Iov Boretsky described the Cossacks as descendants of the warriors of the tenth-century prince Oleh, who had campaigned in their boats on the Black Sea. The metropolitan cast them as heroes of Christendom and defenders of the Rus' Orthodox Church. With this epigraph, Hrushevsky affirmed a national role for the Cossacks and justified his labeling of the entire age as Cossack.

The initial reaction to the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* differed greatly between Ukrainian historians and activists, on the one hand, and foreign scholars, on the other. When Hrushevsky's colleagues and students celebrated his fortieth birthday in 1906, they were fulsome in their praise of his accomplishments. The editorial board, including Volodymyr

Hnatiuk, Denys Korenets, Ivan Krevetsky, Stefan Tomashivsky, and Ivan Franko, went so far as to call the *History* 'that great basis of Ukrainian historical scholarship and inexhaustible source of national-political and social-political self-understanding and consciousness, which for the first time truly brings us into the family of European peoples....'¹⁸

Hrushevsky had unequivocally become the foremost Ukrainian historian. In Western Ukraine his schema was soon universally accepted. In Russian-ruled Ukraine, the *History*'s influence was also great. In 1916, Mykola Vasylenko asserted that despite the ill will with which Russian nationalists such as Timofei Florinsky had greeted the work, all had to come to terms with Hrushevsky's erudition, as well as his success in what many had viewed as the questionable enterprise of writing Ukrainian history.¹⁹ Some of the most convincing testimonies to the work's significance came from the attempts of the opponents of Hrushevsky and the Ukrainian movement to discredit it. The Russian nationalists in Kyiv who plotted to deny Hrushevsky a chair at the university in 1908 argued that his work could not be evaluated because it was written in an incomprehensible jargon. A fellow student of Antonovych, Linychenko, wrote a brochure in 1917 against Ukrainian autonomy in which he devoted considerable attention to refuting Hrushevsky's *History*. Arguing as a loyal 'Little Russian,' he maintained that Ukrainian history could be seen only as part of all-Russian history, in particular because, lacking a state, the Ukrainians had neither a history nor culture of their own.²⁰ These were largely reactions against the political and cultural successes of the Ukrainian movement, but they testified to what degree Hrushevsky's *History* had served as an underpinning.

Hrushevsky commented that initially Russian and Polish historians had met his work with silence. Perhaps the linguistic medium he had chosen explains this, for the Ukrainian language obviously made his *History* less accessible to most other historians. Therefore Hrushevsky's strategy of arranging a German translation was well justified, even though it was initially devised as much to promote access to his work in Eastern Ukraine, where Ukrainian-language books were banned, as to reach Western scholars. The publication in German of volume one seemed to have the desired effect: a major Polish scholar reviewed the work. Aleksander Brückner gave eloquent testimony to Hrushevsky's erudition and phenomenal mastery of literature. He paid Hrushevsky a great compliment: 'Regrettably, we cannot take pride in a similarly voluminous, fundamental, and intelligent work about Polish history. Would that its example might influence our historians, so that in this field they do not remain behind Rus.'²¹ He criticized Hrushevsky's linguistic observations, however, and lamented his adherence to anti-Normanism. He did not mention the issue of the origin of the Ukrainian people. Favorable notice of Hrushevsky's work also appeared in the Czech publications of Karel Kadlec.²² On

18. 'Peredmova' (Introduction) to *Naukovyi zbirnyk prys'viachenyi profesorovy Mykhailovy Hrushevs'komu ucheny-kamy i prykhyl'nykamy z nahody Ioho desiatytiln'oi naukovoï pratsi v Halychyni (1894–1904)* (Lviv, 1906), p. vii.

19. See the evaluation of Hrushevsky's historical work by Mykola Vasylenko in 1916, in which he discusses Florinsky's reaction and compares Hrushevsky's accomplishment to Solov'ev's, but points out that Hrushevsky had to search more widely for archival sources and discusses a much greater body of secondary literature. N. Vasilenko, 'M. S. Grushevskii kak istorik,' *Ukrainskaia zhizn'*, 1916, p. 43.

20. See O. P. Tolochko, 'Dvi ne zovsim akademichni dyskusii (I. A. Linychenko, D. I. Bahalii, M. S. Hrushevs'kyi),' *Ukrains'kyi arkhеоhrafichnyi shchorichnyk*, n.s. 2 (1993): 97–103.

21. A. Brückner, 'Dogmat normański,' *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 20 (1906): 679 (the review appears on pp. 664–79).

22. See Kadlec's review in *SVPS*, pp. 298–305, in which he states: 'Professor Hrushevsky's work is written with such unusual erudition, and is based on such a large literature and such a wealth of sources, that it belongs to the most distinguished products of Slavic literature of the past decade,' (pp. 301–2). Also see his article 'Mychajlo Hruševskij,'

the other hand, although the *Kwartalnik Historyczny* had published a positive review of Hrushevsky's inaugural lecture, Polish scholars came to see Hrushevsky's historical vision, as well as his political activities, in a negative light.²³ Still, Ludwik Kolankowski's negative assessment, which focused on volumes four to six, testified to the increasing attention being paid to the *History*.²⁴ Certainly the Russian translations of three volumes of the history increased its currency in Russian historical circles, and its influence was apparent in the work of Sergei Platonov, Vasilii Storozhev, and Matvei Liubavsky.²⁵ In 1929, Aleksandr Presniakov even took up Hrushevsky's proposal to write the history of the origin of the Russian state and nation.²⁶

By the 1920s, the reception of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* had changed considerably. The publication of eight volumes had added to the *History's* authority, in particular since they were usually the most extensive and bibliographically up-to-date studies yet published on a broad array of topics and questions dating up to the mid-seventeenth century. In addition, the manifest rise of the Ukrainian movement and the attempt to establish a Ukrainian state had transformed the Ukrainian question from an obscure problem to a widely recognized issue. Finally, Hrushevsky's importance in the Central Rada had turned the historian into an internationally known figure. In 1922, the Ukrainian historians of Lviv issued another celebratory volume for Hrushevsky. His former student Vasyl Herasymchuk wrote a laudatory evaluation of Hrushevsky as a historian; indeed, the schema worked out by Hrushevsky and the data presented in his *History* were considered fundamental by all Western Ukrainian historians.²⁷ Yet, in attitude and approach, Ukrainian historians in Western Ukraine and in the emigration were increasingly alienated from Hrushevsky's populist views and negative attitudes toward Ukrainian leaders. Similar views were also held by some of the historians who gathered around Hrushevsky after his return to Kyiv in 1924.

The success of the Bolsheviks raised the prestige of Marxist thought, either because historians were influenced by the triumph of the revolution or because they were subjected to pressure. Initially the Marxists did not feel secure enough to criticize Hrushevsky directly, though Matvii Iavorsky produced his own, albeit popular, history of Ukraine. The most authoritative critical evaluation came, instead, from Dmytro Bahalii, a student of Antonovych, senior to Hrushevsky and formerly a professor at Kharkiv University.²⁸ Bahalii described the *History* as the culmination of prerevolutionary Ukrainian historiography and predicted that all future advances would come from the Marxists. More substantively, he disputed whether Kyivan Rus' belonged to Ukrainian history alone. He questioned whether there was a Cossack age in Ukrainian history. Bahalii also disputed some of Hrushevsky's statements about the context in

Slovanský Přehled 11 (1909): 163–67.

23. See the review of A. Lewicki in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 9 (1893): 565–67.

24. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 27 (1913): 349–65.

25. Hans Koch, 'Dem Andenken Mychajlo Hruševskyj's (29. September 1866–25. November 1934),' *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven* n.s. 11 (1935): 3–10.

26. A. E. Presniakov, *The Formation of the Great Russian State: A Study of Russian History in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. A. E. Moorhouse (Chicago, n.d.), pp. 6–9. Also see Viktor Novyts'kyi, 'Istorychna pratsia prof. O. Ie. Priesniakova i rozmezhuвання velykorus'koï ta ukraïns'koï istoriohrafii,' *Ukraïna* 40 (March–April 1930): 55–65.

27. Vasyl' Herasymchuk, 'Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi iak istoriohraf Ukraïny,' *ZNTS* 133 (1922): 1–26.

28. Akadem. D. I. Bahalii, 'Akad. M. S. Hrushevs'kyi i ioho mistse v ukraïns'kii istoriohrafii (istorychno-krytychnyi narys),' *Chervonyi shliakh*, 1927, no. 1, pp. 160–217.

which the *History* was written. He maintained that the professors of Kyiv University must have had a more positive influence than Hrushevsky ascribed to them. He asserted that the Kyiv circle had understood the need for a general history and had initiated a competition in 1895 that Aleksandra Efimenko had won. In the end, Bahalii did not complete the history he himself was working on. His prediction that Marxist historiography would become dominant proved all too true, although its accomplishments have been of questionable value.

Communist forces had always seen accommodation with Hrushevsky as tactical. In 1925, the Soviet political police (GPU) in Moscow had sent out a secret circular describing the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* as 'falsely scientific history, dangerous, and harmful to Soviet rule' and calling on local police units to identify all those who showed interest in the work or distributed it.²⁹ By 1926, when Bahalii published his evaluation, the campaign against non-Marxist scholarship had already begun. Led initially by Iavorsky, it gained increasing intensity in 1928 when Communist Party members were forced on the Ukrainian Academy. Simultaneously, pre-revolutionary historical views were reemerging in the Moscow center, as could be seen from the publication of Aleksei Tolstoy's novel on Peter I and Boris Grekov's work on Kyivan Rus'. That development and the drive for ideological purity explains the campaign against Iavorsky and his school of Kharkiv Marxists. Iavorsky publicly recanted his views in early 1930. The campaign against him included charges of failing to act vigorously enough against Hrushevsky's influence.

The Marxist attack on Hrushevsky and his historical work attained great momentum in 1930. In articles published in Moscow and in Ukraine, Mykhailo Rubach pressed charges that would later evolve into the standard Soviet interpretation of Hrushevsky.³⁰ As one might have expected, Hrushevsky was attacked for failing to use Marxist periodization. To this was added the charge that he propagated the concept of the classlessness of the Ukrainian nation—a twisted interpretation of his populist sympathies and his statements to the effect that Ukrainians had frequently lacked upper classes and in modern times had a weakly developed bourgeoisie and proletariat. Rubach also charged Hrushevsky with attempting to sow discord between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples by overemphasizing the historical differences between them. He maintained that Hrushevsky had paid excessive attention to European influences in the Ukrainian past. By 1932, the destruction of historical studies and the atmosphere of terror had gone so far that such charges did not even need a semblance of veracity. Lev Okinshevych insisted that Hrushevsky had been fixated on the issue of Ukrainian statehood and the upper classes, and that there was no substantive difference between the views of Lypynsky and Hrushevsky.³¹ The Soviet process of demonizing Ukrainian 'nationalism' as if it were a unified camp had begun. As Hrushevsky's works were removed from library shelves in Ukraine, and copies of the posthumous volume that, paradoxically, was published in 1937 were almost entirely destroyed, the public could only know Hrushevsky through these attacks.

29. Prymak, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky*, p. 215.

30. See M. A. Rubach, 'Burzhuzno-kurkul'ska natsionalistychna ideolohiia pid mashkaroiu demokratii "trudovoho narodu" (Sotsiial'no-politychni pohliady M. S. Hrushevs'koho),' *Chervonyi shliakh*, 1932, nos. 5–6, pp. 115–35; 1932, nos. 7–8, pp. 118–26; 1932, nos. 11–12, pp. 127–36. Rubach later wrote the entry on Hrushevsky in the Soviet historical encyclopedia: M. A. Rubach, 'Grushevskii, Mikhail Sergeevich,' *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia entsiklopediia* 4 (Moscow, 1963): 857–59.

31. L. Okinshevych, 'Natsional-demokratychna kontsepsiia istorii Ukraïny v pratsiakh akad. Hrushevs'koho,' *Ukraina*, 1932, nos. 1–2 (January–June), pp. 93–109.

Abroad, the reputation of Hrushevsky and his *History* had grown greatly. In his obituary André Mazon expressed a widely held sentiment in stating 'L'Ukraine a perdu son historien.'³² Otto Hoetzsch described Hrushevsky's influence on him as a friend and historian. Calling the *History* 'a great achievement,' Hoetzsch maintained that it was 'the first to present the Muscovite and the Ukrainian historical process as separate. It worked out the first schema, the first truly scholarly synthesis of Ukrainian history...'³³ In a warm personal obituary, Hans Koch called the work an 'enormous synthesis of an abundance of details that are not overlooked despite their microscopic size and are masterfully turned to account. Everything available in printed sources and contributions to the literature, including the most recondite gymnasium and provincial reports of every language and culture, including Turkic and Arabic sources, and the collected data of archaeology, palaeontology, linguistics, even ethnology and theology, is here united and brought up to date with astonishing industry.'³⁴

In the New World, George Vernadsky wrote admiringly of Hrushevsky's work in an introduction to an English translation of his popular history: 'It is the work of a great scholar, based upon exhaustive research, pervaded by the spirit of keen criticism, and displaying a wealth of information with regard not only to the Ukrainian people, but to the general history of the period, as well.'³⁵ Appropriate praise was rendered by Ukrainian scholars outside Soviet Ukraine, such as Ivan Kryp'iakevych and Myron Korduba, even though they now belonged to a different historical school and had not agreed with Hrushevsky's political accommodation with the Left.³⁶ World War II destroyed the historical centers in Central and Eastern Europe where Hrushevsky had made his greatest impact, and the Soviet victory and absorption of Western Ukraine decreased interest in Ukraine's history. Still, as soon as Stalinism receded, Polish scholars began citing Hrushevsky with admiration and Russian historians began including him in footnotes. In Ukraine, however, his works could not be cited and his name appeared only as an object of political vituperation.

The outcome of World War II also resulted in a large emigration of Ukrainian historians and intellectuals from pre-war Western Ukraine and Soviet Ukraine to the West. Many eventually went on to North America, where there were well-established Ukrainian communities. Most of these historians worked in an émigré environment. They usually found Hrushevsky's historical views lacking in statist perspective. But they carried on his general schema and the tradition of his national historiography. One of the achievements of the Ukrainian diaspora in the 1950s was the reprinting of the *History*, which made it widely available in Western research libraries. Borys Krupnytsky wrote an introduction explaining the importance of Hrushevsky and his work, but also presenting the statist school's divergence from his views.³⁷ In the 1960s, the Ukrainian

32. 'Nécrologie,' *Revue des études slaves* 15 (1935): 185–87.

33. Otto Hoetzsch, 'Michael Hruševskij,' *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte* 9 (n.s. 5) (1935; reprint, 1966): 160–64.

34. Koch, 'Dem Andenken Mychajlo Hruševskij's (29. September 1866–25. November 1934),' p. 6.

35. George Vernadsky, 'Preface' to Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, ed. O. J. Frederiksen (New Haven, n.d.), pp. v–vi.

36. See Miron Korduba, 'Michael Hruševskij als Forscher und als Organisator der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit,' *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte* 9 (n.s. 5) (1935; reprint, 1966): 164–73; and Ivan Kryp'iakevych, *Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi. Zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Lviv, 1935), reprinted in *Velykyi ukrains'ci. Materialy z zhyttia ta diial'nosti M. S. Hrushevs'koho* (Kyiv, 1992), pp. 448–83.

37. B. Krupnytsky, 'M. Hrushevs'kyi i ioho istorychna pratsia,' in *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, vol. 1 (New York, 1954), pp. 1–XXX.

Historical Association and contributors to its journal, *Ukrains'kyi istoryk* (The Ukrainian historian), in particular Lubomyr Wynar, began publishing large numbers of source materials and bibliographies as well as studies on Hrushevsky. In 1968, the Ukrainian community funded a chair in history at Harvard University named in Hrushevsky's honor. The Shevchenko Scientific Society, reestablished in the West after its abolition following the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine, announced a project to translate the *History* and commissioned a number of translations, but it lacked the resources to carry out the enormous undertaking.

In Ukraine, Hrushevsky and his works remained taboo. This taboo served as a symbol of the provincial, colonial nature of Ukrainian culture. In the period of de-Stalinization and the subsequent Thaw, Russian scholars republished the histories of the 'reactionary' Solov'ev and Kliuchevsky, but Ukrainian historians could not even discuss the contributions of the 'leftist' Hrushevsky. In Moscow historians could cite Hrushevsky in scholarly discourse, while in Ukraine his name appeared only as a vehicle for denunciations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. This did not stop a select circle of historians from using his *History* in writing their works, and, in the degraded environment of Soviet scholarship, they felt free to appropriate his notes without attribution. At the end of the cultural thaw of the late 1950s and 1960s, Fedir Shevchenko attempted to return Hrushevsky's name to historical discussion, but that effort was soon suppressed.³⁸ After the pogrom of Ukrainian culture in 1972, Russian centralizing trends strengthened, suppressing Hrushevsky and his ideas even more. It was during the 1970s that the manuscript of volume ten, part two, of the *History* disappeared from the Ukrainian archives. By the mid-1980s, the state of Ukrainian historical studies was so lamentable that historians, in contrast to writers and literary specialists, were slow to react to *glasnost'*, which in any event came later to Ukraine than to other parts of the Soviet Union.

In the late 1980s Hrushevsky's name returned to public discussion in an increasingly free press, largely under the prompting of activists such as Serhii Bilokin and Zynoviia Franko, who had attempted secretly to preserve Hrushevsky's legacy.³⁹ By 1989 Ukrainian literary and cultural journals began publishing Hrushevsky's works: the journal *Vitchyzna* (Native land) printed volume seven and part of volume eight of the *History* in installments, and *Kyiv* similarly began printing volume one.⁴⁰ In February 1989, the Academy of Sciences supported a decision of a meeting of Ukrainian archaeographers to publish a photo-offset edition of the *History*. The first volume appeared in 1991, in an edition of 100,000 copies.⁴¹ Plans were made to conclude the reprint with a volume of indexes and bibliographic information. To date six volumes have appeared.

The preface to the new Ukrainian edition emphasized the cooperation of Ukrainian specialists in the West in the project. The Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University and the newly established Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, joined as sponsors of the edition. The preface also announced that the Peter Jacyk Centre had undertaken to produce an English translation of the entire *History*.

38. F. P. Shevchenko, 'Chomu Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi povernuvsia na radians'ku Ukraïnu?' *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1966, no. 2, pp. 13–30.

39. Establishment historians such as V. Sarbei and R. Symonenko opposed 'rehabilitation.' See Bohdan W. Klid, 'The Struggle over Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi: Recent Soviet Polemics,' *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 33, no. 1 (March 1991): 32–45.

40. *Vitchyzna*, 1989, nos. 1–12, and 1990, nos. 1–8; *Kyiv*, 1989, no. 12, and 1990, nos. 1–10.

41. The reprint is also important for the process of integrating Hrushevsky's legacy into post-Soviet Ukrainian historiography. See the introduction by V. A. Smolii and P. S. Sokhan', 'Vydatnyi istoryk Ukraïny,' pp. VIII–XXXIX.

The translation of Hrushevsky's *magnum opus* into an international scholarly language is being realized ninety years after the historian sought to arrange the German translation. In issuing a work begun nearly a century ago by a scholar who died more than six decades ago, one must consider whether the work continues to have relevance and whether there is a need for a version other than the Ukrainian original. New archaeological finds have been made, new and better editions of sources have been published, new literature has appeared, and new theories and methods have emerged.

Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* is the major statement of a historian of genius. In breadth and erudition it still has no equal in Ukrainian historiography, and its examination of many historical questions remains unsurpassed. In some ways this is due to the unfortunate history of Ukraine, above all to the Soviet policies that not only imposed official dogmas, but also discouraged study of pre-modern Ukrainian history and the publication of sources. This policy, as well as the relative neglect of Ukrainian history in surrounding lands and in the West, have made new source discoveries and expansion of information more limited than might have been expected. The tragic fate of Ukrainian archives in the twentieth century—above all, the losses occasioned by wars and revolutions—frequently means that Hrushevsky's discussions and citations are the only information extant. The reprinting of the *History* in Ukraine demonstrates to what degree Hrushevsky's work is the starting point for rebuilding historical studies there. Indeed, in the period after the proclamation of Ukrainian independence in 1991, a Hrushevsky cult emerged in Ukraine, as could be seen in the luxuriously published collection of Hrushevsky's essays and materials about him entitled *Velykyi Ukraïnets'* (A great Ukrainian). Leonid Kravchuk, Ukraine's president, wrote the introduction.⁴² For most, the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* will be the basis for understanding the period up until the seventeenth century, but others will use it as a tool to examine the thought of the Ukrainian national revival and the views of one of its greatest leaders.

The unfavorable situation of the Ukrainian language in the twentieth century also reinforces the need for a translation. Although for most of this century Ukrainian has been the second most widely spoken language within one of the major linguistic groups in Europe, it has not received the currency one might assume is its due. In Ukraine itself it has been under siege, so that large numbers of Ukrainians have lost it as a native tongue. In the last decades of Soviet rule, Ukraine became a country in which all postgraduate theses had to be written in Russian and most scholarship appeared in Russian. In essence Ukrainian was returning to the status it had had in the Russian Empire, with the additional disadvantage that Galicia had been annexed to this reconstituted empire. Thus, even in the lands neighboring Ukraine, there was little need to pay attention to the Ukrainian language. In Western Europe and North America, university Slavic departments have given Ukrainian very low priority in their programs, and graduate students in Russian and Eastern European history have rarely developed even a reading knowledge of it. The modern-day scholar who does undertake the challenge of reading the Ukrainian original must cope with many quotations in Slavonic, middle Ukrainian, Muscovite chancery language, Polish, and the classical languages. Students of Western and Central European history, Middle Eastern history, and Eastern European history have generally not had access to this major account of the history of Ukraine. Yet the reassertion of Ukrainian independence has increased general interest in Ukrainian history and in the work of Hrushevsky.

42. Fedir Shevchenko, who had attempted to secure Hrushevsky's rehabilitation in the 1960s, wrote the afterword (pp. 486–89).

The publication of *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* in Ukraine has given the lie to the twisted representation of the work in Soviet discussions. The appearance of the English translation now permits a wider scholarly community, which has often only known of Hrushevsky as a 'nationalist' historian, to examine the type of national history that this great scholar wrote. In Ukrainian historical circles in the West, Hrushevsky is often called a populist, with little attempt to determine whether the actual text of the *History* reflects that self-description by its author.⁴³ Some have questioned the advisability of translating the *History* because it is out of date, which usually means that it does not reflect the statist school now dominant in the Ukrainian diaspora. Fortunately, the possibility of pursuing pluralistic approaches in Ukraine and the development of Ukrainian historiography in the West beyond the Ukrainian diaspora among a wider group of historians and students of varied descent are bound to break down the ideological nature of the field. For all, Hrushevsky's work will be a first point of reference.

In preparing the English edition, the issue of obsolescence had to be addressed and decisions had to be made about correcting 'errors,' providing information on current views of scholarly questions, and updating information on subsequent literature and source publications. It was decided to render the text as Hrushevsky presented it, and to ask specialists to place his work in the context of the field in their introductions to each volume. The English version has one advantage over the Ukrainian original: bibliographies with complete bibliographic information are appended to each volume. These bibliographies permit closer analysis of the scholarly context of the *History*.

The need to continue Hrushevsky's work has frequently been broached. For those who would see such a continuation as one individual picking up where Hrushevsky left off, the example of Palacký would seem instructive: attempts to find a successor to carry on the Czech historian's work failed. A genius and titan of industriousness like Hrushevsky is a rare phenomenon among us. Then, too, the methods and style of writing history have changed, so that the grand national history based on examination of massive sources is rare. The collective history, practiced so poorly in the Soviet period, offers one possibility for a voluminous continuation, but it will always lack the spirit of one person's work. It is more likely that monographs and survey histories will prove to be the continuation of Hrushevsky's *History*. These works will undoubtedly devote considerable attention to the scholarly legacy of Hrushevsky in dealing with the period from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century, and they will go on to document and assess the legacy of the political and national leader Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

43. For a discussion asserting that the populist label is an oversimplification, see Liubomyr Vynar (Wynar), 'Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi i derzhavnyts'kyi napriam v Ukraïns'kii istoriohrafii,' in his *Naivydannishyi istoryk*, pp. 33–54.

Introduction to Volume 1

ANDRZEJ POPPE

The first volume of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'* is the account of an epoch embracing five centuries. The epoch begins with the first Slavic settlement on the East European Plain during the great migration of peoples, continues through the establishment of the Rus' state centered in Kyiv, and culminates in the adoption of Christianity toward the end of the tenth century. The central theme is amplified by a detailed outline of the prehistory of the lands that became the territory of settlement of the proto-Ukrainian East Slavic tribes, a pattern that helps to define the borders of present-day Ukraine.

In order to comprehend the fate of a people that has now, in the late twentieth century, finally won independence after centuries of struggle—against threats external and, perhaps more ruinous, internal—it is necessary not only to know what transpired during the millennium now coming to a close, but also to delve deeply into the centuries that preceded it. Those centuries have left few traces, and those few are often ambiguous, readily lending themselves to freewheeling speculation and unreliable hypotheses. The epoch is invariably regarded as one dominated by the clash of arms (even that aspect is hard to describe in specific terms), and its intellectual achievements remain elusive. Yet the role of those achievements must have been decisive, for the framework of eastern Europe was established during the period. As the epoch comes into sharper focus, thanks to the accumulation of historical evidence, the continuity of fundamental structures becomes apparent, even against the background of ineluctable change. Between the eighth and tenth centuries A.D., eastern Europe was not yet a melting pot like the West, capable of fusing a mixture of ethnic ingredients into the progenitors of future nations. Yet there is no doubt that taking shape on its territory were political and territorial associations among various Slavic tribes, however distinct the dialects they spoke. When the Scandinavians arrived, they encountered not a chaotic agglomeration of various elements, but rather a number of highly differentiated ethnopolitical associations with elites of their own. Allying themselves with some of those Slavic elites against others, the Scandinavians initiated changes, decisively altering local trends that were leading to the formation of state structures similar to those that had arisen among the West and South Slavs. These changes led to the development of an extensive state structure.

Kyivan Rus', which in many respects resembled the Frankish kingdom of the Carolingians, made its appearance on the European stage in the tenth century. There is no better evidence of that debut than the words attributed by the Byzantine historian Leo the Deacon to Prince Sviatoslav of Rus', conqueror of Bulgaria, who is said to have told the Byzantines 'immediately to leave Europe, to which they have no right, and move to Asia' (Leo the Deacon, *Historia* 6.10). To be sure, the Kyivan state was only an episode in the history of the Ukrainians and other East Slavs, but it was pregnant with lasting consequences. Like the Carolingian Empire, undermined from within by new structures of state and society, the Kyivan state began to disintegrate into territories and princedoms that steadily became politically independent. This process, slowed down by dynastic and familial ties among the elite, as well as by the religious and ecclesiastical unity of Kyivan Rus' society, was made more complex by the Mongol-Tatar invasion.

The disintegration of Kyivan Rus' did not lead to a revival of the structures and political divisions that had existed prior to the tenth century. The developments of the tenth and eleventh centuries had been too far-reaching for that to happen. Individual territories, whatever their particular—and variable—feelings of unity, tended to foster separate traditions that found expression in the political and economic spheres, as well as in differences in the vernacular language and in pronunciation that made themselves apparent despite the common use of literary Church Slavonic.¹ With varying intensity, these processes led to a more profound differentiation of the ancestors of the Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Russians, who were exposed to distinct historical influences. The specific character of each of these peoples emerged even more clearly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Between Poland and Muscovy-Russia, which functioned alternately as hammer and anvil, the consciousness of the Ukrainian people continued to develop, but even as late as the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the instruments of official compulsion were pressed into service to deny the very existence of the Ukrainian nation and language. In the drive to assert the national unity of the 'Great Russians' with the 'Little Russians,' as Ukrainians were then called, the differences between them were obscured by comparing them with the differences that divided the Great and Little Poles or the Saxons and Bavarians. In fact, such comparisons are not helpful, for every people possesses its own particular consciousness of ethnic and historical distinctiveness.

Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'* was of prime importance to the maturation of the Ukrainian identity. The measure of its significance is the fate that it suffered in 1930s, when the Ukrainian people found themselves threatened with extermination. Starving millions of Ukrainian peasants to death in 1932–33 was not only a ruthless method of breaking opposition to collectivization, but also Stalin's cynical attempt to 'solve' the national question in Ukraine. In carrying out the crime, Stalin knew that the intellectual elite could be russified more easily than the peasantry, while members of it who refused to become watchdogs over their own people could be shot or worked to death in forced-labor camps. The Ukrainian peasantry, however, was an inexhaustible source—as history has shown—of the revival of the national spirit and of its continuing vitality. The peasants, therefore, had to be decimated physically, deprived of their rights, and destroyed in spirit. Stalin's criminal intentions were not fully carried out, but his campaign of extermination was so devastating that its results will continue to have a deleterious influence on Ukraine's national revival for a long time to come. Hrushevsky's work, dedicated to Ukrainian national history, necessarily fell victim to the campaign of destruction. The writings of the 'bourgeois nationalist' historian were placed on the index of forbidden materials and became inaccessible in libraries; mere possession of them became grounds for imprisonment and internal exile. Even after the Stalinist terror receded, the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* could not be cited or mentioned in Ukraine. In that downtrodden, demoralized society, the unattributed borrowings from Hrushevsky's works appearing in Soviet historiography—damnable as plagiarism in any normal context—must be regarded as efforts to overcome fear.

If there were only one reason to publish the *History* in English translation, this would suffice: to show the world what kind of literature struck fear into that inhuman system, which so thoroughly pervaded the lives of its subjects. In fact, there are many good reasons to revive

1. See the works cited in my editor's addition to Note 6, pp. 426–27; see also G. A. Khaburgaev, *Ėtnonimiia 'Povesti vremennykh let' v sviazi s zadachami rekonstruktsii vostochnoslavianskogo glottogeneza* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 226–29.

this scholarly work of the early decades of our century. Hrushevsky's masterly command of the historian's craft, his vast erudition, and his extraordinary intuitive powers combine to make his work not only a model and a highly instructive example of the *ars historica*, but also a repository of knowledge that remains vital even today, when further research has been accumulating for almost a century.

* * *

In introducing this volume, I begin by drawing attention to its well-considered structure: the lucid account of historical events in the text is accompanied by extensive documentation in the notes, amplified by short excursuses and polemical statements explaining the author's position on controversial questions. In Ukrainian historiography there was no existing model on which Hrushevsky could base his work. The eminent Russian historian Vasilii Kliuchevsky (1841–1911), a fine university lecturer with an exceptional gift for synthesis, had at his disposal two superbly documented works—Mikhail Karamzin's *History of the Russian State* and Sergei Solov'ev's *History of Russia*—when he was preparing his own *Lectures on Russian History*. Hrushevsky, on the other hand, was writing the history of a people whose identity, generally unacknowledged and reduced to that of a branch of the 'all-Russian' nation, was termed 'Little Russian.' The Ukrainian language was treated as a dialect, although it manifested closer links, even in its lexical stratum, with the language of Kyivan Rus' than did Russian. Hrushevsky the historian was well aware that under these circumstances, he would have to document the account of his people's history with the utmost care. That is why half of the first volume is taken up by a scholarly apparatus consisting of footnotes, notes, and excursuses. The German school of medieval studies, which required the author to present a readable discussion of his research base as well as a critical analysis of sources, served as a model for Hrushevsky's work.

Clarity and objectivity of presentation; critical interpretation of sources; the ability to pose and respond to questions about the fate, spiritual and material culture of the people, and their daily life, viewed in the broad context of general developments; stress on the history of the people, not of the state; attention to geographic, social and economic conditions—all this endows Hrushevsky's account of Ukrainian history with a continuing relevance, one not confined to its broad outlines despite the general progress of research. And these are not the only reasons why Hrushevsky's work is still not out of date. The corpus of written sources has remained unchanged, but it has been subject to various analyses and interpretations that can often be traced back to a priori conceptions. A strong heuristic sense and capacity for critical reflection led Hrushevsky to make interpretative choices that have, in general, stood the test of time. His use of linguistic data and the findings of linguistic research demonstrated similar qualities of moderation and intuition.

Archaeological discoveries have vastly increased the amount of evidence available to the historian. Although they have certainly broadened the scope of research, such discoveries have also provided ample opportunities for the hasty construction of a multitude of new hypotheses and for the oversimplification of archaeological evidence interpreted with reference to written records. Hrushevsky was one of the first historians to make use of archaeological sources. While acknowledging their importance, he remained well aware of their limitations.

* * *

Hrushevsky's method—innovative in his time but now generally accepted—was that of attempting, in the spirit of German historicism, to penetrate to the roots of the phenomena he was describing. Accordingly, his account of Ukrainian history proper, beginning toward the middle of the first millennium with the earliest East Slavic settlements, is preceded by a detailed outline of the prehistory of the Ukrainian lands from the Stone Age to late antiquity (pp. 17–121).² Hrushevsky made the original observation that despite the constant migration of peoples, the successive waves of acculturation and assimilation took place against the background of an older substratum of population that ensured cultural continuity and the sublimation of psycho-physical and anthropological characteristics. The formation of the Indo-Europeans on the forest-steppe border zone of eastern Europe became a stabilizing factor, fostering the eventual development of a pre-Slavic language through the assimilation of many peoples speaking a variety of languages. As evidence that the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans was located in eastern Europe, Hrushevsky pointed to their stable linguistic ties with the Finnish language and the lack of such ties with the Semitic languages. The influence of the latter would certainly have been apparent if Asia had been the cradle of the Indo-European peoples. Thus the ancestors of the Slavs did not occupy an unpopulated region, but merged with a long settled population. In this way, a significant number of the later East Slavic tribes that would be the basis for the formation of the Ukrainian people inhabited the autochthonous territory of the pre-Slavic language community.

Breaking with the tradition of commencing his account with the earliest written records, Hrushevsky turned to auxiliary historical disciplines: prehistoric archaeology, archaeological ethnology, sociology, and comparative linguistics. In drawing on the achievements of these new disciplines, as in his analysis of written sources, he was guided by an amazing intuition in the selection of interpretations and hypotheses formulated by older scholars and by his own contemporaries. We are in a position to appreciate his abilities from the perspective of the current state of research. Hrushevsky also made excellent use of his professional grounding in Slavic philology, archaeology, ethnology, and in Greek and Latin. He did not necessarily abide by received opinion, but changed his mind if the progress of research or his own reconsideration of a problem warranted it. For example, in the third edition of the first volume of his *History*, which is translated here, Hrushevsky introduced major revisions and expanded the text to include new developments in ethnogenetic, ethnogeographic, ethnological, and linguistic research. In the first edition, Hrushevsky accepted the scheme of development of Paleolithic cultures proposed by Gabriel and Adrien de Mortillet (3d ed.; 1900);³ in the third edition, under the influence of Moritz Hoernes (1909), he expressed considerable skepticism about applying a chronology determined by Alpine glaciation to the territory of southeastern Europe. Since research on Bronze-Age Ukraine was still in its infancy, Hrushevsky was unable to appreciate the importance of that period, but he accurately indicated the sources from which bronze had been acquired, as well as the lasting division of Ukraine into a southeastern steppe belt penetrated by pastoral settlers and a belt on the Right Bank of the Dnipro with an agricultural and stock-raising economy.⁴ Drawing attention to changes in decorative style from the Thracian

2. My assessment of Hrushevsky's outline on prehistory is based primarily on the penetrating analysis of my colleague Jerzy Okulicz-Kazarin, which was undertaken in conjunction with this translation project.

3. Complete bibliographic data for works cited here by author and year of publication in parentheses can be found in the volume's Bibliography, under the appropriate author's surname.

4. Cf. the collection of essays *Mezhplemennye svyazi epoki bronzy na territorii Ukrainy* (Kyiv, 1987).

Hallstatt culture through the Scytho-Sarmatian animal style to the so-called Gothic style of the first centuries A.D., Hrushevsky hypothesized that the type of culture attributed to the Iranian or Germanic peoples had in fact been adopted by all the ethnic groups of the Black Sea littoral and represented their common achievement. This sound observation fitted well with Hrushevsky's basic thesis concerning the integral development of the population inhabiting Ukrainian territory, whatever ethnic changes it may have undergone.

Hrushevsky's critical maturity and scholarly caution placed him well ahead of the prevailing standards of his time. On questions of anthropology, he was closer to the views of Rudolf Virchow (1883), then a lonely defender of racial mixing, than to the search of Gustaf Kossina (1902) for a 'pure race' corresponding to a single type of archaeological culture.⁵ Although he had great expectations for archaeological research, Hrushevsky, unlike many later scholars, understood that archaeological regions in themselves can tell us nothing about ethnicity.⁶ As for the influence of racial mixing on linguistic assimilation, he shared the views of such scholars as Isaac Taylor (1889) and Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1901).

Hrushevsky's account of the history of Greek colonization of the northern Black Sea littoral has not lost its relevance, although subsequent archaeological and epigraphic discoveries allow for the correction and amplification of his work.⁷ Hrushevsky's treatment of Scythia more as a geographic than an ethnic entity was innovative for his time and diverges even today from standard historiographic practice. Despite the accumulation of new archaeological evidence, Hrushevsky's characterization of ethnic relations along the tributaries of the middle Dnister and in eastern Subcarpathia remains useful, thanks to his excellent grasp of the relevant problems and identification of particularly sound hypotheses.⁸

Attempting to establish the continuity of Slavic settlement along the middle Dnipro since the earliest times, Hrushevsky regarded the Antae, whose presence on the lands between the Dnipro and Dnister Rivers could be demonstrated from the sixth century on, as the southern group of East Slavs that in time 'comprised that ethnic entity known today as the Ukrainian people' (p. 133). Their boundaries of settlement as defined by Hrushevsky correspond to the archaeological region of what is now known as the Penkivka culture. The thesis that the Antae were Slavs is now generally accepted, although there is a growing body of evidence to suggest their Alano-

5. One should recall here the opinion of R. Virchow. Speaking at an anthropological congress in Halle, he ironically remarked: 'I personally have failed to distinguish which is a Slavic skull and which is a Germanic one.' See R. Virchow, 'Über das Auftreten der Slaven in Deutschland,' *Correspondenzblatt der Deutschen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1900), p. 112.

6. This point of view is typical for the majority of contemporary scholars. More certain identifications are possible only for times with their own written records. See M. Wondowski, *Archäologische Kultur und ethnische Einheit. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Identifikation* (Frankfurt, New York, and Paris, 1995), 83 pp.

7. Cf. my editor's addition to Note 1, pp. 412–13. For a more detailed account, see M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), as well as the thorough review of research and basic bibliography in H. Łowmiański, 'Scythia,' in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* (henceforth *SSS*), 5 (1975): 101–19. Cf. also I. V. Kuklina, *Ėtnografii Skifii po antichnym istochnikam* (Leningrad, 1985).

8. Cf. S. Pachkova and M. A. Romanovskaia, 'Pamiatniki karpato-dnestrovskogo regiona kontsa I tys. do n.é.,' in *Slaviane na Dnestre i Dunae* (Kyiv, 1983), pp. 48–56; E. A. Rikman, *Ėtnicheskaia istoriia naseleniia Podnestrov'ia i priliegaiushchego Podunav'ia* (Moscow, 1975); L. V. Vakulenko, *Pam'iatky pidhir'ia Karpat pershoi polovyny I tysiacholittia n.é.* (Kyiv, 1977); O. M. Prikhodniuk, 'Rannelslavianskie poseleniia v srednem Podnestrov'e,' in *Rannesrednevekove vyostochnoslavianskie drevnosti* (Leningrad, 1974), pp. 216–26; B. O. Tymoshchuk, *Slov'iany pivnichnoi Bukovyny V–IX st.* (Kyiv, 1976); idem, *Davn'orus'ka Bukovyna* (Kyiv, 1982); cf. also my editor's addition to Note 7, pp. 429–30.

Iranian origins. To be sure, that does not exclude the possibility that their contacts with the Slavs led to gradual assimilation with the latter.⁹

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Hrushevsky's extraordinary sense of his sources, as well as his reluctance to base his own interpretations on dubious historical tradition, is superbly illustrated by his reticence concerning the report of the Arab historian al-Mas'udi about the Slavic tribe of the 'Valinana' and its king, Majak. Basing himself on the interpretation of this account by the Arabist J. Marquart, Kliuchevsky hypothesized the existence of the first East Slavic state between the sixth and eighth centuries, to wit, an intertribal association of the Volhynians and Dulibians led by their ruler, Majak.¹⁰ In the twentieth century, this hypothesis has gained broad acceptance. Although it fitted well with Hrushevsky's conviction about the early (pre-ninth century) appearance of political formations on East Slavic territory, the doubts that the Arabic narrative aroused in his mind led him to conclude that there was no compelling evidence of significant political organization in the Ukrainian lands before the rise of Kyiv and its local dynasts (pp. 288–89). Subsequent hermeneutic research undermined the credibility of the details of al-Mas'udi's account, and there was controversy about the correct reading of 'Valinana.' The correction of this name to 'Velitaba' allows one to identify them with Einhard's 'Velatabi' or with the West Slavic Veleti.¹¹

Another instance of Hrushevsky's sound intuition about his sources is his opinion of the narrative known as *Toparcha Gothicus*, published in three fragments by the Hellenist C. B. Hase as an appendix to his edition of Leo the Deacon (1819). Many eminent researchers attempted to establish the time and place of its composition. In an extensive footnote (pp. 352–53, fn. 72), Hrushevsky discussed the extant opinions and eschewed use of the work, guided by a conviction that proved him a born researcher: a text that cannot be placed or dated can by no means be regarded as a historical source. *Toparcha Gothicus* (also known as the Hase Anonymous) remained in scholarly circulation until a methodologically exemplary analytical study—doubtless inspired by the (perhaps subconscious) impulse of the great historian's skepticism—written by a preeminent contemporary Byzantinist presented overwhelming evidence to show that Hase had published a forgery of his own creation as a way of mocking history and historians.¹²

9. Cf. my editor's addition to Note 4, p. 420, as well as Khaburgaev, *Ėtnonimii*, pp. 99–103, who represents a viewpoint similar to Hrushevsky's.

10. J. Marquart (1903), pp. 101–2, 146–47; V. Kliuchevskii (1904), lecture 7, new edition; idem, *Sochineniia*, vol. I (Moscow, 1952), pp. 109–11 (1987 ed., pp. 122–24). Among those who adopted this interpretation were P. Tret'iakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 297–99; I. Froianov, *Kievskaiia Rus'* (Leningrad, 1980), pp. 14–15; and H. Paszkiewicz, *The Making of the Russian Nation* (London, 1963), p. 200.

11. Cf. H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 354–58; T. Lewicki, *SSS*, 6 (1977): 300; cf. A. M. H. Shboul, *Al-Mas'udi and His World: A Muslim Humanist and His Interest in Non-Muslims* (London, 1979), pp. 181–82, 219–20.

12. I. Ševčenko, 'The Date and Author of the So-Called Fragments of *Toparcha Gothicus*,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971): 115–88, reprinted in idem, *Byzantium and the Slavs* (Cambridge, Mass., and Naples, 1991), pp. 353–478. The author observed that many scholars 'have devoted studies to Hase's discovery; and few, if any, shared the philosophical resignation of the Ukrainian historian Hruševsk'kyj, who declared in 1913 that he would "dwell upon the Fragments no more," in view of their "utter obscurity"' (p. 366). I. Bozhilov's attempt to defend the authenticity of the 'Fragments' in his article, 'Hase's Anonyme and Ihor Ševčenko's Hypothesis,' *Byzantino-Bulgarica* (Sofia), 5 (1978): 245–59, is fatally flawed by the author's inadequate knowledge of the relevant sources.

* * *

In tracing the beginnings of Kyivan statehood to the period before the arrival of the Northmen in Rus', whose development he considered both indigenous and early, Hrushevsky did not question the role of the Varangians and the Riuryk dynasty in the building up of the Kyivan state. Yet Hrushevsky ascribed to the Northmen functions that might be termed auxiliary, readily apparent only by the eleventh century. This somewhat anti-Normanist stand was a reaction against the primitive view that associated the whole complex of developments leading to the establishment of Slavic statehood with the arrival and activities of the Northmen.¹³ Hrushevsky's retrospection into the deep past was also intended to counter assertions to the effect that Ukrainian society did not constitute a true nation, or, in any event, not a people capable of establishing its own state. The soundness of Hrushevsky's views on the indigenous origins of statehood among the East Slavs, predating the arrival of the Varangians, has been confirmed by research conducted in our own century.¹⁴ This research also shows that polemical fervor has prevented an impartial assessment of the role of the Scandinavian Vikings, despite obvious analogies in ninth- and tenth-century Western Europe.¹⁵ Still, if in the Carolingian state and Anglo-Saxon Britain the presence of the Vikings is perfectly obvious in light of the available written sources, in eastern Europe one is faced with an almost complete lack of evidence except for a late chronicle tradition. This has given rise to a welter of speculation and interpretation. Moreover, during the eighteenth century interest in the origins of Rus' statehood fed the ambitions of tsarist bureaucrats, predominantly German in origin. Wishing to see themselves as builders of the mighty Russian Empire, these bureaucrats came to regard the Germanic Northmen as their predecessors.

13. For the current state of research, see my editor's note to Excursus 2: 'The Normanist Theory,' pp. 491–92. The thesis of the local, southern origins of the name 'Rus,' which Hrushevsky supported, has been most thoroughly substantiated by H. Łowmiański. That view is supported by A. V. Nazarenko, who accepts the dating of the 'Geographus Bavarus,' in which the 'Ruzzi' are mentioned at the very beginning of the ninth century. Cf. A. V. Nazarenko, 'Ob imeni Rus' v nemetskih istochnikakh IX–XI vv.,' *Voprosy iazykoznanii*, 1980, no. 5, pp. 46–57. It appears much more likely, however, that the first portion of this monument dates from the 840s (see *SSS* 2 [1964]: 93–94), while the remainder of the text, which mentions the 'Ruzzi,' was composed in the latter half of the ninth century. Cf. W. H. Fritze, 'Geographus Bavarus,' *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 4 (1989): col. 1270.

14. For the next continuation of Hrushevsky's thesis, see the French resumé by H. Łowmiański, 'La genèse de l'Etat ruthène—Résultat d'un process interne,' in his *Les Slaves et leurs voisins dans l'antiquité et au Moyen-Âge* (Wrocław, 1993), pp. 113–33.

15. Cf. H. Zettel, *Das Bild der Normannen und der Normanneneinfälle in westfränkischen, ostfränkischen und angelsächsischen Quellen des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1977). D. Walker, *The Normans in Britain* (Oxford, 1994); *Scandinavian Settlements in Northern Britain*, ed. B. E. Crawford (Leicester, 1995). Archaeological evidence compensates only in part for the lack of written sources for the East Slavs between the eighth and tenth centuries. See A. Stalsberg, 'Scandinavian Relations with Northwestern Russia during the Viking Age: The Archeological Evidence,' *Journal of Baltic Studies* 13 (1982): 267–95; O. Motsia, 'Pytannia etnichnoho skladu naseleennia davnoho Kyieva (za materialamy nekropoliv),' *Arkheolohiia* 31 (1979): 28–36 (includes the Scandinavians); idem, *Naseleennia pivdenno-rus'kykh zemel' IX–XIII st. (za materialamy nekrolohiv)* (Kyiv, 1993), pp. 103–40. Toponymy offers limited insights: for an interesting attempt to interpret such evidence, see G. Schramm, 'Normannische Stützpunkte in Nordwestrusland: Etappen einer Reichsbildung im Spiegel der Namen,' *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, n.s. 17 (1982): 273–90; idem, 'Altruslands Anfänge und die Nordhäfen des Schwarzen Meeres: Historische Aufschlüsse aus Ortsnamenentlehnungen,' *Russia Mediaevalis* 6, pt. 1 (1987): 7–29; idem, 'Die normannischen Namen für Kiev und Novgorod,' *Russia Mediaevalis* 5, pt. 1 (1984): 76–102. It should be noted that the origin of the name 'Rus' itself, as well as the origin of the people (i.e., the ethnos) or of the state employing that name, constitute separate, autonomous research problems. Not infrequently, one encounters a tendency to equate the origin of the name with the social or political phenomena denoted by that name.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, two opposing principles clashed in the Ukrainian-Russian contest over the legacy of Kyivan Rus': Ukrainians stressed the history of the people, while Russians emphasized the history of the state. Rejecting the scheme that envisioned Russian history as that of a state ruled successively from Kyiv, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, Hrushevsky denied that the Russians shared directly in the legacy of Kyivan Rus'. In his view, that legacy belonged to the people who still inhabited the core of the Kyivan state, i.e., the middle Dnipro region. It did not belong to the inhabitants of the multiethnic periphery, where the process of assimilation to Slavdom had proceeded with varying intensity. He saw the twelfth-century Vladimir-Suzdal Principality and its population as the beginning of the Muscovite and Russian state tradition. Hrushevsky's view, according to which only the Ukrainian people and, to a limited extent, the Belarusians inherited fully the legacy of Kyivan Rus', is not accepted by most Western and Russian historians today. Yet even those who do not accept it can understand its significance as a protest against the ultra-nationalist, great-power chauvinist Russian view that ascribed the entire legacy of Kyivan Rus' to Moscow alone.¹⁶

Hrushevsky showed convincingly what subsequent research has confirmed: the invalidity of the notion that activity and settlement on the Dnipro territories around Kyiv declined as a result of mass migration to the northeast in the wake of the Mongol invasion and that the territory was not resettled until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁷ Continuity of settlement on the territories from the Dnipro to the Buh and Sian Rivers, which became part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—or the Lithuanian-Rus' state¹⁸—and of Poland, has been established beyond reasonable doubt by onomastic research, the vocabulary of everyday life, and the differentiation of the inhabitants of those lands (Rus', *Rutheni*, *Russi*, *Rusini*) from those of the Muscovite state (Muscovia, *Muscovitae*) by their western neighbors, most notably the Poles. The ties of this population with the Kyivan Rus' legacy are self-evident. It is another matter that over the course of centuries consciousness of this tie became weaker, while ruling elites in the Muscovite state cultivated such memories, the better to lay claim to any and all lands that had ever been ruled by princes of the Riurykide dynasty. The 'Great Russian' people, now constituted as a Russian nation as a result of assimilative processes that intermingled East Slavs with the Finno-Ugric population, saw their origins in Kyivan Rus'. Indeed, in Imperial Russia, Kyivan Rus' was seen as exclusively a Russian heritage. During the Soviet period, the constant refrain of the 'common cradle' and 'brotherhood' amounted in practice to the obligatory acknowledgement, on pain of punishment for treason, of common statehood and hierarchical brotherhood. In this arrangement, Belarusians and Ukrainians were relegated to the status of younger brothers. Ukraine's recovery of its independence and the consequent change in attitude of all its neighbors, without exception,

16. Cf. J. Pelenski, 'The Origins of the Official Muscovite Claims to the Kievan Inheritance,' *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (henceforth *HUS*), 1 (1977): 29–52; and idem, 'The Origins of the Muscovite Ecclesiastical Claims to the Kievan Inheritance (Early Fourteenth Century to 1458/61),' in *Christianity of the Eastern Slavs*, California Slavic Studies 16, pt. 1 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993), pp. 102–15.

17. See O. Dovzhenok, 'Srednee Podneprov'e posle tataro-mongol'skogo nastestviia,' in *Drevniaia Rus' i slaviane* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 76–82; G. Ivakin, *Kiev v XIII–XIV vekakh* (Kyiv, 1982), pp. 12–23, 57–65, 82–102; S. A. Beliaeva, *Iuzhnorusskie zemli vo vtoroi polovine XIII–XIV v. (po materialam arkhelogicheskikh issledovani)* (Kyiv, 1982). See also the papers in the collection *Zemli Iuzhnoi Rusi v IX–XIV vv.* (Kyiv, 1985). On the basis of his analysis of dialects, I. Matviias posits a wave of settlers who came to the territories along the Dnipro from Volhynia and Podilia. See his 'Sumizhni hovory tr'okh ukrains'kykh narich,' in *Strukturni rivni ukrains'kykh hovoriv* (Kyiv, 1985), pp. 3–22.

18. Cf. F. M. Shabul'do, 'Pro pochatok pryiednannia Velykym Kniazivstvom Lytovskym zemel' pivdenno-zakhidnoi Rusi,' *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (henceforth *UIZh*), 1984, no. 6, pp. 39–40.

will surely lead to a thorough discussion of origins and traditions. The republication of Hrushevsky's works in Ukraine will undoubtedly play a major role in the discussion.

It is also worth noting that the instrumental use of history for wholly contemporary ends has not been limited to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict over the legacy of Kyivan Rus'. It is reminiscent of the intensely bitter polemics over the Merovingian and Carolingian legacy carried on in the past and not yet completely extinguished in French and German historiography. That dispute also entailed a search for roots and national traditions and featured an attempt to distinguish the roles of the Gallic and Germanic elements.¹⁹

* * *

Mykhailo Hrushevsky's great synthesis of Ukrainian history is a work of lasting value in historiography.²⁰ It is amazing that the work of a single scholar—and here, given my own area of competence, I shall limit myself to an assessment of the first three volumes, which take the account to the year 1340—is more relevant and better attuned to the current state of research than the multivolume histories of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic that squandered the efforts of many historians and archaeologists. What was required of them, however, was not so much the professional accomplishment of their tasks as the capacity to follow instructions. These histories, written by many authors working at various levels of competence and deserving of a nuanced assessment, were churned out to the rhythm of successive congresses and plenums of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.²¹

As an example, let us take the first volume (published in 1981) of the representative ten-volume Russian-language history of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.²² The entire 'scholarly apparatus' consists of references to the classics of Marxism, Lenin, and Brezhnev, together with Communist Party resolutions up to and including the year 1981, when the thirteenth volume of the resolutions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was published. There are no bibliographic notes, not even a general list at the end of the volume. References to a limited number of authors prominently mentioned in the text are not accompanied by more complete bibliographic information about the works discussed or noted in passing. The periodization is adjusted to that of Russian history: breaking off the account in the mid-thirteenth century deliberately removes Galician-Volhynian Rus' from the first volume in order to blur the obvious continuity of Kyivan statehood despite the Mongol invasion. This continuity is more apparent in the western lands of Rus' than in the northeast, in Vladimir-Suzdal Rus', which was more severely burdened by the Tatar yoke and where, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, there were indications of the rise of the Muscovite state.²³ For the

19. The opposing historical arguments receive a scholarly assessment in the studies of K. F. Werner, *Vom Frankenreich zur Entfaltung Deutschlands und Frankenreichs* (Sigmaringen, 1984). See also his comments on the Frankish and Gallic myths in *Les Origines: Avant l'an mil*, Histoire de France (Paris, 1984), pp. 19–46.

20. An apt assessment of the historiosophic and historiographic foundations of Hrushevsky's work was given by O. Pritsak in *Istoriiosofii ta istoriohrafii Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho* (Kyiv and Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 5–59.

21. Several multivolume histories of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were published in Russian and Ukrainian during the last half-century. The only English version available is the encyclopedic work entitled *Soviet Ukraine* (Kyiv, 1969).

22. *Istoriia Ukrainskoi SSR v desiaty tomakh*, vol. 1: *Pervobytnyi stroi i zarozhdenie klassovogo obshchestva: Kievskaiia Rus' (do vtoroi poloviny XIII veka)* (Kyiv, 1981), 495 pp.

23. J. L. I. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200–1304* (London, 1983); idem, *The Emergence of Moscow*,

Ukrainian lands, a more fundamental break occurred ca. 1340, when the fall of Galician-Volhynian Rus' initiated the period of the Lithuanian-Rus' state and of Polish sovereignty.

It is instructive to compare the treatment of Kyiv's origins in the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* (1913) with that in the *History of the Ukrainian SSR* (1981). Hrushevsky, who had no access to the rich archaeological evidence unearthed by subsequent excavations, nevertheless opted for an early date for the founding of Kyiv (p. 302). As he searches for Kyiv's origins as a political or trading center, Hrushevsky explains his line of reasoning to the reader, whether he is attempting to establish the existence of Kyiv by the ninth century or proposing the hypothesis that it might have been functioning as a trade center under Khazar control as early as the second half of the seventh (p. 302). Hrushevsky clearly notes that the latter hypothesis is based on the shaky foundations of oral tradition. Modern archaeological research confirms the presence of a few rural settlements on the hills of Kyiv, but associates the city's functioning as an economic and political center only with the last decades of the ninth century and with the tenth century.²⁴ Certain resemblances between the settlement pattern of Kyiv and some Khazar towns allow one to posit the influence of Khazar dominion on its development, as Hrushevsky assumed, but do not confirm an early date for its founding. The *History of the Ukrainian SSR*, on the other hand, dates the origins of Kyiv to the end of the fifth century (p. 326) and sends its founder, Kyi, to Constantinople for negotiations with the Byzantine emperor. The author of the passage in question—all too conscious, perhaps, of the ludicrousness of this fable—invokes the authority of 'scholars' and of B. Rybakov. The latter is indeed the originator of the notion of the '1500th anniversary of Kyiv,' created at the behest of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in order to divert attention from the millennium of Christianity in Rus', which was then approaching.²⁵ The fabricated anniversary is not worthy of mention except to point out the authorities' utter contempt for their subjects and their thoroughly cynical manipulation of historical facts. Abandonment of civic responsibility and obedience to those in power were the price that many scholars, like many of their fellow citizens, paid in order to survive in the Soviet system.

The list of examples of authorial unreliability could, unfortunately, be extended. Among the most irritating is the thoroughly servile attitude to the writings of B. Rybakov, although it is well known that this archaeologist, whose work invariably overflows with conjectures, rarely takes account of the results of research or the exigencies of scholarly method. It is, at the very least, an impropriety to identify him as the originator of the thesis, 'best corresponding to the standards of current scholarship' (ibid., p. 257), of the original homeland of the Slavs between the Dnipro and the Oder, for that idea has a long history and numerous proponents.²⁶ The

1304–1359 (London, 1968); H. Paszkiewicz, *The Rise of Moscow's Power* (New York, 1984).

24. See V. Mezentsev, 'The Emergence of the Podil and the Genesis of the City of Kiev: Problems of Dating,' *HUS* 10 (1986): 48–70. E. Mühle's 'Die Anfänge Kiews (bis zum 980) in archeologischer Sicht: Ein Forschungsbericht,' *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 35 (1987): 86–101, includes an exhaustive bibliography on this subject. See also J. Callmer, 'The Archeology of Kiev to the End of the Earliest Urban Phase,' *HUS* 11 (1987): 323–64.

25. The intentions of the Soviet authorities in promoting this pseudo-commemoration were correctly divined by O. Pritsak, even though the specifics were unknown to him, in his article, 'Za kulisamy proholoshennia 1500-littia Kyieva,' *Suchasnist'*, 1981, no. 9, pp. 46–54.

26. Perhaps the first to formulate the hypothesis extending the 'proto-homeland' of the Slavs from the Dnipro to the Oder was A. Pogodin (1901). The idea had many subsequent champions. In his *History* (vol. 1, 3d ed., pp. 69–77 of the Ukrainian original; pp. 50–56 of this volume), Hrushevsky himself, in referring to the literature on this subject, defined that homeland as extending from the Dnipro to the Carpathians and the Vistula. Later the linguist F. I. Filin

assertion is accompanied by a rehearsal (*ibid.*, pp. 255–57) of Rybakov's utterly fantastic interpretation of the well-known description of Scythia by the Greek geographer and historian Herodotus (fifth century B.C.). Rybakov treated Herodotus's excursus as a brainteaser, introducing the Proto-Slavs into the Greek historian's account (he was not the first to do so) and thus shifting their origins to the middle of the second millennium B.C., that is to say, two thousand years before the first documented traces indicating the presence of the Slavs.²⁷ It does not seem to have occurred to him that, over such a long period, the ethnic situation must have changed many times. Giving free rein to his imagination, Rybakov traced Herodotus's precise Scythian itinerary on the map, although, while he was working on his book, another researcher expressed well-founded doubt that Herodotus had ever visited the northern shores of the Black Sea.²⁸ Such fantasizing proved too much even for the normally submissive. A very cautious, delicately worded criticism of the merits of Rybakov's work was all that could be ventured at the time,²⁹ and that in itself was an act of courage. Only after the collapse of the Soviet Union did it become possible to publish the judicious conclusion that Rybakov had presented a fantastic and wholly undocumented interpretation of Herodotus's visit to Scythia.³⁰ How superior in quality, then, are Hrushevsky's own observations on Herodotus's Scythian passage!

It is not my intention to belittle the rich and painstaking contributions of archaeologists, historians, and scholars from other disciplines to the study of the East Slavs during the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the development of scholarly and auxiliary

did so as well (in *Obrazovanie iazyka vostochnykh slavian* [1962], pp. 147–51), but he extended it farther north, to the Nemunas (Neman) River and the Valdai Hills, as did J. Werner, 'Bemerkungen zum nordwestlichen Siedlungsgebiet der Slawen im 4–6 Jahrhundert,' in *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1981), pp. 695–701. For tendencies in research, see K. Jażdżewski, 'Prajczyzna Słowian,' *JSS*, 4 (1970): 301–3; V. Sedov, *Proiskhozhdienie i ranniia istoriia slavian* (Moscow, 1979); and two collections of papers, *Problemy étnogenezy slavian* (Kyiv, 1978) and *Slaviane: Étnogenez i étnicheskaia istoriia* (Leningrad, 1989); K. W. Struve, 'Die Ethnogenese der Slawen aus der Sicht der Vor- und Frühgeschichte,' in *Ethno-genese europäischer Völker*, ed. B. Kandel-Pálsson (Stuttgart and New York, 1986), pp. 297–321. For a good survey of the current state of research, see C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 48–102.

27. B. Rybakov, *Gerodotova Skifiia: Istoriko-geograficheskii analiz* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 195–238, on the 'Proto-Slavs.' Rybakov discerns their presence in the middle of the second millennium B.C. and shifts the formation of the East Slavic tribes to the Scythian period of the ninth to third centuries B.C. (Cf. his bold conjectures in *Istoriia SSSR*, 1981, no. 1, pp. 55–75, and *UIZh*, 1981, no. 10, pp. 39–53.) Like S. P. Dunn, who reviewed another of Rybakov's works (*Slavic Review* 42 [1983]: 683–84), one can comment that this book, too, is 'confusing and annoying.' Goehrke (*Frühzeit*, p. 64) aptly notes that Rybakov 'verges on the ludicrous' at this point. For the sake of precision, it should be noted that neither here nor in his other works does Rybakov claim to have originated the thesis of the proto-homeland of the Slavs from the Dnipro to the Oder, although he gives it his own distinct coloration. *Istoriia Ukrain'skoi SSR* (I: 256–57) exhibits particularly odious sycophancy toward this favorite of Soviet power, its trusted servant and plenipotentiary on the 'historical front.' Much depended on him, but there were scholars who maintained their self-respect and did not lose their positions (at the price of silence, to be sure). In the volume under discussion, Rybakov is mentioned seventeen times, while there is no mention at all of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, who established the foundations of Ukrainian historical scholarship. The heaping of inordinate praise on every successive publication by the 'eminent authority' contributed to the loss of a healthy critical attitude on the part of this able researcher toward his own work. Consequently, Rybakov began to fictionalize it with conjectures that departed increasingly from the principles of scholarly method.

28. See A. O. Kimball Armayor, 'Did Herodotus Ever Go to the Black Sea?,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82 (1978): 45–62.

29. A. A. Neikhardt, *Skifskii rasskaz Gerodota v otechestvennoi istoriografii* (Leningrad, 1982), pp. 96, 129–30, 139, 153–62, 227, 230.

30. A. Rusianova, 'Do pytan'nia pro podorozh Herodota v Skifiu,' *Arkheolohiia* (Kyiv), 1993, no. 4, pp. 14–23.

institutions led to the hiring of unmotivated, poorly educated, and, in some instances, thoroughly incompetent people. There is no need to name names: in the cases of those who have published, their works stand as testimony. A special case was the preparation of collective works of various types: synthetic overviews, compendia, and textbooks. Teams of authors, carefully overseen by party 'guardian angels,' were put together for such projects. It is no accident that collective works of this kind contain the greatest number of irrelevancies, imprecise formulations, and inaccuracies, not excluding outright falsifications.³¹ Prejudice has not guided the choice of one particular synthesis of Ukrainian history as the source of the several examples cited here, for in fact this *History of the Ukrainian SSR* is one of the better works of its kind, containing well-documented, objective explanations of particular questions. Still, a random glance at any such work suffices to identify passages that show the genre at its worst. For all the prolific and detailed research conducted during the Soviet period, no genuine, reliable synthesis of Ukrainian history was produced.³²

Hrushevsky's work remains indispensable. If in certain details it presents a picture that is not completely up-to-date, it is still generally accurate, clearly written and, most importantly, reliable and solidly documented, a product of the most rigorous research methods applied by a professional medievalist. The *History of Ukraine-Rus'* is not only the best available synthesis as regards quality of exposition, but also the starting point for the verification and continuation of research in Ukrainian history. Hrushevsky's work should find its way onto the bookshelf of every Ukrainian who wishes to obtain an undistorted version of the history of his homeland. It must become an integral component of the research base and a cardinal point of comparison for a new synthesis of Ukrainian history.³³

I strongly commend Hrushevsky's work to the international community, which is beginning to take note of the new state with more than 50 million inhabitants on the map of Europe. Hrushevsky's *History* will be useful to those who wish to understand this country and its people—a nation that has finally become sovereign in its own state, and upon whose will the fortunes of that state depend.

31. On p. 450 of the same first volume of the *History of the Ukrainian SSR*, the reader is told that the principal church of the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves, originally built in the years 1073–89, was 'destroyed by the German fascist occupiers in 1941.' Yet it is no secret that the mining and demolition of the church were the work of the Soviets. Nor is this the only sanctuary whose destruction has been mendaciously attributed to the Nazis. Accusing the Nazis of actions they did not commit serves to diminish their actual barbarism and criminality by calling the facts into question.

32. In his brief article 'Zvidky pokhodyt' Rus'ka zemlia' ('Whence comes the Rus' land'—*Nauka i suspil'stvo*, 1985, no. 6, pp. 32–33), Rybakov exhorts his readers to struggle against the falsifiers of their history, beginning with the eleventh-century chronicler Nestor. Would it not be appropriate to start by debunking the falsifications of our own times? It turned out to be fortunate that after 1934 it was forbidden in Soviet Ukraine to cite Hrushevsky and his works, for this prevented them from being disfigured and made to conform to the resolutions and immediate needs of the party of Lenin and Stalin. Since Lenin himself termed Hrushevsky 'a bearer of anti-scientific bourgeois-nationalist theories,' his works were not cited even in bibliographies. (Cf. the synthetic overview of Ukrainian history in *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 14 [Moscow, 1973], pp. 721–77, esp. 774, where Hrushevsky receives a single mention as the particular 'bearer' of these 'anti-scientific' ideas.)

33. The recently published work by P. Tolochko (and others), entitled *Davnia istoriia Ukrainy*, 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1995; 240 pp. and 224 pp.), bears the marked influence of Hrushevsky's scholarly legacy.

Glossary

baba (kamiana baba)—an anthropomorphic stone statue found in the steppe zone of Europe and Asia
bohатыr—hero, epic hero
boiar—boyar, member of ruling stratum in Old Rus'
chervinets'—gold coin; dinar
chervonyi—gold piece
dan'—tribute; donation; gift
desiatnia—a ten
desiats'kyi—head of a ten
druzhyna—retinue
dvir—court, residence
horod—fortified settlement or town; burg
horodok—a small *horod*
horodyshe—site of a fortified settlement; a burg or fortified town
hryvnia—a monetary unit or a unit of weight in Old Rus'
kurhan—barrow
mohyla—tomb, burial mound, grave; barrow
namisnyk—lieutenant
pidruchnyk—subordinate
poliudie—expedition to collect circuit tribute

pomianyк—commemoration register
posadnyk—lieutenant
pravlinnia—government, administration
pryhorody—by-towns, dependent towns
rid—clan; kin; stock
sotnia—a hundred
sotnyi, sots'kyi—head of a hundred
stanytsia (Russian stanitsa)—Cossack settlement
strategos (pl. strategoi)—military commander
terem—stone tower, princely residence
tochky—platforms, earthen elevations
tysiacha—a thousand
tysiats'kyi—chiliarch; head of a thousand
tyvun—steward
ukhody—refuge; hunting or fishing grounds
viche—popular assembly
vira—wergild, bloodwite
voievoda—voivode, military commander
volost'—domain; district
zadruga—type of extended family among the Slavs, especially the Serbs
zemlia—land, *terra*





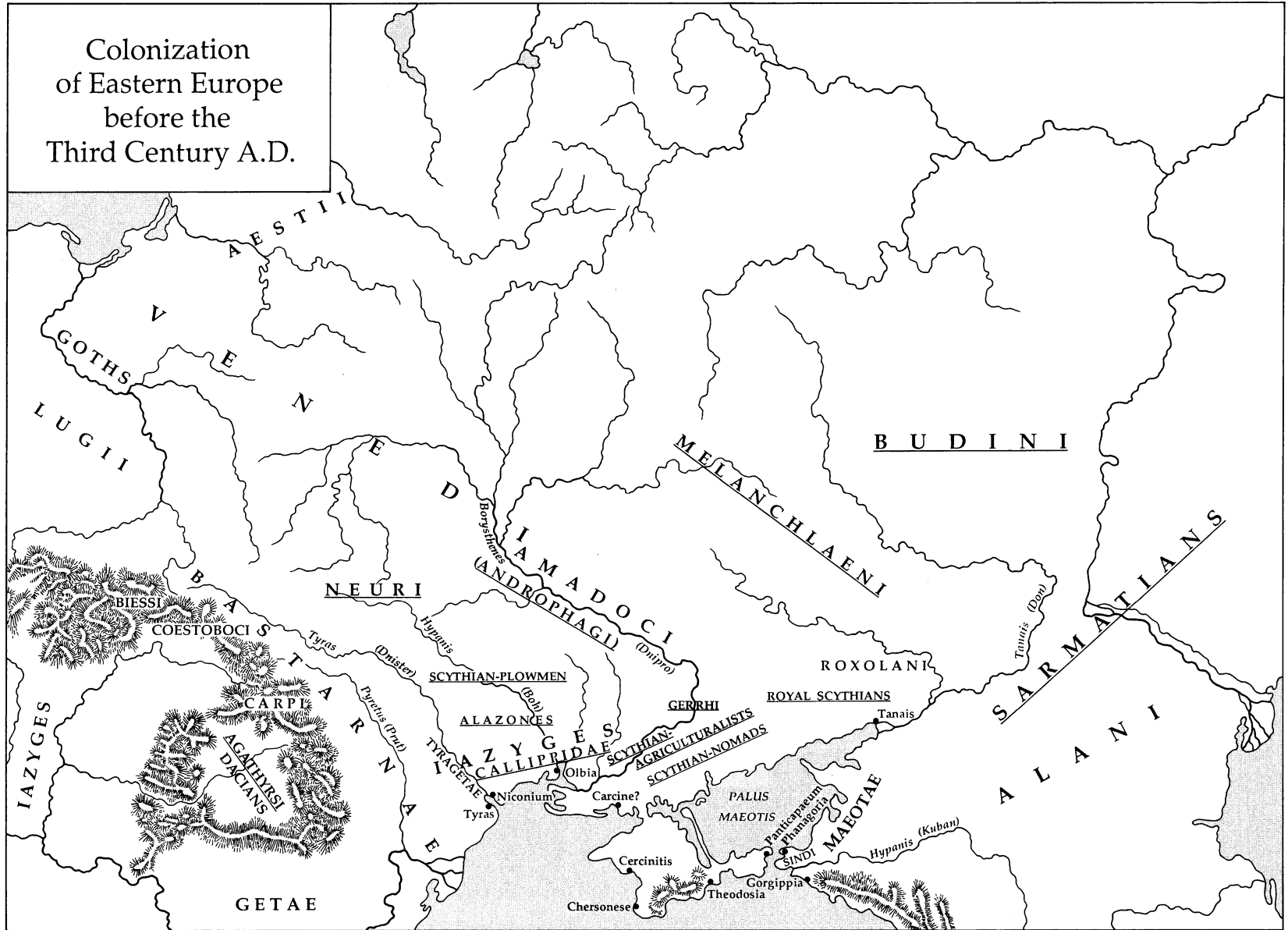
Explanatory Note to Maps

The first map, 'Colonization of Eastern Europe before the Third Century A.D.,' serves to illustrate information given by ancient sources about the colonization of Ukrainian territory. Generally speaking, the map presents two chronological strata—the geography of Herodotus and the information given by Strabo and Ptolemy; in order to distinguish between them, the ethnonyms in Herodotus are underlined. The locations of peoples on the map are obviously approximate, especially in the case of the Scythian tribes of Herodotus.

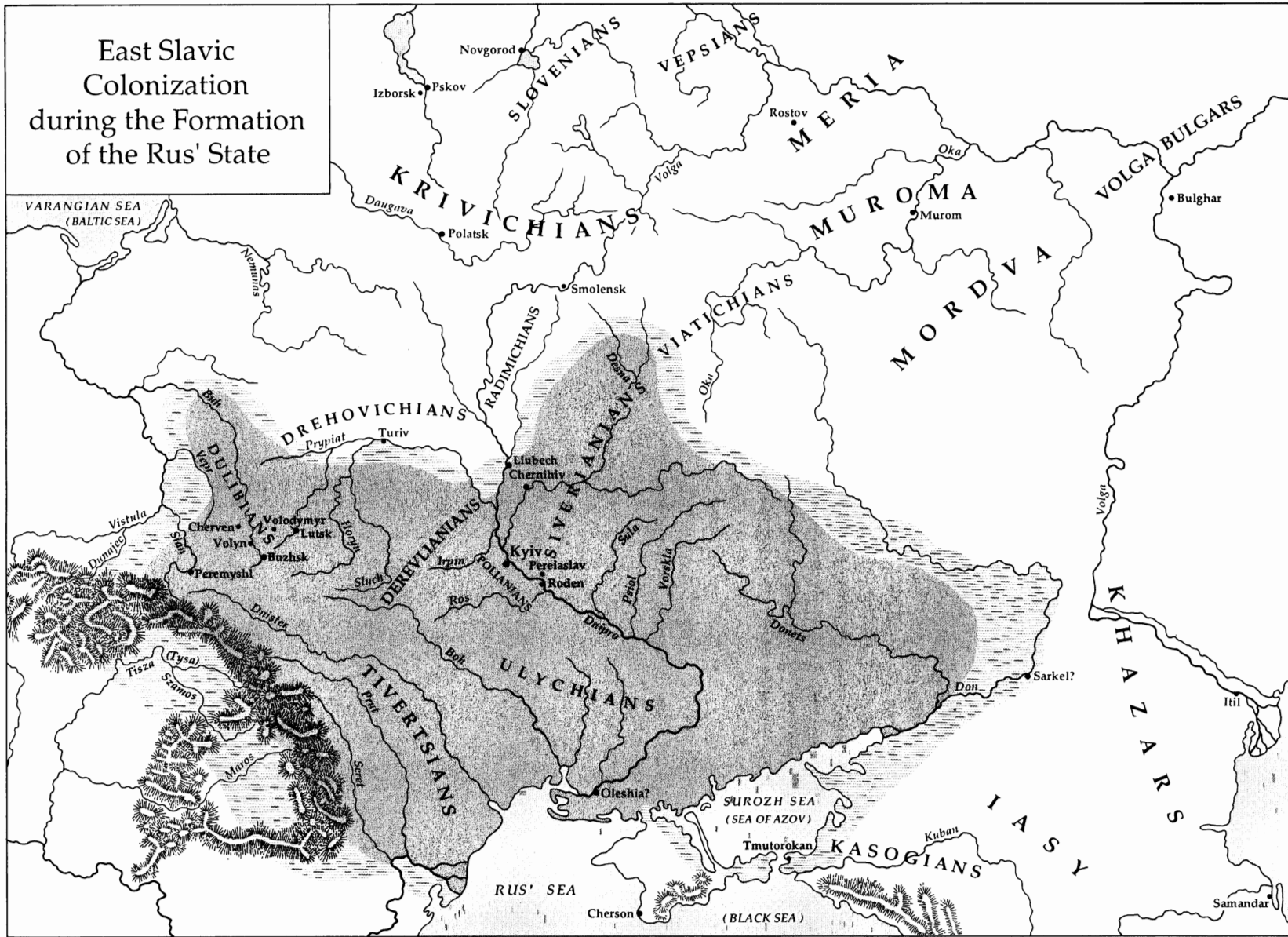
The second map, 'East Slavic Colonization during the Formation of the Rus' State,' gives the settlement of the East Slavic and neighboring tribes on the basis of the Primary Chronicle and other sources of the ninth and tenth centuries, preceding the disturbances in the colonization of the Black Sea region brought about by the Pecheneg movement. The shaded portion of the map indicates the territory occupied, as may be surmised, by the Ukrainian-Rus' tribes (the southern group of the East Slavic branch) during the period of their broadest diffusion, preceding later losses of areas of settlement. In some instances, to be sure, this denotation is only probable and hypothetical; the horizontal lines mark dubious locations and mixed border regions or sparsely populated lands. The towns indicated are either those cited in the sources or those that certainly existed in the tenth century.

Uncertain but probable places of settlement are followed by question marks.

Colonization
of Eastern Europe
before the
Third Century A.D.



East Slavic
Colonization
during the Formation
of the Rus' State



Preface to the Third Edition

This book appears considerably revised in its new edition. It contains a great deal of new material as compared with its predecessors, and some older sections have been rewritten for this edition. On the formal side, material from the endnotes has been transferred to footnotes. The maps have been omitted, since they now appear in the popular edition.* More recent literature has been consulted, but references to less important earlier works have been dropped in order to prevent the excessive expansion of the work. The larger format has also generally accommodated the volume's expansion, hence the number of pages has increased rather insignificantly in relation to the augmentation of the contents.

The book has been in press for a long time, which accounts for a degree of inconsistency in the use of more recent literature. The early chapters were printed in 1910, while in drafting the later ones I was able to benefit from scholarly publications that appeared in 1911.

M. H.
August 1912

* [The maps are included in this volume—*Eds.*]

Preface to the First Edition

We do not yet possess a scholarly history of the Ukrainian-Rus' people encompassing the entire period of its historical existence. Thus my work, whatever its inadequacies, should prove useful. Its general outline is given in the introductory chapter below, and the appearance of further volumes will depend on the circumstances attending my work. I hope to produce at least the next several volumes in short order.

My original intention was to produce a more popular book accessible to the broadest circles of our society. On further reflection, I changed my purpose: at the present state of development of our historiography, it seemed to me far more important to produce a strictly scholarly course that would afford an introduction to the discipline and acquaint the reader with the current state of research on the problems of our history. That has been my purpose. At the same time, without compromising the scholarly character of my work, I have sought to make it as accessible as possible to a broader public. To that end, I have relegated all specialized material to notes at the end of the volume, limiting the footnotes to strictly explanatory references. I have also reserved the end of the volume for the detailed treatment of two problems—our earliest chronicle and the Normanist theory of the origins of Rus'.

My *Vyimky z zherel do istorii Ukraïny-Rusy* (Excerpts from sources for the history of Ukraine-Rus', 1895), which collects the major texts of foreign sources for this period, may serve as an aid to the reading of the present volume. I would ask the reader to begin by correcting the errors noted at the end of this volume, as some of them affect the text.

I am gratified that the appearance of this book coincides with the centennial of our national rebirth. Let it be a greeting to that event. Our history presents us with a generally unhappy image, more somber in some respects than other histories, but a society that believes in itself must also have the courage to confront the unvarnished truth about its past in order to draw strength, not discouragement, from it. 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free'—even after fifty years we may repeat this motto of the activists of our national renaissance, adding only 'liberty' and 'labor' as the indispensable concomitants of knowledge in our progress toward winning a better future for our people.

M. H.
The Hrushevsky estate
August 1898

I

Introductory Remarks

This work seeks to trace the historical development of the life of the Ukrainian people or of those ethnopolitical groups that form what we think of today as the Ukrainian people (*narod*), known also as the 'Little Rus' (*malorus'kyi*), 'South Rus' (*pivdenno-rus'kyi*), simply 'Rus' (*rus'kyi*),* or 'Ruthenian' (*rusyns'kyi*) people. The diversity of designations is of no particular significance, because the entity to which all these names refer is unambiguous. The existence of more than one name is of interest only insofar as it reveals the vicissitudes of fortune that characterize the history of the Ukrainian people. During the period of this people's political and cultural decline, its ancient historical names—*Rus'* [people and country], *Rusyn* [person], *rus'kyi* [adjective]—were appropriated by the Russian people,** whose cultural and political life evolved out of the traditions of the Old Rus' state. Russian political entities—the Grand Principality of Vladimir and, later, that of Moscow—considered themselves the heirs and successors of this Old Rus' (Kyivan) state, primarily because of their dynastic links with the ruling dynasty of Kyiv. As early as the fourteenth century, by which time political predominance had passed to the Russians and Ukrainian political life was centered in western Ukraine, in the Galician-Volhynian state, the name 'Little Rus' (*Mala Rus'*) was attached to that latter state. Thus, in a charter issued in 1335, Iurii-Bolesław, the ruler of Galicia-Volhynia, used the title 'duke of all Little Rus' (*dux totius Russie Mynoris*).¹ In the fourteenth century, more frequent use of this designation is found in charters issued by the Byzantine Patriarchate, where the name (ἡ Μικρὰ Ῥωσία) is employed to distinguish the Galician-Volhynian eparchies from the northern, Muscovite lands.² It is possible that in using the name 'Little Rus' Iurii-Bolesław was influenced by Byzantine ecclesiastical terminology. The name later fell into disuse and reappeared only in the seventeenth century, after the Ukrainians had been incorporated into the Muscovite state and the need arose to distinguish them from the Muscovites. It was then that the terms 'Little Russian' (*malorossiiskii*) and 'Little Russia' (*Malorossia*) were adopted as official designations, remaining such in Russia to the present day. The effect of this official terminology has been to supplant the earlier names of the Ukrainian people and their territory in literary usage in Russia and in western Europe (thus we now find *kleinrussisch* in German, *petit-russe* in French, etc.). Among the Ukrainians, however, the name 'Little Russia' did not take hold; instead, the names 'Ukraine' (*Ukraina*) and 'Ukrainian' (*ukraïns'kyi*) gradually came into widespread use. In the sixteenth century this

* [The adjectival form *rus'kyi*, often translated as 'Russian,' is rendered as 'Rus' throughout this text.—Eds.]

** [In Hrushevsky's original the adjective is *velykorosiis'kyi* ('Great Russian'), a term he often uses as a synonym for *rosiis'kyi* ('Russian'). Here both these terms, as well as *velykorus'kyi* (often used as a synonym for *velykorosiis'kyi*), are translated as 'Russian.' The terms 'Great Russian' and 'Great Russians' appear only when there is a specific terminological reason to use them.—Eds.]

1. Facsimile published in the collection of materials and studies of the St. Petersburg Academy: *Boleslav-Iurii II*, table 9.

2. Thus in a charter issued by Emperor John Kantakouzenos in 1347: *RIB*, vol. 6, supp. 3; also in later charters.

ancient term, which during the Old Rus' period had meant 'borderland,'³ was applied exclusively to the middle Dnipro [Dnieper] region, which by the end of the fifteenth century had become a very dangerous borderland indeed, subject to repeated attacks by the Tatars. The name 'Ukraine' assumed particular significance in the seventeenth century, when this region of eastern Ukraine became the center and symbol of the Ukrainian revival, and, in harsh antithesis to the sociopolitical and national order of the Polish state, concentrated in itself the aspirations, dreams, and hopes of modern Ukraine. The name 'Ukraine' became indissolubly linked with these aspirations and hopes, with this exuberant outburst of Ukrainian national life, which became for later generations a luminous torch and inexhaustible source of national and sociopolitical consciousness and of hope for the possibility of rebirth and growth. During the literary renaissance of the nineteenth century, the name 'Ukraine' became a symbol of Ukrainian national life. As awareness of the continuity and uninterruptedness of ethnopolitical Ukrainian life grew, the Ukrainian name gradually came to encompass the entire history of the Ukrainian people. In order to underscore the link between modern Ukrainian life and its ancient traditions, the name was also employed (during the final quarter of the last century) in the compound forms 'Ukraine-Rus' and 'Ukrainian-Rus' (*ukraïns'ko-rus'kyi* [adjective, also translated as 'Ukrainian-Ruthenian']), wherein the old traditional name was combined with the new term representing national rebirth and the national movement. Recently, however, the single appellations 'Ukraine' and 'Ukrainian' are becoming increasingly common in Ukrainian and other literatures, replacing other designations. In our study, we shall use both this new term and the old designations 'Rus'/Ruthenian' (*rus'kyi*) and 'Old Rus' (*starorus'kyi*), as well as the compound adjective 'Ukrainian-Rus', as they apply to the period and concept under discussion, even though all these names are identical and refer to the entity that we know today as the Ukrainian people: its territory and history, both present and past, and those ethnopolitical groups, organizations, and forms from which modern Ukrainian life has emerged. To denote the whole complex of East Slavic groups that contemporary philologists usually call 'Russian' (*russisch, russe*), we shall use the name 'East Slavic' to avoid any confusion with the historical meaning of the terms 'Rus' and 'Rus'/Ruthenian' (*rus'kyi*) that remain in use in western Ukraine—in Galicia, Bukovyna, and Hungarian Ukraine [Transcarpathia]—as designations for the southern, namely, Ukrainian, group of the East Slavic branch. We shall call the northwestern group 'Belarusian' and the northeastern group 'Russian.'

The existence of such terminological confusion is in itself a reflection of the unpropitious historical lot of the Ukrainian people. Unfavorable historical conditions have deprived the Ukrainians of any significant role in modern cultural and political life, even though numerically they are one of the largest peoples in Europe, inhabit a large and attractive territory in a compact group, and, as eloquently evidenced by their history and spiritual attainments, possess notable cultural attributes, an abundance of talents, and numerous achievements produced in the course of their long historical life. Having destroyed the Ukrainian people's political existence and brought it to economic, cultural, and, thereby, national decline, adverse historical circumstances have obscured the bright and glorious moments in the life of this people, bedimmed its manifestations of vitality and its creative energy, and abandoned it for long centuries at the crossroads of political life as a defenseless and vulnerable prey to the avaricious appetites of its neighbors, as an ethnic mass lacking a national physiognomy, lacking traditions, lacking even a name.

3. *Нар.*, pp. 439, 447, 490, 586.

True, the decline of Ukrainian national life is now largely behind us. Each year we see significant progress in this respect. National consciousness and social activism are reviving, and traditions are being reborn. The perception of Ukrainian history as a single continuous and uninterrupted whole that takes rise in the beginnings—or even before the beginnings—of historical time and proceeds through all the vicissitudes of historical development until our own time is becoming ever more deeply embedded in the national consciousness and ceasing to appear strange and heretical even to foreigners, as it did a decade ago, when this work began to appear in print.

In accordance with the traditions of Muscovite historiography, which were passed on to its subsequent Russian counterpart, events in Ukrainian history were customarily treated as episodes in the traditional scheme of eastern European or, as it was usually called, 'Russian history.' Thus, 'Russian history' began with the prehistory of eastern Europe (usually with the non-Slavic colonization of this territory), proceeded through a survey of the Slavic settlement of this region and a narration of the history of the Kyivan state, which in this scheme ended at the close of the twelfth century, and moved on from there to the period of the Grand Principality of Vladimir, the Grand Principality of Moscow, the history of the Muscovite state, and, finally, that of the Russian Empire. Episodically, in order to clarify certain moments in the political evolution of the Muscovite-Russian state, this historical scheme occasionally included as incidental occurrences accounts of the state ruled by Danylo, the incorporation of Belarusian and Ukrainian territories into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its union with Poland, the church union with Rome, the Cossack uprisings, and the wars of Khmelnytsky. Consequently, the initial stages of the historical life of the Ukrainian people were submerged in this version of 'Russian history,' the middle period (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) was buried in the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the history of Poland, while that which was usually regarded as Ukrainian history was reduced to the period of the 'split with Poland' and 'union with Russia'—that is, to the history of the Ukrainian Cossack state, which terminated irrevocably with the end of the Hetmanate or continued *ad libitum* as the history of the Ukrainian revival. The first attempts to link into an organic whole the earlier periods of the historical development of the Ukrainian people with what were generally recognized as 'Ukrainian times' were met with distrust or even indignation as a ridiculous whim, as a display of hidden bias, as the influence of politics on scholarship, or as a manifestation of Ukrainian separatism. But I daresay that less than a decade from now, the concept of Ukrainian history as an organic whole ranging from the beginnings of the historical life of the Rus' tribes to our own times will appear just as normal to everyone as the interpolation of Ukrainian episodes into the traditional scheme of the history of the 'Russian state'⁴ seemed ten years ago (and still seems, to people who have not had the opportunity to ponder the matter).

As Ukrainian national life continues to evolve and grow, disputes about the national distinctiveness of the Ukrainian people—once so passionate and vociferous—are becoming less vehement and arouse much less attention. Although the question of a separate Ukrainian history was an integral part of this dispute, the battle was waged primarily on philological grounds, and the most controversial and critical issue always centered on whether Ukrainian is a separate language or merely a dialect of a 'Russian' language ('*ruskii*' *iazyk*), the second 'dialect' of which is 'Great Russian' along with the Belarusian 'subdialect.' A number of highly noted and

4. On this subject, see my article 'Zvychna skhema "ruskoi" istorii.'

impartial philologists have recognized Ukrainian as a separate language, although even now there is no shortage of philologists who maintain that it is only a dialect. The Ukrainians' linguistic proximity to their neighbors, the Russians and the Poles, has often served as grounds for denying the existence of the Ukrainians as a separate people and their right to independent cultural and political development. Such opinions were once quite common in Polish and Russian circles, and there are those in these circles who still cling to this view. That camp has always portrayed the Ukrainian people as no more than a provincial branch of the Polish or Russian nationality and has chosen to regard it as merely an ethnic mass meant to serve as building material for the Polish or Russian nation. Of course, such views are rooted in purely political considerations. They are motivated by the national egoism of peoples who, having gained control over certain parts of the Ukrainian territory, want to keep the Ukrainian people in a subservient role forever. These political goals are frequently masked under the guise of scholarship, mainly under that of linguistics, especially in Russia, where the question of the Ukrainian language remains a touchy issue. The representatives of such views insist that the Ukrainian language is merely a dialect of Russian and should not develop as a literary and cultural language. Instead, Ukrainians should retain the 'common-Russian' (*obshcherusskii*), that is, Russian, literary language. Here, however, we see an obvious substitution of concepts, inasmuch as the Russian language, both spoken and literary, is not a 'common Russian' language, but, like Ukrainian, only a 'dialect' of that ideal 'Russian,' or East Slavic, language that in reality does not exist and has never existed.⁵ Furthermore, the terms 'language' and 'dialect' are wholly conventional; they merely represent a certain gradation in linguistic differentiation, the relationship of genus to species. In absolute terms, however, it is scarcely possible to put forward the precise criteria that a language must meet to qualify as such. For this reason, Ukrainian, too, is defined by some as a language and by others as a dialect.⁶ Yet the cultural significance of a language does not depend on linguistic definitions, but rather on the consequences of historical circumstances and on the vital cultural forces of the people speaking that language. There can be no doubt that the past decade's attainments in Ukrainian national life have done a great deal more than any number of scholarly arguments to produce a shift in favor of viewing Ukrainians as possessing cultural and national equality, and that the trend will continue as further gains are made.

Whether one regards Ukrainian as a language or as a 'dialect,' one must accept the fact that the various Ukrainian dialects constitute a certain linguistic whole. Though Ukraine's borderland dialects are admittedly close to such adjacent Slavic languages as Slovak, Belarusian, Russian, and Polish, the dialects that comprise the dominant and most characteristic body of the Ukrainian language differ markedly in very essential ways from the neighboring and most closely related Slavic languages in a whole series of phonetic, morphological, and syntactical features. Similarly, the Ukrainian population differs from its closest neighbors both in anthropological characteristics—i.e., in body build—and in psychophysical features: in

5. This was explained clearly in a memorandum of the St. Petersburg Academy issued in connection with the debate on abolishing the ban on the Ukrainian language: Imperatorskaia Akademiia nauk, *Ob otmene stesnenii malorusskogo pechatnogo slova*, 1905, and the new edition of 1910. (The Ukrainian edition is entitled *Peterburs'ka akademiia nauk u spravi znesennia zaboron ukrains'koho slova*.)

6. Some sense of this philological controversy can be derived from the battle over the Ukrainian language occasioned by the ban on reading papers in Ukrainian at the Kyiv Archaeological Congress of 1899—e.g., the article by Mikhal'chuk, 'Chto takoe malorusskaia (iuzhno-russkaia) rech'?', which also includes additional literature on the subject, as well as the same author's recently published *Otkrytoe pis'mo k A. N. Pypinu*.

individual temperament, family and social relationships, way of life, and in material and spiritual culture. These psychophysical and cultural characteristics, some of which emerged earlier than others, are all the result of a lengthy process of evolution and quite clearly unify the individual groups of the Ukrainian people into a distinct national entity that differs from other such national entities and possesses an unmistakable and vital national personality—that is, comprises a separate *people* with a long history of development.

* * *

The present status of the Ukrainian people is as follows. As a compact mass (that is, discounting Ukrainian enclaves within alien, non-Ukrainian populations), this people inhabits a territory that extends approximately between 45° and 53° north latitude and 21°60' and 44°60' east longitude* in a wide belt along the north shore of the Black Sea. In the west, the Ukrainian territory forms a sharp wedge that penetrates deep into the Carpathian mountain system, reaching almost as far as the Dunajec River, a right-bank tributary of the Vistula [Wisła] River. This territory's northern boundary lies more or less along the Prypiat [Pripet] River, but juts out northward beyond this line in two regions separated by a Belarusian wedge—along the Buh [Zakhidnyi Buh, Western Bug] River and between the Sozh and Desna Rivers. The lands populated by Ukrainians in the east encompass the entire basin of the Donets River, with the exception of the region along the river's lower course, and reach well into the middle Don basin. Bounded by the Black Sea in the south, Ukrainian ethnic territory in the southeast extends a considerable distance into the Caucasus, taking in large portions of the Kuban, Kuma, and Manych River basins and projecting in places into the mountain regions of the Caucasus and into the Caspian steppes. The area around the lower course of the Don is populated mainly by Russians, and that of the lower Danube by Romanians (*Volokhy*), while the Crimea remains unclaimed from the standpoint of ethnic composition.⁷ The total Ukrainian territory currently measures approximately 850,000 square kilometers, or 15,000 square miles** (discounting ethnic enclaves), and has a total population of more than 40 million.

Politically this territory is partitioned among three states: Russia, Austria, and Hungary.

Within Russia are the Kharkiv, Poltava, Katerynoslav, Kherson, Kyiv, Volhynia, and Podilia gubernias, as well as portions of the Chernihiv, Kursk, Voronezh, Don, Kuban, Tavriia, Bessarabia, Lublin, Hrodna, Siedlce, and Minsk gubernias.

Within Austria are eastern Galicia, the foothill belt of western Galicia, and the northern part of Bukovyna.

In Hungary are variously sized parts of the Szépes [Spiš, Spish], Sáros [Šariš, Sharysh], Zemplén [Zemplin, Zemplyn], Uzh [Už, Ung], Berehovo [Bereg], Máramaros [Maramureș, Maramorosh], and Ugocsa [Uhoča] komitats.

On these territories the Ukrainian population lives in a compact mass without any significant foreign enclaves in its midst. In the western regions, the ethnically alien admixture of Poles,

* [In the Ukrainian original Hrushevsky gives the longitudes as 39° and 62°, according to the Ferro meridian. The figures given above are calculated according to the Greenwich meridian.—Eds.]

7. See Velychko, *Narodnopsna karta ukraïns'ko-rus'koho narodu*; Koshovyi, 'Natsional'no-terytorial'ni mezhi Ukraïny'; Rudnyts'kyi, *Korotka geografiia Ukraïny*. Ethnic boundaries will be discussed in greater detail below.

** [The reference is to Austrian miles. Up to 1875, one square mile equaled 57.546 square kilometers in Lower Austrian miles.—Eds.]

Jews, and Hungarians does not exceed 30 percent, although here, too, we find areas with a homogeneous Ukrainian population, as, for instance, in the mountainous regions of Galicia and Hungarian Ruthenia, where even official statistics estimate that Ukrainians constitute up to 90 percent of the total population. The Ukrainian population of the Black Sea region and the eastern borderlands, which were colonized jointly by Ukrainians, Russians, and other nationalities, is quite mixed, but here official figures also show the existence of enclaves in which Ukrainians make up from 80 to 90 percent of the inhabitants. The Ukrainian population is especially homogeneous in the country's central regions, where it comprises between 80 and 98 percent even according to the government census. The total number of Ukrainians on the territory described is now estimated at approximately 33 million (it is impossible to determine the exact figure, inasmuch as official census counts always enumerate Ukrainians more or less to their disadvantage).⁸

The historical life of the Ukrainian people begins with their settlement of the territory now inhabited by Ukrainians. As the East Slavic tribes—the ancestors of the Ukrainian people—were colonizing this territory, the southeastern, or Ukrainian, group began separating from its close relatives. The physical features of this territory and the cultural influences to which it exposed its inhabitants led these tribes to form into a separate ethnic and cultural entity that we know today as the Ukrainian people.

From the linguistic point of view, the Ukrainians are considered to be part of the East Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family. But that linguistic commonality represents only one aspect of this people's ethnic physiognomy. Linguistic commonality covers a rather variegated conglomerate, which over the course of millennia, under various influences—most of which remain unknown to us—developed into the ethnic group from which the Ukrainian people ultimately emerged. The physical type is mixed, like that of any other European nation, and indicates or, more precisely, hints at a lengthy process of mestization, the mixing of different races, which resulted in the modern ethnic type. Even now we can clearly distinguish two distinct physical types among Ukrainians—dark and fair. Although the short-headed (brachycephalic) type now predominates, ancient archaeological finds from the first centuries following settlement reveal, as we shall see later, the clearly distinguishable presence of the long-headed (dolichocephalic) type along with the short-headed. Even at the time of its settlement, the Ukrainian ethnic group was already the product of a lengthy process of the mixing of peoples and races. A common culture, and, above all, a common language, linking the descendants of various groups and tribes to the Indo-European family, had already united them to some degree and formed them into a single ethnic type in their Indo-European or Proto-Slavic homeland. Further separation on a new territory and the shared experience of various geographical, political, and cultural influences, phenomena, and events advanced the process of unifying the various generations and individual tribes into a homogeneous ethnic mass. A shared way of life and a common

8. The 1897 census in Russia gave the population of the Ukrainian ethnic territory as 21,400,000, but this figure was substantially lower than the actual one; today Ukrainians on this territory number around 28 million.

In Galicia, the government census of 1900 counted about 3,075,000 Ruthenians (*Rusyny*); in reality, they now number 3.5 million. In Bukovyna, this same census reported close to 298,000 Ukrainians.

In Hungary, official statistics show some 429,000 Ruthenians, whereas there are nearly 500,000.

See: Iaroshevich, 'Malorossy po perepisi 1897 g.': Okhrymovych, *Z polia natsional'noi statystyky*; Tomashiv'skyi, 'Uhors'ki Rusyny.' Statistical surveys of the Ukrainian territory by Rusov, Okhrymovych, and Tomashiv'skyi are expected to appear soon in *Ukrainskii narod*.

cultural and historical environment gradually eradicated ancient ethnic differences and replaced the old anthropological and ethnic heterogeneity with a national homogeneity.

The two major creative forces in the life of every people, nationality and territory, combined at the threshold of the historical life of the Ukrainian people to produce the original foundation for their further growth and development. Even in the later stages of a people's life, and especially so in the initial phases of national formation, both these elements—territory as much as nationality—act as vital shaping forces. It is not only a territory's physical features, but also the political and cultural influences acting upon it, relations with neighbors, and the cultural contributions of the land's previous inhabitants and those still remaining who are absorbed by the new colonizers that function as the very important means by which a territory affects the subsequent history of a people.

* * *

Let us begin by recalling the principal physical features of the Ukrainian territory. Its orographic skeleton is made up of the Carpathian Mountains and a series of uplands that extend from the Carpathians along the Black Sea to the Caspian Lowland. In the west, this territory is cut by the Carpathian bow, which is narrow and relatively passable in its middle portion but developed into whole systems of mountain ranges and uplands at its western and southern extremes. South of the central section of the Carpathian bow and directly adjoining it lies the Tisza [Tysa]-Danube Lowland. In the north, the Galician-Volhynian Upland leads into the Prypiat-Desna Lowland. East of the Carpathians stretches the Podilian Upland, a plateau so dissected by ravines that it resembles mountainous terrain in places. This upland slopes downward as a granite ridge in a southeasterly direction toward the Dnipro River. Along the way it bisects the channels of the Dnister [Dniester] and Dnipro Rivers with rapids. East of the Dnipro, this ridge rises once again as the Donets Upland and meets the southern spur of the East European Upland. It then disappears beyond the Don River into the Caspian Lowland.

To the south of this belt of uplands, along the coast of the Black Sea and ranging eastward (beyond the Dnipro) to encompass the southern elevation, stretch grassy steppes—a high plateau crisscrossed by ravines and river valleys (*balky*) and covered by a thick layer of humus (chernozem). This steppe zone is a direct continuation of the Central Asian steppes, which become gradually less wild as they extend westward. The Central Asian steppe enters Europe from Asia in a wedge that stretches from the northeast to the southwest, encompassing the central and lower Don regions and the lower Dnipro and Dnister regions. This belt is joined to Asia both topographically and by climate and is subject to easterly winds. The lands of the central Dnipro and Dnister regions, on the other hand, fall into the western climatic zone.

The northern portions of the Ukrainian territory lie in a forest zone with sandy soils that are low in productivity. For the most part, even today the forest line borders on the sandy zone. The forest zone stretches from the northeast to the southwest, across the Desna River basin, the basins of the Irpin and Teteriv Rivers, the middle courses of the Horyn and Sluch Rivers, the Buh basin, and the marshy Prypiat Lowland. Despite centuries of deforestation, vast portions of this area are still covered by forests. Poorly suited to agriculture, this region has long been the site of various forest-related industries.

Between the forest and steppe zones lies a transitional zone called the forest-steppe—a region with a rolling topography, dissected by rivers and streams, with fertile soils and abundant

forests and water. It is bisected through the middle by the wide Dnipro valley.* From the right bank of the Dnipro** rise the slopes of the western upland, while its left bank forms the slopes of the central plateau that extends to the region between the Desna and Don Rivers.

The main change wrought on this land by centuries of human habitation has been the shrinkage of forests. This has been accompanied by a decrease in the moisture content of the soil and the diminution of rivers—primarily as a result of the natural phenomenon of the soil continuing to dry, but accelerated by such manifestations of human ‘culture’ as the intense clearing of forests. Over the last hundred years, since the last general land survey in Russia (1774–78), forest acreage in some central forested gubernias of Russia has decreased 20 to 30 percent. A similar decrease must also have occurred in the Ukrainian forest zone. Proportionally even more forests have disappeared in the transitional zone between the forest and steppe zones since the beginning of human settlement of this region. Historical records from only three or four centuries ago make mention of large forested areas here that no longer exist. This decrease of forests contributed to the drying of the soil and shrinkage of bodies of water. The remains of large boats or ships in various smaller Ukrainian rivers, which are no longer navigable, indicate that these rivers were once much more abundant in water. Some rivers, like the historic Lybid in Kyiv, have decreased within historical memory. There has been considerable debate on whether the steppe zone has always been steppe or whether human habitation led to its deforestation. Research has shown, however, that this region bears no trace of large forests but rather of individual forest islands, and that the steppe chernozem formed from grasslands.

The Galician-Volhynian Upland plays an important role in the distribution of the water resources of the Ukrainian territory: this upland and its extensions separate the basins of the Dnipro and the Buh from the basins of the Dnister and the Danube (the Prut and the Seret). In antiquity just as today, the Dnister River, with its countless turns and poorly developed system of tributaries, did not play an important role as a communications route, especially in its upper reaches, where its left-bank tributaries lie very near to the systems of the Sian, Buh, Prypiat, and Boh [Pivdennyi Buh, Southern Bug] Rivers. Yet its right-bank tributaries were important colonizing routes in the Carpathian mountain zone and served as a direct link between the Dnister region and the regions along the Tisza and Danube Rivers. There is a huge water system on the other, northeastern, side of the Galician-Volhynian Upland. The principal artery here is the Dnipro, which collects the waters from the large expanse between the Galician-Volhynian Upland and the central East European Upland and has served as the most important trade route in this region since ancient times. The most important tributaries of the Dnipro—the Prypiat and the Desna—together with a number of lesser tributaries of their own and those of the Dnipro (we must remember that in antiquity many more of these rivers were navigable) intersect this territory with a dense network of waterways and link it with neighboring river systems. The system of the upper Dnipro is closely linked with the systems of the upper Volga, the Daugava [Dzvina, Western Dvina], and the northern lakes. The Prypiat system is linked with the system of the Nemunas [Neman, Nieman] and the Buh and Vistula; the Desna system with that of the Oka, the middle Volga region, and the upper portion of the Don region. The Seim region and the middle tributaries of the Dnipro—the Vorskla and Samara Rivers—are closely connected with the Donetsk system. Consequently, we have a vast network of water routes, the main arteries

* [The original has ‘Dnister,’ a typographical error.—Eds.]

** [The original has ‘Dnister,’ a typographical error.—Eds.]

of which come together in the middle Dnipro region and its natural center, ancient Kyiv, which arose here at the dawn of human habitation on the Dnipro hills, attracting trade caravans from all the principal Dnipro tributaries.

As we shall see, there is every reason to regard the middle Dnipro region as the ancestral homeland of the Ukrainian people. At the time of the great Slavic migration, the East Slavic tribes, which made up our people, occupied almost the entire ethnic territory that Ukrainians now inhabit. True, this first colonization did not immediately become permanently established on the territory it settled. Large portions of Ukraine were colonized a second, a third, and a fourth time, but each time they were colonized by the same ethnic group or one in which that population clearly predominated. To be sure, one theory holds that the eastern portion of the Ukrainian territory was colonized by the Russian group, which later left, and its place was taken by Ukrainian colonizers from Volhynia and Galicia. These conjectures will be discussed later in this volume; for the time being, I shall merely point out that this theory is not based on any concrete evidence and in many respects contradicts known facts. From the outset of the Slavic dispersion, the history of the territory of present-day Ukraine is the history of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian colonization suffered losses primarily in the west—along its frontiers with the Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, and Romanians, to the advantage of them all. At one time, the territory populated by Ukrainians in this region was not limited to a narrow mountain belt. In the north and in the south, territories with a mixed population stretched far beyond the mountains, very possibly extending into the Transylvanian Upland and the Danubian lands (on the left bank of the Danube). But over the centuries, the Ukrainian population migrated from west to east, weakening its western borders and allowing its western neighbors to expand at its expense. On the other hand, it made certain gains in the east. This is certainly true in the case of the Caucasian coast and the Crimea (colonized most recently).

The perturbations of colonization were closely linked with the physical features of the territory, which in this and in other respects exerted a major influence on the economic, cultural, and political history of the Ukrainian people and even on this people's ethnic evolution. I shall discuss only the principal issues here.

The Carpathian mountain zone in the west and the forest zone in the north, with its impenetrable forests and marshlands, were both poorly suited to human habitation and to the development of lively contacts. They were thus the most conservative parts of the Ukrainian territory and the lands in which the greatest number of remnants of the past have been preserved. These regions never played a significant role in political and cultural life, but were important in that they provided the haven to which the inhabitants of less well-defended areas retreated in times of danger.

The steppe zone in the south served as a wide route from Asia to Europe, along which various nomadic hordes roved endlessly in their voluntary and involuntary march from east to west. The sedentary Slavic population ruled the steppe only intermittently and was unable to retain full control over it until quite recently (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries). Consequently, the steppe did not play as important a role in the country's cultural development during this time as it had earlier or as it could play today owing to its geographic location—as a territory bordering on a sea and as a convenient land bridge from southwestern Asia to southern and western Europe. Instead, the steppe became a dangerous and menacing neighbor to adjacent regions, and the transitional forest-steppe lands also often remained uninhabited because of their hazardous proximity to the steppe.

Owing to their accessibility and to their various economic features, the territories lying between the steppe and the 'forest lands'—that is, Galicia, southern Volhynia, the middle Dnipro region, and the Don region—were designed by nature itself to play a key role in the cultural and social evolution of the Ukrainian people. But as they stretch eastward, closer to Asia, the boundaries of the threatening steppe and forest-steppe regions extend farther north. Consequently, these splendid territories were also too unsafe for the sedentary population. The colonization of the Don basin was no more stable than that of the steppes along the Black Sea. Life in the middle Dnipro lands was dangerous, and the region periodically experienced severe colonizational upheavals and catastrophes. Its principal cultural centers stood near the forest zone, and it was here, along the boundary between the safety of the forests and the bountiful lands of the forest-steppe, that Ukrainian cultural and political life was strongest and most stable. Kyiv itself is located in the forest zone, on its southern edge, but this foremost citadel of Ukrainian cultural life was also overrun and sometimes inundated by waves from the steppes.

The more westerly territories of Galicia and Volhynia were safer, because they were farther removed from Asia and from the steppe and were located between the forests and the mountains. Thus the cultural and sociopolitical traditions of Ukrainian life could be maintained without interruption in this part of the country. Yet the conditions in which these traditions could develop on a grand scale were lacking in this region. Whenever the Dnipro lands fell under the pressure of adverse circumstances, Volhynia and Galicia salvaged and sustained Ukrainian life until the advent of better times. However, only in the Dnipro region, the natural center of the Ukrainian territory, did this life truly flourish and explode with brilliance.

The repeated devastation by nomadic invaders of the greater part of the Ukrainian territory—the very territory that is most generously endowed by nature—had a major impact on Ukrainian colonization as a whole. It caused great movements of Ukrainian population, which were induced and intensified by other specific social and political conditions as well. Whenever the southeastern steppe zone of the Ukrainian territory was overrun by Asian hordes and the sedentary population inhabiting the adjacent forest-steppe became the target of the nomads' ruinous raids, that population moved to regions farther north and northwest, which were better protected by forests, mountains, and marshlands. However, as soon as pressure from Turkic groups eased or passed, the descendants of those who had fled and masses of others from the northern and northwestern lands moved into the empty and dangerous but bountiful southern regions, reclaimed them for settlement, and life flourished here anew. History has recorded several such major population outflows and inflows of different magnitudes from the steppe and forest-steppe: the exodus of Ukrainian inhabitants under pressure from the Pechenegs [Patzinaks] in the tenth century followed by a reverse movement into the steppes in the middle of the eleventh century, when the Pecheneg horde had grown weak; another mass withdrawal under the onslaught of the Cumans [Polovtsians] at the end of the eleventh century, succeeded by another influx into the steppe zone in the twelfth century after the power and savagery of the Cumans had declined; the Tatar storm in the thirteenth century, which brought terrible destruction to the entire Dnipro region, followed by the successful resettlement of these lands during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Tatar horde, fraught by internal strife and disintegrating, had lost its strength; the devastation waged from the Crimea at the end of the fifteenth and during the first half of the sixteenth centuries, which transformed the entire Ukrainian forest-steppe region into a wasteland, and the new colonization movement into the ravaged lands at the end of the sixteenth and during the seventeenth century, enabled by the emergence of Ukrainian military power (the Cossacks).

In the second half of the sixteenth century, pressure from the Turkic hordes began to weaken, but social, political, and national factors caused powerful new upheavals among the Ukrainian population. The rise of manorial estates and the deterioration of peasant living conditions produced a mass movement of peasants from the northern and western parts of Ukraine into its eastern and southern regions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a process repeated in the eighteenth and even in the nineteenth centuries, when fleeing Ukrainian peasants populated vast areas along the Black Sea (Novorossia), Bessarabia, and the Caucasus. Ukrainian social and national movements and the wars fought by Ukraine and those fought over Ukraine provoked mass migrations of Ukrainians eastward, where they colonized lands in the Dnipro and Don watershed and the Donets basin (seventeenth century). In the second half of the seventeenth century, these movements and wars brought about the abandonment of large areas on the right bank of the Dnipro and in the Boh basin, which were not resettled until the eighteenth century. The destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich led to the colonization by Ukrainians of the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus, and so forth.

All these upheavals, all these waves and fluctuations of colonization, made a tremendous impact upon the Ukrainian ethnos, leaving a deep imprint on the physiognomy of the Ukrainian people. Over the course of centuries, this series of disturbances steadily intermingled the Ukrainian population, refashioning it into a more homogeneous body. This is best reflected in the language: ancient archaic dialects have survived only in the borderland regions, which were least affected by the waves of colonization. We encounter such archaisms in the western, mountain, and northern regions, i.e., in the forest zone. While all other Ukrainian dialects exhibit later influences and differ very little among themselves, the old dialects of the borderlands differ significantly both from those of the central regions and among themselves. About four-fifths of the Ukrainian people now speak the newer dialects, which shape the distinctive character of the language and form the basis of standard Ukrainian. They are the result of the *mixing* of the Ukrainian population, a process that few other nations have experienced on as large a scale.

The same processes that affected the language also affected the anthropological features, material culture, and spiritual attainments of the Ukrainian people. Various features were mingled, crossed, and modified by one another and in their altered form were diffused throughout the extensive territory colonized by Ukrainians. This, of course, did not produce complete uniformity, but it did result in great similarities, which even now characterize the Ukrainian ethnic type on the greater part of Ukrainian territory. Such ethnic similarity across such a large stretch of territory and within so sizable a population is also quite rare. The mass movements produced a result that otherwise could not have been attained in the absence of a uniform political organization and given the weakness of internal relations and the geographic isolation of substantial portions of the ethnic territory. These movements undoubtedly contributed to the retention by the Ukrainian population of a sense of ethnic unity, of oneness, and a sense of national awareness in general, despite all the unfavorable conditions in which this people evolved.

In this we see the positive side of the upheavals to which the Ukrainian people were exposed as a result of their geographic location. In general, however, the upheavals caused great harm to the Ukrainian people, even though in their struggle to master the steppe they were destined to play the honorable role of defenders of European civilization against the Asian hordes.

The terrible devastation wrought by the Asian nomads resulted in great losses of life and property. Only when the inhabitants were brought to total ruin and the edge of despair did they

leave their settlements and flee to the impoverished and inhospitable forest or mountain regions, become servants and hirelings on the estates of others, or attempt to find a place among them and start a new life. Such changes carried with them enormous expenditures of energy and material losses. Later, when the colonization processes were reversed, the economic means and strength of the people were strained and dissipated in economic extension; huge amounts of energy and wealth had to be invested to reclaim regions that had gone wild in order to return them to their former level of culture. Vast numbers of human lives were lost in these upheavals. For centuries, a large proportion of the population was unable to rise above the primitive concerns involved in the struggle for survival and in creating the most rudimentary foundations of economic life. The nation as a whole was unable to accumulate the strength and wealth needed to support higher cultural needs.

The centuries-long struggle with the steppe sapped the energies of the people, its upper strata, and its rulers. The upheavals in colonization and in the economy prevented both social and political relations from maturing. Facing a dangerous enemy along their entire southeastern frontier, Ukrainian political organizations were unable to hold their own when stronger political entities formed in their rear, along their northwestern or northern border. They therefore fell prey to these better defended and better situated neighbors. The ensuing political decline brought with it the ultimate division and appropriation by foreign social strata of all national resources. In the end, the higher and more educated strata and the cultural attainments they had accumulated, along with capital and real estate, the country's natural resources and advanced economic institutions, all passed into the hands of foreign masters and rulers of the land, while only the popular masses, enslaved, deprived of all economic and cultural resources and of all political and civil rights, remained Ukrainian. There followed centuries of total stagnation and decline of Ukrainian national life. Ultimately, the popular masses responded with a mass reaction, with civil wars against this regime of oppression and exploitation. For several centuries more, these wars sapped all the strength and vigor of the people. But despite the enormous energy, heroism, and creative organizational ability that were invested in this struggle, no lasting improvements in the life of the people were achieved. And the enfeebled popular masses fell into apathy and gave up the struggle for a long period of time.

The open and bountiful territory with which the Ukrainian people have been blessed, this land of milk and honey that is the envy of their neighbors, this 'quiet paradise' of Ukrainian natural surroundings eulogized by poets, has not brought Ukraine good fortune. The geographic features of the land and resultant relations with neighboring peoples have loomed fatefully over the destiny of the Ukrainian people and disastrously affected their cultural and national life. The geographic location of the Ukrainian territory is much to blame for the historical legacy—so rich in sacred, noble, at times even magnificent aspirations, yet so somber in its real content—that a millennium of history has passed on to the present generation.

* * *

Such unfavorable conditions permitted the Ukrainian people to attain an independent political existence and to live a full national life only intermittently, and even then not on the whole of Ukrainian territory but only on parts of it.

The Ukrainian people enjoyed an advanced, powerful, and intensive political life during the first centuries of their historical existence. The political organization they established served as a creative nucleus for all of eastern Europe, laying the foundations and building the political,

social, and cultural life of this region for many centuries. The foundations laid by the Kyivan state remain at the core of life in eastern Europe to this day. Because of its profound and far-reaching impact, the process by which this political state organism was created and developed is of significant historical interest and deserves closer analysis. However, this state organism deteriorated rapidly and its political significance declined. Subsequently, it was the social and cultural processes that developed on the political basis of that organism, by virtue of the impulse that it had once provided, that carried weight and were of interest. In time, these processes lost their national character and assumed an increasingly local aspect. State life continued with relative intensity only in western Ukraine, in the Galician-Volhynian state. Thereafter, from the middle of the fourteenth century onward, the Ukrainian people became part of other states, at times constituting a passive subject of foreign rule and of foreign law formed on foreign foundations, at other times offering a greater or lesser degree of resistance to that foreign rule and foreign law. Even during the period of Ukraine's independent political life, when political power usually resided in the hands of a ruling minority, which often governed the people against their will, neither the higher nor the lower strata of Ukrainian society exercised any influence on political life. The political circumstances of these times therefore interest us only to the degree that they directly affected the national, economic, and cultural status of the Ukrainian population. The socioeconomic and cultural history of the Ukrainian people of these times was this people's only history. A political movement and later armed struggle—a series of uprisings of the Ukrainian people under the leadership of Cossack leaders in the first half of the seventeenth century—enabled a portion of Ukraine to throw off foreign rule and to attain statehood, though not full sovereignty, for a hundred years. Nonetheless, even that period of political revival was dominated by social and cultural processes, and once the period ended, these processes again became the only Ukrainian history.

Thus, social and cultural processes constitute the leitmotif that leads us through all the fluctuations of political life, through all the stages of its rise and decline, and unifies into a single whole the history of Ukrainian life, regardless of the various upheavals, even catastrophes, that it experienced. Historians have usually taken the opposite approach. Tracing the history of political organizations, they tacked on parts of the history of the Ukrainian people to that of the Polish or of the Russian state, so that this history disintegrated into a series of disjointed episodes lacking all connection and continuity. When, however, Ukraine's social and cultural processes are viewed as the foundation, that history becomes an organic whole, a whole in which continuity has never been broken and in which even the most dramatic changes occurred on an ancient and stable foundation, which changed very slowly under their impact. These processes thus lay a path from our own time to the earliest historical period and even to prehistoric times, to the extent that that period is now becoming the subject of study.

Until recently, the history of a people began with the first references to it in written historical records. Today new scholarly disciplines—prehistoric archaeology or archaeological ethnology with anthropology and comparative sociology, on the one hand, and comparative linguistics (glottology) and the study of folklore, on the other—have broadened scholarly horizons far beyond the frontiers of written records.

Admittedly, in their present state, both these directions offer more by way of intriguing potential than of positive content. All these disciplines are still in the initial stages of development, and it is very difficult—without falling into excessive skepticism or into gullibility—to extract from them that which should be included in the history of the Ukrainian (or any other) people in order to illuminate its beginnings. Glottology, for example, has not yet

completely worked out its methodology, and serious doubts about some areas of its research remain. Anthropology and archaeology, especially as they relate to eastern Europe, are still at the stage of collecting materials. This material has often been collected in an unscientific manner, thereby necessitating care in the use of its findings. Moreover, every major find introduces significant changes into the sum of our information.⁹ Philology and archaeology have not yet worked out a common terminology on which they agree. Archaeologists and anthropologists often exhibit very contemptuous attitudes to the conclusions of glottology; even the possibility of obtaining useful results from linguists is rejected. Linguists are often equally skeptical about the conclusions of anthropologists and archaeologists. In reality, of course, everything depends on the methods of preparing and studying the material at hand. Linguists and archaeologists arrive at equally fantastical theories when they stray from the path of strict methodological research, but they offer very similar observations when they submit their material to rigorous and methodical study. The point of departure for the former is the cultural evolution of a given people as expressed in its language; for the latter, it is the cultural history of a given territory as embodied in the material remains of its civilization. As they follow their own paths and verify each other's findings, these two disciplines can very often help each other by their observations. All that is required is a rigorous scientific method and the widest possible scope of investigation. Regardless of the difficulties involved, a historian certainly cannot afford to ignore the achievements of these disciplines when dealing with very remote and otherwise inaccessible areas in the history of a people or its territory. Even now, despite its still rather primitive state, archaeology has rendered important service to the cultural history of the Ukrainian territory. It has revealed to us the heritage that the Ukrainian tribes carried with them as they dispersed and the cultural sphere into which these tribes entered when they settled on their new territory. Glottology provides important guideposts to the cultural history of our people in prehistoric times, and it helps to reveal the cultural physiognomy of the Ukrainian tribes during the period of their settlement. Anthropology opens before us the physical evolution of our population, concealed under the mantle of cultural unity. Comparative sociology and folklore offer new and fruitful perspectives on the spiritual and social evolution that left its imprint in the petrified remains of the ancient way of life in modern customs.

The fourth century of the Christian Era can be regarded as the threshold of the historical life of the Ukrainian people, because our first knowledge of it as a separate entity dates to that period. Before that time we can speak of the Ukrainian people only as part of the Slavic group; we cannot trace the evolution of its life and have at our disposal only the cultural remains of long ages of prehistoric life. Comparative linguistics seeks out these remnants in the lexical store, while historical and archaeological data from later periods help to verify the conclusions of linguistic research and to supplement it in a number of areas. The first part of this first volume is devoted to these matters.

The colonization of Ukrainian territory by the Ukrainian-Rus' tribes coincided with the beginning of the historical life of the Ukrainian people. The centuries immediately following this colonization set the stage for the organization of the Rus' state, the dominant event of the first period of Ukrainian history. The ruling dynasty of Kyiv and its retinue (*druzhyna*) unified all the branches of the Ukrainian people into a single political body—albeit not for long—and

9. How much has changed in this field in just a few years can be seen by comparing the chapter devoted to information offered by archaeology about the Ukrainian-Rus' territory in this edition with that in earlier editions of this volume.

this political unity is reflected in the common characteristics that mark this people's culture and social life. Most important among these was the introduction of Christianity, which, as it slowly spread among the people, exerted a significant influence on their life. The acceptance of Christianity ushered in closer ties with the culture of the Byzantine world. This was followed by the spread of Kyivan law and its sociopolitical order. The socioeconomic evolution of this age is characterized by such features as the dichotomy between the populace at large and the princely retinue, the emergence of a merchant-boyar capitalistic-landowning stratum, the vigorous growth (and later decline) of trade and industries, etc. The second half of the first volume and the second and third volumes of this *History* are devoted to this period.

The second, transitional, period in our history begins in the middle of the fourteenth century. Ukrainian lands at this time became part of two neighboring states—the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. In the cultural sphere, Byzantine influences gave way to those of the West. In the economic sphere, a privileged higher stratum began to form at a rapidly increasing pace, and this stratum enslaved the common folk economically and politically. At the same time, that privileged stratum became increasingly separated from the people in terms of culture and nationality. Forms of social and cultural life developed over centuries of independent political existence were drastically altered under the influence of Polish law and the Roman and German elements that had been incorporated into it. Those forms in part disappeared and in part seeped down to the lower strata of the population, into the sphere of peasant mores and of common law, retreating before new concepts and forms that were perceived as aspects of a higher, privileged order. The antagonism of the masses toward the ruling and privileged minority, which had begun to emerge even earlier, became more marked as it was exacerbated by national and religious hostilities. The awakening of resistance and of national self-defense before the threat of impending national death, complete economic ruin, and enslavement was initially manifested in the cultural and religious national movement, but it opened the way to political and armed conflict, which began in the Dnipro region toward the end of the sixteenth century as a result of the colonization of southeastern Ukraine. This transitional Lithuanian-Polish period is discussed in volumes 4, 5, and 6 of this *History*.

The third period is comprised of the history of popular struggle aimed at toppling a hostile socioeconomic order and reforming social relations to conform to the national ideals of justice. During this period, sociopolitical struggle was combined with religious and national struggle, thereby encompassing an uncommonly broad sphere of interests and affecting all social strata. The arena of this struggle was at all times eastern Ukraine. Here the socioeconomic and political system underwent a transformation rarely seen in history. A magnificent attempt was made to build a new social and political order on the ruins of the class system that had been established by the Polish nobility and abolished by the Cossack sword. Simultaneously, national consciousness reached an unprecedented degree of intensity, as did religious life. Meanwhile, according to the law of action and reaction, an earlier form of sociocultural evolution [that which existed prior to the Cossack uprising] progressed at an accelerated pace in western Ukraine. But the struggle was ultimately lost in eastern Ukraine as well: the swell of popular energy ebbed, sapped by insurmountable obstacles. The old culture of the class system and Lithuanian-Polish law relentlessly broke through the weak foundation of the new sociopolitical order and broke down and destroyed the new order's basis. The last echoes of a mighty movement of political and social rebirth quietly died out in the face of widespread reaction, completing the process of full decline. This brief but very important era of the Ukrainian people's most dynamic expression as a nation, which involved activism by the broadest masses,

this great tragedy of Ukrainian national life, which is not without grandeur and beauty even in its sad conclusion, will be the subject of volumes 7, 8, 9, and perhaps 10 of this *History*.

If we were to apply the old historiosophic terminology, the two periods in which Ukrainian political life flourished—the ancient princely era and the more recent populist (Cossack) age—could be regarded as the thesis and the antithesis, which reach their synthesis in the century of Ukrainian rebirth. Popular aspirations are reemerging and becoming enlightened by progressive European thought, and they are being adopted by the new intelligentsia that has emerged on this ground under the impact of progressive ideas. Cultural components have combined with the national and sociopolitical aspirations of the preceding turbulent period, and, instead of armed warfare, a cultural struggle is being waged to attain the ideals that fuse the popular masses into a single organism with the new intelligentsia. *Si datur venia*, a survey of this period should bring this *History* to a conclusion.

II

From the Depths of Prehistory

The history of the Ukrainian territory as a large landmass begins only in the most recent geological periods. What for history is the remote past is for geology part of the present. Human life and animal life in general are no more than fresh moss on the age-old rocks of the earth's ancient geological formations, and even the continents as we know them today are a relatively recent phenomenon. In its present form as a large body of land bounded by seas and mountain ranges and intersected by river valleys, the Ukrainian territory emerged in the Tertiary period, one of the most recent periods (perhaps even the most recent, since later formations can be regarded as upper strata of the Tertiary formation). The Tertiary period is characterized in our region by the slow regression of the sea southward and the gradual formation of the existent mainland with its present-day orographic and hydrographic features. At the beginning of the Tertiary (in the so-called Eocene epoch), most of the southern portion of the East European Plain was covered by water. Here and there, parts of this region rose as 'islands' in an eastern European sea. Later the middle Dnipro region and the present-day Donets Ridge emerged as dry land. In the more recent epochs of the Tertiary (the Pliocene), the sea extended very little beyond today's northern coasts of the Black and Azov Seas, which together with the Caspian Sea then still constituted a single large body of water. Subsequently, the regression of the sea proceeded even farther, so that in the Diluvial [Pleistocene] epoch, the coastlines of the Black and Azov Seas lay significantly farther south; they assumed their present configuration only at a later stage.¹

Thus it was during the Tertiary period—its middle and latter half, as well as the Diluvial epoch—that over hundreds of thousands of years the territory of Ukraine formed and assumed its present appearance. The tectonic processes that occurred during the second half of the Tertiary created its mountain ranges. Other changes in the earth's crust brought this territory significantly closer to its present-day aspect at the beginning of the Diluvial epoch. But it still

1. Let us review the geological terminology that we will be using for those unfamiliar with it. The upper layers of land are called the *alluvium*, or deposits of diluvial waters. These layers were formed at a time when the physical conditions of the earth's surface and life upon it did not differ significantly from our own. Beneath the alluvial layers lie *diluvial* strata (i.e., those produced by a flood—this name, derived from the biblical description of the great flood and life before the flood, in fact corresponds to the great flooding caused by the melting of the gigantic glaciers of the time). These layers bear the traces of great climatic changes: a radical drop in temperature resulting from the expansion of an ice sheet over central Europe, and in its wake, drastic changes in the flora and fauna of these lands. The alluvial and diluvial strata together comprise the so-called Quaternary formation. Beneath it lie layers of the Tertiary formation, whose lowest (oldest) portion is called the Eocene, the next above it, Oligocene, the third, Miocene, and the uppermost, the Pliocene. Because the diluvial layers do not differ radically from the upper Tertiary formations, the Diluvial epoch is often included in the Tertiary period as the highest and latest of its epochs (the Pleistocene), especially as in chronological terms, the Quaternary period is no more than a short epilogue to the much longer Tertiary period, just as the Tertiary itself lasted a much shorter time than the Cretaceous and Jurassic periods that came before it. [The terms 'Diluvial' and 'Alluvial' are not used in current geological chronologies. The Diluvial corresponds to the Pleistocene, the epoch of successive glaciations, which is the first epoch of the Quaternary period, and the Alluvial corresponds to the Holocene, also known as the Recent epoch, which follows the Last Glaciation.—Eds.]

had to experience a radical metamorphosis, which left a strong imprint on its surface and on all its organic life. This was the Great Ice Age in the middle of the Diluvial [Pleistocene] epoch.

The Tertiary period was characterized by a gradual cooling. The early Tertiary, the Eocene epoch, was marked by high temperatures and humidity, luxuriant vegetation, and an unprecedented evolution of animal life. It was the epoch in which the higher orders of animals evolved, appearing in great numbers and in a large variety of species. The animal worlds of later periods, including our own, have been comprised only of those enduring remnants that were able to adapt to the harsh conditions that followed. In the Eocene epoch Europe had a tropical climate and a corresponding flora and fauna. Then, in the middle of the Tertiary period, the climate cooled. This, along with orographic activity that created the mountain systems of central Europe, made the environment of northeastern Europe less hospitable and impoverished the region's plant and animal life. Still, even during the final epochs of the Tertiary, the climate of the Ukrainian territory was milder and more favorable than it is today. The flora and fauna were more diverse, consisting of both modern species and of representatives native to warmer climes. Life in this form continued into the Diluvial epoch, which at the beginning did not differ significantly from the Tertiary period. In time, however, the climate changed radically. As a result of still unexplained causes, the temperature of northern Europe fell, precipitation increased, and the humidity level rose.² A vast ice sheet covered northern Europe. As the masses of ice and snow grew, they expanded to cover ever larger areas of central and eastern Europe. Most of eastern and a large portion of central Europe were covered by the immense Fennoscandian ice sheet; it attained vast proportions in the Fennoscandian territory and from there moved southward and to the southwest. At the time of its greatest expansion, it encompassed the entire basins of the Vistula, Nemunas, and Prypiat Rivers, and the middle Dnipro region. This glaciation left moraines, huge boulders of northern rocks, and other masses of rock debris carried by the ice. These remains lead scientists to believe that at the point of its greatest expansion, the ice sheet extended almost as far as the Dnipro rapids, jutting in a wide wedge into the Dnipro valley and in a second such wedge into the Don basin, while leaving the Volhynian-Podilian Upland (almost all of Galicia and the southern part of Volhynia) free of ice.³ It is possible, however, that the traces of glaciation identified in the Dnipro and Don valleys are actually traces of the melting of the ice sheet (so-called glaciofluvial deposits) and that, in fact, the ice sheet did not reach this far south in the Dnipro region.⁴

It is not clear how long this period of extensive glaciation lasted. As temperatures rose and other climatic changes occurred, the size and boundaries of the ice sheet undoubtedly changed. Periods of melting alternated with periods of glaciation. As melting began, the ice sheet retreated northward, leaving behind moraines and deposits of rock, sand, and clay. As the snow

2. The change was usually attributed to the drop in temperature, but now scientists no longer believe that this factor alone explains the phenomenon and are seeking various meteorological and even tectonic (i.e., related to changes in the earth's surface) causes. In any event, this was not a new phenomenon, since traces of glaciation, similar to the Ice Age of the Diluvial period, have been identified in earlier geological epochs as well. The most recent works on the Diluvial Ice Age include: Penck and Brückner, *Die Alpen im Eiszeitalter*; Hess, *Die Gletscher*; Geinitz, *Die Eiszeit*; Wohnschaffe, *Die Oberflächengestaltung des norddeutschen Flachlandes*; also Kayser, *Lehrbuch der Geologie*.

3. On the basis of materials collected by Nikitin ('Predely rasprostraneniia'), the boundaries of the ice sheet have been described as follows: from the headwaters of the Vistula to Ovruch, thence to Uman or Zvenyhorodka and to Krémenchuk, then north from Poltava to Kozelsk and Likhvin and south again to Ostrogozhsk and Rozdorskaia Stanitsa on the Don.

4. This assumption was put forward by Rudnyts'kyi, *Korotka geografiia Ukraïny*, p. 72.

fields grew and new ice formed, the sheet moved southward once again, forming new moraines and strewing rock debris along its old path. Such layers of deposits left by the glacier as it alternated between advances and recessions have led scientists to assume the existence of interglacial periods of varying duration. During these periods, the territory of eastern and central Europe was free of glaciation and organic life flourished. Different parts of Europe had a different number of such interglacial periods. Thus central Europe experienced four periods of glaciation and three interglacial periods; England, five periods of glaciation and four interglacial periods; Scandinavia, six glaciation periods. So far, however, attempts to determine the number of glacial and interglacial periods have produced only hypotheses.⁵ Recently there has been some skepticism regarding the high number of ice ages and the length of their duration. Some scientists believe that there was only one period of glaciation, though they cannot agree on the areas it covered and when expansion and shrinkage of the ice sheet occurred. In the final analysis, the size of the territories free of glaciation during various interglacial periods and the length of these intervals still requires intensive and detailed study. Moreover, separate studies need to be conducted for each country. We know it as a fact that at the time of its greatest expansion the ice sheet extended into a significant portion of the Ukrainian territory (during the Second Glaciation in western Europe, according to the generally accepted scheme). What we do not know is whether, after its retreat, it ever again covered Ukrainian territory during its subsequent expansion southward.

As elsewhere, the arrival of this enormous glacier on the territory of Ukraine ushered in dramatic changes. The melting of great masses of ice and snow, especially during periods when the ice sheet was thawing with greater intensity and receding, created huge bodies of water. Turbulent rivers flowed from under the melting ice, carrying masses of deposits—rocks, sand, and clay. The deep and wide river valleys, now dry or containing miniature streams compared with the size of the valley, are the remains of the once mighty and swollen rivers that formed as the ice sheet melted. The layers of diluvial sand and yellow diluvial clay (loess), sometimes several meters thick, are the deposits left by these Ice Age rivers. Our lakes, marshlands, and swamps are the remnants of waters that remained stagnant, finding no escape. The heavy precipitation and the huge bodies of water of this age changed the entire topography of our land. In fact, we are still witnessing the process of the slow drying of the enormous volumes of water and moisture left by the Ice Age.

The events of the Ice Age also caused great changes in organic life. Whatever the causes of the expansion of glaciation, this phenomenon in and of itself must have had a dramatic effect

5. For example, M. Hildebrandt, who believes that there were four periods of glaciation, accepts the following sequence:

- first glaciation—20,000 years
- first interglacial epoch—85,000 years
- second glaciation—40,000 years
- second interglacial epoch—120,000 years (during which the melting of the glacier lasted 50–60,000 years)
- third glaciation—15,000 years
- third interglacial epoch—195,000 years
- fourth glaciation—25,000 years
- postglacial age—30,000 years

for a total of 530,000 years. Pilgrim, on the other hand, calculates that the Ice Age lasted twice as long. Compare a more recent study on this: Penck, 'Das Alter des Menschengeschlechtes.' Some geologists, however, dispute such generous estimates of the duration of periods of glaciation and melting and believe that the Ice Age as a whole should be computed in much shorter periods—not in tens and hundreds of thousands of years, but in mere thousands and tens of thousands of years.

on the climate and, consequently, on the flora and fauna of our territory. The climate grew cold and wet. The plant and animal species of the northern, subarctic regions moved into areas farther south, pushing out earlier species, which were unable to adapt to the harsher climate and more difficult conditions of life.⁶ Thus the advance and regression of the ice sheet produced various modifications in the nature of the flora and fauna and in the distribution of their species, though these changes occurred slowly, over the course of many thousands of years. At times, the flora and fauna of warm climates predominated; at others, those of the cooler steppes; and at others still, those of the northern tundra. But the ancient species of the plant and animal worlds peculiar to warm climates ultimately disappeared, and the flora and fauna began to resemble those of our own age.⁷

The conditions of human life, too, were altered by these changes.

* * *

The Ice Age is also of interest to us because it is the first period from which we have an unequivocal record of human life. What came before is more or less hypothetical or even dubious.

Man passed through a long evolutionary process from anthropoid ape to *Homo sapiens*. It is generally accepted that this process occurred during the Tertiary period, which contains traces of this evolution in the form of lateral branches of man's family tree—that is, modern anthropoid apes (the chimpanzee, gibbon, and orangutan), as well as such extinct species, known only from finds, as the *Pliopithecus*, *Dryopithecus*, and, lastly, the recently discovered *Pithecanthropus erectus* on the island of Java, which is the most important transitional type in the evolution from ape to man. Of course, the moment at which the creature that can be regarded as man emerged from among the anthropoid apes—or 'hominoids,' as they are also called—can be determined only approximately and more or less arbitrarily. It also remains unclear how long ago this happened.⁸ Of late, this question has drawn a great deal of attention, and attempts have been made to find an answer not only through anthropological and paleontological research but also through archaeology—with the help of so-called eoliths, or stone artifacts from the Tertiary period (the somewhat contrived term is derived from the Greek *eos* 'dawn' and *lithos* 'stone'—i.e., stones from the dawn of human life). Scholars have tackled this ancient question with singular zeal in recent years, and the theory of Tertiary man has won

6. We should not imagine, however, that the landscape neighboring on the glacier wholly resembled that of the northern tundra. In close proximity to modern glaciers we see pasturelands and meadows and the vegetation and animal life of the temperate zone. By analogy, the prehistoric ice field may not have been bordered solely by tundra, especially during the periods when the field was receding.

7. A characteristic example of this process, important for establishing the chronology of archaeological finds, is seen in the evolution and ultimate disappearance of the elephant species in Europe. We have the *Elephas meridionalis* in the Tertiary period; later, in addition to the *meridionalis*, there appeared the *Elephas antiquus*, and the *meridionalis* disappeared in the preglacial age. The *antiquus* was joined by the *Elephas primigenius* (the mammoth) before the *antiquus* became extinct in the early Ice Age. The *primigenius* became extinct in the late Ice Age.

8. Of the extensive literature of recent years, I shall name Haeckel, *Anthropogenie oder Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*; idem, *Unsere Ahnenreihe*; Hertwig, *Lehrbuch der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*; Klaatsch, *Entstehung und Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechtes*; Schwalbe, *Die Vorgeschichte des Menschen*; Kohlbrugge, *Die morphologische Abstammung des Menschen*; Magnus, *Vom Urtier zum Menschen*; Buschan, *Menschenkunde*; Günter, *Vom Urtier zum Menschen*; Mahoudeau, 'L'origine de l'homme'; Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen*. See also the literature listed below on Diluvial man.

many supporters. A number of investigators have concluded that the flint fragments found in diluvial strata in various localities represent tools made and used by man (artifacts), and they regard this as proof of the existence of man in the latter half of the Tertiary period—that is, in the Miocene and Pliocene epochs.⁹ However, a critical appraisal of the materials they offer as evidence has left a number of doubts as to the artificial production of what the defenders of eolithic culture regard as human artifacts and as to the dating of the most interesting eolithic finds to the Tertiary period.¹⁰ As a result, the culture of Tertiary man remains as hypothetical today as it did a quarter of a century ago, and only the culture of Diluvial [Paleolithic] man, especially in the Pleistocene Ice Age, can be indisputably documented. Of course, the evidence from the Diluvial epoch reveals man at an already fairly advanced stage of evolution, which is precisely why these traces are unequivocally accepted as the remains of human civilization. A long span of human life on the boundary between the Tertiary and Diluvial [first part of Quaternary] periods must therefore be assumed a priori, even though this earlier era does not lend itself to closer investigation—at least thus far.

Western Europe is particularly rich in traces of Diluvial man's life in caves, which served him as shelter. Except for the oldest types of cultures, which are not represented in caves, the layers of earth and detritus at these sites often allow us to trace the entire slow process of evolution of this geological culture.¹¹ The greatest number of remains of Diluvial culture are found in France, where large areas were not covered by the ice sheet even at the time of its greatest expansion, allowing human habitation. These remains have been thoroughly studied, and they provide a rather complete picture of the life and culture of Diluvial man, including even the history of the evolution of this culture.¹² We know that during this period man had not yet

9. The Oligocene eoliths of the La Tène ('shallows') culture have been recognized as dubious even by the proponents of the eolithic theory.

10. Of the extensive literature of recent years, I shall name Rutot, *Éolithes et pseudo-éolithes*; idem, 'Un grave problème'; idem, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un éolithe'; idem, 'Une industrie éolithique'; Obermaier, 'Zur Eolithenfrage'; idem, 'Das geologische Alter des Menschengeschlechtes'; Verworn, 'Archäolithische und paläolithische Reisestudien'; idem, 'Ein objektives Kriterium'; Wiegers, 'Die natürliche Entstehung'; Mayet, 'La question de l'homme tertiaire'; Sarasin, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur Eolithologie.' A bibliography on this question up to 1905 has been compiled by MacCurdy, 'The Eolithic Problem.'

* [References to the human culture that dates to this epoch generally use the term 'Paleolithic.'—Eds.]

11. On Diluvial man and his life, see G. de Mortillet and A. de Mortillet, *Le préhistorique* (for Ukrainian finds, see p. 657); Hoernes, *Der diluviale Mensch in Europa* (for Ukrainian finds, see pp. 181–82, 187–88); Reinhardt, *Der Mensch zur Eiszeit in Europa*; S. Müller, *L'Europe préhistorique*; Pohlig, *Eiszeit und Urgeschichte des Menschen*; Behlen, 'Der diluviale (paläolithische) Mensch in Europa'; Driesmans, *Der Mensch der Urzeit*; Kollmann, 'Die Neanderthals Spy-Gruppe'; Forrer, *Urgeschichte des Europäers*; Birkner, *Der diluviale Mensch in Europa*; Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*. See also archaeological dictionaries: most recent are those by Schlemm, *Wörterbuch* (pp. 394–96), and Forrer, *Reallexikon* (pp. 578–84). On Paleolithic technology, see also G. de Mortillet and A. de Mortillet, *Musée préhistorique*; Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*.

12. The chronology of this evolution, traced on the basis of the French finds, and the sequence of its types or epochs (which are named after the most typical French finds) was developed primarily by the late Gabriel de Mortillet. This scheme, which is widely accepted by scholars as universal for Europe as a whole, and even for the entire world, provides the following classification:

The oldest period of Diluvial [Paleolithic] culture—the Chellean, which is sometimes subdivided into two stages, Chellean (earlier) and Acheulean (later)—dates to preglacial times and is characterized by a warm climate and subtropical flora and fauna. Man did not yet live in caves, and he used only all-purpose tools made of locally available flint.

The Mousterian Age—expansion of the glacier. These are the times of the mammoth and of the first specialized flint artifacts.

domesticated any animals, that he did not yet know how to make pottery, that he led the nomadic life of a hunter and fisherman, and that he had not yet developed any religious ideas (this is indicated by a complete absence of funerary rituals).¹³ Diluvial man almost certainly differed in appearance from modern man, as reflected in certain differences (albeit of secondary importance) in bone structure and a generally bulkier and heavier physical makeup. In terms of material culture, however, man at the end of the Diluvial epoch had made significant progress, despite the fact that the only materials he had at his disposal for the manufacture of his tools were wood, bone, and stone. He already possessed an advanced toolmaking technology and had even attained a considerable degree of artistry in the ornamentation of his artifacts. Because the principal resource of this culture was stone (particularly flint), it is called Paleolithic (i.e., the Old Stone Age, to differentiate it from the newer stone culture of later periods).

There are, however, very few stone caves on the territory of Ukraine, and only through sheer good fortune have traces of human life survived in the open. It is therefore not surprising that Paleolithic remains are very rare in our region. Nonetheless, so far some ten such sites have been uncovered in Ukraine: in Kyiv (several), near the village of Selyshche (in the Kaniv district) on the Dnipro, in the village of Hintsy on the Udai River in the Poltava region, near the village of Mizyn on the Desna River in the Chernihiv region, at two locations in Russian Podilia—near Kamianets and near the town of Studenytsia—and in Volhynia near Rivne.¹⁴ We

The Solutrean Age—the glacier begins to retreat. This is the age of the reindeer. Flint tools are delicately worked. Toward the end, bone artifacts appear.

The Magdalenian Age—follows the retreat of the glacier. Northern fauna. The mammoth disappears. There is a high incidence of bone and horn artifacts (ornaments).

The transitional period between the geological (Paleolithic) and the newer, Neolithic, culture: Tourassian (end of the Paleolithic) and Tardenoisian (beginning of the Neolithic)—modern fauna, bone artifacts, small flint tools of regular forms.

For a newer version of this scheme, see A. de Mortillet, *La classification paléolithique*. This classification cannot be applied blindly to central Europe, and even less so to eastern Europe, because of differences in the physical and cultural conditions of life in these regions. After studying the Paleolithic remains of central Europe (Germany, Switzerland, and Austro-Hungary), the Viennese archaeologist Hoernes introduced the following revisions into de Mortillet's classification (*Der diluviale Mensch in Europa*, p. 8):

First interglacial period—*Elephas meridionalis*, *antiquus*, and *primigenius*. Chellean–Mousterian cultures.

Interval—second glaciation.

Second interglacial period—the age of the mammoth. Solutrean culture.

Third glaciation.

The third interglacial period corresponds to the Magdalenian culture (the age of the reindeer) and Tourassian (the age of the red deer).

Fourth glaciation—Interval.

However, in a later work (*Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen*, 2: 151), Hoernes almost completely abandons his attempts to date archaeological materials in geological terms. He is uncertain whether to include the Mousterian culture in the last or the penultimate glaciation, and makes no attempt to define all later stages—Aurignacian, Solutrean, Magdalenian—with greater precision in geological terms. Obermaier ('Les formations glaciaires') exhibits greater assurance in placing the Chellean–Mousterian culture in the last interglacial epoch and the Solutrean–Magdalenian in the postglacial. As we see, the new German archaeologists are returning to de Mortillet's system, but instead of speaking of glaciation in general, they refer to the last glaciation. The classification used for Alpine territories and their four glacial periods is inapplicable to the Ukrainian territory. For the time being, when referring to our territory, we can speak with certitude of only one glaciation, which would have had to force all life into the coastal regions. Definite evidence of subsequent interglacial intervals has yet to be found.

13. Certain doubts have recently been raised by a find of human remains in the Dordogne. These remains are believed to date to the Mousterian period and in the opinion of some scholars reveal indications of a burial rite. But this matter requires further study.

14. Recently A. de Mortillet ('L'industrie acheuléenne en Galicie') raised the question of the Paleolithic Period in

can add to this list the neighboring finds on the Vistula River (near Puławy [Novaia Aleksandriia]), on the Voronezh River (in the village of Kostenki), and in the caves of the Crimea.¹⁵ Traces of Diluvial man have not been found farther to the northeast.

Aside from the Crimean caves, only one other site—in the town of Studenytsia on the Dnister River—indicates that the population of that period lived in caves; other sites have been found directly in the banks of rivers. Of these, only three have been studied in some detail and are therefore most interesting: a station in Kyiv and those in Mizyn and Hintsii. The Kyiv station dates back to the early postglacial period, or perhaps even to interglacial times. It lies beneath a thick layer of loess, in a bed of sand (13 to 20 meters beneath the surface), and so far represents the earliest trace and record of human life in eastern Europe.¹⁶ The remains of human life at this site occupy a rather large area (nearly a hectare), occur in large quantities, and, judging by their placement in stratigraphical sequence and by the differences in the remains of animals that have also been found here,¹⁷ accumulated over a considerable span of time. The Mizyn station is located between two layers of loess, in a bed of eroded glacial pebbles, under a rather thick deposit of loess, but not as deep in the ground as the Kyiv station. Its location above a stratum of loess nearly one meter thick indicates that it dates to a later period than the Kyiv site. The animal remains at Mizyn are also of a later date: in addition to mammoths and rhinoceros remains, they include those of reindeer.¹⁸ The Hintsii station lies

eastern Galicia and suggested the probability that an early Neolithic culture existed in this region inasmuch as it had not been covered by the ice sheet. He cited a find from Chystopady (Brody district), which, in his opinion, exhibits the typical features of Acheulean technology. But he studied this object in a museum collection rather than *in situ*, and so far no definitely identified Paleolithic finds have been uncovered in Ukrainian Galicia.

15. For a description of the finds made in Kyiv, Mizyn, and Hintsii, see below. Information about the remains found near the village of Selyshche was offered by Professor Krishtafovich in the paper 'O geologicheskome issledovanii' read at the Eleventh Congress of Russian Naturalists and later published in *Drevnosti*, 21: 178. On the Podilian finds, see Uvarov, *Arkheologiiia Rossii*, 1: 111 (in the vicinity of Kamianets), as well as his 'Ne sushchestvuiut li skhodstva,' and the more recent 'Poezdka v Ekaterinoslav' (Studenytisia). My remarks about the Volhynian finds are based on oral reports. On the find at Puławy, see Krishtafovich, 'Posletretichnye obrazovaniia.' On the Voronezh find, see Kel'siev, 'Paleoliticheskie kukhonnye ostatki.' On the Crimean finds, see Uvarov, *Arkheologiiia Rossii*, 1: 282 and 2: 144; Burachkov, 'Ob"iasnenie k arkeologicheskoi karte'; Merezhkovskii, 'Otchet.' See also, on the find in the village of Shapovalivka, Samokvasov, 'Veshchestvennye pamiatniki,' pp. 338–39; and, on the Katerynoslav find, Mel'nik, *Katalog kolleksii*, p. 4 (in Kovalska Balka [ravine] near Kryvyi Rih, but some of the articles registered here must belong to a later period, for example, the polished axe-hammer, no. 82, and the spear with traces of polishing, no. 83; attempts to verify the accuracy of classifying this site as Paleolithic have not been successful). For information about finds that are even less certain or less known, see the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

16. On the Kyiv finds, see: Antonovich and Armashevskii, *Publichnye lektcii*, and the proceedings of the Eleventh Congress—[Armashevskii, 'O stoianke cheloveka'] *Trudy XI Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, 2: 141–43; Vovk, 'Peredistorychni znakhidky na Kyrylivs'kii ulytsi,' and his 'Magdalens'ke maisterstvo na Ukraïni' (on ornamented mammoth tusks); Khvoiko, 'Kamennyi vek srednego Pridneprov'ia'; idem, 'Découvertes paléolithiques'; and Khvoiko's response to the above article by Vovk on the Magdalenian culture, entitled 'Kievo-Kirillovskaia paleoliticheskaia stoianka' (accompanying a translation of Vovk's article); Hoernes, *Der diluviale Mensch in Europa*, as in fn. 11 above; Želízko, 'Stanice diluvialního človeka v Kyjevě'; Gorodtsov, *Pervobytnaia arkeologiiia*. Another find in Kyiv, also located near the banks of the Dnipro but at the other end of present-day Kyiv, near Protasiv Iar, is described in a single, very short report in 'Novye nakhodki stoianok.' Despite the great interest aroused by the first find in Kyiv, and even though this find was made in such a center of scholarship, these excavations have been poorly researched. As a result, many unanswered questions remain. There exist neither detailed site plans nor journals of the excavations.

17. While the lower layers contain large quantities of mammoth remains (more than 100 tusks alone), the upper strata hold the remains of the cave bear (*Ursus spelaeus*), hyena (*Hyaena spelaea*), and lion (*Felis spelaea*).

18. On the Mizyn station, see the article by Vovk entitled 'Palieolitychni znakhidky'; a second article, dealing with later excavations, has been promised.

above the layer of loess and thus belongs to later, postglacial times, when the regions free of ice and water had been fully mastered by man.¹⁹ Taken together, these sites indicate human habitation in Ukraine over a very long period of time—tens of millennia of the Diluvial epoch, and specifically its second half—namely, the period that corresponds to the Upper Paleolithic cultures in central and western Europe, i.e., the Solutrean-Magdalenian and those of transitional periods.²⁰ The contents of these stations include both human tools and the remains of mammoth and certain other extinct species of animals. Many of the animal bones bear signs of human use: some have been crushed to yield the marrow, while others are charred, carved, worked, or even ornamented.

The population that left its mark on these remains had made significant cultural progress. I have already stated that traces of human life, no matter how ancient, can be confirmed only at a stage at which a significant level of cultural development had been reached. Charcoal found at the above sites serves as evidence of the use of fire, the discovery of which was a major cultural advance. Man used fire to prepare food, which indicates that he had ceased to consume only raw meat. This is attested by the charred animal bones found at these sites. No longer content with such primitive weapons as those available to him in rocks, tree branches, or bones, he learned to chip off pieces from certain kinds of stones in the shapes he needed. He found flint especially suited to his purpose, because it was easy to work with skillful blows, yet was strong, durable, and could be used to pierce, cut, and chop. Several specialized types of flint tools appeared during this period: points of various sizes, both of the type that were meant to be held in the clenched fist (hand axes) and of the hafted variety, as well as scrapers (used to clean and scrape bones, skins, or wood), knives, and graters. Made by striking stone on stone, these tools were still very crude. They were left unpolished and had no perforations in contrast with later, better-made implements. Wood, bone, and horn were also used to make tools (as evidenced by various kinds of points found at the sites on the Udai and Desna Rivers). Of special interest are the ornaments fashioned of mammoth bones: the Kyiv site yielded a large mammoth tusk, ornamented with a still very simple linear design; the Mizyn site, many articles carved of bone and ornamented.

Wherever they existed, as along the Dnister River, natural caves served as dwellings. But as far as other sites are concerned, it is not clear whether these were settlements or merely places where various animals were hunted and eaten.

* * *

That is what the few finds described above tell us about man's cultural progress over the course of the many millennia of the Diluvial epoch.²¹ Just as the earth very slowly and gradually

19. On the Hints site, see the papers by Kaminskii, 'Sledy drevneishei épokhi,' and Feofilaktov, 'O mestonakhzhdenii kremnevnykh orudii' (this was the first Paleolithic station found, and it aroused a great deal of interest).

20. Vovk included both the Kyiv and Mizyn sites in the Magdalenian period, because the carved mammoth bones they contain are characteristic of the Magdalenian culture in France. Hoernes compared the Kyiv station to finds made in the Danubian region and, on the basis of the fauna and the depth at which the Kyiv remains were discovered, believed that this site belonged to the Solutrean culture. Finally, the Czech archaeologist Želízko dated it even further back, to the Chellean-Mousterian period. I have already indicated above how difficult it is to apply the French classification to eastern European finds.

21. It goes without saying that all chronological calculations regarding human civilization, especially as we move farther and farther back in time, can only be approximate and hypothetical. Take, for example, the following dating from

underwent physical changes to move out of the Diluvial and into our own Alluvial [Holocene] epoch, so, too, the old culture slowly and gradually evolved into the newer and more highly developed culture of the modern geological period. This progression can now be traced with some precision in the western European finds. Not too long ago, it was thought that there had been an interval (hiatus) between the Old Stone Age culture and this newer culture in western Europe. This led scholars to suppose that the rise in temperatures at the end of the Diluvial epoch had forced animals to flee north, thereby compelling man to follow, and that the central European expanse was then occupied by a new population with a higher cultural level. But more recent finds have revealed the existence of transitional types between the two cultures, which prove that the new culture evolved slowly from the Diluvial one. Given the small number of finds in Ukraine, it has not been possible to trace in detail the evolution of the old culture into the newer, higher type on our territory; we can only conclude that such an evolution did indeed occur.

This newer culture thrived in physical conditions very similar to our own, amidst an animal population and vegetation not unlike that of today. Though it still had only stone tools at its disposal, these were much more advanced and better fashioned. This new culture is therefore called Neolithic (the New Stone Age) as opposed to the preceding era, the Diluvial stone culture, which is characterized by cruder artifacts and is called the Old Stone Age (Paleolithic).

Whereas only a few recognizably Paleolithic sites have been found on Ukrainian territory, the Neolithic Age is much better represented. New Stone Age remains are scattered throughout virtually the whole country. If there are regions in which such sites have not yet been uncovered, this is due primarily to the little attention that these areas have received. Only the impenetrable boggy marshlands of the forest zone, much less accessible in the past than today, and the mountain regions were uninhabited in Neolithic times. In addition to individual artifacts found sporadically, we have entire human settlements from this period. These sites are called stations if they contain only remains of food, tools, and pottery, and workshops if they bear traces of the manufacture of tools or pottery. We also have burials and entire cemeteries from this age.

Whole groups of such settlements are being found on the territory of present-day Kyiv, or, more precisely, in its suburbs²² (in the city proper all traces of this culture have disappeared). Especially abundant and diverse finds have been made in the northern part of the city (near Kyrylivska [Cyril] Street). Neolithic man lived here in long and narrow (one-meter-wide) man-made caves, which had been dug out in a thick layer of clay (loess). One such cave, which was uncovered with its contents intact, held the remains of food: a large quantity of mollusks as well as fish and animal bones, including those of cows, horses, and pigs, which had been crushed to extract the marrow (but the number of animal bones was small compared to the quantities of mollusk shells). This cave (near the Monastery of St. Cyril [Kyrylivskiy Monastery]) also

the latest archaeological literature: the Upper Paleolithic, Magdalenian, and Solutrean periods—40,000–15,000 B.C.; transitional period—15,000–5,000 B.C.; early Neolithic—5,000–3,500 B.C.; late Neolithic—3,500–2,100 B.C.; Copper Age—2,100–1,800 B.C.; Bronze Age—1,800–1,000 B.C.; early Iron Age (Dipylon-Villanova-Hallstatt)—1,000–500 B.C.; La Tène culture—from 500 B.C. to the birth of Christ; Roman era—from the birth of Christ to A.D. 300. The new cultural currents reached the Carpathian-Dnipro territory with considerable delay: Roman influences, in the second to fourth centuries of the Christian Era; La Tène, some 200 years before the birth of Christ; Hallstatt, near the middle of the last millennium B.C., etc. The beginnings of the metal culture must therefore also have reached Ukraine with significant delay.

22. Kyrylivska Street, Florivska Hora, Iurkovytsia, Preorka, Solomianka, Lysa Hora.

contained charred stones from hearths, stone tools, and fragments of clay vessels, crudely modeled by hand and poorly fired. Close to this cave, near Kyrylivska Street, in the upper layers of soil above the remains of Paleolithic life described in the preceding section, archaeologists also found traces of Neolithic habitation sites—older sites with a more primitive culture, and newer sites. This population lived in surface dwellings constructed in natural depressions or in man-made pits. These dwellings were also found to contain the remains of fireplaces and food, flint and bone tools, and implements made of deer and elk antlers, as well as well-constructed hearths and kilns for firing pottery. The chronology of the different cultural levels represented in these deposits is best reflected in the pottery: the older levels (dwellings sunk deep in the ground) yielded very crudely made and poorly ornamented clay vessels, while those in later strata are better made and more elaborately ornamented and indicate the beginnings of painted pottery. Painted earthenware, resembling terra-cotta works, of the late Neolithic (so-called pre-Mycenaean) culture, of which we shall speak later, was found in the most recent deposits. In addition to progress in technology, the deposits also reveal changes in the way of life: food remains change as the masses of mollusk shells of earlier levels give way to fish, animal, and bird bones; more recent dwellings are better furnished; and so forth.²³

The banks of the Dnipro along its middle course virtually abound with Neolithic remains—both stations and workshops, whose large number points to the existence of a sizable population in that age. More than ten such sites have been uncovered along a stretch extending a distance of some fifty versts between Kyiv and Trypillia [Tripolye] on both sides of the Dnipro (exposed by winds sweeping away mounds of sand, these finds were easily made). Caves dug out in layers of clay, similar to those found outside Kyiv, continue along the banks of the Dnipro. More than 50 such sites have been discovered in the steep slopes of the Dnipro valley between Vyshhorod and Trakhtemyriv, although they are easily destroyed by erosion or by landslides.²⁴ The vicinity of the village of Vyshenky near Kyiv is especially abundant in flint artifacts of very fine and delicate workmanship. A little lower down the Dnipro, in the river plains along the Stuhna and Krasna near Trypillia, archaeologists have found numerous settlements of pre-Mycenaean culture (called Trypillian after the name of the site). This population lived in houses sunken into the ground with wood structures infilled with clay surmounting the pit. Attempts to reconstruct this type of dwelling show it to have been in the form of a shallow pit measuring from 3 to 5 meters in length and width, with a deeper pit in the center containing a hearth. The walls were made of split saplings or wattle crudely plastered with clay mixed with husks or chaff. In some dwellings, the central pit around the hearth was filled with food remains such as animal bones (deer, goats, pigs, cows, sheep, horses), fish bones and scales, and mollusk shells mixed with ashes, as well as broken pottery shards and

23. On the Neolithic caves in Kyiv, see Antonovich, 'Arkheologicheskie nakhodki i raskopki'; Antonovich and Armashevskii, *Publichnye lektzii*, pp. 31–33; Uvarov, *Arkheologiya Rossii*, 1: 276; *Trudy IV Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, vol. 1. On Khvoiko's numerous, albeit carelessly investigated, finds near Kyrylivska Street, see, above all, his own publication: 'Kamennyi vek srednego Pridneprov'ia,' p. 754ff. A more scholarly study, though based solely on the notes and drawings given to him, is Vovk's 'Peredistorychni znakhidky na Kyrylivs'kii ulytsi.' For shorter articles, based in whole or in part on direct analysis, see Antonovich and Armashevskii, *Publichnye lektzii*, pp. 29–30; Armashevskii, 'O stoianke cheloveka,' 2: 141; V. I., 'Novi arkheologichni znakhody'; *Trudy XI Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, 2: 141.

24. On Neolithic clusters of sites in the environs of Kyiv and along the Dnipro, see: Antonovich, *Arkheologicheskaia karta Kievskoi gubernii*; Beliashevskii, 'Pervobytnyi chelovek,' 'Neskol'ko novykh stoianok,' and 'Sledy pervobytnogo cheloveka'; Mel'nik, 'O masterskikh kamennogo veka,' and her *Katalog kolleksii* (table 1—Vyshenky); Kibal'chich, 'O nakhodkakh predmetov kamennogo perioda'; Samokvasov, 'Veshchestvennye pamiatniki,' pp. 339–40; and others.

tools made of flint, horn, and bone. Ashes were found outside the dwellings as well. Scattered throughout the Trypillia region in addition to the pit houses are the so-called areas (*tochky*).^{*} Their inventory of remains is generally poorer but includes large quantities of clay vessels, both whole and broken, some of which contain ashes and partly burned human bones. The floors of these 'areas' are of baked clay and there is no pit in the center. Remains indicate that the walls were also made of clay. It has been conjectured that the 'areas' were the burial grounds of the pre-Mycenaean settlements described above. But it is not always possible to separate these two types of structures, which occur next to each other in some locations and singly in others, and so the special funerary purpose of the clay 'areas' requires further study.²⁵

Continued painstaking research is revealing many traces of human life along the banks of other rivers as well. For example, the banks of the Uzh [Usha] River and its tributaries, especially the Noryn, have been found to contain numerous sites of human habitation from the Neolithic Age—settlements and flint tool workshops (spindle whorls, which were made here from slate, were widely distributed throughout Ukraine, even in historic times). Neolithic remains have also been found near the lower Uzh, along the banks of the Prypiat and the lower Teteriv Rivers. There is a large number of them along the Buh River (the banks between Brest and Volodava have been studied), etc. A large cluster of settlements and workshops is located in southern Volhynia, in the vicinity of the upper Horyn and Ikva Rivers, where close to forty such sites have already been found, including several very well stocked workshops, primarily of polished stone implements (e.g., Velyka and Mala Moshchanytsia, Radymyn). Another find, notable for its size—fifteen hundred implements—was made at Iurova Hora near Smila. A large workshop of flaked and polished stone tools, bone articles, and pottery was discovered near the village of Voloske on the Dnipro (below Katerynoslav [now Dnipropetrovsk]). Stations with many remains were uncovered in the village of Pyrohivtsi on the Desna River (Novhorod-Siverskyi district), Khailivshchyna on the Donets, on the sandy banks of the Donets in general, and elsewhere.²⁶ Traces of clay hut settlements with painted pottery (of the so-called pre-Mycenaean culture) stretch from the vicinity of Kyiv²⁷ in the forest-steppe zone far to the southwest into the Danube basin. Clusters of these settlements have been found along the Hnylyi Tikych River near the village of Kolodyste in the Zvenyhorodka district, along the Kodyma River near the village of Krynychky (Balta district), and along the Ushytsia River near the village of Krutoborodyntsi (Letychiv district). A large number of such sites have also been found in Galicia along the left-bank tributaries of the Dnister—the Zbruch, Nichlava, Seret, and Dzhuryn Rivers (near Vasylykivtsi, Zelenche, Kapustyntsi, Zolote-Bilche [now Bilche-Zolote], and most recently near Koshlyivtsi), as well as along the Dnister itself (near Horodnytsia and Milnytsia). Settlements from the same period have also been discovered along the Prut River in Bukovyna (near the village of Shypyntsi) and in Bessarabia (Petreni in the Bălți district),

* [In contemporary archaeology such places are called platforms (*ploshchadky*).—Eds.]

25. On the Trypillian finds, see Khvoiko, 'Kamennyi vek srednego Pridneprov'ia,' and his 'Raskopki 1901 g.' On other finds, see below.

26. Antonovich, 'Arkheologicheskaiia karta Volynskoi gubernii' (this includes shorter articles); idem, 'O kamennom veke v zapadnoi Volyni'; Ia. Iakimovich, 'Diunnye stoiianki neoliticheskoi epokhi'; Beliashevskii, 'Diunnye stoiianki neoliticheskoi epokhi'; Bobrinskii, *Kurgany i sluchainye arkheologicheskie nakhodki*, 1: 122 (Iurova Hora); Mel'nik, *Katalog kolleksii*, 1: 113 (Voloske); Samokvasov, 'Veshchestvennye pamiatniki,' p. 339 (Desna River region); Gorodtsov 'Rezultaty arkheologicheskikh issledovani v Iziumskom uезде,' p. 175; idem, 'Materialy,' p. 249ff.

27. References to finds in the Desna basin have appeared in archaeological publications (Khvoiko), but no details have been made available.

from where the remains of the same culture lead farther west.²⁸ In addition to the characteristic pottery, all these finds feature the typical remains of clay huts (wattle walls plastered with clay and, in some cases, clay floors and clay roofs) furnished with late Neolithic tools made of stone, bone, and horn and showing clear evidence of the domestication of animals and the beginnings of agriculture.

There is evidence in the Dnister region that stone caves served as dwellings for Neolithic communities as they had for Paleolithic man. Caves with remains of Neolithic life have also been found in Galician Podilia (near Zolote-Bilche).²⁹

Stone remained the principal material for the manufacture of various implements in this culture, but toolmaking technology had become considerably more advanced than that of the Paleolithic. Tools made by flaking with skillful blows were now finished with additional chipping to produce a more even surface and a sharper edge. This method produced utensils with a more regular shape that were more convenient to use. Some implements, such as hammers, axes, chisels, and wedges, were delicately polished. Holes were accurately bored to enable mounting on a shaft, a technique unknown to Paleolithic toolmakers. New and more specialized tools appeared, including maces and chisels, and axes and hammers took on a variety of shapes. Aside from stone, horn and bone were worked. The Kyiv site on Kyrlyvska Street yielded an especially large collection of deer and elk horn implements: polished axes, both broad and narrow, chisels, borers, points, awls, etc. Such bone and horn articles occur in large numbers together with stone implements at the settlement sites of pre-Mycenaean culture.

The making of pottery and the technology of firing clay signified a very important cultural advance. As already described, kilns for firing pottery were found at the sites in Kyiv. They were constructed as pits densely lined with rods of wood infilled with clay and covered by earthenware shards also filled with clay. The manufacture and ornamentation of pottery attained a high level of development in this age.

Technological advances are the first thing that becomes apparent in Neolithic finds. By this time, however, other, even more important, changes had occurred in man's material and spiritual culture. No longer content with the forms of shelter that nature provided, man began to build dwellings, gradually introducing improvements. He began by digging caves in the ground and went on to erect walls of wooden rods and wattle and daub. He also made various improvements in the construction of hearths, stoves, and so forth. The clay huts in the settlements discovered in the vicinity of Trypillia were sometimes arranged in a circle, at times numbering a score or more to form a rather large village (although it is not always clear whether these were actual dwellings or some kind of funerary structures). Large finds of Neolithic remains in southern Volhynia (Buderazh, Radymyn, Vaskovychi) reveal that man was already building fortified settlements (*horodky*) for defense or perhaps for some other purpose, while the large dimensions of some of these fortified sites (*horodyscha*) (sometimes occupying a hectare or

28. Reports about these finds up to 1903–4 are collected in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume and in the paper by Vovk, 'Vyroby peredmikens'koho typu.' This bibliography should be supplemented by such important publications as: Khvoiko, 'Raskopki 1901 g.'; Kaendl, 'Prähistorisches aus der Bukowina' (republished in idem, *Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte*); idem, 'Neolithische Funde' (I have personally examined the finds held at the museum of Lviv University); Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, chap. 11; Spitsyn, 'Raskopki glinianykh ploshchadok' (a report by the late Domanytsky); Shtern, 'Doistoricheskaia grecheskaia kul'tura.' Khvoiko's report on excavations in Krutoborodyntsi will be published in *Trudy XIV Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*; see *IzAK* 12: 47. I know of the excavations in the village of Krynychky from Spitsyn.

29. Talko-Hryncewicz, 'Przyczynek,' pp. 7–8; Demetrykiewicz, 'Vorgeschichte,' p. 118.

even several hectares of land) indicate that the communities that built them were quite large. Situated near rivers, these settlements are encircled by a high wall, beyond which usually stands a second concentric wall, one that does not completely surround the site. Its purpose was to protect the weaker, more accessible side of the stronghold.³⁰

Hunting, fishing, and gathering edible products were no longer the only means of obtaining food. Man began to engage in husbandry. Western European Neolithic sites leave no doubt that Neolithic man kept domestic animals: not only dogs, the earliest domesticated species, but also sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs. Large numbers of bones of these animals have been found in the clay huts with painted pottery of the late Neolithic Period. In all likelihood, these were domesticated animals. Some doubt still exists whether the equine remains from this culture were of tame or wild horses (large hordes of wild horses ranged the steppes of Ukraine, and some scholars trace the domestication of the horse to the eastern European steppe). It is certain that some forms of farming existed; large amounts of barley and wheat, both kernels and groats, as well as wheat, millet, and barley chaff were found in the clay huts. The grain was husked and ground on an embedded stone topped with a second round stone that was turned by hand. Such querns, which are the prototype of hand-mills,³¹ occur frequently in the Neolithic settlements of the Dnipro and Dnister regions.

The general picture of the material culture of the late Neolithic provided by archaeological discoveries corresponds closely to the information that linguistic research offers about Indo-European culture on the boundary between the Neolithic and Metal Ages just before the dispersion of the Indo-European tribes. This will become evident below.

The painted and incised pottery from the end of the Neolithic (the so-called pre-Mycenaean age) attests to the high aesthetic level attained by the population then inhabiting the territory of Ukraine. Although this pottery style probably did not originate locally, indigenous craftsmen certainly developed it further, and it became widespread across much of Ukraine. Numerous kilns and heaps of discarded clay vessels showing traces of firing serve as clear evidence of this. The method of pottery manufacture was very primitive: the potter's wheel had not yet been introduced, and, at best, the walls of the hand-modeled vessels were smoothed with a flat piece of wood. Some pieces were made by using fired clay molds. Nonetheless, the technological level of fashioning and firing this earthenware was high, and certain wares resembled terra-cotta works. Apart from a variety of vessels in original and unusual forms (pear-shaped and globular pitchers, bowls for hanging, platters, twin pots known as 'binocles,' etc.), these culture sites have yielded large numbers of human and animal figurines made of clay. Depictions of human figures and animals also occur on pottery, though less frequently. All this betokens the

30. Antonovich, 'O kamennom veke v zapadnoi Volyni,' and his 'Arkheologicheskaiia karta Volynskoi gubernii,' s.v.

31. For a description of these finds, see the papers by Khvoiko, Vovk, and Shtern cited above. For an article devoted to the bones found at the Koshylivtsi site, see Duré, 'Untersuchungen über neolithische Knochenreste.' On the domestication of animals and the beginnings of agriculture, in addition to the new and revised edition of the classic work by Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, see: Hahn, *Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehung*; idem, 'Zur Entstehung des Getreidebaues'; Keller, *Die Abstammung der ältesten Haustiere*; idem, *Naturgeschichte der Haustiere*; idem, 'Die Haustiere als menschlicher Kulturerwerb'; Albrecht, *Zur ältesten Geschichte des Hundes*; Matschie, 'Die Verbreitung der Säugetiere'; Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen*; M. Much, 'Vorgeschichtliche Nähr- und Nutzpflanzen Europas.' For an overview of materials on domestic animals, see M. Much, *Die Heimat der Indogermanen*, chap. 6, and the handbooks by Schrader (*Reallexikon*), Hirt (*Die Indogermanen*), and others. For this subject specifically in eastern Europe, see Anuchin, 'K drevneishei istorii domashnikh zhivotnykh'; idem, 'K voprosu o dikikh loshadiakh'; Keppen, 'K istorii tarpana v Rossii'.

beginnings of artistic creativity. Although understandably still very naive, this art achieves bold sculptural solutions, pays heed to realistic forms, and is capable of conveying movement (drawings of dogs). What is most striking, however, is the rich and tasteful ornamentation and polychromy of this painted pottery. The design consists primarily of various combinations of spiral motifs. Unpainted vessels are decorated with curvilinear designs that have been impressed or incised, while on painted pottery this pattern is painted on a natural background or on one to which color has been applied. The spiral ornament is distinguished by a high degree of artistry, regularity, variety, and boldness of composition. The range of colors—white, red, black, and chestnut brown (black or chestnut designs on a red background, red designs on white, etc.)—is also very artistic, as are the forms of the vessels. In light of the customary view of the uncivilized and primitive state of Neolithic man and his environment, this ware strikes us as an incomprehensible and inconceivably high attainment. But our ever-growing sum of knowledge about the Neolithic Age is progressively compelling us to reject the notion that Neolithic life was indeed so very primitive.

There is evidence in this age of the existence of a cult of the dead. This very characteristic human phenomenon signifies an important evolution in the sphere of ideas associated with death, man's material and spiritual being, and such. The disposal of the dead, at least in the latter half of the Neolithic (no burials from the early Neolithic Age have yet been found in Ukraine), had assumed a certain set of ritualistic forms, often entailing considerable expense and labor (high barrows, perhaps earthen funerary structures). This suggests the great importance attached to these expressions of respect, which simultaneously served to protect the living against the ill will of the departed and any harm that they could cause.

Funerary rituals sometimes underwent changes, some radical and others less so, which spread across large areas. This dissemination of customs, as well as the existence of different cultural currents, often also very widespread, is a characteristic indicator of wide-ranging contacts, involving exchanges of ideas and products among the populations of that time. Thus the traditional explanation—still frequently offered—that the changes that occurred were solely the result of the migrations and movement of tribes, which allegedly brought with them certain ritual and cultural forms, is no longer valid.³²

Archaeologists hold that inhumation is the older custom and that cremation was a later development. Although this is quite probable, the finds made to date do not confirm this chronological sequence, since it has not been possible to identify burials from the early Neolithic, while in the later Neolithic both interment and cremation were practiced.

The earliest form of burial that can be established is that of laying the corpse on its side in the so-called flexed or contracted position. The corpse was placed in a grave (or, more rarely, on the surface of the ground) and covered by a barrow that was often quite high (even today some barrows rise ten meters in height). In the most typical form of burial, the body was arranged in the contracted position on its side with the hands raised to touch the face. But significant variations were common, and in many burials the corpse was only partly contracted or even laid extended on its back. There is no evidence of any special ritual gear in these burials. Stone implements and pottery are found in some graves; others contain remains of a log frame or are lined with stones. But in general the grave furnishings are very meager. Burials of this type occur across a large stretch of eastern and central Ukraine (ranging from the Dniro

32. See my article 'Etnografichni kategorii.'

region and lands east of it to the lower Dnister region). In instances where several types of burials are found in a single barrow, the form described above is usually the earliest. Only a few such burials are known in western Ukraine (Galicia), but they are not covered by barrows (graves without barrows also occur in western Europe). In some places, this burial type continued until the beginning of the metal culture (the Bronze and even Iron Ages).³³ It is sometimes called 'Cimmerian,' but this is merely a matter of convention and there are no historical grounds to warrant the name.

At the end of the Neolithic Age, a new and very characteristic feature began to appear in this type of burial: sprinkling or staining the corpse with red color (ochre, iron oxide).³⁴ As evidenced by the number of graves found containing such colored skeletons,³⁵ this funerary ritual was very widespread, particularly in the coastal and steppe zones. A large number of such burials has been found across the long stretch between the Kuban region and Bessarabia, often in clusters of several score to several hundred graves. In the north, they extend into the southern Kyiv region, the middle Donets basin, and the Kharkiv region. Such colored-skeleton graves are also found in Siberia.³⁵ Chronologically, this ritual dates to the end of the Neolithic Age and the beginnings of the metal culture.³⁶ There have been numerous explanations for this staining

33. Brandenburg, 'Ob aborigenakh Kievskogo kraia' (contains some additional bibliography on these finds); Èvarnitskii, 'Raskopki kurganov v Khersonskoi gubernii'; Knauer, 'Raskopki v Akkermanskom uезде'; idem, 'O kurganakh, raskopannykh v iuzhnoi Bessarabii'; Antonovich, 'O kamennom veke v zapadnoi Volyni'; idem, 'Arkheologicheskaia karta Volynskoi gubernii,' index on pp. 126–27; Demetrykiewicz, 'Neolityczne groby szkieletów'; shorter reports in *ALLuR*, 1898, p. 212; 1900, p. 19ff. On the distribution of this type of burial in other regions and for various explanations of the unusual position of the corpse, see Andree, 'Ethnologische Betrachtungen über Hockerbestattung' (Andree argues that this pose was the result of binding up the corpse so that the deceased would not be able to escape and harm the living, a practice known among various tribes). Another explanation for the contracted position is provided by Regnault, 'Des attitudes dans la race humaine,' who claims that the body was laid in a position of rest.

34. The transition to this new ritual is very evident in the excavations conducted by Èvarnitskii, 'Raskopki kurganov v Khersonskoi gubernii.' On the other hand, in the Kharkiv excavations by Mel'nyk-Antonovych, documented in her 'Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Akhtyrskom i Kupianskom uездakh' and 'Raskopki kurganov,' the red skeletons occur in the graves, while those in the mounds raised above them are not colored. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the type with unstained skeletons was a later burial custom (see *Trudy XII Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, p. 190).

* [In addition to 'colored skeleton' or 'red skeleton' burials, some archaeological sources use the terms 'red-ochre culture' or 'ochre-grave culture.'—Eds.]

35. Finds on Ukrainian territory (including the Caucasus and the Crimea) up to 1898 have been quite exhaustively collected and described by Spitsyn in the article 'Kurgany s okrashennymi kostiakami.' Finds from later years are described in: Brandenburg, 'Ob aborigenakh Kievskogo kraia'; Knauer, 'O proiskhozhdenii imeni naroda Rus'; Èvarnitskii, 'Raskopki kurganov v Khersonskoi gubernii'; idem, 'Raskopka kurganov v predelakh Ekaterinoslavskoi gubernii'; Mel'nik, 'Raskopki kurganov'; Danilevich, 'Karta monetnykh kladov'; idem, 'Raskopki kurganov'; Gorodtsov, 'Pogrebenie s konem v evropeiskoi Rossii'; idem, 'Rezultaty arkheologicheskikh issledovaniï v Iziumskom uезде'; idem, 'Rezultaty arkheologicheskikh issledovaniï v Bakhmutskom uезде'; Pokrovskii, 'O raskopkakh v Zmievskom i Iziumskom uездakh'; Ianchuk, 'O raskopke odnogo kurgana'; Bobrinskoi, 'Otchet o raskopkakh v Chigirinskom uезде'; Spitsyn, 'Raskopki kurganov bliz s. Kolodistogo'; *ALLuR*, 1898, pp. 58, 116–17, 212; 1900, pp. 8, 181; 1901, pp. 91, 177.

36. N. I. Veselovskii ('O kurganakh s okrashennymi kostiakami') attempted to prove that these burials belong to the Bronze Age and that the stone implements contained in the graves had only a ritual significance. The same is maintained by Gorodtsov. Brandenburg claimed the same about the burials of unstained (flexed) corpses ('Ob aborigenakh Kievskogo kraia'). But their arguments cannot be accepted, for the following reasons: first, it is unlikely that such a large number of these burials survived from the short period of the Bronze Age, and second, it is highly unlikely that the metal culture would not have betrayed itself with something more significant in such a large number of burials with Stone Age furnishings. See also the debates at the Twelfth Archaeological Congress—*Trudy XII Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, 3: 363.

of corpses, but more detailed studies leave no doubt as to how this staining came about. When the corpse was laid in the grave, it was heavily strewn or stained with ochre—sometimes only the head and upper body, at other times the whole body—and as the flesh decomposed, the color settled on the bones.³⁷ Moreover, the staining of corpses is also known in other regions—for instance, in Italy, southern France, North and South America, and Oceania. Scholars surmise that in all likelihood this practice arose in conjunction with the widely occurring ritual significance of red as the color of mourning (also seen in the custom of covering the eyes with a ‘red silk cloth’ [*chervona kytaika*] in Cossack burials).

The red-skeleton burials did not extend to southern Volhynia and Podilia. There the body was placed on the surface of the ground and light-colored clay was sprinkled under its head. The corpse was then covered with layers of the same clay, stone utensils and pottery were placed around it, and a barrow was raised over the grave.³⁸

In Galician Podilia and in some places in Volhynia there are burials of corpses in cists—graves lined with smooth stone slabs, including a slab bottom and cover. Next to the bodies, archaeologists found pottery and stone implements. Unfortunately, so far not a single such cist has been recovered whole and undamaged, or unlooted.³⁹

Cremation burials also occur in different variants.

In the forest zone—in Kyivan Polisia and in Volhynia—urns with human ashes were buried in cists. Finds of such burials are rare, because the cists are not covered by barrows and are discovered only by chance. But several such burials have been examined in detail. The cists, placed in a shallow pit and covered with a layer of earth, are in the shape of a rectangle measuring from one to two meters in length. They consist of eight stone slabs, evened at the top so as not to protrude, and a ninth slab serving as a cover. Several urns of ashes and polished stone axes were found in each such grave.⁴⁰

37. The findings of Antonovych, Spitsyn, Kulakovskii, Knauer, and Gorodtsov put an end to the earlier explanations of red-stained skeletons, such as that the deceased were buried in red attire, or that the stain was applied to the bones after the flesh had been removed from the corpse (this explanation was repeated quite recently by Niederle in his *Chelovechestvo v doistoricheskie vremena*, pp. 147–48). Antonovych cited an example of an excavated skeleton where the red coloring substance appeared in the soil that covered the eyes of the deceased. Kulakovskii described a Crimean burial in a cist in which the soil had not covered the corpses directly and a layer of red powder was found on them and on the platform on which they lay. Spitsyn mentioned a similar instance in which the bones of the skeleton were red on top and white underneath. Chemists have demonstrated that the bones absorbed the stain long after the burial, after the flesh had decomposed and the bones had dried out. See reports on the papers by Antonovych in *Trudy VIII Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, 3: 91–92, and *Trudy IX Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, 2: 108; N. I. Veselovskii, ‘O kurganakh s okrashennymi kostiakami’; Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, 1: 58 and 2: 59; idem [Bobrinskoi], ‘Otchet o raskopkakh v Cherkasskom i Chigirinskom uezdakh’; Kulakovskii, ‘K voprosu ob okrashennykh kostiakakh,’ and his ‘Sur la question des squelettes colorés’; M. Iakimovich, ‘Ob okrashennykh kostiakakh,’ and his ‘O mikroskopicheskom stroenii molochnykh zubov,’ both of which deal with microscopic analysis of the stained bones; Krause, ‘Zur Frage’ and ‘Neolitische Mensch- und Tierknochen’; Knauer, ‘Menschliche Knochen mit rothen Flecken’; Duhn, ‘Rot und Tot’; and the short article by Sonny, ‘Rote Farbe.’

38. Excavations by Luba-Radzimiński, as reported in his ‘Wiadomość o nowych wykopaliskach w powiecie Ostrogskim’ and ‘Dalsze poszukiwania archeologiczne.’ The results, with many illustrations, appear in Liuba Radzimiński, ‘Pamiętniki kamiennego veka.’ The bones excavated from these graves have been described by Kopernicki in his ‘O kościach i czaszkach ludzkich’ and ‘Czaszki z powiatu ostrogskiego.’ On the Kamianets district, see Pułaski, ‘Poszukiwania archeologiczne na Podolu rosyjskim.’

39. For reports, see Kirkor, ‘O grobach kamiennych na Podolu galicyjskim’; idem, ‘Sprawozdanie i wykaz zabytków...1877’; idem, ‘Sprawozdanie i wykaz zabytków...1878’; *ALiUR*, 1901, pp. 30, 163; *ALiUR*, 1902 (on the Don region); *IzAK*, 29: 54 (on southern Volhynia).

40. Vyshevychi and Hlynnytsia in the Radomyshl district, Zhydivtsi in the Skvyra district, Zbranka in the Ovruch

Cemeteries of cremated remains have been found in the Donets basin in the eastern part of Ukraine. These burials contain crudely made pottery and similarly crude stone implements (perhaps especially so fashioned for the purposes of the funerary ritual).⁴¹

As already mentioned, excavations of the settlements with painted and ornamented pottery have revealed 'areas' (*tochky*) with urns containing the burned bones of human corpses along with pottery and various utensils. However, the lack of detailed studies makes it impossible at this stage to distinguish between dwellings and funerary structures or to reconstruct the appearance and furnishings of these burial 'areas.'⁴²

The occurrence of different types of burials, with variations within each type, points to the existence of ethnic or cultural differences and to changes and movement in the life of the population inhabiting the territory of Ukraine in that period. We do not always understand the causes of these changes, but we know that they occurred. The most telling indication that upheavals of one kind or another did indeed occur on this territory during the period under investigation is offered by the culture of clay huts and painted pottery. Apart from the inherent value of its pottery (its relatively high technological level, diversity of forms, the first sure signs of artistic creativity with great advances in some spheres), this culture poses a number of interesting questions about life on the Ukrainian territory in this age. This culture, which appeared suddenly with its characteristic uniform features across a large expanse stretching from the lower Desna to the middle reaches of the Dnister and Prut, differs radically from the preceding and neighboring strata of the Neolithic period. Like finds of painted pottery and clay figurines show that it extended westward, into Moldavia and Transylvania, and similar finds have been made in the central Danubian regions and on the Adriatic coast. Analogies have also been found on the other side of the Ukrainian territory, in recent discoveries in Thessaly and in the remains of the ancient Aegean culture of the pre-Mycenaean period. These similarities have led many scholars to think that the culture of painted pottery found on our territory reflects the pre-Mycenaean or even Mycenaean culture of the Aegean coast. This argument is very appealing, but the difficulty is that the pre-Mycenaean civilization of the Aegean, which is generally believed to have flourished approximately two thousand years before the birth of Christ, possessed a highly developed bronze culture. It is difficult to imagine that the population of our territory adopted the ornamental style and techniques of painting pottery from this source without also adopting from their teachers or intermediaries the manufacture of metal implements or even the use of the potter's wheel, which was well known in the pre-Mycenaean age. For that reason, other scholars tend to regard the culture of clay huts and painted pottery as a phenomenon older than the pre-Mycenaean culture of the Aegean coast, dating to about 3,000 B.C., or even to see in it the prototype of pre-Mycenaean culture, which had been brought to these southern regions by some migration such as, for instance, the Thracian tribes, who migrated from the Black Sea region into the Balkans.⁴³ The fact that this rich culture

district, and Oknyny, Novyi Malyn, and Verkhiv in the Ostrih district: in Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, pp. 21, 49–51, as well as in his *Arkheologicheskaia karta Kievskoi gubernii*, p. 58, and his 'Arkheologicheskaia karta Volynskoi gubernii,' pp. 90, 95, 96 (only the finds in Vyshevychi are described in detail).

41. Danilevich, 'Raskopki kurganov'; they are called barrows here, but virtually no sepulchral mounds are present.

42. On the finds of charred remains of human bones in the urns discovered at such 'areas,' see Khvoiko, 'Kamennyi vek srednego Pridneprov'ia.' However, he also reports finding whole skeletons, skulls, etc., and in one instance a skeleton with charred bones (which could have been caused by a fire) in some 'areas.' On the debate concerning the funerary nature of the 'areas,' see *ALuR*, 1904, nos. 3 and 4. Scholars continue to doubt that they were burial sites.

43. In addition to the cited articles by Vovk and Stern, see also H. Schmidt, 'Troja—Mykene—Ungarn'; Hoernes,

disappeared at the beginning of the Metal Age, leaving no traces and no legacy in the later colonization, actually supports the theory regarding the migration of its bearers—at least for the time being.

If, however, we maintain that this culture was independent of the Aegean culture, we need to answer other questions—namely, under what influences did it develop on our territory, where are its origins? Some scholars have suggested ancient Persia as the possible cradle.⁴⁴ There are also some who wish to see in our finds an independent culture that left a major imprint on European culture.⁴⁵ But recent discoveries in the northern Caucasus and Turkestan of pottery and clay figurines very similar to those found in Ukraine, as well as of similar clay structures containing flint and copper implements (in the Turkestani finds), make the hypothesis of independence quite unlikely and suggest that the answer may lie in future Asian excavations. Attempts to give a definitive answer to the question of origin are premature, inasmuch as we still know very little about this culture on our own territory. We have at our disposal only a few isolated clusters of this culture type, which were discovered more or less by chance and which, for the most part, have been inadequately studied and poorly described. My only reason for devoting space to the various theories on this subject was to show the interesting prospects that these finds open before us.

Much less has been done to determine the physical characteristics of the Neolithic population of our territory than to describe its culture. At this time, we can ascertain only that this population was longheaded (dolichocephalic).⁴⁶ Too little attention has been paid to other anthropological features to allow more general conclusions, but where attention was paid to the form of the skull (and, of course, where the burial rites did not involve cremation and left the skeleton whole), it was generally found that Neolithic skulls were longheaded.⁴⁷ Exceptions

'Die neolithische Keramik in Österreich'; idem, 'Les premières céramiques en Europe Centrale.' On the distribution of painted pottery and the spiral ornament in central Europe, see M. Much, *Die Heimat der Indogermanen*, chap. 3.

44. See *Trudy XIV Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, p. 51. On the earliest types of painted pottery from Mesopotamia and its influence on Mediterranean earthenware, see J. de Morgan, 'Observations sur les origines des arts céramiques.' See also Peet, Wace, and Thompson, 'The Connection of the Aegean Civilization,' and Vassits, 'South-eastern Elements.'

45. This position has recently been adopted, under the influence of finds made at Trypillia and Petreni, by E. Meyer, one of the most authoritative historians of the ancient world. In the latest edition of his history (*Geschichte des Altertums* [1909 ed.], vol. 1, chap. 2, sections 533, 537, 543, 545, 570), Meyer attributes great originality to this culture. Regarding European culture in general as passive and completely dependent on the culture of the Southeast, he sees in our culture 'east of the Carpathians' one of the few (he finds only two) instances in which something independent of the influence of the South evolved in Europe. Above all, he views the custom of cremation as original to this region and believes that this ritual later spread from here to the culture of the Aegean.

46. For those unfamiliar with this, the form of the skull is established in terms of the relationship between its breadth (the most projecting points at the sides of the head, usually a little above and behind the ears) and its length (the midpoint between the brows and the most projecting point at the back of the head). This ratio, multiplied by 100, provides a cephalic index. When, for example, the head is longer by a third than it is wide, this ratio is 3:4 and the index is 75. This index varies in human skulls from 58 to 98, but most frequently falls between 70 and 85. Skulls having an index of over 80 are broad and short (brachycephalic). The point at which a skull is regarded to be long varies: 77 (Brock's index), now usually 75. Skulls with an index of 75 (or 77) or less are considered long (dolichocephalic); those between 65 and 80, medium (orthocephalic). In addition, a distinction is sometimes made between elongated (subdolichocephalic) and broadened (subbrachycephalic—81 and 82) skulls. Of course, the higher the index, the wider the skull, and the lower the index, the longer the skull.

47. See Bogdanov, 'O cherepakh liudei kamennogo veka' and 'Quelle est la race'; Antonovich, 'O kamennom veke v zapadnoi Volyni'; Talko-Hryncewicz, 'Przyczynek' (burials from the Stone Age are lumped together here with those from the transitional period and the beginning of the Metal Age). The general, unsubstantiated descriptions of the

are rare, usually single instances, and, moreover, they are found in burials of a transitional period, as, for instance, in the burials with colored skeletons, which border on the Metal Age.⁴⁸

* * *

As already described, copper axes were found lying next to the urns in some of the clay chambers containing painted pottery in the vicinity of Trypillia. This is not the only place on our territory where the first metal objects included among Neolithic furnishings were made of pure copper. For instance, a similar copper axe was discovered in a Stone Age cemetery in Hungarian Ruthenia (Luchka in Uzh komitat). Some burials in Podilia also contain copper objects along with stone implements. The same is true of the burials with red-stained skeletons in the Kharkiv region. Finds in the Alpine regions of dwellings erected on platforms supported by piles leave no doubt that the first metal to be used by the Neolithic population of Europe was native copper, with bronze, an alloy of copper and tin (roughly one part tin to nine parts copper), coming into use only later. This is quite understandable, inasmuch as copper is the most accessible and easily worked metal in primitive conditions. It is less practical and less durable and ductile than bronze, but to make bronze, two metals must be known—copper and tin, both in their native state, since there exists no natural alloy of copper and tin that would produce bronze directly as it is worked, and copper and tin ores occur together very infrequently.⁴⁹ Thus the manufacture of bronze requires significant advances in metallurgy, and it therefore came into use much later than pure copper.⁵⁰

Objects made of copper have been found at other Ukrainian sites as well, but their incidence is rather low on our territory. This can be attributed to the fact that copper is not preserved in the ground as well as bronze and that as the latter metal became more widely used in the manufacture of various items, very many copper articles were probably smelted into bronze.

Neolithic population given by various scholars, even on the basis of their own materials, are of less value. See, for instance: Brandenburg, 'Ob aborigenakh Kievskogo kraia,' p. 158, on the dolichocephalism of the flexed skeletons; Spitsyn, 'Kurgany s okrashennymi kostiakami,' p. 80, on the dolichocephalism of the stained skeletons; Pulavskii, 'Arkheologicheskie nakhodki v Podol'skoi gubernii,' p. 147, on the longheaded skulls in these burials; and so forth. 48. E.g., Bobrinskii (*Kurgany*, 2: 54, 140) included one burial in which the colored skeleton was shortheaded, with a cephalic index of 82.3.

49. The natural combination of copper and tin is known in only one location—in Cornwall, England. But the proportion of tin there is much greater than needed for bronze, and in order to make bronze from this ore, the tin and copper must be extracted from it separately.

On bronze technology in general, see M. Much, *Die Kupferzeit in Europa*. For Hungary, see Pulszky, *Die Kupferzeit in Ungarn*.

50. Galician finds are noted in the cited work by M. Much and in Demetrykiewicz, 'Vorgeschichte,' and Hungarian-Ruthenian finds in M. Much and Pulszky. Those from the central regions of Ukraine appear in *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, 1: 14 (seven copper axes of various forms, a sickle, spear, and chisel from the Kyiv region; a sickle and spear from the Katerynoslav area near the Dnipro rapids); Antonovich, *Arkheologicheskaia karta Kievskoi gubernii*, p. 77 (a copper axe found together with bronze articles); Khvoiko, 'Nachalo zemledeliiia' (copper and bronze articles from the Kyiv region); Setsinskii, 'Arkheologicheskaia karta Podol'skoi gubernii,' pp. 45, 81, 97 (copper axes). For a report on copper knives resembling sickles and axes from the Ielysavethrad [now Kirovohrad] district, see *AIZ*, 3 (1895): 371.

Other collections of 'bronze articles' will undoubtedly yield many copper objects as well, especially as there is usually no chemical analysis and very often copper items are not distinguished from those made of bronze. Thus, for example, one table in *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia* is captioned 'copper and bronze articles.' The comprehensive work by Shtukenberg, 'Materialy dlia izucheniia mednogo (bronzovogo) veka,' also contains a mixture of copper and bronze articles.

Only recently has attention been paid to copper articles, and specialists are only now beginning to distinguish them into a separate category from bronze. Consequently, the number of copper finds is growing yearly. There is considerable evidence of a copper culture in Ukraine. A rather large cluster of copper culture sites has also been discovered on the eastern boundaries of the Don basin, in what is now the Voronezh region.⁵¹ But it is necessary to distinguish between articles from the initial stages of the Copper Age, when bronze was not yet known, and later copper products, which were made of copper instead of bronze owing to a shortage of tin. This distinction is not often drawn.

Copper and, later, bronze and gold are the metals that characterize the early metal culture. Iron and silver came into use much later.

The appearance of metals did not immediately usher in a cultural revolution. Even in areas where bronze eventually came to be very widely employed as the principal material for the manufacture of diverse objects, ranging from weapons to various ornaments, thereby initiating a period known as the Bronze Age, copper, as well as stone and bone, remained in use concurrently with bronze for quite some time. Copper and bronze objects were always rare and costly, and they did not become widely available as soon as they appeared. Before copper had become commonplace, bronze was introduced. In Ukraine, moreover, iron emerged on the scene even before bronze had become fully established.

A fairly widespread view in archaeological literature rejects the existence of a Bronze Age in eastern Europe altogether, except in its extreme eastern regions bordering on Asia, which were part of the sphere of the Asian bronze culture—that of Siberia and Central Asia.⁵² Although this argument cannot be made quite so categorically, there is some justification for it with respect to central Ukraine, where virtually no Bronze Age occurred. Since neither copper nor tin were mined here, bronze articles had to be imported into this region.⁵³ Hence, bronze-working attained importance only in those parts of Ukraine that were located closer to large centers of bronze culture. The Carpathian slopes lay in the sphere of influence of an intensive

51. On excavations and finds in the Zadonsk and Zemliansk districts of Voronezh gubernia (the villages of Skorniakovo and Skakun), see Sizov, 'Skorniakovskie kurgany Voronezhskoi gubernii'; Spitsyn, 'Obozrenie nekotorykh gubernii,' p. 134; articles (spears, axes, chisels) are noted in the *Imperatorskii Rossiiskii istoricheskii muzei*, pp. 46–47, 600 (where the Skakun finds are described as being bronze). The graves found here are especially interesting in that they contain only stone and copper objects. Similar burials were found in the Donets excavations by Gorodtsov, 'Materialy,' but he did not distinguish between copper and bronze and listed them together.

52. The most authoritative and staunch advocate of the view that there was no bronze culture in eastern Europe was the late V. Antonovych. Unfortunately, his papers on this subject have not been published. For short résumés, see Antonovich, 'O bronzovykh orudiiakh,' pp. 4–5; idem, 'O bronzovom veke v basseine Dnepra,' pp. 74–75; and a summary of the latter paper and discussion of it at the Ninth Archaeological Congress as summarized by Storozhev in *Istoricheskoe obozrenie*. In the first of the above papers, Antonovych argued that the bronze remains in the Dnipro region had been left there by the hordes that crossed our territory—the Huns, Avars, and Hungarians. In his second paper, he suggested that the bronze articles had been imported through trade and indicated the routes along which they had been brought in. He admitted the existence of a Bronze Age only in the western part of our territory (beyond the Smotrych and the Buh Rivers) and in the Black Sea region. Disputing Antonovych's views, Anuchin, in *Trudy IX Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, 2: 75–76, acknowledged, with a number of reservations, the existence of a bronze culture in eastern Europe, in the sense that at certain times bronze was used for various articles more widely than iron, even though iron was already known. Other, less important sources were included in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

53. To the best of my knowledge, reports about traces of ancient mining of copper ore on our territory (Burachkov, 'Ob"iasnenie k arkheologicheskoi karte,' p. 12; Iastrebov, 'Opyt topograficheskogo obozreniia,' p. 28; Niderle, *Chelovechestvo v doistoricheskie vremena*, p. 208) have not, to date, been verified.

middle Danubian or Adriatic bronze culture. These influences were probably much stronger here than might be surmised from the small number of known bronze finds in the Galician foothills and in the mountains (then still unpopulated or very sparsely populated).⁵⁴ In the east, recent excavations in the Donets River basin (in the Izium district) suggest that there was a time between the Stone and Iron Ages when the use of copper and bronze implements was quite widespread in this area—possibly because of the presence of a fairly advanced bronze-working center in the Don region inspired by the bronze culture of the Urals or, even more likely, that of the Caucasus. (The inventory of the burials of this period is very meager and the graves contain few bronze articles. However, the absence of stone and iron utensils, the presence of molds for casting bronze objects, and traces of the use of efficient metal tools suggest that bronze implements played a rather important role here at one time.⁵⁵)

Bronze artifacts could have been imported into the central Ukrainian lands in the basin of the middle Dnipro and Boh* both from the west and the east (from the Urals and the Caucasus). An even greater number may have been brought in from the Black Sea region. In recent years, a large body of materials has revealed distinct similarities between the bronze cultures of the northern Caucasus and the middle Danubian region.⁵⁶ These similarities leave no doubt that there was a link between the two cultures and that the Pontic coast, which had an identical bronze culture, served as a bridge between them. Indeed, abundant traces of bronze manufacture have been identified along the banks of the lower Dnipro.

Lacking local ore sources, the bronze culture spread very slowly across the wide expanse of Ukrainian territory. Stone and bone must have retained their importance in the local culture for a long time after bronze implements had come into use. Before bronze had completely displaced stone, iron had made its appearance. That explains why some Neolithic finds contain copper articles (such as those described above), while in others the Stone Age is succeeded directly by the Bronze Age (e.g., some burials with red-stained skeletons that contain both bronze and stone objects). At some sites, stone implements appear together with objects made of iron as the immediate successor to stone. Such is the case in the burials near the villages of Hatne and Iankovychi near Kyiv, where iron implements appear together with polished stone tools and very crude pottery.⁵⁷ Thus, excluding the western and eastern borderlands of Ukraine, which have not been adequately studied thus far, it is more accurate to describe a transitional stage from stone to metals in general on our territory and to include in this period both the finds in which

54. On finds in Galicia of bronze articles of central Danubian and Adriatic manufacture of the so-called Hallstatt type (it is not always possible to differentiate them), see: Demetrykiewicz, 'Vorgeschichte,' pp. 120–22; my article, 'Bronzovi mechi z Turets'koho povitu' (three bronze swords; there are several such swords in each of the Lviv collections); Przybysławski, 'Skarb brązowy'; also Pułaski, 'Wiadomość o dwu zabytkach brązowych'; Pulavskii, 'Arkheologicheskie nakhodki v Podol'skoi gubernii,' p. 150. On the finds in Hungarian Ruthenia, see Undset, *Études sur l'âge du bronze*; Hampel, *Trouvailles de l'âge du bronze*, and his *Altertümer der Bronzezeit in Ungarn*—more than 1,000 objects are published here and the appended geographic index, pp. 12–14, orientates the reader in the culture of Transcarpathia [Hrushevsky uses the term *Pidkarpattia* here to mean the territories south of the Carpathians.—Eds.]. The Hungarian edition of this work, idem, *A bronzkor emlékei Magyarhonban*, provides information on more recent finds.

55. For information on excavations, see: Gorodtsov, 'Rezultaty arkheologicheskikh issledovaniï v Iziumskom uезде' and 'Rezultaty arkheologicheskikh issledovaniï v Bakhmutskom uезде'; Mel'nik, 'Arkheologicheskie raskopki' and 'Raskopki kurganov.'

* [The 'Buh' in the original is presumably the Boh.—Eds.]

56. See the interesting parallels cited in Wilke, 'Archäologische Parallelen' and 'Vorgeschichtliche Beziehungen.'

57. On the burials in the villages of Hatne and Iankovychi, see: *Trudy III Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, vol. 1, minutes, p. 80ff., and the sketches of these burials; and Antonovich, *Arkheologicheskaia karta Kievskoi gubernii*, p. 21.

metal objects occur together with stone and those containing copper and bronze implements.⁵⁸

Despite all that has been said above, bronze products were widely distributed even in the central parts of Ukraine. Finds from this period indicate extensive use not only of such items as arrowheads, mirrors, and various ornaments, which continue late into the Iron Age, but also of such characteristic implements as bronze axes, spears, swords, and knives, which were replaced by their iron counterparts as soon as iron was introduced.⁵⁹ Not only were bronze products imported, but they were manufactured locally, as is evident from the stone molds for casting bronze axes, spears, and sickles, or the pieces of bronze ready to be worked that have been found in the middle Dnipro region.⁶⁰ However, almost no typical bronze culture burials have been found in the central regions of Ukraine; where such have been uncovered, it is quite valid to ask whether it was not by sheer accident that they contain only bronze artifacts.⁶¹

* * *

Archaeologists frequently refer to the early Iron Age in Ukraine as the 'Scythian' period. This designation is quite arbitrary, since it applies to the first stages of the Iron Age, during which the Scythians were only one of the peoples inhabiting the Ukrainian territory. It does, however, serve to distinguish this period from the later iron culture, which was predominantly Slavic. But inasmuch as a very large and diverse body of materials from the prehistoric Iron Age in Ukraine has not yet been subjected to the kind of investigation that would enable us to classify these materials according to a precise chronological and ethnographic scheme, it seems wiser to avoid ethnographic designations where we are not certain about ethnicity and to confine ourselves to cultural evidence alone.

I have already written that there are finds, primarily in the northern zone of Ukraine, where the Iron Age follows directly upon the Stone Age. For instance, in the already described burials in the northern Kyiv region (the villages of Hatne and Iankovychi), iron weapons were found together with stone implements and very crude pottery. At other sites, the ancient culture types of the Neolithic

58. This transitional period is sometimes called Eneolithic (Copper-Stone).

59. On bronze finds, see the archaeological map of Kyiv gubernia (Antonovich, *Arkheologicheskaiia karta Kievskoi gubernii*), featuring about twenty typical finds, and also the archaeological maps of Volhynia (Antonovich, 'Arkheologicheskaiia karta Volynskoi gubernii') and Podilia (Setsinskii, *Arkheologicheskaiia karta Podol'skoi gubernii*), and the indexes. Also see Mel'nik, *Katalog kollektsii*, chap. 2 (the largest collection of Ukrainian bronze); *Imperatorskii Rossiiskii istoricheskii muzei* (bronze articles from the Kharkiv and Poltava regions); Iastrebov, 'Opyt topograficheskogo obozreniia' (Kherson region); Gorodtsov, 'Rezultaty arkheologicheskikh issledovani v Iziumskom ueзде'; idem, 'Rezultaty arkheologicheskikh issledovani v Bakhmutskom ueзде'; Mel'nik, 'Arkheologicheskie raskopki'; idem, 'Raskopki kurganov'; Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, vol. 1, supp. 1, on Ukrainian bronze (several objects from Ukraine).

60. On finds of casting molds, see Neyman, 'Notatki archeologiczne z Podola rosyjskiego'; Ossowski, 'Osada i odlewnia brązów' (it would be especially interesting to verify the authors' surmise that the molds found here were made of local stone: Neyman, p. 37; Ossowski, p. 50); Antonovich, *Arkheologicheskaiia karta Kievskoi gubernii*, p. 47; *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vol. 1, tables 10–12; *Trudy VIII Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, chap. 4, p. 52; Mel'nik, *Katalog kollektsii*, pp. 36, 40–41; Iastrebov, 'Opyt topograficheskogo obozreniia,' p. 28; Iurjevich, *Kratkii ukazatel' Muzeia*, p. 44; Gorodtsov, 'Rezultaty arkheologicheskikh issledovani v Bakhmutskom ueзде,' pp. 228–29; *Imperatorskii Rossiiskii istoricheskii muzei* (a collection of stone molds from the village of Kardashynka in Tavriia gubernia on the lower Dnipro); *ALLuR*, 1900, p. 24; Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, vol. 1, supp. 1.

61. Burials in the villages of Dovzhyk and Romanivka in the Kyiv region, as described in Antonovich, *Arkheologicheskaiia karta Kievskoi gubernii*, pp. 57, 68; some burials at Heremesiv [now Mariivka] and Velyka Bilozerka, as described in Zabelin, *Istoriia russkoi zhizni*, 1: 617–18; Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, 3: 23–25, and others.

Age progress into the Iron Age with an admixture in varying degrees of copper and bronze culture elements. Thus the burials with red-stained skeletons in the Donets basin, though they display no significant ritual variations, have yielded purely Neolithic assemblages, or a combination of stone and bronze (or copper) implements, or bronze objects accompanied by the first indicators of the Iron Age: iron weapons, glass, and silver.⁶² In the numerous cemeteries discovered in the Buh basin, finds include objects dating from the Neolithic to fairly late in the Iron Age, though the burials themselves reveal no perceptible differences in funerary rituals or other cultural characteristics. It is true, however, that the manner in which these sites have been studied leaves much to be desired.

The cemeteries in the northern forest zone are now regarded as most representative of the early and late Iron Age (preceding the period of the great Slavic migration) and are therefore of great interest. However, they have only recently begun to attract attention and have not yet been adequately explored. These cemeteries consist of large groups of graves without barrows and often contain both inhumation and cremation burials. In the older burial fields, such as those in the Buh basin, Neolithic remains occur alongside objects made of bronze (ornaments), iron, and stone, reflecting the influence of the early iron culture of western Europe (Hallstatt). The later burials, such as those already excavated in the Dnipro region, are distinguished by finds that are typical of the final centuries before the birth of Christ and the first centuries of the Christian Era. These finds include fibulae of the so-called Roman provincial or Celtic type, glass vessels, and jewelry. Along with primitive examples of pottery, there are clay vessels made on the wheel in beautiful and symmetrical shapes. This pottery is not richly decorated; only occasionally do we perceive a faint echo of the lavish ornamentation seen on the earthenware found in the Neolithic 'areas.' There is no painted pottery, because, as I have already noted, the culture of the clay huts left us no legacy in the later strata of colonization.⁶³

The cultural strata of this northern zone, where stone implements are found mixed in with iron, or even with bronze and iron, or with traces of such indicators of later cultures as gold, glass, and pottery of a later date among the bronze and stone objects, correspond chronologically to the early Iron Age of the Mediterranean basin, the so-called Hallstatt period (which lasted more or less up to the sixth century B.C.). The richest and most striking find from this period is the Mykhalkiv gold hoard, found in the eroded bank of the Zbruch River near the village of Mykhalkiv (it was discovered in the 1870s, but was held in secret and has only now been published). It contains a gold diadem, many clasps (fibulae), several bracelets, disks (phalerae), buttons, and other ornaments. Some of the articles are identical to the ornaments of the Hallstatt type found in the gold hoards of neighboring Hungary.⁶⁴ Bronze Hallstatt-type ornaments also occur in the cemeteries of the Buh and Dnipro regions.⁶⁵ So far, archaeologists have not

62. Excavations by Gorodtsov ('Rezultaty arkhologicheskikh issledovaniy v Iziyuskom uezde' and 'Rezultaty arkhologicheskikh issledovaniy v Bakhmutskom uezde') and Mel'nyk-Antonovych (Mel'nik, 'Arkheologicheskie raskopki' and 'Raskopki kurganov').

63. Khvoiko's 'Polia pogrebenii' contains very brief annotations with generalized descriptions. The objects are published in *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vol. 4. Though beautifully reproduced, they are accompanied by very general annotations that at times make it impossible to distinguish them from other objects. On the cemeteries in the upper reaches of the Buh, see Szaraniewicz, 'Cmentarzyska przedhistoryczne' and 'Das große prähistorische Gräberfeld zu Czechy,' as well as my 'Pokhoronno pole v s. Chekhakh.'

64. Hadaczek, *Złote skarby michałkowskie*. On these, see Hadaczek, 'Zum Goldschatz von Michałków'; Hoernes, 'Goldfunde aus der Hallstattperiode.'

65. E.g., finds in Kyiv gubernia in *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vol. 1, table 16, no. 60; Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, 3: 23 and table 2; *MURE*, 3: 6-8; and others.

identified anything of local manufacture at the northern sites, either from this earlier period or from its later Celtic phase (the so-called La Tène culture),⁶⁶ which encompasses the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ. Some characteristic La Tène objects of local manufacture have been found in the Dnipro region, as well as farther east. They date to the final centuries of the pre-Christian era.⁶⁷ To the extent that we can judge on the basis of available material, which is still very limited, the population of the northern zone (stretching approximately above Kyiv and Lviv) lived a sedentary life and experienced no major cultural or ethnic upheavals, either in the preceding Neolithic period or in the new Metal Age, until the great dispersion of the Slavs. There is no indication of radical changes or of mighty new waves that would have inundated the old way of life. Echoes of major cultural transformations penetrated these regions from afar, greatly weakened, and settled quietly onto the old forms, lacking strength to overcome and displace them with new and more advanced cultural levels. That is the impression we derive from what we know thus far. It is possible that some unexpected find will compel us to reach a different conclusion.

The evolution of the iron culture during the last 500–600 years before Christ is much more apparent in the coastal steppe zone and the forest-steppe Dnipro lands (including the southern Kyiv and Poltava regions) than in the north. There is evidence here of several strong cultural currents coming together and combining.

The first type is the iron culture, bearing distinct traces of antique influences, which is represented in finds and burials containing Greek articles or products modeled on Greek prototypes. The richest and best known type sites in this category are the barrows* at Kul-Oba near Kerch, Karagodeuashkh near Krymskaia Stanitsa in the Caucasus, Chortomyk near the Dnipro rapids, and at Ryzhanivka in the southern Kyiv region (Zvenyhorodka district). All these burials were unquestionably barbarian, but their contents include large quantities of Greek objects, many of which were adapted to the needs of barbaric life (in the choice of subjects, ornament, and the articles themselves). Among these are the famous Kul-Oba and Chortomyk vases with scenes from Scythian life, plates of gold to be applied on clothing in the barbarian mode, and various lavish ornaments not worn by the Greeks but in demand by a barbarian population avid for gold. These burials can be dated only approximately—based on the style and technology of the articles in them—to the period between the fifth and second centuries B.C., known as the Scytho-Sarmatian age. Apart from these lavishly stocked barrows, numerous sites of burials or settlements reveal a large number of more isolated traces of Greek and later Greco-Roman culture in the form of metal implements and coins. In the Dnipro area, such finds extend nearly as far as the forest line in the Dnipro-Don watershed, and in the Donets basin they reach as deep into the forest-steppe zone as the Kharkiv region.⁶⁸

These antique influences coexisted on Ukrainian territory with other cultural currents, whose artistic style and kinds of artifacts link them with southwestern Asia, Turkestan [Central Asia],

66. The name is derived from a large find of this culture type in the shallows (*tène*—‘shallows’) of the Lake of Neuchâtel (Ger. Neuenburgersee) in Switzerland.

67. Beliashevskii, ‘Pole pogrebal'nykh urn’; Spitsyn, ‘Pamiatniki latenskoï kul'tury v Rossii.’ On Galician finds, see Demetrykiewicz, ‘Vorgeschichte.’

* [In the literature, Scythian barrows are also called ‘kurgans,’ a term derived from Russian.—Eds.]

68. The principal works include: Ashik, *Bosporskoe tsarstvo*; *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*; *Drevnosti Gerodotovoï Skifii*, vol. 2 (1874); ZWAK, vol. 12; Lappo-Danilevskii and Mal'mberg, ‘Kurgan Karagodeuashkh.’ For a general study, see Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, vols. 1–2. For more on finds of antique utensils and coins, see below.

and Siberia. This culture type is distinguished by a wealth of bronze artifacts, especially ornaments for horses and chariots decorated with characteristic animal motifs (whole animals and various parts of such—heads of horses, bird beaks, paws, etc.). In contrast to the elegant realism of Greek art, this ornament is unembellished, schematic, and exaggerated. The same style and motifs are seen on gold, silver, and bone ornaments. This culture is best represented by objects found in the ‘Meadow Barrow’ (*Luhova mohyla*), also known as the Oleksandropil Barrow, as well as in the Krasnokutsk Barrow near the rapids on the right bank of the Dniro (in Katerynoslav district), and the barrow near the village of Oksiutyntsi and others near the city of Romen.⁶⁹

These two currents meet in Ukraine and are intermingled. Bronze, bone, and other articles in the Oriental style are often found together with antique items in the same graves. We encounter the Central Asian style modified and elevated in classical renditions, and, at the same time, we find Hellenic motifs barbarized by indigenous craftsmen.⁷⁰

It is impossible to draw a chronological or ethnic boundary between these two culture types, even though their distinct origins can be clearly identified. They undoubtedly coexisted among the same population. Taken together, they are distinguished by an abundance of bronze and gold, the low incidence of silver (some large finds of bronze and gold included not a single piece in silver),⁷¹ and the antique (Greek) and Asian influences already described.

Of all the types of early iron culture (let me repeat that it will take some time before all of its numerous variants can be classified into a cohesive system), these mixed types are most easily designated as Scytho-Sarmatian—though more so from the chronological and cultural standpoint than from the ethnic, since this same culture was in all likelihood also transmitted to the more remote neighbors of the Scythians and Sarmatians. Even the funerary ritual may have been adopted because of Scytho-Sarmatian political dominance. Consequently, finds of the Scytho-Sarmatian type in the middle Dniro area cannot be regarded as evidence of the presence of the Scythians and Sarmatians in this region.

Between the second and the fourth century A.D., just before the great Slavic migration, there emerged a new artistic style, called Gothic (or Merovingian, as it is known in Western art). The designation ‘Gothic’ is justified only insofar as this style emerged on our territory just before the westward migration of the Goths, was adopted by them, and subsequently became widespread in the newly established Germanic states. Its origins, however, were unquestionably Oriental; it had been transmitted from Persia and Turkestan. The Gothic style was also characterized by an affinity for gold and bronze, but instead of embossing and chasing as a means of ornamenting, it relied on the application of colored stones, glass, and enamel. The art of raising ornament in relief was replaced by inlaying techniques. Earlier realistic animal motifs gave way to schematic and geometric forms. Recent excavations in Persia reveal the prototypes of this style as originating there several centuries before the birth of Christ.⁷² A burial in Kerch has yielded objects executed in the Gothic style, among them

69. *Drevnosti Gerodotovoi Skifii*, vol. 1; Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, vols. 2–3; *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vols. 3–4 (this also contains mixed Helleno-Oriental finds).

70. For instance, in other excavations at Oksiutyntsi (Samokvasov, *Osnovaniia khronologicheskoi klassifikatsii*, p. 28ff.), or in the Chortomlyk Barrow and the ‘Meadow Barrow’ (*Luhova mohyla*).

71. Cf. Darievka and Oksiutyntsi, in Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, 2: 128–29, 162.

72. Such are, for instance, the inlaid articles found by J. de Morgan in Achaemenid tombs—de Morgan, *La délégation en Perse*, pp. 30, 92.

one that provides a date in the form of an impression of a Roman coin from the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A.D.⁷³ This was precisely the time when the Gothic style was beginning to spread on the territory of Ukraine.

The Slavic migration ushered in new culture types of burials and settlements in the forest and forest-steppe zones. They are characterized by a profusion of silver work, which prevails over gold. Bronze plays a rather minor role, occurring only as a substitute for more precious metals among the poorer classes. Ornament and style differ completely from the Scytho-Sarmatian and Gothic types. This culture will be discussed later in this volume. In the steppe zone, the migration of the Turkic hordes (sixth to twelfth centuries) introduced new types of burials and funerary monuments. These include the crudely carved stone figures called *kamiani baby*, characteristic grave markers of the Turkic nomads, and the burials with horses that are found throughout the steppe region, reaching as far north as the Ros River basin in the southern part of the Kyiv region. Such graves are usually located in the mounds over earlier burials. Many of the steppe burials from earlier periods (those with contracted red-stained skeletons or the Scytho-Sarmatian barrows) have been found to contain above the original funerary site later burials of nomads with their horses or parts of horses (usually the skull and legs). Some of these barrows culminate in a stone *baba*. Recent excavations of several such graves have conclusively established a link between these burials and the large stone figures.⁷⁴ The purpose of these monuments and their origin have thus been determined. Until very recently, the burials with horses were regarded as Slavic (those of the Polianians).⁷⁵ However, as many more such graves were uncovered across the entire steppe zone above the Black Sea, the Slavic theory was rejected. All that remains to be established are the period in which these burials appeared and which specific hordes left these burials behind on our territory. That they belong to the Turkic nomads is no longer in doubt. Nor is there any doubt about the burials of this type found farther north, in the southern part of the Kyiv region. We know that these are the graves of the 'Black Hats' (*Chorni Klobuky*) from the twelfth century.⁷⁶ These archaeological remains bring us to historical times.

73. Shtern, 'K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii "got'skogo stilia.'" On the 'Gothic' style in Ukraine, see Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, vol. 3; *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vol. 4; Baye, *La bijouterie des Goths en Russie*. Compare the finds from later stages in the spread of this style from the middle Danubian plain in Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, vol. 3, 'first group.'

74. The purpose and origin of the stone statues were revealed by discoveries made in northern Mongolia in the 1890s. Radloff, in his *Die alttürkische Inschriften der Mongolei*, had already pointed out the similarity between these stone figures and the ancient Turkic grave statues from the eighth century called *balbal* and suggested that the word *baba* is only a modification of *balbal*. This corroborated the information that had been provided by William of Rubruquis (Willem van Ruysbroeck) that the stone figures were the grave monuments of the Cumans (Ruysbroeck, *Itinerarium anno 1253*, p. 237). Recent investigations confirm their role in the burial customs of the steppe nomads, and all that remains is to establish the chronology and evolution of the various types. See Brandenburg, 'K voprosu o kamennykh babakh'; Kulakovskii, 'K voprosu o kamennykh babakh'; Mustafin, 'Kamennye baby'; A. Miller, 'Arkheologicheskoe izyskaniia'; A. Miller and Volkov, 'Les fouilles récentes près du Taganrog'; Trefil'ev, 'Kurgany s kamennymi babami'; and N. V. Veselovskii, 'Novyi tip kamennykh bab.' See also Demetrykiewicz, 'Figury kamienne.'

75. Antonovych's theory: see Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, and numerous papers by him, e.g., his 'Tipy pogrebeniia,' p. 69.

76. The principal advocate of this new view, the late N. Brandenburg, expressed it in his 'Kakomu plemeni'; in the discussion published in *Trudy X Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, 3: 67-68; and at the Twelfth Archaeological Congress, in conjunction with Gorodtsov, 'Pogrebenie s konem v evropeiskoi Rossii,' *Trudy XII Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, 3: 30, 286. See, also: Spitsyn, 'Kurgany kievskikh torkov i berendeev'; *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vol. 4.

From the anthropological standpoint, the burials from the period of metal culture indicate the presence of a new, shortheaded race in Ukraine.⁷⁷ The longheaded population, which we saw here in the Neolithic Age, did not disappear. We continue to encounter longheads in the cemeteries, and varying degrees of dolichocephalism continue to occur in the later burials of the Slavic period. The steppe burials of the Scytho-Sarmatian period and the burials with horses are those of a shortheaded race (whereas the earlier graves beneath them belong to a predominantly longheaded people). Sometimes shortheads occur in the burials of earlier culture types, but only sporadically, as a later admixture. Recent excavations in the Donets basin have revealed that while dolichocephalism predominates in the earlier burials with red-stained skeletons, the remains in later graves belong mostly to a medium-headed, or mesaticephalic, population. The skulls in the steppe burials with horses that had been sunken into already existing barrows are those of a purely brachycephalic people.⁷⁸

* * *

Having examined the evidence of cultural development on Ukrainian territory, it is quite natural to pose the following questions: What were the connections between the changes described in this culture and its various forms and the ethnic groups that inhabited this territory at one time or another? Were these changes related in any way to the movement of these ancient peoples across this territory? Which forms of cultural expression revealed in existing archaeological materials belonged to the Slavs, or, more specifically, to the East Slavs, that is, the ancestors of the present-day population of this land?

Archaeology alone cannot answer these questions, and we must therefore turn to other disciplines. History can provide only incomplete answers, because it does not reach back far enough into the remote past of these territories. Thus, before turning to the historical record, let us first resort to other means, above all, to comparative philology, which approaches these issues from its own perspective and with its own set of methods. Let us then try to cast light on these matters by using as our basis the study of languages, which not only establishes the relationship

77. The type is usually referred to as 'Scythian' or 'Scytho-Sarmatian,' but this notion is so broad, the cultural elements that characterize it are so widely distributed, and, moreover, the burials in which the type occurs so frequently contain it in combination with other types in the same grave, that, given the state of our anthropological research, great caution is called for when describing these shortheads as a characteristic anthropological type. The first scholarly observations were made by Bér, in 'Opisanie cherepov,' about the skulls found in the Meadow Barrow. Bér measured 5 skulls, of which 3 were wide and 2 were long. Bogdanov, in his study 'O mogilakh skifo-sarmatskoi épokhi,' and, later, in 'Quelle est la race,' had at his disposal materials from the Sula River region (barrows at Oksiyutyntsi), that is, from lands that lay far beyond the borders of Scythian territory. Small wonder that the longheaded type predominates here (10 longheads and 1 shorthead). If anything, this fact is significant in that it indicates a disparity between Scytho-Sarmatian culture and the Scythian population. Despite this, Bogdanov concluded mistakenly that the Scythians were a longheaded race. Talko-Hryniewicz, in his 'Przyczynek,' included into the 'Scythian' category 15 to 18 skulls of those that he had at his disposal (a different figure is provided in different parts of the book). Of these, 6 were long, 4 were short, and 2 were intermediate (cephalic index 75 to 77). All, however, originate from the southern part of Kyiv gubernia (burials from near Kholodnyi Iar and Ryzhanivka; see Talko-Hryniewicz, 'Przyczynek,' p. 6), and in some of these graves the Scythian type is not clearly manifest (one could add something from Bobrinskii's excavations: *Kurgany*, 2: 224ff., among others). In any event, the material is so meager and so unrepresentative that it is premature to speak of a shortheaded Scythian race in such universal and categorical terms as some do (for instance, Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, 3: 7).

78. See Pokrovskii, 'O cherepakh kochevnikov'; Anuchin, 'O cherepakh iz kurganov.'

between languages and the degree of their kinship, but also attempts to illuminate the cultural level of the peoples under investigation and their cultural relations, and generally sets itself the task of delving into the history of their cultures.

As frequently happens, however, linguistics, too, was wont to provide answers to such questions with much greater ease in the initial stages of the development of this discipline than later, when more rigorous demands were made on the methodology used in this field of study.⁷⁹

Until quite recently, scholars accepted as proved and included in textbooks the view that before splitting apart into separate branches and groups, the large Indo-European ethnos⁸⁰ (also called Indo-Germanic or Aryan),⁸¹ which included the ancestors or assimilators of the modern Slavic peoples, lived in Asia, on the western slopes of the Bolortagh and Muztagh ranges, north of the Hindu Kush. It was there that this ethnos made significant cultural progress: it knew the more important metals (bronze, gold, silver, and iron), was familiar with agriculture, and had a highly developed family, social, and political organization. Possessed of this high level of culture, individual members of the Indo-European family later migrated to Europe. This theory made it quite easy to interpret archaeological materials. It was taken as a given that each Indo-European people arrived in Europe already bearing a metal culture. This meant that the Paleolithic and Neolithic populations were not Indo-European but rather some earlier colonization, and the search for the culture of each Indo-European people had to begin in the Iron Age.

These conclusions, most fully represented in the once popular work by Pictet,⁸² have been much contested and amended. The most controversial issue has been the location of the original homeland [*Urheimat*] of the Indo-European peoples. Since the end of the 1850s, a host of scholars has rejected the Asian theory and, instead, has argued that the ancestral home of the Indo-Europeans was in Europe, locating it in different regions of this continent. It is the European theory that now decidedly prevails.⁸³

Critics have dealt even more harshly with the old theory of Indo-European culture. While Pictet and those who followed his lead thought of the Indo-European population as possessing a developed metal culture, later researchers concluded that of all the metals, it knew only copper (not even bronze) and, moreover, that use of this metal was not very advanced. Accordingly, at the time of their dispersion, the Indo-Europeans still had a Neolithic culture, and it was only after they dispersed that they developed a metal culture. In their original homeland, they were a pastoral, nomadic people, and though they had the beginnings of agriculture, this occupation did not play a significant role in their lives until after they had reached their new settlements.⁸⁴

79. The history of scholarly investigations of these questions is described in detail by Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*; Michelis, *L'origine degli Indo-Europei*; also Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans* (French translation, 1895; Russian translation, 1897); J. Schmidt, 'Die Urheimat der Indogermanen.'

80. The stereotypical terms 'Indo-European ethnos' and 'Aryan peoples' can be used only with great reservations to designate those peoples who speak Indo-European languages but who unquestionably belong to various assimilated races. S. Müller, *L'Europe préhistorique*, put it very aptly when he said that if we speak of an Aryan race, we are equally justified in speaking of a dolichocephalic lexicon and a brachycephalic grammar.

81. I consider the term 'Indo-European' the most suitable name for this group of languages. The term 'Aryan' is completely inappropriate, because it refers only to the eastern branch of this group, i.e., the Iranian and Indian languages, even though it is frequently used in the general sense as well.

82. Pictet, *Les origines indo-européennes*, vol. 1. A new edition, unrevised as far as its principal conclusions are concerned, appeared in 1877.

83. The various views in published literature were indicated in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume and so I omit them here. For a detailed bibliography up to 1899, see Ripley, *Selected Bibliography*. The principal materials are contained in the cited works by Schrader and Michelis.

84. This conclusion was reached by two such authoritative cultural historians as Hehn and Schrader, and today the

Of course, if linguistic investigations in cultural history were able to provide *reliable* information about the origins of Indo-European colonization, its progress, and the cultural stage at which this colonization occurred, this would greatly help us to identify the prehistoric population of our territory and determine the beginnings of Slavic colonization. So far, however, we are dealing only with likelihoods. Among such probabilities I would include the conclusions (accepted by a number of noted scholars) that the original home of the Indo-European tribes was eastern Europe, and that these tribes began to separate as far back as the Neolithic Age. This second theory derives from the fact that no common names for articles characteristic of a higher stage of culture have been found in the Indo-European vocabulary, and it is unlikely that, had they existed, such common terms would have been lost altogether and not been retained by at least some groups. Hence the conclusion that there existed no names for articles belonging to a higher cultural stage before the Indo-European dispersal, precisely because this higher stage did not yet exist. The question of the original Indo-European habitat is much more complex and therefore requires a somewhat more detailed discussion. First of all, it should be noted that there are no grounds to support the notion of Asia as the Indo-European cradle. This theory arose owing to the traditional view of Asia as the place of origin of the human race. The only circumstance that would support the Asian theory would be the existence of linguistic links between the Indo-European and Semitic peoples, but since no such ancient links have been found so far, this theory has been discredited. Instead, the links and similarities between the Indo-Europeans and the Finns have been drawing increasing attention and assuming growing significance. These links have yet to be thoroughly analyzed and assessed, but they unquestionably exist and suggest eastern Europe as the place where the Indo-Europeans and Finns were a long time neighbors.⁸⁵ It is in eastern Europe, after all, that the most archaic languages of the Indo-European family (the Lithuanian-Latvian group) have been preserved. It is much easier to explain the entire process of Indo-European colonization if we assume that the primordial Indo-European homeland was in Europe. What is especially important is that the linguistic links between the various groups of the Indo-European family seem to indicate that before dispersing from their primitive home these groups were disposed in geographic relationships with one another that were identical to those in which they find themselves today. This, however, is very difficult—in fact, impossible—to reconcile with the theory that they migrated from the Bolortagh slopes to Europe. All these circumstances make it indeed probable that eastern Europe was the original home of the Indo-Europeans.

This original home must have encompassed a large area, because the pastoral, predominantly nomadic, way of life of the Indo-Europeans required broad open expanses, and this protopeople must have been large in view of its later dispersion. To be sure, as the Indo-Europeans dispersed, and perhaps even before this process began, they probably assimilated large alien populations. The anthropological polymorphism of the Indo-European tribes, which included both light- and dark-complexioned and shortheaded and longheaded types, is clear evidence of such assimilation. The language differentiation was undoubtedly also accelerated by the assimilation of alien elements. But assimilation on this scale is only possible if there exists a

view is accepted almost universally, though with some reservations.

85. On these links and the genetic relationship (a common origin) between the Indo-Europeans and the Finns, which some scholars recognize on the basis of these ties, see Anderson, *Studien zur Vergleichung*; Thomsen, *Beröringer*; Veske, *Slaviano-finnskie kul'turnye otnosheniia*; Mikkola, *Berührungen*; Sweet, *History of Language*; Wiklund, 'Finnisch-Ugrisch und Indogermanisch.' Other, earlier writings were included in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume. See also below, on Finno-Iranian ties.

large assimilating group. The lack of a common term for the sea would seem to indicate that the Indo-European cradle did not border directly on any sea and that only some tribes may have reached the coast (of either the Black or the Baltic Sea). A pastoral economy, on the one hand, and familiarity with honey, bees, and bears, on the other hand, as attested by linguistic evidence, suggest that the most probable ancestral home of the Indo-Europeans was along the boundary between the steppe and forest zones, extending in a southwesterly direction across the East European Plain. If this was the case, the Slavs, and even more specifically the Ukrainians, might very well be autochthons on at least a part of their territory, and their subsequent migration would have been relatively limited.

To be sure, these are mere likelihoods. There are no indications that the Indo-European peoples emigrated from Asia to Europe. There is also no evidence that any other population lived on our territory before its colonization by Indo-Europeans.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, we must keep in mind an important mitigating factor: we do not possess such evidence in the materials we have uncovered thus far using the methods of research that are currently available to us. Therefore, as we take full account of the probabilities that our studies suggest, we must remember that new research may reveal new data and not insist too categorically on these hypotheses.

Though it opens up before us the vista of the cultural development of the peoples of the Indo-European group, and brings together their widely dispersed branches to a single, ancient nucleus, the linguistic material provides only very general clues as to the exact territory and the actual conditions in which this development occurred. Thus linguistic research, like historical investigations of Indo-European dispersion, gives us only approximate data about that very large and still imprecisely defined territory from which this colonization must have proceeded. As far as our goal is concerned, this approach through the study of Indo-European antiquity ultimately leaves us in similar circumstances as does our archaeological and anthropological research. In the first instance, we have a people and its culture and we seek its territory, while in the second instance, we have a territory and a culture, or a territory, a culture, and a physical type, and we need to find the bearer of this culture and physical characteristics, i.e., the people that inhabited this territory. The only shared value that might enable us to reduce all these questions to a common denominator is culture, but this feature is too universal. If only we also had a physical type to serve as a point of departure—but we lack this, as well. As we have seen, archaeology clearly indicates the existence of two distinct types on the Ukrainian-Rus' territory before the Slavic migration: a longheaded Neolithic population, and a shortheaded people intermingled with longheads that appeared during the period of the metal culture. But which type is the Indo-European one and which the specifically Slavic one? This anthropological question cannot be satisfactorily answered. As I have already noted, the Indo-European family of peoples is polymorphic, made up of dark- and light-complexioned types and of shortheaded and longheads. We see this mixture even within the territorial boundaries of individual nations. Leaving aside coloring, the northern Germans, for instance, are dolichocephalic, while the southern Germans are brachycephalic; the southern Italians are dolichocephalic, while the northern Italians are brachycephalic, etc. As a result, some consider the original Indo-European type to have been longheaded ('Germanic'), while others believe it to have been shortheaded ('Celts-Slavic').⁸⁷

86. The rather widespread theory that before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans all of eastern Europe was occupied by the Finns has no factual basis. It was only in the northern regions of this territory that the Finns were pushed farther north by the Slavs during their subsequent expansion.

87. See the literature noted in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

And it is quite possible that this mixture of types among Indo-European peoples is older than their dispersion. In other words, perhaps even before their dispersion, in their primitive home, these tribes were not of pure stock, that is, they did not comprise a homogeneous anthropological group.⁸⁸ The Indo-European ethnic and linguistic type could itself have formed as a result of the mixing, or mestization, of races, just as later this mixing and assimilation of aliens was undoubtedly a factor both in the division of the Indo-European family and in its subsequent differentiation into various Indo-European groups and the emergence among them of individual peoples.⁸⁹ Thus there may not even have existed a true Indo-European type, just as perhaps there may have been no uniform 'Proto-Slavic' anthropological type. The Slavs of today are predominantly shortheaded. In the west and south, the brachycephalic type prevails, becoming less the case as we head northward and eastward. It is still the dominant type among Ukrainians, but among the Poles and Russians this type vies with the mesaticephalic, with a significant admixture of the dolichocephalic.⁹⁰ Human remains from ancient burials indicate a larger percentage of longheads, and in those Ukrainian pagan burials that are regarded as Slavic on the basis of the grave furnishings, the longheaded type predominates even more strongly. But these burials, too, reveal a lack of uniformity in type, and brachycephalic and mesaticephalic skulls have also been found in these graves.

In light of these circumstances, to take some one anthropological trait—such as, for example, dolichocephalism—and to regard it as a racial characteristic of the Indo-Europeans, then to define certain cultural features—such as, for instance, a certain burial ritual—as characteristic of the Indo-Europeans, and, finally—linking all this with the notion of an Indo-European ancestral homeland—to reconstruct the process of Indo-European dispersion would be a wholly arbitrary exercise from the standpoint of methodology.⁹¹ What a large number of differences between peoples and races could thus be accommodated within a single culture, and, inversely, what a large number of significant differences could be allowed in the Indo-European way of life before the ultimate differentiation of this family into various groups! What an ethnic diversity could thus be encompassed by the contracted corpse burial type, which occurs across such a large territory without any particularly distinctive variations!

88. This view was put forward quite unequivocally by Virchow as early as 1883 (remarks on the exhibit, 'Nachbildungen des Goldfundes von Petroessa'), and it is gaining increasing support among researchers.

89. On the influence of racial mixing, or mestization, on linguistic differentiation, see: Ascoli, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Briefe*; Taylor, *Origin of the Aryans*; Hirt, 'Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Indogermanen,' and his more recent work, *Die Indogermanen*, vol. 1; Boduën-de-Kurtené, 'O smeshannom kharaktere vsekh iazykov.' Justified criticism of giving too much weight to mestization was expressed by Jagić ('Einige Streitfragen'), who pointed out that dialectal differences will inevitably develop in any larger linguistic group, in any event. This, however, does not diminish the effect of mestization on linguistic differentiation, a fact that more recently Schrader (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3d ed.) wanted to deny.

90. See: Deniker, *Les races de l'Europe*; Ripley, *The Races of Europe*; Niederle, *O původu Slovanů*, and *Slovenské starožitosti*, vol. 1, chap. 3; Talko-Hryniewicz, 'Słów parę.' A more recent review of these matters appears in Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen*, vol. 1. Earlier literature is given in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

91. A decade ago, applying such a methodology, M. Much (*Die Heimat der Indogermanen*) and Kossinna ('Die indogermanische Frage') put forward the theory of a Germano-Indo-European ancestral home. By identifying the culture of prehistoric Germany with that of the Indo-Europeans, defining the longheaded Germanic type as the Proto-Indo-European type, and making Germany the ancestral home of the Indo-European Germanic peoples and the Germans the direct heirs and continuators of Indo-European culture, this theory coincided with the aspirations of German society and gained a large number of supporters. But from a scientific point of view, it remains pure fiction.

Given the information we have at this time, neither archaeology and anthropology, on the one hand, nor linguistics, on the other, nor both combined can provide definitive answers to the questions surrounding Indo-European antiquity or offer completely reliable indicators to enable us to distinguish ethnic origins in archaeological remains. Consequently, in order to have some idea of the prehistoric ethnic composition of the population on our territory, we must still rely on historical facts. But these need to be correlated with the evidence provided by archaeology, anthropology, and linguistics, which can often tell us much more and illuminate much earlier periods than can history.

This is the path we must take in exploring ethnic relations on Ukrainian territory and in identifying the ethnic origins of many of its cultural remains.

* * *

The end of the unified existence of the Indo-European family and its dissolution into separate peoples and language groups—provided we accept that this happened at the beginning of the Metal Age—occurred a little over two thousand years before the Christian Era. It could not have happened later, because in the first half of the second millennium B.C., we already see Aryan peoples in southern Asia, far from their ancestral home. Nor could it have taken place much earlier, in view of the appearance of metal artifacts in the culture of the Indo-Europeans even before their dispersion.⁹² This date is obviously very approximate and hypothetical. Similarly, the process of the division of the Indo-European family that was then taking place can only be imagined in the most general terms. In linguistics, which so far is the only discipline to deal with this issue, two theories existed until recently: the genealogical theory, which accepts the separation of whole groups and the existence for some time of common languages for these groups preceding a new division of each group into languages or groups of languages; and the theory of waves, or transitions, in which the emergence of languages is explained by a slow process of differentiation beginning even before the division into separate peoples, when a single language served as a common means of communication between two neighbors.⁹³ Today these two theories are most often combined. Indeed, the separation of ethnolinguistic units did not suddenly and immediately sunder linguistic and ethnic ties. This differentiation must have already begun during the period of ‘Indo-European unity’ and was also reflected in the language. But for a time ethnic unity continued to outweigh the process of differentiation, which increased as the territory grew larger and ever new alien groups on the new borderlands were assimilated, thereby promoting the growth of differences in way of life and speech. As these differences became greater, the homogeneity of the whole family weakened, but still the links between the different groups of units, into which the whole was dissolving, remained alive and perceptible. And even after migration clearly initiated the separation of a given tribal unit, the link with its group, and through it with other groups, was not immediately broken. Territorial distancing and the weakening of geographical connections with former countrymen, on the one

92. From a linguistic standpoint, this date is sometimes disputed on the grounds that the linguistic differentiation we see later could not have developed over such a short span of time. But we should not overlook the possibility that the assimilation of alien peoples and a faster rate of cultural development in new conditions could have significantly accelerated linguistic differentiation.

93. For an overview of this question, see Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2d ed., p. 68ff. (with diagrams).

hand, and a shared life and intermingling with new alien elements, on the other, were processes that occurred simultaneously and eroded the old ethnic ties from both ends. But these ties withered slowly, and certain ties with closer neighbors from among the former family could have continued to survive for a long time.

A linguistic phenomenon—the change of palatalized sounds in two distinct directions, which undoubtedly occurred while there was still ‘Indo-European unity’—is a remnant of this very ancient division, which split the Indo-European family into two branches, east and west, even before the final differentiation.⁹⁴ The eastern group included Aryan (Iranian and Indian), Thracian-Albanian (the ancestors of the Armenians and Albanians of today), and Slavic and Baltic tribes (and perhaps others that we do not know); the western group was comprised of Greek, Italic, Celtic, and Germanic peoples. But there was no lack of transitional members between the two groups, and these provided indirect links between the two halves of the Indo-European world. On the one hand, the Balto-Slavic group is closely related to the Aryan group, while on the other hand, it has close ties with the Germanic group. If the languages of the Thracian group were extant, they might perhaps have proved to comprise a transitional center between the Slavic, Greek, and Iranian groups. But these languages have died out, and there now exists a gap between these groups (all such gaps may be explained in large measure by the fact that certain transitional centers have disappeared). Fortunately for us, however, the close relationship between the Slavic and Iranian languages has not disappeared, and it attests to the close ties between the Slavic and Iranian tribes, even following the migration of the Aryan tribes, when the Indo-European family began to disintegrate. On the other hand, the ties between the various tribes of the Indo-European family indicate that even after the migration of the southern Aryan group, the northern tribes continued to live in close proximity.

In the past, some scholars even accepted the existence of a common western, or European, language after the separation of the eastern, or Aryan (i.e., Irano-Indian) group, and they drew a distinction between the two groups. But the analogy here is incomplete. Furthermore, since, on the one hand, the Slavic group is closely related to the Baltic group, whereas, on the other hand, certain features link it with the Germanic group, the proponents of the genealogical theory held that there was a period when these three groups shared a common language, and they were designated as the northern or northeastern language group. But now this theory, too, has been discredited.⁹⁵ However, the close links between the Slavic and the Lithuanian (also known as Baltic) groups are not subject to doubt,* and linguists of all schools agree on the existence of close ties within the Balto-Slavic group and acknowledge that after the separation of other related peoples and groups, this group maintained a certain unity. (To be sure, this unity was relative, because by then a certain degree of differentiation had occurred even amidst the Slavs themselves, let alone between the Slavic and Baltic groups.)

The close linguistic relationship between the Slavic and Baltic tribes suggests that this group remained together for a very long time. The reasons for this are easy to understand when we consider the processes of colonization. While the migration of the Germanic peoples westward

94. The two groups are the so-called satem and centum groups, from forms for the word ‘hundred’ (Sanskrit *śatam*; Latin *centum*, pronounced *kentum*).

95. Cf., e.g., Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, p. 761; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 1: 127.

* [In addition to using ‘Lithuanian’ to refer to the ancestors of modern Lithuanians, Hrushevsky used the terms ‘Lithuanian’ and ‘Slavo-Lithuanian’ for the groups now usually designated as ‘Baltic’ and ‘Balto-Slavic.’ Where appropriate, the modern terms appear here.—Eds.]

and of the Iranian tribes eastward weakened their bonds with the Slavs and they remained in contact only along a relatively short common frontier, the Slavs and the Balts lived in close geographical proximity until the beginning of the historical migration of the Slavs. It is generally accepted, even if only hypothetically, that the complete separation of the Slavic and Baltic tribes did not occur until the middle of the last millennium B.C.⁹⁶ Historical sources record this as an accomplished fact in the first century A.D., when the Slavic and Baltic tribes first appear under separate names (Venedi and Aestii). However, it was not until the great Slavic migration during the third to fourth centuries A.D. that this close Balto-Slavic relationship was finally ruptured. At the same time, this migration provided the final impulse for the differentiation of the individual Slavic peoples.

During the period preceding the complete separation from other Indo-European peoples and, last of all, from the Balts (this period can be called pre-Slavic or Balto-Slavic), the ancestors of the Slavs made further advances in the sphere of material and spiritual culture as compared with the way of life in the Indo-European era.⁹⁷ It was also during this period that certain distinctions must have begun to emerge among the Slavs themselves, differences that later led to the division of this group into branches and individual peoples. This process must have been the result of the same factors as those causing the divisions within the entire Indo-European family: dispersal over ever larger territory, increased distance between the different groups, intermingling with alien elements, different rates of progress in the spheres of material and spiritual culture. All these processes continued among the Slavs after their unity with the Baltic group weakened and the Slavs became a separate group. During this period, which can be called Proto-Slavic, the process of differentiation within the Slavic group continued, progressing to its fullest extent only after the great dispersion of the Slavs.

It is possible to identify the territory inhabited by the Slavs in the Balto-Slavic age, and even more so, in the Proto-Slavic age, with a considerable degree of accuracy (albeit in general terms). Whatever the answer might be regarding the location of the original homeland of the Indo-European family, we know for certain that the Balto-Slavic age occurred in eastern Europe. It is here that the Balto-Slavic tribes lived while they were still united into a single group. The western boundary of their territory became defined after the Germanic tribes migrated west into central Europe; their southern border was delineated following the settlement of the Iranian tribes in the Black Sea steppes; and in the southwest, the ancestors of the Slavs most probably neighbored on the tribes of the Thracian family. All these peoples were related. Only along the broad stretch leading from the northwest to the southeast through the East European Lowland did the Balto-Slavic territory border on an alien colonization—that of the Finnic tribes.

The earliest boundary to be defined in historical sources is the southern one. Later in this

96. Linguistic criteria are not reliable and I will not discuss them (in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume, I cited one rather popular example, that is, the term for 'rooster' among the Slavs; another example is the form of the name of the Neuri). A more significant circumstance was that as the Germanic tribes moved westward during this period, the Balto-Slavic colonization must also have experienced major upheavals.

97. For a discussion of the common vocabular fund of the 'northeastern' and later the Balto-Slavic group, and of the information about the culture of this group that it reveals, see Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, vol. 1; J. Schmidt, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen*; Förstemann, 'Sprachlich-naturhistorisches'; Hassenkamp, *Über den Zusammenhang*; Brückner, *Litu-slavische Studien*, vol. 1. There is little agreement in these studies on many fundamental issues, and so far very little has been done in the field of Balto-Slavic relations. I shall not discuss this matter here, especially because I consider the culture of the Proto-Slavs, which we shall examine later (in chapter 5), of greater importance to us.

work we shall examine the historical materials that contain this information. But before turning to these, let us deal with the broad conclusion that can be drawn from the historical record. Leaving aside earlier very general mentions, from the fifth century B.C. onward, we have fairly detailed information about the colonization of the Black Sea steppes. This information reveals that the nomadic Iranian or Iranianized Scytho-Sarmato-Alanian population did not inhabit regions farther north than the lower Dnister, Boh, and Dnipro River basins. Herodotus, our most important source on this subject, clearly distinguishes between this population and their northern neighbors in the middle Dnipro region, who were not Scythian.

In the southwest, beginning from the second century B.C., the Carpathian foothills were inhabited by the Bastarnae, whose settlements extended all the way to the lower Danube. They were known there as 'newcomers' (ἐπίλυδες), and such they also were in the Carpathian foothills. Prior to the arrival of the Bastarnae from the north, Slavic settlements may have reached the Carpathians, the basin of the upper Dnister, Sian (San), and Vistula. The Slavs may also have returned to these regions after the Bastarnian colonization had weakened. The mountain zone of the Carpathians was most probably inhabited by tribes belonging to the Thracian group. These are the boundaries of the earliest territory populated by Slavic and Baltic tribes that we are able to trace. We will attempt to define this territory in greater detail.

In the west, before the last migration of the Germanic tribes in historical times (the so-called Great Migration of Peoples), Germanic settlements neighbored on the Slavic and Baltic tribes in the basin of the Vistula River. We know this from accounts written in the first century A.D. by Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, and Ptolemy (the latter wrote in the second century, but he relied mostly on the work of Marinus of Tyre from the first century, which he supplemented and amended with information from later sources).⁹⁸ Of the three, Ptolemy provides us with the greatest number of details for determining ethnic boundaries. In his *Geography*, the Vistula from its upper reaches to the sea constitutes the border between 'Germania' and 'Sarmatia.' Among the 'major peoples' (ἔθνη μέγιστα) of Sarmatia, Ptolemy enumerates 'the Venedi along the whole Venedic Gulf' near 'the Venedic Mountains.' Among the lesser peoples, he mentions the Goths (Γύθωνες) on the Vistula, south (ὑπό) of the Venedi, and still farther south, the Finns and a number of peoples with distorted or unclear names.⁹⁹ It would appear from this that the eastern boundary of the territory inhabited by the Germanic tribes was the Vistula, but that the Goths were already established on the right bank of the lower Vistula (that the Goths lived on the lower rather than the upper Vistula is evident from the fact that Tacitus places them directly north of the Lugii, a Germanic people living on the Oder River).¹⁰⁰ East of the Vistula and northeast of the Goths lived the 'major' people of the Venedi-Slavs and the Baltic tribes, whom Tacitus calls by the general Germanic name 'Aestii' [German 'Eisten'].¹⁰¹ That is where Ptolemy locates the Slavs. Pliny and Tacitus, though they provide no detailed information,

98. On Ptolemy, see Schwarz, 'Der Geograph Claudius Ptolemaeus'; Glazebrook-Rylands, *The Geography of Ptolemy*; Boll, 'Studien über Claudius Ptolemäus'; Holz, *Beiträge zur deutschen Altertumskunde*, vol. 1; Berger, 'Die Grundlagen.' For an analysis of Ptolemy's information about eastern Europe, see: Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*; Králiček, *Die sarmatischen Berge*; Braun, *Razyskaniia*; Kulakovskii, *Karta Evropeiskoi Sarmatii po Ptolemeiu*, and additions in his 'Karta Evropeiskoi Sarmatii,' in *Filologicheskoe obozrenie*, 1899; Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, chap. 10.

99. Σούλωνες (ed. princeps: Βούλανες), Φρουγουνδίωνες, and near the upper reaches of the Vistula—Αύαρηνοι (or 'Αβαρηνοι), to the east of the Venedi—Γαλίνδαι, Σουθηνοί, Σταυανοί. Ptolemy 3.5.

100. Tacitus, *Germania* 43–44.

101. Later, in the ninth to eleventh centuries, the name was transferred to the Finnish Aestii.

corroborate Ptolemy's disposition. Pliny mentions the Vistula as the border of 'Sarmatia' and places the Venedi somewhere near it. Tacitus speaks of the Venedi on the eastern border of 'Germania,' beyond the Goths.¹⁰² Whether or not there were any Slavic settlements on the left bank of the Vistula before the Slavs' later westward migration, as is sometimes assumed on the basis of toponymic and archaeological data, remains uncertain.¹⁰³

Although Ptolemy includes the Venedi-Slavs among the largest peoples of 'Sarmatia' (along with the Bastarnae, Iazyges, and Roxolani), his map of eastern Europe is so filled with various other tribes that very little room is left for this 'major' people. This can be explained by Ptolemy's great confusion with respect to the names of various peoples and the shape that he imagined eastern Europe to have—that of a narrow neck between the 'ocean' and the Sea of Azov. By eliminating the names that had crossed over as duplicates from the left bank of the Vistula to the right, as well as those from the Carpathian and Don-Caucasian regions, whom Ptolemy had moved too far to the north owing to the cramped space on his map, we are left with room east of the Vistula, in the Dnipro region and farther east, where Ptolemy, or his source, Marinus of Tyre, knew of no other people except the Venedi.

As we have seen, Ptolemy clearly located the Venedic settlements along the sea coast, 'along the Venedic Gulf,' which on his map stretches a considerable distance over several degrees. We have to accept this. Although beyond the Germanic tribes on the left bank of the Vistula, Tacitus makes mention of the Balts or Aestii 'upon the right shore of the Suevian Sea' with their trade in amber (German *Bernstein*), this does not invalidate Ptolemy's information, because the Venedi and the Balts could have been neighbors on this coast.¹⁰⁴ Nor is there any justification for moving the Slavs away from the coast in order to place the Goths there, as some do.¹⁰⁵

Among the neighbors of the Venedi named by Ptolemy, it is not difficult to identify the 'Galindai' as the later Prussian Galindians (the 'Goliad' of our chronicles) and the 'Soudinoi' as perhaps the later Prussian Suduvians. These tribes correspond to the collective reference to the Aestii whom Tacitus described as living on the Baltic coast. But Ptolemy moved them away from the coast to make room for the Venedic settlements there. The Ὅσσιοι [*Hossioi*] recall the name of the Ossa River in Prussia. Several other names, which are located on Ptolemy's map between the Vistula and the 'ocean,' cannot be satisfactorily explained, and it is not even certain that such tribes ever existed.¹⁰⁶

102. Pliny 4.27; Tacitus, *Germania* 46.

103. The champions of various 'Slavic' theories claim that 'Germania,' like 'Sarmatia,' is a geographic rather than an ethnic designation. But in this part of 'Germania,' Ptolemy lists a number of peoples whom it would be difficult not to recognize as Germanic. The most that can be assumed is that the Slavs expanded as a lower stratum in territories ruled by Germanic tribes. Attempts are being made to prove this on the basis of archaeological materials, but so far no firm evidence has been found.

104. In an attempt to reconcile the accounts of Ptolemy and Tacitus, Braun (*Razyskaniia*, p. 334) reaches a different conclusion: he claims that 'Venedi' is a term for both Slavs and Balts. But this theory, accepted by some other scholars as well, contradicts the sum of our knowledge and has therefore been widely rejected.

105. Mention by Pytheas of the Goths on the coast ('Gutones' in Pliny 37.35) no longer serves as an argument, since Müllenhoff corrected it to 'Teutones' (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1: 479). Some historians (e.g., Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 1: 145) have justified placing the Goths on the coast by pointing out that they later displayed familiarity with the sea. In fact, however, the Goths exhibited a complete lack of knowledge of the sea. Braun (*Razyskaniia*, p. 29, cf. p. 331) situated the Goths on the coast on the basis of Jordanes' account (*Getica*, chap. 3), but this source is very unreliable (Braun himself sees various discrepancies in it). For arguments against the Goths' presence on the coast, see, e.g., Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, p. 826, who cites Tacitus. But as far as Braun is concerned, Tacitus and Ptolemy are referring to different stages in the migration of the Goths.

106. In Ptolemy's Βούλωνες [Σούλωνες] some recognized the Polish Polanians. Even more scholars identified his

There are no historical references enabling us to determine in any detail the border between the Slavs and the Finns. Tacitus and Ptolemy only mention the Finns, while Ptolemy locates them, as one of the 'lesser' peoples, on the Vistula, above the Goths. It is obvious that he knew nothing about them save their name. The fact that these authors mention the Finns means only that in the first century of our era they were known to dwell not far from the Baltic Sea.¹⁰⁷ At the other extreme of the boundary, traces of Finnish presence are seen in Ptolemy's use of the Finnish name for the Volga River (Rha ['P&]—the Finns still call it the 'Rhav' or 'Rava'), and the name of the Ural River—Daix [Δάϊξ]—is also traced to Finnic. A more reliable indication of Finnic colonization in the south are the linguistic traces of longtime cultural contacts between the Finnic languages of the middle Volga region (Permiak and Votiak) and Ossetian, a survival of the Iranian colonization of the Black Sea region. These traces indicate that at the time of Iranian expansion into the Caspian steppes, the Finns lived in the middle or lower Volga region. The midpoint between these two geographical extremes was filled by the catalogue of peoples making up Hermanaric's realm, among whom some researchers recognize the names of the Volga Finnic tribes of the Meria [Meri] and the Mordva [Mordvins], not to mention other, less easily recognizable names. But we do not know whether what we have here are the actual names of these peoples or simply words that sound similar; what is more, this information tells us nothing about the territory inhabited by the tribes named.¹⁰⁸ Archaeological and anthropological studies have not yet been able to cast any light on this matter.¹⁰⁹ There have also been attempts to study non-Slavic names in the toponymy of the upper Dnipro and Desna and, even more so, in the Volga, Oka, and Don basins,¹¹⁰ but these indicators have not been thoroughly evaluated, and, moreover, they reveal nothing about chronology. They indicate the presence of a non-Slavic population (let us assume it was Finnic) in the period preceding Slavic colonization during the ninth to eleventh centuries, but do not serve as proof of Finnic colonization in earlier periods, inasmuch as these ancestral Slavic lands could have become

'Stavani' [Σταυανοί] as Slavs (see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 21, and Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 293, for a rejection of this view); his Veltae—Ούέλται—have been identified as the Wilcy-Lutycy, but Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 25) amended this to Λετοῦαι [*Letouai*, i.e., Lithuanians], and so on.

107. Of major importance to the history of colonization is the observation put forward by linguists that during the earliest period the Finns bordered the Gothic and Baltic tribes (somewhere near the Baltic Sea, obviously) and that they came into contact with the Slavs only later, after they had divided into their principal branches, western and eastern. The Gothic elements in the Finnish language are recognized as being older than the Gothic language of Ulfilas, which means that they originate from the period before the Gothic migrations. This would suggest that the Goths and Balts occupied territory in a wedge between the Finns and the Slavs, cutting the Slavs off from the sea. See Thomsen, *Beröinger*; Donner, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*; Aspelin, 'La Rosomonorum gens.' However, these observations need to be explored further and verified before serving as a basis for determining territorial relationships prior to the great migration.

108. For this list, see chap. 3.

109. Some have tried to draw conclusions on the basis of observations made about the wide distribution of a dolichocephalic race in the earliest finds, but dolichocephalism cannot serve as an ethnic criterion with respect to the Finns any more than in other cases. Like the Slavs, the Finns are of mixed stock. Equally unreliable is the application of certain archaeological features as ethnic criteria. See the articles by Europaeus, 'Die Verbreitung der Finnen,' 'Abgrenzung der altugrischen Bezirke,' and others; Bogdanov, 'O cherepakh iz krymskikh mogil,' pp. 141–42; idem, 'Quelle est la race'; Golubovskii, *Istoriia Smolenskoi zemli*; Danilevich, *Ocherk istorii Polotskoi zemli*; and others.

110. Nadezhdin, 'Opyt istoricheskoi geografii'; N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 74ff., 258–59; Golubovskii, *Istoriia Smolenskoi zemli*, p. 31ff. Contemporary authors (Braun, A. Pogodin, Niederle) have not contributed anything new to this area of study.

depopulated (at least partly) at the time of Slavic migrations westward and southward, and the Finns could have occupied them for a time. Consequently, the Finno-Slavic boundaries of colonization cannot be determined beyond the fact that the basins of the Volga and of the large lakes were settled in the main by a Finnic population.

When we exclude the territories settled by other tribes, we are left with a quadrangle for the ancient Balto-Slavic colonization. This region was bounded in the west by the Vistula and in the north by the Baltic Sea; in the south its lands extended to the middle Dniester and Boh, and in the east, to the Dniro basin (with the possible exception of the upper reaches of the Dniro and its principal eastern tributaries). This is the most probable location of the Balto-Slavic territory before the period of migration. The Baltic tribes inhabited its northern regions. As we saw, Tacitus situated them on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, and this is corroborated by toponymic and linguistic evidence. Although Ptolemy placed the Venedi between the coast and the Galindai and Soudinoi, this was as much an error on his part as locating the Finns on the middle Vistula on the same map, or else we must assume that the Baltic coast was inhabited by other Baltic tribes, whom Ptolemy failed to mention. Any attempt to define the Baltic territory more exactly in this period would lie within the realm of conjecture.¹¹¹ Trying to ascertain the boundaries of Baltic settlement at this early stage on the basis of later ethnic boundaries also produces limited results, since much about these later boundaries remains questionable. In later periods, the east coast of the Baltic Sea as far as the Kurisches Haff [Kuršių Marės] was inhabited by the Finns (the Kors and the Lib of the Primary Chronicle), who pushed out the Balts from this region. The Balts populated the whole basin of the Nemunas River, and some scholars have even attempted to prove the presence of non-Slavic (supposedly Baltic) elements in the basins of the Biarezina [Berezyna, Berezina] and Prypiat (on the left bank of the latter).¹¹² So far, however, Baltic elements in the basins of the Prypiat and Biarezina have not been reliably demonstrated. Moreover, even if we accept their presence there, we need to resolve another important question: which elements date to the colonization of the Proto-Baltic period, and which are traces of the Balts' later expansion southward? Like the Slavs, the Baltic tribes may have moved south and west along with the Slavic migration during the fourth and fifth centuries, leaving the northeastern portion of their territory to the Finnic tribes. The Balts may have settled on formerly Slavic territories only to lose them again to the returning wave of Slavic colonization when the southern and western boundaries of Slavic expansion had closed and the Slavs reacted by pushing back their northern borders.

If we designate, albeit very approximately, the Baltic coast and at least the region between the Nemunas and the Daugava rivers as the territory inhabited by the Baltic group after its separation, we can locate the Proto-Slavic territory between the Carpathian foothills and the Valdai Hills, including the lands of the upper and middle Dniro (though the territories east of the Dniro, as well as those bordering the Nemunas basin, are controversial) and the region

111. See: Bielenstein, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes*; Bezenberger, 'Bemerkungen zu dem Werke von A. Bielenstein'; A. Pogodin, 'Iz drevneishei istorii litovskogo plemeni'; Kurschat, 'Die Verbreitung.'

112. Nadezhdin was the first to point out non-Slavic elements north of the Prypiat River—see his 'Opyt istoricheskoi geografii.' He was followed by N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 741ff. Attempts to describe these elements were subsequently made by Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, p. 123ff.; Kochubinskii, 'Territorii doistoricheskoi Litvy,' pp. 62, 78; A. Pogodin, 'Iz drevneishei istorii litovskogo plemeni,' chap. 9. Unfortunately, these works did not produce any reliable results (see my reviews in *ZNTSh*, vol. 18, 'Novi rozvidky,' pp. 1–24, and vol. 21, *Bibl.*, pp. 3–4). In any case, there is no reason categorically to exclude the lands north of the Prypiat from the original Slavic homeland (as is sometimes done).

between the Vistula and the Nemunas as far as the Baltic Sea (to the extent that these lands were not inhabited by Gothic and Baltic tribes). These general boundaries of the Proto-Slavic habitat are widely accepted by scholars (with various minor variations), because they are based on the sum of our knowledge thus far and are regarded as the most plausible.¹¹³

We cannot ignore the fact that the above description of the original Slavic homeland and, especially, the eastern, Rus' ancestral homeland is directly opposed to the historical tradition represented by the author of the introductory chapters of the *Tale of Bygone Years* (*Povist' vremennykh lit*).^{*} For him, Slavic expansion originated from the central and lower Danube and proceeded north, northeast, and eastward. 'After a long time,' he writes, 'the Slavs had settled along the Danube where the Hungarians and the Bulgars now live. And some of those Slavs scattered throughout the lands and took names for themselves.'¹¹⁴ This tradition contradicts all available data about Slavic colonization and represents a mistaken hypothesis on the part of the Kyivan author. It emerged at a time when the memory of Slavic migration had already faded. Various circumstances suggested it: mentions of the Danube in folklore, the biblical story of the universal dispersal of peoples from the south, and, most likely, the more recent recollection of the Rus' being pushed out of the middle and lower Danube region during the tenth to eleventh centuries. But even the popular tradition did not support this view of history, and it has no real bearing on the history of Slavic migration.¹¹⁵

We should also mention a new theory, especially popular in Russian historiography, which locates the primitive Slavic home in Subcarpathia,^{**} Galicia, and neighboring parts of Volhynia. The principal and sole foundation of this theory (to be sure, no one has bothered to elucidate it in greater detail so far) is the observation that the purest Slavic elements in toponymy are found on the territory south of the Prypiat and west of the Dnipro, especially in what is today Volhynia and Galicia.¹¹⁶ On their own, these toponymical observations do not

113. The first to have put forward these boundaries in general terms was Surowiecki ('Śledzenie początku narodów słowiańskich,' p. 382), followed by Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 10.1. I shall not enumerate the many recent works that agree with this view and, instead, shall note the differences between the various views. The principal differences are as follows: some extend the Proto-Slavic territory in the east to the upper Volga and Don, while others, who expand the Slavic territory into the northeast, move its southwestern boundaries higher, arguing that the Don basin was populated by non-Slavs. There are those who push the Slavic boundary farther west, into the Vistula-Oder watershed, or even as far as the Oder itself. However, the hypothesis that Slavic territory extended as far east as some claim is contradicted by the non-Slavic toponymic elements in the region, even though the possibility of Slavic colonization in this area should not be categorically discounted. The western boundary is clearly defined by Ptolemy. Niederle's unconsidered view (*Starověké zprávy*, p. 69; *Slovanské starožitnosti*, 1: 30) that the Slavic settlements along the Dnipro may have extended to the sea was later withdrawn by the author (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, 1: 260).

* [Hereafter in this translation the *Tale of Bygone Years* is referred to as the Primary Chronicle. In the text Hrushevsky frequently uses 'Tale,' 'Primary Chronicle,' and 'Chronicle' interchangeably in referring to the Primary Chronicle. In Excursus 1, however, Hrushevsky discusses the relationship between the *Tale of Bygone Years* proper, as he interprets it, and the Primary Chronicle. When Hrushevsky refers to the Primary Chronicle or its component parts as the 'Chronicle,' the word is capitalized.—Eds.]

114. *Hyp.*, p. 3.

115. For the most detailed discussion of the tradition of the Danubian ancestral home of the Slavs in later writings and of the opposing Sarmatian theory, which appeared even earlier in the works of Western authors (the seventh-century Cosmographer of Ravenna: 'The homeland of the Scythians, from whence the race of the Sclaveni comes'—*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*), see Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, chap. 1. This work also contains criticism of the arguments in defense of the Danubian theory put forward by its small number of champions (e.g., Drinov, Samokvasov, and Pič, and, among Ukrainian scholars, Vovk).

** [Hrushevsky's terms *Pidkarpattia* and *Prykarpattia* have been translated as 'Subcarpathia.' The term 'Transcarpathia' is used for the territories south of the Carpathian Mountains, sometimes called Subcarpathian Rus'.—Eds.]

116. Nadezhdin, 'Opyt istoricheskoi geografii'; N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 73; and more

justify confining the Slavic cradle to its western, Subcarpathian, territory. There is no reason to exclude the Dnipro region, which from the toponymical point of view is also completely Slavic¹¹⁷ (and, as I have already said, we cannot transpose the traces of non-Slavic colonization north of the Prypiat and east of the Dnipro into Proto-Slavic times and exclude these lands from the Slavic ancestral home, because these non-Slavic elements may reflect changes from the times of Slavic expansion). Of course, we need not absolutely reject Subcarpathia as Slavic territory, but it is exceptionally difficult to regard that area as the very nucleus of the Slavic homeland in light of the presence there of very distinct traces of another ethnic colonization in close proximity. The Carpathian mountain regions were inhabited by tribes that were definitely not Slavic (most probably Thracian peoples),¹¹⁸ and the modern toponymy of the Carpathians contains a large number of non-Slavic elements, very possibly of later date, such as Romanian, but conceivably also from an earlier period. During the period of the earlier Germanic migration, Germanic tribes occupied the Carpathian foothills (third and fourth centuries B.C.). They may very well have been preceded by a Slavic colonization, but there may also have been other peoples here, such as the Celts, as in the case of other regions that the Germanic tribes occupied during this period of their expansion.¹¹⁹ As we have seen, during the period of Indo-European dispersion, the southern part of the Galician foothills, i.e., the middle Dnister region, was the site of a culture with characteristic clay dwellings. This culture did not extend from here in the northwesterly and northeasterly direction of later Slavic expansion, but rather southward and eastward. Nor did it leave any discernible legacy on this territory of subsequent Slavic colonization. All these facts make it almost impossible for Subcarpathia to have been the original home of the Slavs. At the same time, this short overview can serve as an illustration of the difficulties involved in attempting to move the Slavic homeland to some other territory than the one we assigned to it above.¹²⁰

* * *

recent works: Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*; Golubovskii, *Istoriia Smolenskoï zemli*; and, especially, Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoï istorii*, 1: 22. The last is the most authoritative advocate of this theory.

117. Historical sources such as Jordanes, whom Kliuchevskii cites, also provide no grounds for confining the Proto-Slavic territory exclusively to Subcarpathia. Moreover, these accounts date from a later period, i.e., the period of Slavic dispersion.

118. For a discussion of these, see chap. 3.

119. For such conjectures about the Celts, see chap. 3.

120. I see no need to review the various wholly unscholarly and fantastical theories according to which the Slavs were autochthons of Germany, the Balkans, and so forth. All these theories were based on the existence of identical or similar names. Thus, for instance, the Italian and Armorican Veneti were included among the Slavs. Others tried to interpret various foreign names as belonging to the Slavs—for example, *Suebi* = *Suevi* as a variant of the word for Slav, *Semnones* as *Ziemianie*, etc. Attempts to corroborate the theory of a much earlier Slavic colonization in the west and in the southwest with archaeological evidence, especially by Czech archaeologists, have not been convincing, since their arguments still lack proof. For an overview of these theories and earlier works that subscribe to such views, see Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 313–16. For an overview of newer works of this orientation, see: ‘Naukova khronika,’ *ZNTSh* 53; and Kniazhevych, ‘Naukova khronika.’ Works that deal more specifically with our territory include numerous studies by Partyts’kyi collected in his *Starynna istoriia Halychyny*, vol. 1; Samokvasov, *Issledovaniia po istorii russkogo prava*; Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, vol. 1. On these works, see my reviews in *ZNTSh* 5 (1895): 3–5, and 18 (1897): 1–24.

The appearance of a separate name for a people is usually one of the characteristic indicators that separation is complete. In the case of the Slavs, their name does not appear in historical records until the beginning of the first century A.D. They emerge in the works of first- and second-century authors as the Venedi: 'Venedi' in Pliny, 'Veneti' in Tacitus, Οὐενέδαι in Ptolemy.¹²¹ The meaning of the name 'Venedi' is unclear. It was certainly not one that the Slavs themselves used.¹²² It entered into classical sources by way of the Germanic peoples, who also introduced the name into the language of the Finnic peoples. The western Finns still call Russia *Venäjä*. The Germans to this day call some of the western Slavs (the Lusatians and Slovenes) *Wenden*.¹²³

Prokopios (sixth century A.D.) relates that in earlier times the Slavs were called Σπόροι [*Sporoi*]. He derives this name from the Greek σπαίρω ('I scatter grain'), because 'they populated the land with scattered settlements.' Rejecting this mistaken etymology, many scholars link the term with the Slavic 'Serb' and regard it as an earlier indigenous name for the Slavs.¹²⁴ Some have sought the name for Slavs in Ptolemy's Σέρβοι [*Serboi*],* but these Σέρβοι lived far to the east, in the Volga region.¹²⁵ The name of the Slavic Serbs does not appear in historical records until the ninth to tenth centuries. That it might at one time have had a broader sense is suggested by the fact that subsequently two completely distinct Slavic peoples assumed this name (the Balkan Serbs and the Lusatian Sorbs). However, identical names for separate peoples occur frequently among the Slavs, while at that early stage the Slavs may not even have had their own common name to designate nationality. Such names often emerged only with time. The terms *Slověne* and *Slavěne* also appear for the first time (sixth century) only as a partial name for the West Slavs. The most probable derivation of this name is from **slou*, *slovo* 'word'—people who speak in a mutually understandable language, as opposed to foreigners—the *Nimtsi* [Ukrainian 'Germans'] (literally, the 'mute, dumb'), who speak an

121. Earlier mentions, which are sometimes interpreted as references to the Slavs, are unreliable. See Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, 1: 190ff.

122. Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 67) explained the name as derived from the Gothic *vinja* 'pastureland,' 'meadow,' 'dwellers on the meadows.' In the absence of any other, this explanation was accepted by many scholars. A derivation from the Celtic *vindos* 'white' has recently been suggested. Scholars have pointed out a very interesting fact—the widespread occurrence of the root *vend*, *vind* in place and personal names on Celtic territories. But the links between the Celts and the Slavs have not been proved so far. Some have also tried to explain 'Venedi' as derived from the [Old] Slavic *vět*, *veštii*—'larger,' hence 'giants' (for a rejection of this derivation, see Brückner, 'Ursitze der Slaven und Deutschen,' p. 236). The Venedi have also been linked with the name of the Viatichians (Gil'ferding, Braun, A. Veselovskii), etc.

123. 'Slavs, whom we call Wends' ('Sclavos, quos nos Vionudos dicimus'), writes Alcuin, *Epistolae*, p. 32, about the victories of Charlemagne.

124. The first to suggest this were Dobrovský and Schlözer; later, Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 7.15, and (with caution) Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 67. The etymology of the term 'Serb' is not clear; see the discussion of this in Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 248ff. The more recent explanation by Niederle ('Über die Σπόροι des Prokopios')—Σπόροι from Βόσποροι—has been unanimously rejected by scholars. I should add that the term 'Serb' has also been linked with our *serb*, *siabr*, 'an economic associate.' On the identification of *Serby* = Σπόροι = *Spali* that some assume, see below.

* [In the original Hrushevsky adds the phrase 'a variant of Σέρβοι.' The Greek appears to contain a typographical error.—Eds.]

125. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14 [Hrushevsky's book numbers refer to the section of Prokopios's *History of the Wars* that pertains to the Gothic War. In many editions, *De bello Gotthico* (which consists of four books) appears as volume four of the *History of the Wars*.—Eds.]; Ptolemy 5.9.21.

unintelligible tongue.¹²⁶ Foreign sources, however, usually replace *sl-* with *skl-* in the name—*Sclaveni*, *Sclavini*, Σκλαυηνοί, Σκλαβηνοί, the Arabic *Saqaliba*—and later also with a *sth-*, as in Σθλαβηνοί.

On the whole, relatively detailed information about the Slavs does not appear until the period of their final differentiation, caused or, more precisely, completed by the great Slavic dispersion, which weakened territorial contacts, made it necessary to adapt to new and different conditions, and entailed living among and intermingling with alien peoples. However, just as much earlier in the case of the Indo-European family, ethnic differentiation among the Slavic tribes began long before their dispersion.

Linguists agree that language differentiation among the Slavs began while they still lived in their original home, long before the great Slavic migration, and that the emergence of linguistic differences was only one of the indicators of ethnic differentiation. Although attempts to find some indication of the time at which this differentiation became quite apparent among the principal branches of the Slavs—the western and the northern-eastern-southern—have not proved successful,¹²⁷ the fact that differentiation occurred very early is not in doubt. Whether we subscribe to the genealogical theory, which holds that the Proto-Slavic population first split into two or three distinct branches from which the different tribes formed only later, or to the far more probable theory of ‘transitions’ or ‘waves,’ which provides for transitional phenomena and links between the individual languages of all the groups, makes very little difference.¹²⁸ In both cases, it is certain that ethnic and linguistic differences emerged among the Slavs even before their dispersion, but became more pronounced after this dispersion owing to larger distances between the various territories and contacts with other ethnic groups.

An interesting fact presents itself. The modern geographic disposition of the Slavs wholly corresponds to their dialectal divisions, and the individual Slavic peoples emerge very soon after their migration as fully formed ethnic and linguistic entities. This indicates—and this is universally accepted today—that the great Slavic migration proceeded without any major upheavals, without great gaps, and in a manner that in large measure preserved the earlier

126. The derivation of the Slavic name from *slovo* was first proposed by Kollár. This was disputed by Dobrovský, ‘Slovon-li Slované.’ Šafařík (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, sec. 25.8) and Krek (*Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 300) have argued that the suffix *-ěnin* indicates location and has a geographic origin. But I doubt that such things can be considered so exclusively. For instance, I recall the folk term *Nimchyn* rather than *Nimets’* [sing. of *Nimtsi*]. Other theories are not nearly as plausible as Kollár’s. However, the insertion of the letter ‘k’ in both the Western and Oriental renditions of the Slavic name remains unexplained.

127. About these attempts, see Niederle, *O původu Slovanů*, pp. 122–23.

128. The genealogical theory suffers from schematism, which does not occur in evolution as such. The larger ethnic unit is everywhere and always comprised of the sum of local, minor variations, which are transmitted from one group to another through certain transitional variants. The Slavic branches—eastern, southern, and western—are related by groups of separate dialects linked by imprecise common characteristics. Differentiation between these groups may be as old as the important variations between the branches themselves. Brugmann is right in saying (*Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik*) that it is impossible to imagine a language of some larger group, which has gone through a long period of evolution, that does not contain dialectal *differences*. The theory of a completely uniform proto-language—be it Indo-European or Proto-Slavic—is pure fiction, because before such a language could reach its ultimate peak of development, it would already contain the seeds of disintegration. This argument was clearly made by Delbrück (*Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*) with respect to the Indo-European language, while in the case of the Slavic languages, this view has been convincingly demonstrated by Jagić in the article ‘Eine einheitliche Slavische Ursprache’ in the series ‘Einige Streitfragen,’ 22: 11–45. In dividing the Slavs into language groups, i.e., western, eastern, and southern, he views the division not from a genetic standpoint, but from the standpoint of modern social states, and that view is gaining increasing support.

geographic relationships between the various tribes.¹²⁹ The Slavic mass moved in various directions into the peripheries of the primitive Slavic cradle without upheavals or irregularities. And this leads to the important conclusion that the directions of expansion corresponded to a certain degree to the original disposition of the Slavic tribes in their ancestral homeland and that the present positioning of the Slavic peoples corresponds to their disposition in their homeland. This view was put forward emphatically by one of the most authoritative and talented linguists of our time: 'When we compare the relationships of Slavic settlement in prehistoric times (according to the theory of transitions) with those in historical times, we note that despite major changes in the territory occupied by the Slavs in historical times, the positioning of various neighboring peoples is the same today as it must have been in prehistoric times.'¹³⁰

That conclusion, reached on the basis of linguistic evidence, is corroborated by the history of colonization. During their last dispersion, the Slavs for the most part took over uninhabited territories that had been abandoned by their previous populations, and did so peacefully and without violence. This is attested by the silence of our historical sources about how Slavic expansion took place. Large uninhabited territories were opening up to the Slavs during the third to fifth centuries to the west, south, and southeast of their borders. Hence the process of Slavic expansion could proceed quite systematically, without intermingling with other populations and without large gaps. Tribes that inhabited territories farther removed from the colonized periphery entered lands left to them by tribes farther to the west or south of them, which had moved ahead. Had there been intermingling, it would have produced a more homogeneous ethnic and linguistic mass, and differentiation would have had to begin anew after colonization had been completed.

These observations are very important, because they allow us to draw certain conclusions, even if approximate, from the later distribution of Slavic peoples about the disposition of the individual Slavic branches in their original home before their dispersion, and to reconstruct the sequence and direction of Slavic migration.

Judging by the location of Ukrainian Rus' on the modern map of the Slavic world, we should place our ancestors in the southeastern part of the Proto-Slavic territory. This means that if we have located correctly the territory of the ancestral Slavic home, the tribes of the southeastern, i.e., Ukrainian, group comprised the southeastern portion of that original Slavic colonization—namely, they occupied the middle Dnipro region. As the whole Slavic population moved toward the west, southwest, and south, the Ukrainian population, too, had to move in the same direction—westward and southward. This theory is in agreement with the facts of Slavic colonization, which we shall examine below.

The middle Dnipro region can thus be identified as the most probable original habitat of the Ukrainian people. This people can therefore be regarded as the region's autochthonous population in the sense that it inhabited this territory from remote, prehistoric times. That is the logical conclusion suggested by the information and evidence we have reviewed. Of course, the

129. Taking account of the occurrence of identical ethnic names in various parts of the Slavic world, the Slavic colonization was compared at one time to a game of cards in which the cards had been randomly scattered. But identical ethnic names do not mean that a single tribe split into parts, and no traces of such 'splitting apart' can be demonstrated in the case of the Slavs.

130. J. Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus*, 2: 198. This view was supported in a polemic with A. Leskien by Jagić ('Einige Streitfragen,' 20: 22), who regarded the later state of Slavic dispersion as 'a rather exact reflection of the prehistoric Slavic microcosm.'

boundaries of this original Slavic, or East Slavic, territory could not have remained absolutely unchanged throughout the ages. The movement of this population's southern neighbors, the kindred Iranian and Thracian peoples from the satem group, toward the southeast and west left large territories along the Slavic frontier unoccupied, a circumstance that may have encouraged the Slavs to expand southward. The later population movements from Asia, of which there is ample evidence in archaeological and historico-ethnographic materials, may then have pushed back this ancient Slavic colonization by causing serious upheavals in the steppe zone.

* * *

With the help of this data, we can attempt, if only modestly, to gain an understanding of our cultural material. We saw earlier that a definite cultural border can be distinguished along the boundary between the forest-steppe and forest zones in the Dnipro region. We see in the forest-steppe zone the rise of the culture of clay dwellings, which later disappears, leaving no legacy in the subsequent culture of this region. It is here that we find the burial ritual in which the corpse was strewn with red ochre. Later we witness the penetration of a Central Asian current in the iron culture, which intersects with the cultural influences of the Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast. Along the boundary of the forest zone and beyond the forest line, we encounter cemeteries that extend westward from the Dnipro region. As we have seen, these finds are but a poor echo of the forest-steppe culture; they reflect a commensurate poverty and uniformity of life, an absence of change and upheavals—at least judging by the materials discovered so far. Since historical and linguistic data tell us that in all probability this forest zone was the homeland of the Slavic tribes, while the steppe regions were inhabited by an Iranian population, the culture of the cemeteries and the earlier cultural remains in this zone reveal to us the remnants of Slavic life and give us an indication of its cultural evolution. We must therefore assume that the longheaded population of these remains was Slavic. However, as we have pointed out, the anthropological type of this region does not differ from that of the more distant steppe and forest-steppe populations of the period preceding the Asian migrations. The admixture of shortheaded skulls appears to be an infusion of alien elements from some Asian, perhaps Turkic, stock. But the anthropological material we have so far is very limited, and it is difficult to draw very far-reaching conclusions from it. If no traces of the culture of the clay dwellings are discovered farther west or farther north, the recently expressed surmise that this was a Thracian culture, which disappeared from our territory with the migration of the Thracian tribes to the Balkan and Transcarpathian regions, will gain credibility. However, cultural boundaries do not have to correspond exactly to tribal borders. They need do so only approximately. They need not even coincide with changes in colonization, in which a new group often adopts the life and culture of the population among which it settles. That is why culture types usually overlap, as we have seen in our discussion of archaeological finds.

This short overview is all that I believed possible to say regarding our understanding of the archaeological remains of human life on our territory dating from the late Neolithic Age. Since neither ethnic criteria nor linguistic derivations from the Indo-European languages or the languages of other groups reach as far back as the early Neolithic or the Paleolithic Age, it would be quite futile to speculate about these periods.

The evolution of human life on Slavic territory since Neolithic times has been disclosed to us in broad terms by our archaeological discoveries. These finds have revealed to us a difficult existence in the remote corners of the forest zone, far from the more vibrant life of the coastal

areas and the steppe regions, with their easier and more lively contacts with civilized lands. In comparison with more culturally advanced regions, the life of the forested Dnipro region remained backward for many centuries. The Bronze Age, which in the southern regions lasted for nearly a millennium and attained a high degree of development, left the northern regions almost untouched. It made somewhat greater inroads along the banks of the Don and in Subcarpathia, but its weak reflections barely reached the ancestral lands of the Slavs, especially the Dnipro region. In the age of Homer, these lands were probably still in the twilight of the Neolithic Age. The echoes of the bronze and iron cultures that penetrated these lands were incorporated into the ancient Neolithic culture, but stone and wood remained the principal material here at a time when even in central Europe the metal culture had become established. A more detailed study of the burials in this region (to date the most ignored because of their poverty and the humble furnishings) will in time enable us to study the evolution of local life.¹³¹ Later in this work we shall discuss the cultural evolution of these parts, presenting a view of the culture of the Slavic tribes during the period of their dispersion and immediately following it, on the basis of archaeological, linguistic, and historical data. Some notion of the external factors that affected life in the Slavic lands during the millennium that separated the age of Slavic dispersion from the time of the appearance of the first historical references to eastern Europe will be derived from the history of the Black Sea region. The Slavic territory, a remote land in the depths of the forests, was slow to receive what were only dim reflections of the political and cultural life of the more advanced Black Sea region and of the neighboring steppes, where the influences of the cultures of the Mediterranean and southwestern Asia met and intermingled with currents from Central Asia. The territory described by us as Proto-Slavic is either completely ignored in historical records, or these records provide us with only a few, isolated, unreliable names and with occasional references that are part of the more detailed accounts of the southern, Black Sea settlements. It is in this context that we now propose to examine these records.

131. This should be the most important goal of eastern European archaeology, which, instead, centers its attention on the more showy remains of antique and so-called Scythian culture.

III

Historical Records from the Period before Slavic Expansion

Our only source of historical information about eastern Europe during the millennium preceding the expansion of the Slavs is classical tradition, which gained a view into the remote 'Hyperborean' lands through the Greek colonies along the coast of the Black Sea [Pontus Euxinus]. True, only a few scant reports from these distant and provincial Pontic settlements reached the larger centers of Greek and Roman life and entered the literature emerging there. Yet it is to the occasional references in classical literature and to the meager remnants of local epigraphy—fragments of inscriptions from the Black Sea communities that survived the destruction of time—that we owe a large portion of what we know about the life of eastern Europe during this period. We must therefore begin our examination of this record with a brief review of the history of the Greek colonies along the Black Sea—not only because they served as the source of information about eastern Europe, but also because they were the cradle of civilizing influences that radiated into the hinterlands of the eastern European mainland. At the time, they were the region's window—practically its only one—on the rest of Europe and thus on the civilized world.

The Greek colonies arose as a result of the trade that flourished along the coast of the Black Sea from very early times. Traces of foreign trade with southern lands dating as far back as the late Neolithic Age have been found in Ukraine. Exotic shells discovered in very early burials (from the stone and early metal cultures), as well as foreign gems and copper and bronze objects, clearly indicate the existence of contacts and commerce with other parts of the world. Even though the existing archaeological material does not allow us to assert categorically that all these articles arrived by way of the Black Sea, we can certainly assume that many did. The initial stages of the Black Sea trade on our territory thus occurred well before the beginnings of recorded history. The earliest Black Sea traders known to history were the Phoenicians and the Carians from Asia Minor. In view of what we know of their contacts with the southern coast of the Black Sea, there can be no doubt that they also traded along its northern shores. But because we lack historical references to it, we have no detailed knowledge about Phoenician and Carian trade; in historical times, the Black Sea trade was already in the hands of the Greeks.

According to tradition, the most important role in this trade was played by the famous republic of Miletus. Founded by the Ionians on territory that had belonged to the Carians, Phoenicians, and the equally famous seafaring Cretans, Miletus became a natural partner in Phoenician-Carian trade, particularly on the Black Sea, and ultimately took over the role of its predecessors in that trade. The Milesians went on to establish permanent trading factories along the Black Sea coast (we have no records of Phoenician or Carian trading factories along the northern shores). Given the favorable conditions, these factories eventually developed into permanent settlements.

Of the more important colonies along the northern coast of the Black Sea, those of Tyras, Olbia, Theodosia, and Panticapaeum clearly bear Milesian names. Almost certainly the majority of smaller colonies also belonged to Miletus and had been founded by the Milesians either directly or indirectly by settlers from their earlier colonies. Strabo wrote that Miletus populated

the entire area along the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara [Propontis],¹ and the Milesians were generally regarded as the principal colonizers of the Pontus [northern Black Sea region]. This tradition obviously retained the memory of the initiative of Miletus in the founding of factories and colonies, while in reality the colonists must have come from various cities, since the Milesians alone would not have been able to populate all the colonies that traced their beginnings to this mother city (a total of eighty!). Some Black Sea colonies were founded independently of Miletus. Chersonese, one of the most important colonies, was established by the natives of Heraclea Pontica, a Dorian colony founded in the sixth century B.C. mainly by the Megarians, second in importance only to the Milesians in the history of the colonization of the Pontus. Phanagoria was founded from Teos.²

The beginnings of this colonization reach very far back into antiquity. The only Milesian colony on the northern shore of the Black Sea for which we have a date is Olbia, the founding of which is dated to the middle of the seventh century B.C. However, such dates usually signify an already established colony, whereas its beginnings as a trading post or factory and the initial settlement must be dated earlier. When we take into account that some colonies on the southern coast of the Black Sea (such as Cyzicus and Sinope) were founded in the eighth century B.C., perhaps even at the beginning of that century, we can be certain that at least the initial stages of settlement of the northern coast had also begun by that time. The period between the eighth and the sixth century B.C. was a time of especially intensive colonization by the Milesians. Difficult domestic conditions in Miletus encouraged this process: throughout the seventh century the republic was engaged in a fierce war with the Lydian Kingdom, only to be followed by intense and bloody internal strife between the local democratic and aristocratic parties. It is quite likely that these circumstances prompted many to seek a new life in the north.

Until recently, this first, Milesian, period in the colonization of the Black Sea region was poorly represented in archaeological materials. Of late, however, an increasing number of remnants of Ionian culture are being found, both among the remains of the old colonies and beyond their boundaries. These finds reveal the existence of a vigorous trade and strong cultural influences in this area as early as in the seventh century B.C. In light of this evidence, everything that has survived from Greek antiquity has acquired additional significance. Originating as far back as the Mycenaean era, these elements, which had been transplanted and established in the region by the first wave of colonists, survived for a very long time in the life of the northern Black Sea coast. From the sixth century onward, a strong Athenian influence from the age of Pisistratus is evident, in the form of the numerous black-figured vases of the period found among the ruins of Olbia, Theodosia, and Bosporus. Subsequently, except for several intervals of weakened or interrupted influence (during one such interval in the fifth century B.C., the island of Thasos assumed a very important role in the Black Sea trade), Athenian trade and Athenian cultural influences dominated the Black Sea coast throughout the fifth, fourth, and beginning of the third centuries. This is attested by the abundant finds of Athenian red-figured pottery not only at the sites of the ancient Pontic colonies, but also in the burials and among the remains of settlements in the middle Dnipro area (the southern Kyiv region). Strong Athenian influences from this period are even present in the language of the inscriptions in the Ionian colonies on our shores (only Chersonese steadfastly preserved its Dorian dialect). Not content with its dominance of trade in this region, Athens attempted to gain

1. Strabo 14.1.6.

2. Arrian, *Arriani Flavii apud Eustathii...Frag.* 549.

an even firmer foothold on the Black Sea coast. There are references to several maritime expeditions on the Black Sea in the fifth century B.C. (Aristides, Pericles), and it appears quite likely that during the era when Athens was at the pinnacle of its naval power, our shores were also within the sphere of its hegemony.³ The local source of Athenian influence was Nymphaeum on the Strait of Kerch, south of Panticapaeum. An Athenian garrison was stationed in Nymphaeum. But Athens lost this base when the Athenian Empire suffered defeat near the end of the fifth century B.C. Nymphaeum was occupied by the Bosporans, and the Athenian commander handed over the city to the ruler of the Bosporan Kingdom.⁴ Reconciled to its loss, Athens continued to trade and maintain friendly relations with the Bosporan rulers in exchange for the special trading privileges that the latter allowed the Athenians. Such was the situation in the fourth century. After the decline of Athens during the third to second centuries B.C., motifs and products from Asia Minor, Rhodes, and Alexandria prevail in the archaeological finds in the Pontic region, with Alexandrian influences especially strong and marked. From the second century onward, we see Italic products, notably Roman, which increase in number with the growth of Rome's political influence on the Black Sea coast (first century B.C.) and predominate until the fall of the Roman Empire. Only later, following the intervals of turbulent migrations of various peoples, the duration of which depended on the locality, do we see Byzantium emerge as the heir and successor of Roman influence. Attaining the pinnacle of its glory and power in the age of Justinian, Byzantium served as the principal cultural force in the Black Sea region until the eleventh to twelfth centuries A.D.

Such were the principal commercial and cultural influences and the colonization currents that were linked with them in these Greek settlements.⁵ Let us now briefly examine the history of the more important Black Sea colonies.⁶

* * *

Moving from west to east, the first of the Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast was Tyras, which stood on the site of present-day Akkerman [Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy] on the right shore of the Dnister Estuary. It was originally named Ophiussa ('Snakelike') and later renamed Tyras, after the name of the Tyras (Dnister) River.⁷ Its inhabitants were called Tyranai (Τυρανοί). Tyras, a Milesian colony whose date of origin is not known, is first mentioned in sources from the fourth century B.C.⁸ It was a separate republic with a popular assembly and senate (βουλή) and four archons at its helm. Very little is known about Tyras. In the middle of the first century A.D., it came under the suzerainty of Rome and belonged to the province of Moesia. The last mention of Tyras dates to the second quarter of the third century (coins bearing the name of Alexander Severus). It is assumed that Tyras was destroyed during the Gothic raids.⁹ The last echoes of its golden age are the monumental inscriptions on imperial decrees from the year

3. See, in particular, the articles by Brandis: 'Bosporos' and 'Chersonesus Taurica.'

4. Aeschines, *Or.* 3.171.

5. See Shtern, 'Znachenie keramicheskikh nakhodok,' in which the author is the first to attempt to explore the history of the Black Sea trade, chiefly on the basis of ceramic finds. See also his later publications: *Muzei Imp. Odesskogo obshchestva*, vols. 1-3; [Stern], 'Die griechische Kolonisation'; etc.

6. See references in Note 1.

7. Pliny 4.12.82.

8. It is first mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax.

9. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, pp. 217-18.

201 A.D., which confirmed that Tyras was exempt from import and export duties.¹⁰ Pseudo-Scymnus, a writer from the second, or, more likely, the first century B.C., praised the navigability of the Dnister and wrote of the beautiful pasture lands along its banks and the abundance of fish in its waters. Representations of Demeter with ears of grain (or just the ears alone) and Dionysius with a bunch of grapes on local coins indicate that the colony's additional sources of wealth and commodities of trade were grain and wine.

Along the same estuary, opposite Tyras, stood another, less important city, called Niconium, which is also known from the fourth century B.C. Farther to the east, between the Dnister and the Dnipro Rivers, stood Isiacorum Portus (assumed to have been on the site of present-day Odesa [Odessa]), Istrianorum Portus, and Odessus or Ordessus (east of modern Odesa).

The island known today as Berezan, at the mouth of the Dnipro-Boh Estuary, was then a peninsula joined to the northern shore. During the initial stages of Greek colonization, it served as a rather important trading factory. Recent research has uncovered interesting remnants of earlier settlements that had existed here until the fifth century B.C.¹¹ Most probably as Olbia, situated farther up the estuary, grew in importance as a trading center, the Berezan settlement lost its significance, and the island became the simple maritime station that we know it to have been in later centuries.

Olbia stood on the right bank of the Hypanis (Boh) Estuary, near the modern village of Parutyne-Ilynsk. The name of Olbia was used in inscriptions and on coins by its inhabitants, who called themselves Olbiopolitae. Foreigners called Olbia Borysthenes, because of its proximity to the Borysthenes-Dnipro River, and its inhabitants, Borysthenitae; the local residents sometimes also referred to themselves by that name.¹² Olbia and Panticapaeum were the most famous Milesian colonies on our shores. Ancient sources (Pseudo-Scymnus) date the founding of Olbia to the times of 'Median supremacy' (seventh century B.C.), while the chronicle of Eusebius-St. Jerome assigns it the date 645/44 B.C. As mentioned earlier, this date should be regarded as applying to the time when the colony had already become an established entity, whereas its beginnings may have reached much farther back in time. The systematic excavations undertaken in recent years have revealed traces of original earthen fortifications, which were slowly replaced by stone walls. The old walls, splendidly built during the fifth to fourth centuries, are unusually strong, up to three meters thick, and very solidly constructed and lined with beautifully faced stone. An effective means of defense, they also attest to the wealth and affluence of the city.¹³ In the middle of the the fifth century, when Herodotus visited Olbia, the city was indeed a rich and important center. Not only had it attained a high level of development in its own right, but it had already managed to extend its cultural sphere of influence over the neighboring barbarian peoples. Near Olbia lived the hellenized Scythians known as the Callippidae, but even the more barbaric Scythians and their kings were not immune to the attraction of Greek civilization, as evidenced by the case of the unfortunate Scylas, who paid for his love of Greek culture with his life (as Herodotus relates). Olbia's

10. *IPE*, vol. 1, no. 3.

11. On these excavations, see the articles by Stern [Shtern]: 'Kratkii otchet o raskopkakh,' 'Otchet o raskopkakh,' 'Die griechische Kolonisation,' and 'Doistoricheskaiia grecheskaia kul'tura,' p. 91.

12. See Shtern, 'Novootkrytaia ol'viiskaia nadpis'.' Papadimitrius has recently argued ('Drevnie svedeniia ob ostrove Berezani') that the Berezan settlement was called the emporium of the Borysthenitae and that later the name Borysthenes was applied to it. The ancient name is obviously echoed by the island's modern name.

13. See, in particular, the recent report by Farmakovskii, 'Olbia 1901-1908,' about the excavations conducted in the years 1901 to 1908.

influence was not limited solely to neighboring territories; it also extended into the barbarian hinterland, along the banks of both great rivers that met near Olbia, the Dniro and the Boh. What Herodotus learned during his visit to Olbia reveals an extensive trade that reached far inland, and there can be no doubt that Olbia was the primary source of the cultural influences radiating into central Ukraine. The city was the principal hearth of Greek, and generally Mediterranean, culture during the last five hundred years before the Christian Era, and traces of this culture are present in the archaeological finds of the Dniro region.

Olbia was at the height of its power and development in the fifth and the first half of the fourth century. Its source of wealth was trade and farming. Like Tyras, it had grain, fish, and cattle.¹⁴ Moreover, according to Herodotus, salt was mined in the mouth of the Dniro. It was used to preserve fish, an important commodity of trade. The city was an independent republic and was ruled by a popular assembly and a senate (βουλή). Executive power belonged to the archons and *strategoï*,^{*} finances were controlled by the college of 'nine' and the college of 'eleven,' and the conduct of trade and industry was in the care of the colleges of *agoranomoi*^{**} and *astynomi*.^{***} Owing to the large number of preserved inscriptions, the system of government of Olbia is better known than that of other cities in this region.

Following the period of prosperity described by Herodotus, Olbia fell on hard times. In the second half of the fourth century, it was attacked by a certain Zopyrion, believed to have been one of Alexander the Great's generals. The city had to muster all its resources and resort to extraordinary measures to resist the onslaught. 'For, when the Borysthenitae were attacked by Zopyrion, they liberated slaves, enfranchised aliens, and abolished debts [most likely, they cancelled all debts in exchange for contributions to the city's defense—M.H.], and so were able to withstand the enemy,' wrote an author of a later date.¹⁵ This ordeal was followed by further troubles. Olbia suffered at the hands of the Sarmatian and Scythian hordes, as well as from the new barbarian movements in the Danubian lands—from the 'Galatae,' as they were called in local inscriptions (it is assumed that these were either the Bastarnae or the Danubian Celts), the Sciri, and later the Getae. From a decree in honor of the Olbian citizen Protogenes, the most important and most interesting document from this city (its date is not known; scholars place it in either the third or the second century B.C.),¹⁶ we learn that Olbia was compelled to make yearly 'gifts' or, more precisely, pay annual tribute to the Sarmatians. Protracted unrest and wars reduced the colony's economy to complete ruin. 'The city grew poor because of wars and poor harvests,' forcing the archons to pawn the sacred plate while the citizens faced famine. A later source, Dio Chrysostom, wrote that Olbia was often captured by enemies during this period.¹⁷ For a long time, though perhaps not without intervals, Olbia had to recognize the overlordship of Scythian kings. We find evidence of this in Olbian coins, which bear the images and names of several barbarian kings,¹⁸ though, unfortunately, without any indication of chronology. Finally, in the second quarter of the first century B.C., the Getae ruined Olbia and

14. Herodotus 4.54; Pseudo-Scymnus.

* [*Strategoï* is the plural of *strategos* 'military commander.'—Eds.]

** [*Agoranomoi* were clerks of the marketplace who regulated buying and selling.—Eds.]

*** [*Astynomi* were magistrates in charge of police, streets, and public buildings.—Eds.]

15. Macrobius 1.11.33.

16. *IPE*, vol. 1, no. 16. For a survey of the period of the decree, see Latyshev, *Issledovaniia ob istorii*, chap. 3.

17. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 36.

18. Pharzoos, Ininsimeus (Inisimeus) [Ininthimeus], Canites, Sarias, Scylurus (Scilurus); of these, Scylurus ruled in approximately the second half of the second century B.C.

'also the other cities on the left [northern—M.H.] shore of the Pontus as far as Apollonia' (near the modern city of Burgas). According to Dio Chrysostom, the Olbiopolitae scattered but returned to the old ruins later, 'on account [or with the consent—M.H.] of the Scythians, I imagine, because of their need for [commercial—M.H.] traffic with the Greeks who might use that port. For the Greeks had stopped sailing to Olbia when the city was laid waste.' However, even a hundred years later, this new, restored Olbia looked very poor, as described by Dio, who visited it in the eighties of our era. It occupied only a small portion of the old city; a cluster of shabby houses, encircled by a flimsy wall, stood in the shadow of the old fortifications. The temples contained not a single undamaged statue; all were chipped and cracked. Recent excavations confirm this: the restored city, impoverished and run-down, occupied only a portion of its original area. Dio reported that even the population had changed: it now included a large number of barbarians, a fact confirmed by inscriptions in which we see a mixture of Greek, barbarian, and, notably, Iranian names.¹⁹ But, according to Dio, such was the fate of all the devastated coastal cities: those which had been revived were quite poor and contained a large proportion of barbarian elements.

Olbia was never to regain its old splendor. The new historical conditions made this impossible, and the Olbiopolitae lived in danger, amidst the continuing unrest in the steppes. Dio gives us an eyewitness account of the city's life in constant fear of its enemies at the end of the first century A.D. The visiting rhetorician describes the citizens, whom he calls Borysthenitae, gathering to hear him speak on Homer, their beloved subject, and on Achilles, who was the object of a local cult. He writes that they assembled bearing arms, that the gates to the city were shut, and a war banner was flying on the walls, because there had been a Scythian attack on the Olbian possessions the day before. This is an illustration of Olbian life throughout all these centuries.

Olbia was not sufficiently strong to engage in continual wars with its barbarian neighbors on its own. And so when Mithridates [VI Eupator] became the leading power of the Pontus, Olbia, like other Black Sea colonies, sought his assistance and protection. A recently discovered Olbian inscription reveals the city's relations with Mithridates.²⁰ After Mithridates fell in battle against the Romans, Olbia sought the aid and protection of Rome. Nothing is known about these relations over a long period of time, because our sources contain no specific references to Olbia. But there is no doubt that under Nero, when Rome became actively involved in Black Sea affairs and Roman legions defended Chersonese from the barbarians, while the Roman state strove to extend its control even over distant Bosphorus, the colonies lying closer to Rome, such as Tyras, Olbia, and others, must almost certainly have been under Roman protection. We know from a later date that in the reign of Antoninus, Olbia asked for Rome's help against the 'Tauroscythians' and received it. Under Septimius Severus (between 196 and 198 A.D.) Olbia passed under the formal supremacy of Rome and became part of the province of [Lower] Moesia, as did Tyras. When other troubles did not paralyze its policies in this region, Rome, safeguarding its own interests, always came to the defense of the Greek colonies in this region. An Olbian inscription from 248 A.D., recently found, indicates that a Roman military garrison was stationed in Olbia on the eve of the onslaught by the Goths.²¹ In all likelihood, Olbia was

19. An analysis of barbarian names occurring in the inscriptions of the northern Black Sea coast was offered by V. Miller: 'Èpigrafičeskie sledy iranstva'; there is also a briefer discussion of the topic in his *Osetinskie ètiudy*, vol. 3.

20. *IzAK*, vol. 25 (1907).

21. Latyšev, 'Èpigrafičeskie novosti iz Iuzhnoi Rossii,' p. 6.

destroyed during the Goths' raids. However, the city revived several times more (as indicated by excavations), albeit in a very poverty-stricken guise, until nothing remained but an empty ruin (the last coins found here are from the sixth century A.D.).

Let us now proceed to the other colonies.

The gulf west of the Perekop Isthmus (between the Dnipro Estuary and the Crimea) was called Carcinites [Karkinitska Zatoka] (also Tamyrace) from the name of Carcine, a city on its northern shore. This gulf had no significance for trade, nor did the several unimportant settlements along its shores. On the western coast of the Crimea stood the city of Cercinitis (on the site of present-day Ievpatoriia),²² which also had no special significance. Only the extreme southeastern projection of the peninsula, between the bays of Ctenus (modern Sevastopol) and Symbolon (Balaklava), was important. The peninsula formed by the two bays was called Chersonese, which was also the name for the Crimea as a whole. In order to distinguish it from the greater Chersonese, the small peninsula is usually called Heraclean Chersonese, after the colonists who came here from Heraclea Pontica. The city located on the small peninsula was called Heraclean, Tauric, or Megarian Chersonese.²³

As stated above, Chersonese was founded by colonists from Heraclea Pontica, a Megarian Greek colony on the southern coast of the Black Sea (now Ereğli in Turkey). A recently found inscription, in which the Chersonesites call the Heracleans their 'most respected fathers,'²⁴ confirms the ancient literary tradition that Heraclea was the mother city of Chersonese. Pseudo-Scymnus tells us that Delos also took part in founding Chersonese, but this claim is unsubstantiated. The majority of the population was Dorian, as clearly evidenced by the Dorian dialect in the inscriptions.²⁵ The date of the founding of Chersonese is not known, but we know that it was one of the earlier, rather than later, colonies. Heraclea itself had been founded in the times of Cyrus, namely, in the sixth century B.C., which means that Chersonese had to have been founded much later. Herodotus makes no mention of it, and the first to mention the city is Pseudo-Scylax (fourth century B.C.). Some scholars believe that Chersonese already existed in the time of Herodotus, who simply did not mention it, but the conjecture is very questionable. In any event, the finds made at Chersonese thus far contain nothing that would indicate with any certainty that the city existed in the fifth century.

Having settled in an area neighboring upon the wild and cruel Tauri, whose atrocities were related widely, the colonists were initially less concerned with trade than with the defense of their city. As a result, at first the city was located not on one of the two bays named above, but on the extreme projection of the peninsula, on the small bay known today as Cossack Bay [Kozacha Bukhta], a site more easily defended. A double wall protected the settlement and the small promontory from the hinterland. But Chersonese soon began to expand from this secure corner in a northerly direction, around what is today called Quarantine Bay [Karantynna Bukhta] (where Sevastopol now stands). Here, too, old walls from the city's first phase have been discovered, constructed of beautifully faced stone. But they appear to have been left unfinished at the time; only later, during the Roman period, was the new city completely encircled by

22. See the more recent observations on the location of this city by Romanchenko in his 'Raskopki v okrestnostiakh Evpatorii.'

23. Pliny 4.12.26.

24. *IPE*, vol. 4, no. 72.

25. This, in addition to the testimony of other authors, also contradicts Strabo's obviously erroneous information that Heraclea was a Milesian colony.

walls, becoming the principal center of local life. During the first centuries of its existence, this remote Greek colony was not distinguished by either wealth or brilliance. Intensive excavations during the last twenty years have not uncovered any artistic structures or rich burials. Chersonesian coins, the first indicator of commercial development, are not found in abundance. The Chersonesites engaged primarily in agriculture, which required a great deal of energy and labor. The rocky and inhospitable peninsula was beautifully cultivated by the colonists. Remains of aqueducts have survived to this day. The peninsula was covered by artificial gardens and vineyards. Growing grain, however, was probably a more difficult task, judging by the oath that the citizens took not to sell the 'grain from the plain' to anyone but the dwellers of Chersonese.²⁶ The western coast of the Crimea is not very fertile.

Gradually the Chersonesites expanded over the entire western coast of the peninsula, from the Gulf of Carcinites to Symbolon Bay. Apart from Chersonese, however, there were no significant settlements here. Among Chersonese's provinces, the oath cited above names only Cercinitis, 'the Fair Haven' (somewhere on the Gulf of Carcinites), and, very generally, 'all other fortifications' (traces of such fortifications cut across the neck of the peninsula between Ctenus and Symbolon Bays).

Here, too, as in Olbia, the neighboring barbarians submitted to the influence of Hellenic culture, and some became thoroughly hellenized. In the list of patrons of the temple at Delphi, we find toward the end of the second century B.C. the name 'Hymnus, a Scythian of Chersonese.'^{*} A recently discovered list of Chersonesian citizens who had bought plots of land in the city includes the name of the same Hymnus, a Scythian, next to that of another Scythian.²⁷

Initially Chersonese was under the political protection of its mother city, Heraclea Pontica, which apparently fought a war over it with Panticapaeum in the first half of the fourth century B.C. But it slowly developed into a major center and became the capital of the western Crimea. By the third century B.C., it was playing a role in the political life of the Black Sea region. A surviving record of an alliance made between the rulers of states in Asia Minor includes both Heraclea [Pontica] and Chersonese as parties to the treaty.²⁸ During this period, Chersonese was an independent, democratic republic. In the oath that we cited above, which scholars date to the third century B.C. on the basis of the script, each citizen swore that 'together with all others, I shall defend the welfare and freedom of the city and its citizens; I shall not betray Chersonese, nor Cercinitis, nor the Fair Haven, nor the other fortified places and lands that the Chersonesites hold now or have held in the past, to anyone, neither to the Hellenes nor to the Barbarians, but I shall protect them for the people [community—M.H.] of Chersonese; nor shall I breach the rule of the people [democracy—M.H.], nor help anyone else betray or destroy it, and I will not remain silent about such attempts, but will inform the magistrates (*damiourgoi*) of the city.'²⁹

Still, we know almost nothing about the history of Chersonese until the end of the second century B.C., when the city was under heavy pressure from the neighboring Scythians, who had occupied the steppe regions of the Crimea and conquered the local Greek population. They

26. *IPE*, vol. 4, no. 79. It is possible, however, that this referred to some fiscal matter.

* [Minns in *Scythians and Greeks*, pt. 2, p. 517, interprets this phrase as 'Hymnus, son of Scythas.'—Eds.]

27. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, no. 268; *IPE*, vol. 4, no. 80.

28. Polybius 25.2.12.

29. *IPE*, vol. 4, no. 79.

seized the provinces of Chersonese and held the city itself under siege. Chersonese applied for protection to the king of the Pontus, Mithridates VI Eupator, who was famous in this region. Though the exact date of this event is not known, historians believe that it occurred in approximately 110 B.C. For the Chersonesites, colonists from Heraclea in Asia Minor who had always maintained close ties with the southern coast of the Black Sea, this was a natural step. But the move had important consequences for the northern Black Sea coast. By involving Mithridates in Crimean affairs, it led to the unification of all the Greek colonies along the northern coast under the rule of the Pontic king. The second, even more important, consequence of this step was that it drew the Greek colonies along the northern Black Sea coast into Rome's political sphere, moved Rome's war with Mithridates onto the northern shore of the Black Sea, and, as a result, brought this region under the rule and protection of Rome and into the sphere of Roman political and cultural influences.

Mithridates responded to Chersonese's appeal and sent his general, Diophantus, to wage war against the Scythian aggressors. From Strabo and the Chersonesian decree in honor of Diophantus (the longest and most important inscription from Chersonese), we learn that Diophantus defeated the 'Scythian' king Palacus and his allies, the 'Rheuxinali' (usually assumed to have been the Roxolani), several times and liberated Chersonese.³⁰ Subsequently, Chersonese, along with Bosporus and the northern shore (Olbia, Tyras, and others), became part of the Pontic realm. After the fall of Mithridates, Chersonese belonged for a time to the Kingdom of the Bosporus under the dominance of Rome, but it was later recognized as an autonomous republic, under nominal Roman protection. Its coins bore the legend 'Independent Chersonese' (Χερσονήσου ἐλευθέρας), and, as an independent state, it issued both silver and gold coins, bearing no names of emperors. Its status was thus much higher than that of Tyras or Olbia, which were only provincial cities of the Roman Empire. In reality, however, Chersonese was probably very dependent on the commanders of the Roman garrisons stationed there. The Romans also sometimes anchored their fleet in Chersonese's harbor and collected revenues from city taxes to finance their military force.³¹

The upheavals experienced by Chersonese during the centuries of Roman suzerainty (from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D.) are not well known.³² The information we have is fragmentary. Thus in the inscription in the mausoleum of Plautius Silvanus, we read that as part of his exploits on the Black Sea coast in the 60s A.D., he drove away the Scythian king who had held Chersonese under siege.³³ Another inscription, in honor of a Chersonesian public figure who visited Rome in connection with Chersonese's independence (ἐλευθερία), makes

30. Strabo 7.4.3; *IPE*, vol. 1, no. 185, and vol. 4, no. 67. For a detailed historico-topographical commentary on the decree, see *ZOOID*, vol. 12, and *IzAK*, vol. 21.

31. *IPE*, vol. 4, no. 81.

32. It was customarily assumed, following a preface by Boeckh [Boeckh] to *CIG*, vol. 2, p. 89, that because the Chersonesian era was reckoned from 24/25 A.D. by modern count, this was the time when the city was granted ἐλευθερία by the Romans and became independent of Bosporus. However, the earliest reference to Chersonese's ἐλευθερία is in Pliny 4.12 (26), and Strabo states quite clearly several times (Strabo 7.4.3 and 7.4.7) that in his time, i.e., in the first quarter of the first century A.D., Chersonese still belonged to Bosporus. This information was once regarded as erroneous, but now a growing body of evidence is being uncovered that indicates that the ἐλευθερία of Chersonese could indeed have come later, and that during later phases in the relations between Chersonese and Rome, Chersonese enjoyed greater or lesser degrees of autonomy. The literature on this subject and a discussion of these events can be found in Bert'e-Delagard, 'Nadpis' vremeni imperatora Zenona' (it is on this inscription that the chronology of Chersonese is based), and Rostovtsev, 'Rimskie garnizony na Tavricheskom poluostrove.'

33. *CIL*, vol. 14, no. 3608.

mention of the intrigues of some 'tyrant' who wanted to seize power over the city with the help of a party that supported him within the city itself.³⁴ The reference might be to the Bosporan king. A later historian writes that under the Bosporan king Cotys (124–31 A.D.) Chersonese belonged to Bosphorus.³⁵ A long history of the wars between Cherson* and Bosphorus is provided by Constantine Porphyrogenetos,³⁶ but the account is wholly legendary in form, and it is difficult to distinguish historical truth from fiction in it.

All traces of the presence of a Roman military garrison and of Roman protection break off here, as in Olbia, in the middle of the third century A.D. Cherson, like the entire northern coast of the Black Sea, was then left to fend for itself in the face of the Gothic storm. We do not know how the city survived this period. The first indications of renewed relations with Rome as protector appear at the end of the fourth century.³⁷ References to the reconstruction of the city's walls by the Roman-Byzantine government under Emperor Theodosios at the end of the fourth century, later under Emperor Zeno at the end of the fifth century,³⁸ and once again under Justinian probably indicate periods of decline, after each of which the city, enjoying imperial protection, redoubled its efforts to defend itself against its enemies. Under Justinian, Byzantium energetically took on the task of restoring the southern coast of the Crimea. It rebuilt the fortifications in Cherson and in several other places, such as Gurzubitae [Gurzuf], Aluston [Alushta], and Panticapaeum. Cherson became the administrative center of the entire Crimean peninsula, the seat of Byzantine administration in that region, and it began to flourish anew. Monumental ecclesiastic structures were built, the ruins of which are now being discovered in increasing numbers. One recently uncovered church, cruciform in plan, is believed to date to the fifth century. There were, of course, periods of turmoil. The Khazars, who had occupied the eastern Crimea, made several attempts to take Cherson, and at the beginning of the eighth century we encounter their *tudun*, or governor, here.³⁹ Later, however, Cherson belonged to Byzantium without interruptions as the principal city and capital of the Crimea. In this period, too, it had autonomous status.⁴⁰ The city was governed by a local leader (πρωτεύων). It was only in the ninth century that Byzantium began to appoint its own *strategoï* to Cherson in order to strengthen its rule.⁴¹ Presumably the Chersonites opposed this policy, because they revolted at the end of the ninth century and killed the *strategos* [sing., 'military commander'] then in power. In his lesson to his son, Constantine Porphyrogenetos outlined in detail the methods by which the Chersonites could be forced to obey in the event that they 'rebelled or opposed the will of the emperor.' These methods included cutting off trade and supplies of grain, wine, and other essential commodities to Cherson.

34. *IPE*, vol. 4, no. 68

35. Phlegon of Tralles, p. 602.

* [In this period Chersonese came to be known as Cherson.—Eds.]

36. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 53. See Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, p. 291.

37. *IPE*, vol. 6, no. 465; *IzAK*, vol. 22.

38. Latyshev, *Sbornik grecheskikh nadpisei*, no. 7; *IzAK*, vol. 22.

39. Nikephoros, *Historia syntomos*, p. 45; Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 376.

40. In light of the various changes in the political order of Cherson and in the degree of its dependence on Rome, and later on Byzantium, our only sources for divining the political organization of Chersonian society in the different periods are the city's coins, if such exist from a given period.

41. In *De administrando imperio* (chap. 42), Constantine Porphyrogenetos writes that this occurred in the reign of Emperor Theophilos. Uspenskii, 'Vizantiiskie vladeniia,' rejects this dating. The Chersonian *strategos* is mentioned for the first time in connection with an uprising under Emperor Leo VI: Theophanes Continuatus 6.10 (p. 360); George the Monk, ed. Murlat, pp. 774–75 (under 892 A.D.).

This Byzantine period in the history of Cherson is of particular significance to us, because at a time when such other Greek colonies as Tyras and Olbia no longer existed, Cherson served as the nearest center of Byzantine culture for the East Slavs following their expansion. In our view, this lends it greater importance than all the other Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast, since it was the most immediate cradle of the culture that played such a major role in the development of the whole of eastern Europe during the ninth to eleventh centuries.

After the decline of Byzantium and the passing of the Black Sea trade into the hands of the Genoese, Cherson also declined, especially as such Turkic hordes as the Cumans and, later, the Tatars began to press heavily on the city. In the first half of the fourteenth century (1333), upon establishing a Latin bishopric in Cherson, the pope described it as a *former* city.⁴² In the sixteenth century, a traveler named Marcin Broniewski found Cherson uninhabited and in ruins.⁴³

* * *

Of the several known settlements on the southern coast of the Crimea (Charax, Lampas, Atheneum, and others), the most important was Theodosia (on the site of modern Teodosiia [Feodosiia]). It was also a colony of Miletus. We do not know the date of its founding. In the first half of the fourth century B.C., it was conquered by the Bosporean archon Leucon, and thereafter it was part of the Bosporean Kingdom. Demosthenes praised its large harbor, stating that 'sailors say that it is no worse than that in the Bosporus.' Strabo wrote with admiration of the fertility of the region around Theodosia.⁴⁴ But despite the beauty of its harbor, Theodosia was not especially important in ancient times. It was not until the Middle Ages (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) that the Genoese settled there and made it world-famous under the name Caffa [Kaffa].

Far more important in ancient times was Panticapaeum (modern Kerch), which was referred to as 'the metropolis of all Milesian colonies of the Cimmerian Bosporus'⁴⁵ (the usual form of the name is Παντικάπειον, while a resident of the city was called a Παντικάπειάτης, Παντικάπειεύς, Παντικάπειός). We know nothing of the history of Panticapaeum until the end of the fifth century B.C. In view of its importance among the colonies in this region, scholars believe that it was founded (i.e., fully established) no later than the middle of the sixth century B.C. Initially, Panticapaeum was an aristocratic republic, ruled from 480/79 B.C. by the Archaeanactid dynasty.⁴⁶ In the middle of the fifth century (438/37 B.C.), the government of the city passed into the hands of the Spartocid dynasty, an alien, non-Greek family, as is indicated by the names of its members. That dynasty remained in power for three centuries. For a long time, however, the Spartocids, too, governed only as archons of Bosporus and Theodosia, and reserved the title of king only for their dealings with the barbarian peoples under their domination. It was not until the third century B.C. that this distinction disappeared and the Spartocids used the royal title on all occasions.

42. *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lituaniae*, vol. 1, no. 457, p. 347.

43. Broniewski, *Tartariae descriptio*; for excerpts, see his 'Opisanie Kryma,' pp. 341–42.

44. Demosthenes, *Or.* 20—*In Leptinem* 33; Strabo 7.4.4.

45. Ammianus Marcellinus 22.8.26.

46. Diodorus Siculus 12.31.1. Of all historical sources, Diodorus provides the greatest amount of information about the earliest period in the history of the Bosporean Kingdom (books 12–20.2; excerpts in Latyshev, *Scythica et Caucasica*, 2: 473ff.).

The Spartocid realm was not confined to Panticapaeum; the dynasty eventually seized control over all the Greek colonies on both sides of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Of these, the most important on the European shore were Nymphaeum and Theodosia, and on the Asian coast—Phanagoria (at the head of the Gulf of Taman, near modern Sinna Stanytsia) and Gorgippia (now Anapa). This state was known as the Kingdom of the Bosphorus, and its people were called Bosporans. For some time, the western, Crimean, border of the Bosporan Kingdom extended only into the Kerch peninsula, which for security reasons was separated from the rest of the Crimea by a wall. But in the fourth century B.C., Leucon of the Spartocid dynasty crossed this original boundary and annexed Theodosia to Bosphorus. In addition to the Greek colonies, the Bosporan dynasts ruled, at least intermittently, the neighboring barbarian peoples on the Caucasian shore—the Sindi and the Maeotae along with their smaller kindred tribes. Finally, there was also Tanais, a Bosporan colony at the mouth of the Tanais (Don) River. Judging by excavations made in recent years, ancient Tanais probably stood on the left [southern] mouth of the Don delta, near modern Ielyzavetynska Stanytsia (the finds made here indicate a culture dating back to the fifth to fourth centuries B.C.). The remains of a later settlement, from the Roman period, have been found on the right [northern] mouth of the Don, now called the Mertvyi (Dead) Donets, near the village of Nedvyhivka.⁴⁷ According to Strabo, Tanais was the largest trading center for the barbarians after Panticapaeum. Here the Bosporan Greeks traded with the European and Asian nomads (namely, those who lived to the west and east of the Don). In addition to engaging in trade along the coast of the Sea of Azov, the Greek colonists caught large quantities of fish and salted it.⁴⁸ At the end of the first century B.C., the Bosporan king Polemo I completely destroyed Tanais for disobedience, but, as is evident from numerous inscriptions, the colony revived and during the second to third centuries A.D. enjoyed another period of prosperity. The second important trading colony, Phanagoria, was the center of ‘the Asian Bosporans,’ according to Strabo. Goods were brought here overland from the Caucasian lands, while Panticapaeum dominated the sea trade and had docks for thirty ships.⁴⁹

Besides trade and a fishing industry, the Bosporans had vineyards and fertile fields. Strabo praised the fertility of the soil near Theodosia and Panticapaeum. The Bosporan Kingdom had large supplies of grain, which it harvested from its own farms or bought from the neighboring barbarians. We learn from Demosthenes that in the middle of the fourth century B.C., half of all the grain imported into Attica, some 400,000 medimni (ca. 200,000 hectoliters),* came from Bosphorus.⁵⁰ When prices rose in the fourth and third centuries, the Bosporan Spartocids often sent large amounts of grain as gifts. Strabo writes that Leucon once sent Athens [more than] a million hectoliters (2,100,000 medimni) of grain from Theodosia. This figure may be somewhat exaggerated, but it suggests the size of the Bosporan grain trade. According to Strabo, Bosphorus also paid part of its tribute to Mithridates in grain: 180,000 medimni of grain and 200

47. Original excavations were conducted (in 1853) near Nedvyhivka on the Dead Donets. The finds near Ielyzavetynska Stanytsia drew attention only later. Since 1908, excavations have been systematically under way at both sites. See the reports on them in *Trudy XIV Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, p. 136, and *IzAK*, vol. 35. [The original has vol. 25, a misprint. It is vol. 35 that contains an article by A. Miller about the excavations.—Eds.]

48. Strabo 7.4.5 and 11.2.4.

49. Strabo 11.2.10 and 7.4.4.

* [One medimnus ranged in volume from 11.3 to 17 liters. In the original the figure 400,000 hectoliters is repeated by error.—Eds.]

50. Demosthenes, *Or.* 20—*In Leptinem* 31–33.

silver talents.⁵¹ Plautius Silvanus, of whom we wrote earlier, was also known for the fact that, having made the Crimean region more dependent on Rome, he sent 'a large amount of wheat for the Roman populace from that province.'⁵²

In the second century B.C., the Bosporan Kingdom, like Chersonese, suffered greatly at the hands of the neighboring barbarians. Like Olbia, it had to pay them annual tribute. When Chersonese placed itself under the protection of Mithridates VI Eupator, its example was followed by the last of the Spartocid kings, Paerisades the Last, who was 'unable to withstand the barbarians, who demanded ever greater tribute.' Paerisades continued to rule under the control of Mithridates, but was soon killed in an uprising by the 'Scythians,' led by his favorite, Saumacus.⁵³ The Bosporan Kingdom then passed under the direct control of the kings of the Pontus and, following the fall of Mithridates, under the protection of the Roman Empire. During the Roman period, Bosporus was a vassal state that had its own kings. Initially it was ruled by members of the Mithridatic dynasty (on the distaff side), but from the third quarter of the first century A.D. onward its rulers came from another barbarian dynasty, called the Rhescuporids (it is not known whether this was a completely new dynasty, or one that was related to the former). Rome's relationship with Bosporus was similar to its relations with Chersonese: Rome protected the Bosporan realm as best it could, sometimes stationing military garrisons there, but generally allowing the kingdom broad autonomy. Under Nero, in the 60s A.D., Rome tried to exercise direct control over Bosporus, but this proved impractical and the kingdom's autonomy was restored under the administration of the old dynasty. The relationship between Rome and the Bosporan Kingdom and the latter's degree of dependence on the former may have varied in different periods.

Very little is known about the history of the Kingdom of the Bosphorus during the Roman period. Local coins and inscriptions serve as the principal source of information and allow us to trace the Bosporan dynasty up to the first half of the fourth century A.D. Throughout this period, the kingdom was under the protection of Rome. Bosporus maintained its dependence on Rome even when Rome was able neither to give it real assistance nor defend its control over the vassal state. The Bosporan Kingdom passed through various stages of growth and decline. The extent of its power and significance in happier times is revealed in a fragment of an inscription from Tanais dating to the end of the second century A.D.,⁵⁴ where mention is made of the victories of the Bosporan king Sauromates II over the Scythians and Siraci (on the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov), of his annexation of the lands of the Tauri, and of his ridding the seas of the Pontus and Bithynia of pirates. I have already written about the attempts made by the Bosporan Kingdom to conquer the western Crimean coast along with Cherson.

The last mention of Bosporus as a vassal state of Rome occurs in 366.⁵⁵ The series of Bosporan coins comes to an end even earlier, in the 340s, suggesting some sort of catastrophe, possibly in connection with the movement of the Goths into the Crimea. Subsequently, Bosporus was taken by the Huns and it was ruled by Hunnic dynasts for a century and a half. In the sixth century, under Emperor Justin I (518–27), Bosporus again came under Byzantine rule. A

51. Strabo 7.4.6; Demosthenes, *Or.* 20—*In Leptinem* 33; on this text, see Perrot, 'Le commerce des céréales,' p. 53. Perrot does not believe that the grain was a gift. See also the speech of Isocrates, *Or.—Trapezitikos* 57.

52. *CIL*, vol. 14, no. 3608.

53. *IPE*, vol. 1, no. 185.

54. *IPE*, vol. 2, no. 423.

55. Ammianus Marcellinus 26.10.6.

Byzantine garrison was stationed there, and ancient Panticapaeum as well as other Crimean cities were once again fortified.⁵⁶ However, Byzantine power was not strong in this region. At the end of the seventh century, Panticapaeum (Bosporus) and Phanagoria, renamed Tamatarcha (the Tmutorokan of Rus'), passed into the hands of the Khazars.⁵⁷ These cities remained under Khazar rule until approximately the middle of the tenth century. The Khazars settled along both sides of the Strait of Bosporus and in the eastern Crimea, and this produced an interesting cultural and historical phenomenon—the spread of Judaism among them, which later spread from these Khazar settlements in various directions. The Bosporan Kingdom had been a center of a Jewish diaspora from an early date. An inscription from 81 A.D. mentions a community of hellenized Jews with a synagogue in Panticapaeum,⁵⁸ while Bosporan gravestone inscriptions from the Roman period and from later ages bear many traces of the presence of Judaism here. In addition to Judaism itself, there is evidence in various Bosporan cities of the existence of communities of monotheists, worshipers of 'a supreme deity,' a phenomenon also characteristic of other cities in which Jewish communities lived in close contact with pagan society.⁵⁹ Later, Judaism spread from Bosporus among the Khazars and became the religion of the Khazar kagan and his court.⁶⁰ The later traces and expressions of Judaism in various regions and instances (including the 'Judaizers' of the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries) are largely derived from this Bosporan-Khazar cradle of Judaism.

After the fall of the Khazar state, Tmutorokan passed under the rule of the princes of Rus'. It is likely that the Rus' also controlled the eastern part of the Crimea in the tenth century. In the twelfth century, under Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, we again see the Strait of Kerch dependent in some degree on Byzantium, as evidenced by the emperor's agreements with Genoa (1167–70). Certainly, by the end of the twelfth century (1190), Bosporus belonged to Byzantium, because the duke of Cherson rebuilt its fortifications.⁶¹

As we have seen, the Black Sea colonies lived a very turbulent life, and we can only wonder at the tenacity with which these small settlements endured in such dangerous locations for a whole millennium, with very little or no support from their metropolises and their political overlords.

Trade and commerce were what attracted the Greek colonists to these remote lands, prompted them to settle in foreign parts among barbaric and hostile peoples, encouraged them to remain for centuries despite hardships and danger, and gave them reason to stand against much larger enemy forces with the help of arms, diplomacy, or payments. Indeed, it was trade and commerce that allowed these isolated islands to survive for a whole millennium in a hostile sea of barbarians pressing in upon them.

Some scholars believe that it was the amber trade that initially drew the foreign traders to our shores. Though quite possible, this theory has yet to be substantiated. The Greek colonies that were established later on the northern coast of the Black Sea were interested in goods of a more ordinary nature. They exploited the rich and still abundant natural resources of the region on a

56. John Malalas, p. 431; Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 175; Prokopios, *De bello Persico* 1.12; idem, *De bello Gotthico* 4.5; idem, *De aedificiis* 3.7.

57. Nikephoros, *Historia syntomos*, pp. 40–41; Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 373.

58. *IPE*, vol. 2, no. 53.

59. Schürer, 'Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche.'

60. Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 284ff.) indicates other routes by which Judaism may have spread among the Khazars—for example, from Armenia.

61. *CIG*, vol. 4, p. 340. On the treaty with Genoa, see vol. 4, chap. 3, of this *History*.

large scale, and on an even larger scale, they bartered Greek goods for raw materials among the neighboring peoples and exported these at a large profit to Greek lands. A brief but apt description of Pontic trade is provided by Polybius in his account of ancient Byzantium: 'The lands that surround the Pontus provide both cattle and slaves in the greatest quantities and the highest qualities; and as for luxuries, the same regions not only supply us with honey, wax, and preserved fish in great abundance, but they also absorb the surplus produce of our own countries, namely olive oil and every kind of wine. In the case of grain there is a two-way traffic, whereby they sometimes supply it when we need it and sometimes import it from us.' This description can be supplemented by Strabo's information about the Bosporan trade in Tanais: 'The nomads brought slaves, skins, and other products of nomadic life here. The Bosporans, on the other hand, [sold them] clothing, wine, and other goods produced by a civilized society.' In one of his speeches, Demosthenes attests the following: a ship from Panticapaeum carried wool, several containers of salt fish, and goat skins to Theodosia.⁶²

The Greeks living on the northern shores of the Black Sea had grain and fish—the two principal staples of the ancient Greek diet—and they exported them in very large quantities. I have already mentioned that in the fourth century Bosporan grain accounted for half of all Attic grain imports. To be sure, during periods of unrest or crop failures there may have been a shortage of grain even in the Black Sea colonies. Some colonies, such as Chersonese, probably did not grow enough grain to meet their own needs. This may well be what Polybius meant when he related that sometimes the colonies exported grain and sometimes they imported it. But, generally speaking, grain was an export commodity for the Pontic Greeks. There are quite a few references to the fish trade. The fish was dried in Black Sea factories and was then exported to Greece. Both farming and fishing were mostly in the hands of the Greeks, but not exclusively. The native population also engaged in agriculture and fishing, and their part in this trade is of special interest to us. As we shall see later, Herodotus wrote specifically about Scythians who sowed grain for sale. Strabo mentioned the cultivation of land by various Sarmatian tribes, especially near the Danube and the Sea of Azov [Palus Maeotis]. He also spoke of fishing among the Maeotae, who, like the Greeks, engaged in this occupation, and probably also for the purpose of selling their catch.⁶³ It is not inconceivable that peoples living farther north, including the Slavs, also took part in the trade in grain, if only indirectly. On the other hand, we know for certain that they engaged in the trade of honey, wax, animal skins, and slaves. These products had to have been brought to the Greek cities from the vast eastern European hinterland, and these are precisely the wares that later comprised the eastern European commodities that Rus' exported to Greek cities in exchange for Greek products. In addition, trade caravans carrying such products as, for example, amber, northern furs, and slaves, may have passed through the Slavic lands. All these goods may have been delivered to the Greek settlements by the barbarians themselves, or they may have been transported from their lands by Greek agents and merchants. Herodotus named the Greek trading factory of Gelonus in the land of the Budini, described a caravan route through the Urals into Central Asia, and noted the navigability of the Dnipro.⁶⁴ Pseudo-Scymnus referred to sailing up the Dnister. All this suggests that the Greek merchants did not confine themselves to trade along the coast.

62. Polybius 4.38; Strabo 11.2.3; Demosthenes, *Or.* 35—*In Lacritu* 34. For a bibliography on the Pontic trade, see Note 1.

63. Herodotus 4.17; Strabo 7.3.17; 11.2.1; and 11.2.4.

64. Herodotus 4.22–27, 53, 109.

Among the products imported from Greece, there is mention of wine, oil, various fabrics, and, more generally, of Greek goods and works of art. Wine, as we have already described, was produced by the Greeks in the Crimea and on the Dnister (in Tyras). There is also evidence of olive cultivation in the Crimea. But the output of these goods was not adequate to meet local demand among the Greeks, let alone produce a surplus to serve as a commodity in foreign trade. The large number of amphora handles bearing inscriptions and stamps found at the sites of the Black Sea settlements indicates that wine was imported from islands in the Mediterranean, especially from Rhodes, Thasos, and Cnidos. According to Demosthenes, wine was also brought to the Pontus from Peparethus, Cos (Κῶς), Mende, and other cities.⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, this wine was sent farther north, for example, to the Scythians, who were notoriously heavy drinkers. As a result of the wine trade, Greek pottery was widely distributed. Perhaps this trade was even instrumental in introducing the Greek style of clay amphorae into the middle Dnipro region, where such vessels, some very large, are frequently encountered independently of any Greek imports.

I have already noted the wide dissemination of Greek ceramic ware in territories as far removed as the southern Kyiv region. The earliest finds there date to the sixth to fifth centuries B.C., but the majority is comprised of Athenian black- and red-figured lacquer ware from the fourth to third centuries B.C. Scores of such ceramic vessels, both decorative and for everyday use, have been found in the southern Kyiv region.⁶⁶ Jewelry of Greek manufacture, especially abundant in the steppe zone, also occurs in the southern Kyiv region and in Podilia.⁶⁷ Coins have been found even farther north and may suggest the existence of trade—perhaps only indirect—with the Black Sea cities and the Danubian region. Coin finds extend deep into the forest zone, but, for the most part, belong to later periods—the first to third centuries A.D. Coins from the fourth to first centuries B.C. are rare.⁶⁸

Obviously, the influence of Greek culture on the steppe population was especially strong in the territories closest to the coast. On the one hand, we see that the colonial Greek artisans, and perhaps also the workshops of the metropolises (judging by the high level of artistry of some articles), adapted their work to the tastes and requirements of the barbarian population to whom these items were to be sold or by whom they had been commissioned. On the other hand, we see that the motifs of Greek art and Greek crafts were transmitted into barbarian art, and that the personal belongings of the steppe tribal lord consisted mostly of Greek articles. This alone reveals the degree to which Greek art influenced the native population of our territory. But historical records also provide evidence of this: Herodotus, as we have already mentioned, describes a hellenized people called the Callippidae living in the vicinity of Olbia; the decree in honor of Protogenes from a later age makes mention of a mixed or hellenized barbarian population, the Μιζέλληνες [Mixhellenes or 'Half-Greeks'], living near Olbia; Strabo concludes

65. Demosthenes, *Or.* 35—*In Lacritu* 35. The handles of amphorae have been described by Bekker ('Novaia kolleksiia nadpisei'; 'O nadpisiakh...i kuskakh drevnei cherepitsy'; 'O nadpisiakh...iz sobraniia I. K. Suruchana') and Iurgevich ('Amfornye ruchki'; 'Nadpisi na ruchkakh i oblomkakh'; 'Nadpisi na ruchkakh drevnikh grecheskikh amfor'; 'Nadpisi na ruchkakh, naidennykh v Kerchi'; 'O nadpisiakh na 21 ruchke'); see also *IzAK*, vol. 3. These inscriptions are to be included in volume 3 of *IPE* [This volume was planned to include ceramic inscriptions and graffiti, but it was left unfinished by its editor, E. Pridik (d. 1935).—*Eds.*].

66. On these ceramic finds, see Shtern, 'Arheologicheskie zametki.' They are also cited in his 'Znachenie keramicheskikh nakhodok,' p. 87, and elsewhere.

67. See above, p. 40.

68. See chap. 4.

that the Maeotae, dwelling closer to Bosphorus (that is, closer to Greek influences), are distinguished by a higher level of culture than their northern countrymen; and so forth.⁶⁹ I have already mentioned the barbarian admixture in the population of the colonies themselves. Although the proportion of barbarian elements in the Greek cities rose especially during the Roman period, such elements were not rare even earlier.⁷⁰

Our archaeological finds reveal that these cultural influences, albeit in somewhat weakened and diluted forms, also penetrated into the regions inhabited by the Slavs or contiguous to them. There is no question that they left a trace in the development of the material culture of this population. The widespread distribution of Greek ceramics and jewelry in these regions testifies to this. True, scholars point to the complete absence of borrowings from the Greek of this age in the Slavic languages as evidence that at this time the Slavs had no direct contacts with the Greeks.⁷¹ But this only suggests that the Greeks traded with and influenced the Slavs indirectly, using the steppe tribes as intermediaries.

* * *

Ancient descriptions of life in the Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast also offer us some details about the more remote steppe regions of our territory. For approximately a millennium after the beginnings of recorded history, these steppes were inhabited by a semi-nomadic, semi-sedentary barbarian population, which hung like a storm cloud over the Hellenic inhabitants of the Black Sea coast.

The earliest mention of the nomadic peoples of the Black Sea region occurs in the *Iliad*, in the part of the epic that is not one of the earlier component episodes of the work. Moreover, the reference is very general. We are given a single image of Zeus gazing 'afar, upon the land of the good horsemen Thracians, and of the Mysians skilled in close combat, and of the lordly mare-milkers who drink mare's milk, the poor and the most righteous of men.'⁷² Later authors turned Homer's epithets into the proper names of peoples (Ἴππημολγοί [Hippemolgi—'mare-milkers'], Ἀβιοί [Abii—'the poor'], Γαλακτοφάγοι [Galactophagi—'milk-eaters']). Strabo was the first to realize that Homer had been speaking of the Black Sea nomads. Hesiod already knew that they were called Scythians, and he applied Homer's epithet, 'mare-milkers,' to them: Σκῦθαι ἰππημολγοί.⁷³

A much more detailed account of these regions was presented by the seventh-century B.C. poet Aristeas of Proconnesus, author of a poem about the Arimaspi, called Ἀριμάσπεα, which deals exclusively with the lands located in the northeast. The poem's geographical details

69. *IPE*, vol. 1, no. 16; Strabo 11.2.4.

70. To the examples cited above, we can add the catalogue of victors in public games in Gorgippia from approximately the third century B.C., where among the predominantly Greek names we also encounter such names as 'Scythas' and 'Sindus' or the information that they were the sons of such. *IPE*, vol. 4, no. 432.

71. Sobolevskii, review of L. Niederle, p. 19; Lipovskii, 'Mozhno li.'

72. νόσφιν ἐφ' ἰπποπόλων θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν
 Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἴππημολγῶν
 γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων—Homer, *Iliad* 13.3–6.

[In order to retain Hrushevsky's interpretations, the English translation of the passage in the text is based on his Ukrainian translation.—Eds.]

73. Some scholars date this reference in Hesiod's text to a much later period than the eighth century B.C. See Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 22.

were not regarded as reliable by classical authors, perhaps because they appeared in poetic form and, moreover, later writers were unable to verify their accuracy. Strabo bluntly labelled Aristeas a liar. However, some modern scholars have conjectured that Aristeas may indeed have accompanied Scythian caravans into Central Asia and later described his observations.⁷⁴ Poetic embellishments aside, some parts of his account appear quite credible. In any event, his poem served as a source of information about the remote northeast for a long time. Herodotus, too, made use of the stories of Aristeas, thereby saving for us most of the details contained in this now lost poem.

Judging by his account, Herodotus visited Olbia in the middle of the fifth century B.C.⁷⁵ During his stay there, he supplemented all he knew from literary works with his own observations and thus became the principal source of information about the steppe population of Ukraine of that time for all later ages. Although he was accused of inaccuracy by some ancient authors (Plutarch wrote a special treatise on the unreliability of Herodotus) as well as in later times, evidence confirming his information has been growing, and modern scholarship no longer questions Herodotus's facts in those instances where he speaks of things he himself saw. It is a different matter when he relates the accounts of others; these materials are quite uneven in terms of credibility.⁷⁶

Relying on stories he had heard, Herodotus attempted to tell his readers something about the earlier, pre-Scythian colonization of the Black Sea region. He wrote that these territories had originally been inhabited by the Cimmerians, but that the Scythians had driven them out. As evidence, he cited traces of the Cimmerian presence in local topographical names—the Cimmerian Bosphorus (Strait of Kerch), a Cimmerian strait, Cimmerian fortifications—and described a tomb of Cimmerian kings on the Dnister. But Herodotus's information about the Cimmerians is very scant, and it is quite apparent that he views this people through the same 'Cimmerian mist' that shrouds this half-mythical kingdom in the *Odyssey*:

There is the land and the city of the Cimmerians,
shrouded in mist and cloud, and never does the shining sun
look down on them with his rays.⁷⁷

This is quite understandable, because by the time the Greeks began to settle along the Black Sea, the pre-Scythian population that had inhabited the lands north of the coast had disappeared.

The name of the Cimmerians is well known in sources from Asia Minor (Hebrew *Gômer*, Armenian *Gamir*, and in Assyrian inscriptions *Gimirri*).⁷⁸ Greek sources contain references to raids by the Cimmerians, made jointly with bands of Thracians, on Greek possessions along the coast of Asia Minor during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. It is precisely this wide occur-

74. See the special studies by Toumier, *De Aristeia Proconnesio*, and Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten,' 116: 748. Others are more sceptical about Aristeas's information and even move up the age in which he lived to the sixth century B.C.

75. See Mishchenko, 'Byl li Gerodot.'

76. For a list of sources dealing with Herodotus's information about Scythia, see Note 2.

77. Homer, *Odyssey* 11.14. Herodotus 4.11–13. Scholars are divided on whether to regard Homer's Cimmerians as an ethnic group or merely as a poetic image of a cloud-enshrouded kingdom. Cf. Bury, 'The Homeric and the Historic Kimmerians.'

78. Some also discern the name in the Ossetian *gumirita* 'giant' in the Georgian *gmíri* 'hero' and in the Lazi *gomóri* 'brave' (V. Miller, 'Cherty stariny,' p. 199; Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten,' p. 64).

rence of the name that suggests the possibility that the term may have been a general one, most likely a geographic rather than an ethnic designation (as was later the case with the name of the Scythians). In this general, non-ethnic sense, the name may have been applied by the Greeks, or even earlier by their predecessors in the Pontic trade, the Phoenicians or Carians, to the pre-Scythian population of the Black Sea region. Hence, insisting on the Cimmerian name is unwarranted.⁷⁹ The population that inhabited the steppes before the arrival the Scythians may have borne various names and belonged to various tribes. Therefore, any attempt to determine the identity of the Cimmerians is a futile exercise, especially in light of the current state of our knowledge.⁸⁰

Greek authors represent the Scythians as coming from the east. Herodotus writes that the Scythians were driven out of the lands east of the Araxes River (that is, the Jaxartes, known today as the Syr-Dar'ya) by their kindred tribe of Massagetae and adds that that is what the Greeks and the Scythians themselves claim, even though Aristeeas had provided an even broader explanation of this movement. Herodotus cites Aristeeas as linking it with disturbances in Central Asia: the Arimaspi expelled the Issedones, and the Issedones, in turn, pushed out the Scythians.⁸¹ This explanation of the Scythian migration is quite possible; it might very well reflect ethnic upheavals in Central Asia.⁸² If we subscribe to the theory of Europe as the original home of the Indo-Europeans, we must regard this as a reverse movement of nomadic Iranians westward, caused by disturbances in Central Asia. As far as the date of the movement is concerned, Herodotus thought it to have occurred in the second half of the eighth century or at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. His dating, however, is based on a fantastic

79. Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 26) went even further and completely rejected the existence of a Cimmerian people in the Black Sea region (even in the sense described above, i.e., as the name of the pre-Scythian population in general). He saw the purported presence of the Cimmerians in this region as an attempt by Aristeeas and others to explain the arrival of the Cimmerians in Asia Minor as resulting from their being pushed out from the northern coast of the Black Sea. With respect to the Scythians, these same sources transposed the clash between the Scythians (Sacaе) and the Massagetae from the region south of the Caspian Sea, where it actually occurred, to the region north of the Caspian, and thus allegedly originated the history of the arrival of the Scythians in our steppes. Against this extreme position, it should be pointed out that, contrary to the data provided by the Greeks, there are no grounds to regard the Scythians as autochthons, and, secondly, that there is no reason to doubt that the press of the Massagetae could have produced a simultaneous movement of the Iranian population in both Europe and Asia, both to the north and to the south of the Black Sea.

80. Most scholars believe them to have been Thracians. Among earlier works on this subject, see Adelung, *Mithridates*, 2: 163. Among more recent works, see Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten,' 116: 776–77; Lehmann, 'Die Einwanderung der Armenier'; Kossinna, 'Die indogermanische Frage,' p. 210; H. Schmidt, 'Troja—Mykene—Ungarn,' p. 632. Among modern scholars, Bremer believes the Cimmerians to have been Iranians (*Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, p. 757). Schrader recently put forward the theory that the Cimmerians were of Turko-Tatar origin (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2d ed., 2: 529). He drew attention to the ancient division of the Turko-Tatars into nomadic and sedentary populations, *jürük* and *čomru*, and discerned in these groups Herodotus's Iyrcae and Cimmerians. According to him, the Turko-Tatar elements in Scythian life were the result of an admixture of Cimmerians. On the other hand, Meyer (*Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos*) brings up the interesting fact that in Babylonian inscriptions the Persian Sakâ, the Sacaе, are rendered as *Gimiri*: the Cimmerians are confused or are identified with the Scythians. I have already mentioned that Russian archaeology traditionally calls Neolithic culture 'Cimmerian' as a matter of pure convention (p. 31 above). In any event, at the time of the Scythian migration, the Cimmerian population of the Pontic coast was no longer in the Neolithic stage of culture. There may be a very large time gap between the Scythian migration and the 'Cimmerian' burial type.

81. Herodotus 4.12–13.

82. Yet from the Scythian genealogy provided by Herodotus (4.5), it would appear that the Scythians regarded themselves as autochthons (they traced their origin from the daughter of the river Borysthenes).

description of a Scythian invasion of Asia Minor: the Scythians supposedly pursued the Cimmerians into Asia Minor after expelling them from the Black Sea region in the middle of the seventh century.⁸³ Hence this date is meaningless. In reality, the Scythians could have arrived earlier, while their migration could have lasted much longer. But it is also possible that Herodotus chanced upon the true date and that the pressure of the eastern Iranians on their western countrymen at about this time was felt both in Europe and in Asia. Under this pressure, some Scythian tribes moved into our steppes, while others, known as the Sacae (a second form of the name for Scythians), made their way into Asia Minor. We see a similar situation later, when new Iranian hordes move simultaneously into the Ukrainian steppes and into Asia in the second century.

Even if we accept such a Scythian migration from southwestern Asia, it does not mean that a new population replaced the old in our steppes. It only means that there appeared a new ruling horde, which gave its name to the earlier steppe population and perhaps even assimilated a certain percentage of the earlier inhabitants. Hence, even if this ruling tribe and certain other tribes were Scytho-Iranian, that does not exclude the presence at the same time of a population made up of other peoples in the steppes, who had lived there long before the arrival of the Scythians. That population may have consisted of the remnants of Iranian nomadic tribes from an earlier migration, Thracian elements, and other groups we know nothing about. We know of similar occurrences in our steppes in later ages, in which the indigenous population became known by a new name with the arrival of each successive ruling horde, even though its composition had undergone no radical changes.

Herodotus left posterity the following account of the population groups inhabiting the north Pontic steppes following the migration of the Scythians.⁸⁴ East of the Tanais (Don) River lived the Sauromatae, a people related to the Scythians, but separate. West of the Tanais lived the Scythians, who were divided into four tribes: between the Tanais and the Gerrhus (an unknown river east of the Dnipro) lived the Royal Scythians (Βασιλήιοι), 'the strongest and most numerous of the Scythians, who look upon other Scythians as their slaves.'⁸⁵ Between the Gerrhus and the Panticapes, over a stretch of country measuring fourteen days' journey (on the left side of the Dnipro), lived the Scythian-Nomads, 'who know nothing of agriculture.' Between the Panticapes and the Hypanis (Boh), along both sides of the Dnipro, lived the

83. Herodotus's account of the Scythian pursuit of the Cimmerians from Europe is an invention of Greek scholars. The account has been interpreted in various ways: that the Cimmerians did indeed penetrate Asia Minor after being expelled by the Scythians, but that they did so not through the Caucasus, as in Herodotus, but through the Balkans, where they were joined by the companions of their Asian campaigns, the Thracians; or that the Cimmerians from our lands raided parts of Asia Minor. But even these attempts at correcting Herodotus's information cannot salvage its credibility.

84. The locations assigned by Herodotus to the peoples he names pose some insurmountable difficulties on the modern map, since some of the rivers he names cannot be deciphered. Much has been written about this, without reliable results. For example, we do not know whether the Panticapes River was on the right or left side of the Dnipro (some think it to be the Inhulets, while others believe it to be the Konka). Herodotus imagined the Gerrhus to take its start from the Dnipro, somewhere below the rapids, and that it flowed into the Hypacyris River, which emptied into the Black Sea. In fact no such river exists. I believe—and it is clear from Herodotus's account—that the Scythian-Agriculturalists lived on both sides of the Dnipro, and Herodotus must have thought that the Panticapes was on the left bank (Herodotus 4.18, 53).

85. Instead of Βασιλήιοι, some scholars suggest that this name should be read as Βαρσιλήιοι and link this with the Barsula and Berzylia (Βερζιλία), who are known to us from the Hunnic-Khazar period. But this correction is risky, and given the general movement of the Scythians westward, the link is questionable.

Scythian-Agriculturalists [Scythianae Georgi] (Γεωργοί), whose settlements extended from west to east the distance of a three-day journey, and northward a boat needed to sail ten or eleven days on the Borysthenes (Dniro) through their land. On the upper Boh (in reality, most likely on the middle Boh, because Herodotus's information about this river did not extend to its upper reaches) lived the Scythian-Plowmen (Ἀροτῆρες), 'who grow grain not for food but for export.'⁸⁶

Aside from these four peoples who comprise the Scythians in the narrowest sense, Herodotus includes among the Scythians the Alazones, who neighbor the Scythian-Plowmen in the south, on the middle Boh, and the hellenized Scythians called Callippidae⁸⁷ on the lower Boh. They differ from other Scythians (here he means the Scythian-Nomads) in that they grow and eat grain and vegetables, but they resemble the Scythians in their way of life. These Callippidae are identical with the Mixhellenes (Μιξέλληνες) named in the Olbian decree in honor of Protogenes as living near Olbia.

In the west, Scythian territory extended to the Ister (Danube).⁸⁸ Though Herodotus tells us nothing about the large expanse west of the Boh, it, too, must have been inhabited by a Scythian population, because it was called 'ancient Scythia.' To the north lived peoples that were not Scythian: the Neuri north of the Dniester and the Boh, the Man-eaters or Androphagi (Ἀνδροφάγοι), and the Black-Cloaks or Melanchlaeni (Μελάγχλαινοι) farther to the east of them. An earlier, pre-Scythian population (the Tauri) remained in Taurica [the modern Crimea], primarily in the mountains, while the steppe portion of the peninsula was occupied by the Scythians.

In addition to the territorial and cultural divisions of Scythia, Herodotus also provides genealogical material. The first man to live in Scythia was Targitaus, who was the son of Zeus and of a daughter of Borysthenes. Targitaus had three sons—Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais—from whom three Scythian tribes are descended: the Auchatae, the Catiari and Traspies, and the Paralatae. Of these, the Paralatae, the tribe descended from the youngest brother, Colaxais, is regarded as the ruling dynasty. It would seem, however, that the legend applied only to the Royal Scythians and their division into branches, because their names do not appear again in Herodotus, and we encounter peoples with similar names only later.⁸⁹

Herodotus uses the term 'Scythians' to encompass all the peoples ruled by the 'Royal Scythians.' This suggests that some of the subject peoples were included with the Scythians on the basis of their political rather than ethnic identity. The name 'Scythians' was applied in an

86. Taking into account that Herodotus's knowledge of the Dniro did not extend beyond the rapids (in fact, it did not even reach that far), it is doubtful that he knew the true location of the source of the Boh, and, instead, believed that the Boh began at the place to which ships then sailed, or assumed one of its tributaries to have been its source. Herodotus described the Boh as taking only nine days to sail by boat, while he gave the distance to the rapids on the Dniro as a distance of fourteen days' sail. Herodotus's information on the sources of the Boh and Dniester is very confused and unclear. He obviously imagined the source of the Dniester to lie directly north of its mouth, north of the source of the Boh (Herodotus 4.51–52).

87. Καλλιπίδααι...έόντες Ἑλλήνες Σκύθαι (Herodotus 4.17). Pseudo-Scymnus, who quotes Ephoros from the fourth century, names the Carpidae here instead. As a result, some link this people with the Carpathian Carpi, but this is obviously a mistake made by Ephoros in transmitting Herodotus's information.

88. Herodotus 4.17–21, 100–101.

89. Auchetae (Euchatae) and Cotieri in Pliny 6.7, 19, who cites as his source the third-century general Demodamas. But these peoples are located in the far east. K. Neumann (*Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*, pp. 108–9) and Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 23) thought them to be those Scythians who had remained in their original nomadic homeland. Another group called the Auchetae (Pliny 4.12) appears near the Hypanis River.

ethnic sense only to the principal horde (hence Herodotus speaks of the language and customs of the Scythians), and was otherwise used in a political sense to refer to the population ruled by the Scythians. Moreover, Herodotus notes that the Scythians called themselves Scoloti, after one of their kings, Scythians being the Greek term for them. In fact, the two are different forms of the same name.⁹⁰ Among the Persians, the Scythians were known by the general name 'Sacae'; in the epitaph on Darius's tomb, the Scythians of the Pontic steppes are called 'transmarine Sacae.'

Herodotus provides only a few indications of the ethnicity of the Scythians. He states that the Sauromatae speak the Scythian language but in a corrupt form and are related to the Scythians (according to legend, they were descended from Amazons married to Scythians). He also notes certain similarities between the Scythians and the Massagetae and reports that others include the Massagetae among the Scythians.⁹¹ Later authors write that the Parthians descended from the Black Sea Scythians,⁹² while Ammianus Marcellinus, albeit very late, but probably recounting the ancient tradition as well, states that the Persians were kindred with the Scythians.⁹³ Hence the tradition of the Iranian descent of the Scythians became clearly established in classical sources. In more recent scholarly literature much has been said and written on this subject. The Scythians have been regarded as part of the Mongol, or, more generally, the northern, Ural-Altai family; they have been viewed both as Slavs and as a Germanic people; and, finally, as a mixture of Aryan and Mongol elements. But observations regarding the language of the Scythians and of their kindred Sarmatian tribe, the ties that link the two, and, on the other hand, their ties with the sole modern surviving element of Iranian population in this region, the Caucasian Ossetians, and, finally, certain characteristic features of Scythian culture—all these indicate that the Scythians were an Iranian people, albeit with an alien admixture.⁹⁴

The ethnic kinship of the Sarmatians and Scythians is not subject to doubt. Apart from Herodotus's claims, we have such evidence as Iranian traces in the language (especially in personal names) and a similar culture and way of life among the dominant hordes during both the Scythian and Sarmatian periods. At the same time, we have direct evidence of the kinship of the Sarmatians to the Iranians provided by ancient authors. Diodorus Siculus calls them a colony 'drawn from Media and planted along the Tanais, its people receiving the name Sarmatians.' Pliny states that the Sarmatians are regarded as a branch of the Medes.⁹⁵ Observations made on the basis of the small number of surviving Scythian words and names, as well as other barbarian names that we encounter in inscriptions from the Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast from Scytho-Sarmatian times, reveal many similarities to Iranian and, in particular, to Ossetian. For example, the suffix *-sais* (*-ksais*) in Scythian names is identical to the Iranian *xšaja* 'lord, ruler.' Just as significant are the similarities between Scythian and

90. So far, it has not been possible to trace the origin of either name. For attempts to explain them as derived from the Iranian roots *xud-skud* ('archers'), see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 112, 120; also Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten,' 116: 778.

91. Herodotus 1.201, 215.

92. Curtius Rufus 4.12 and 6.2; Justinus 2.1; Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 6; Marquart (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*, 1: 35 and 2: 39) believes that the source of this information was Agatharchides, a historian of Asia of the second century B.C.

93. Ammianus Marcellinus 31.2.20.

94. For the bibliography on this question, see Note 2.

95. Diodorus Siculus 2.43; Pliny 6.7.

Iranian ways of life, rituals, and beliefs, although here, too, distinctions still have to be drawn between elements that are ethnically specific and those that characterize the most disparate peoples at parallel initial stages of cultural development.⁹⁶ Ultimately, the sum of all available facts and analogies proves that an Iranian element was present in the Pontic steppes during the Scythian period, among both the ruling Scythians and the population they ruled. Moving in a single stream in a southerly and southwesterly direction in Asia, the Iranians dispersed in a second stream through the Black Sea steppes under such names as the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alani, and various other smaller peoples. It is possible, however, that there was also an admixture of Ural-Altai elements among the Scythians and later steppe hordes; in addition to the Iranians, known under the general names of Scythians, Sarmatians, and Alani, there may also have been other peoples whose identity remains unknown.

Herodotus and other Greek authors knew the nomadic eastern Scythians best, and when they wrote of the Scythians as a whole, they had in mind primarily those tribes that ruled over the others and whom Herodotus called the 'Royal Scythians.' This dual use of the term, at times to mean the dominant group and, at others, this group along with the population that it ruled, explains some of the contradictions in Herodotus.⁹⁷ When describing the Scythians in general as a nomadic, warlike horde with harsh customs and a despotic order, Herodotus was, of course, referring to the ruling tribe. In his words, the Scythians lived off their herds of cattle and wandered around living in wagons. They had neither towns nor fortresses.⁹⁸ Hippocrates, who was younger than Herodotus by half a century, described this nomadic way of life in even greater detail: the Scythians had no permanent homes, but lived on four-wheeled or six-wheeled wagons covered with felt roofs. The space under the roof was divided into two or three compartments or cubicles. Each wagon was drawn by two or three pairs of oxen. When the caravan was on the move, the women and children rode on the wagons, while the men traveled on horseback. Herds of sheep, cattle, and horses completed the caravan. The Scythians remained in one place until their cattle had devoured all available pasture and then moved on to new grazing lands. They ate cooked meat, drank mare's milk, and ate cheese made of this milk. They cooked their meat in copper cauldrons resembling chalices.⁹⁹

The customs of the Scythians described by Herodotus were harsh and warlike. Their only object of veneration was an old iron sword, placed on an immense heap of brushwood to serve as the symbol of the god of war. Such shrines existed in every district, and when the Scythians made sacrifices, they poured the blood of sacrificed cattle and humans on this sword. Of every hundred prisoners taken in war, they sacrificed one, poured his blood on the sacred sword, and

96. It is also necessary to point out that the unequivocal indications of links between the east Finnic languages and Ossetian reveal that the Caspian Iranian population at one time extended considerably farther north. For example, the terms for such metals as silver, copper, steel, and lead in Ossetian are identical to those used by the eastern Finns—the Permiaks and Votiaks—and are borrowed from the former, while a whole series of words in eastern Finnic are derived from Iranian roots. About Finno-Iranian (and especially Ossetian) contacts, see the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

97. For example, Herodotus (4.46) represents the Scythians as completely nomadic (as does Hippocrates in 'De aere'), while at the same time writing that some Scythian tribes live by farming. He speaks of their hostility to foreign customs, especially Greek ones (Herodotus 4.76), yet tells us about such hellenized Scythians as the Callippidae, and so forth.

98. Herodotus 4.46, 127.

99. Many cauldrons, in the form of a chalice on a base, have been found in Scytho-Sarmatian tombs. The cauldron was placed in the center of the fire and surrounded by burning firewood. Very similar cauldrons were used by Siberian tribes.

cut up his body and scattered it about. A Scythian drank the blood of the first man he killed in battle and brought the heads of all his victims to the king. Only those who brought such a head received a share of the booty. The scalps from enemy heads were used as adornments on the harness for their horses. Those who had more scalps sometimes sewed entire cloaks of them for themselves.¹⁰⁰ Sometimes entire skins of enemies were used in the same manner to make various battle accessories. From the skulls of their most important enemies, Scythians made cups, and such cups, sometimes gilded on the inside, were used with special pride. The Scythian who killed the greatest number of enemies was held in the highest esteem and was given a double portion of wine at public feasts. Those who had killed no enemies could not take part in the feast, and that was perceived as the greatest disgrace.¹⁰¹

The accounts of Scythian religious beliefs are very confused. Herodotus uses Greek names for the Scythian deities and thus complicates the question even further. The Scythians' chief deity was the protectress of the hearth, Tabiti (compared by Herodotus to the Greek goddess Hestia). The strongest oath was the one made on this deity, and a false oath made to this protectress of the king's fire was viewed as treason to the king, because it brought down on him the anger of the gods.¹⁰² This cult of the hearth, traces of which remain in the customs of modern Ossetians, is related to the Iranian cult of fire (the name itself is said to be derived from the root *tap* 'to burn').¹⁰³ In addition, Herodotus describes a cult of the earth—Apis (compare the Latin Ops). The god Oetosyrus [Goetosyrus] (Γοιτόσυρος) is compared by Herodotus to Apollo, and in one Italian inscription he is identified with both Apollo and Mithra, the Persian god of the sun. But this inscription is believed to be a falsification.¹⁰⁴ Etymologically the name is interpreted as the 'protector of the herds' (which is quite in keeping with Herodotus's identification), similarly to Argimpasa (the 'Celestial Aphrodite,' according to Herodotus) as the 'protectress of cattle.'¹⁰⁵ About the other deities mentioned by Herodotus (the gods Zeus-Papaeus, Poseidon-Thagimasadas, Ares, and Heracles), it is difficult to say anything more. Except for the swords already described, the Scythians had no images or altars. They sacrificed cattle by choking the animals and later threw the prime pieces of cooked meat on the ground in front of them as offerings to the deity.¹⁰⁶ There are no

100. An interesting parallel is encountered in modern Ossetian legends. The hero warrior (*nart*) Sozryko killed the warrior Yeltagan and scalped him. Returning to his *aul* (village), he gathered all the maidens and matrons and told them to sew him a coat from the scalps and moustaches of his enemies. The women saw Sozryko take out the scalps and whiskers and one said 'that is the scalp of my father,' and another said, 'that is the scalp and moustache of my brother,' and the third said, 'that is the scalp of my husband.' V. Miller, 'Cherty stariny,' p. 196.

101. Herodotus 4.64–66.

102. Herodotus 4.59, 67, 127.

103. V. Miller in his 'Cherty stariny' draws attention to the special reverence for the chain that hangs above the fire. The Ossetians make their oaths on this chain, and to throw someone's chain outdoors is the greatest insult possible (*ibid.*, p. 205).

104. *CIG*, vol. 3, p. 823: Θεᾶ Σ[ε]λ[ή]νη Οἰτοσύρῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλων[ι] Οἰτοσύρῳ Μίθρῳ Μ. Οὐλιπιοῦ Πλόκαμος νεωκόρος ἀνέθ(ηκεν). See Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 289; Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, 2: 44; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 121. On Scythian worship in general, see Zeuss, *Bonneler Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Rußlands*, vol. 1), and Tolstoi and Kondakov, who compare it to Iranian worship, and K. Neumann (*Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*), who compares it to Mongol beliefs. As a warning against making too much of such similarities, we can but cite Neumann himself: 'This example shows how risky it is to draw conclusions from general statements about the religious beliefs of a people regarding their relationship with other peoples' (p. 245).

105. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*, 2: 90.

106. Herodotus 4.60.

traces of any organized religion or of a class of priests, with the exception of a large number of soothsayers, who foretold the future using willow rods and pieces of bark.

Herodotus provides a detailed account of the burial rite, especially as applied in the case of Scythian kings. He relates that the king's body was first taken around to all the subject tribes, so that they could pay their respects. The corpse was then laid in a square pit dug in the ground, and buried beside the king were one of his wives, various servants of his household, his horses, his best cattle, and gold cups (the Scythians used neither silver nor bronze, writes Herodotus). A high mound of earth was raised above the grave. At the end of a year, another ceremony was held: fifty of the king's best servants and the same number of his horses were killed and gutted, and their bodies were stuffed with chaff. The horses were then mounted on stakes around the tomb, and the servants were seated on top of the horses as if to guard the tomb.¹⁰⁷

The burial site of the Scythian kings, according to Herodotus, was in a place called Gerrhus, near the spot where the Borysthenes became navigable; the river Gerrhus separated from the Dnipro there. This is partly confirmed by the fact that several large tombs with a burial rite very similar to the one described by Herodotus have been found near the Dnipro rapids. However, judging by their style and technology and in the absence of other indications of their date, these tombs are from a later period. No Scythian burial that could be attributed conclusively to the time of Herodotus has yet been found. So far, the Scytho-Sarmatian culture constitutes a single unit in archaeology.¹⁰⁸

As already indicated, the Scythian political organization described by Herodotus resembled a despotic monarchy. The king was attended not by slaves, but by freeborn Scythians whom he had commanded to serve him. These royal attendants were killed by the score at his grave. When the king fell ill, the soothsayers usually declared that his illness was caused by someone who had sworn falsely by the king's hearth, and they named the man responsible. If the accused denied the charge, the declaration of the soothsayers was reviewed by more soothsayers. Ultimately, punishment was meted out either to the accused, who was promptly beheaded, or to the soothsayers whose accusation had proved false, who were burned to death. All the sons of those executed were also put to death. All matters were decided by the king alone. From Herodotus's account of the invasion of Scythia by Darius, it would appear that the Scythians had several kings at the same time: Herodotus names three. It is possible that they ruled the three separate branches of the Scythians named above and that the king of the Paralatae was the supreme ruler.¹⁰⁹ Despite the legendary nature of the account, this detail may be historically true.

Such was the horde that ruled Scythia. It is quite likely that the subject peoples greatly outnumbered the Scythians. That is probably how we should interpret Herodotus's statement that some put the population of Scythia very high, while putting the numbers of the Scythians themselves very low.¹¹⁰ Yet in the middle of the fifth century, the kings of the dominant horde ruled the entire territory between the Danube and the Don. In the north, according to Herodotus,

107. Herodotus 4.71. For similar customs among various primitive peoples, see Mishchenko, 'K voprosu o tsarskikh skifakh,' p. 66.

108. On Scythian tombs, see Ashik, *Bosporskoe tsarstvo; Drevnosti Gerodotovoi Skifii*, vols. 1–2; Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, vol. 2 (1889); Lappo-Danilevskii, 'Skifskie drevnosti'; Lappo-Danilevskii and Mal'mberg, *Kurgan Karagodeuashkh*. See also Note 2.

109. Herodotus 4.120; cf. 5–6, 71. Marquart interprets the name *Paralatae* to mean 'first-born,' 'first' (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*, 2: 77).

110. Herodotus 4.81.

their domain reached as far as the Dnipro rapids; he wrote that the Gerrhi were the farthest removed people subject to the Scythian kings.¹¹¹ West of the Dnipro, Herodotus placed the outermost Scythian settlements at the source of the Boh and the Dnister, but this boundary should probably be moved to the middle Dnister and Boh. Farther to the north lived the non-Scythian peoples.

* * *

For a long time, the only information available about the non-Scythian population north of Scythia was Herodotus's account. Consequently, we shall examine his information as carefully as possible.

North of the headwaters of the Dnister, Herodotus placed the Neuri. According to Herodotus, the lake from which the Dnister flowed constituted the boundary between the Scythians and the Neuri. However, as his knowledge did not extend beyond the middle Dnister and Boh, this boundary, too, cannot be regarded as exact. Herodotus did not know who lived beyond the Neuri in the north.¹¹² He had only incomplete, rather fantastical information about the Neuri, which he himself did not believe. He related a story told him that once a year every Neurian turns into a wolf for a day or two. He had heard that a great number of snakes had appeared all over their country, while still more invaded them from the uninhabited region to the north, forcing the Neuri to flee for a time to the land of the Budini, whence they eventually returned to their own region. In light of how little Herodotus knew about the Neuri, we must not attach undue significance to his claim that they resembled the Scythians in their way of life.¹¹³ Much more significant is the fact that Herodotus distinguished the Neuri from the Scythians.¹¹⁴

Herodotus's testimony that the Neuri shared the customs of the Scythians provided grounds for some scholars to include the Neuri into the Scythian tribe. Others distinguished them from the Scythians and, based on their notion of the location of the Slavic settlements at that time, believed that the Neuri were the Slavs. Today this view has many adherents,¹¹⁵ and we must admit that it seems credible. In the name of the Neuri, many scholars identify the Slavic root *nur* (they cite the name of the Nur, a tributary of the Buh, and the region once known as the Nur Land). The legend of each Neurian turning into a wolf has been associated with the Slavic belief in vampires and werewolves. But these arguments are less convincing than the geographic location of the Neuri, which corresponds to the territory of the original Slavic homeland, as well as the fact that Herodotus distinguished the Neuri from the Scythians. We are therefore quite justified in regarding them as the Slavs in their original habitat.

Later references to the Neuri are very scant and add nothing to our understanding.¹¹⁶

111. Herodotus 4.71, 119.

112. Herodotus 4.17, 51.

113. Herodotus 4.105.

114. Herodotus 4.51, 119.

115. This view, first put forward by Šafařík (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 10.2), has been supported by such contemporary scholars as Schrader, Leskien, Müllenhoff, and Tomaschek. The latter, in his study 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten,' 117: 3, stated: 'The identification of the Neuri with the later Slavs is now commonly recognized. In fact, this is quite likely.'

116. Very likely Pliny (4.12, 88—'Neuroe') and certainly Mela (Pomponius Mela 2.1—'Neuri') used Herodotus as their source (Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 46–47; Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 10.2.6). It is not certain whether Ptolemy's Navari (Ναυαροι) (Ptolemy 3.6.25) is a reference to the Neuri (cf. Navarum [Ναύαρον,

In geographic terms, the Slavic territory is also occupied by the Androphagi, because Herodotus locates them on the middle Dnipro. Perhaps their fearful name and barbarous characteristics explain why their identification with the Slavs, and with the Indo-European family as a whole, has fewer champions than the Neuri, and why they are more readily identified as a Finnic tribe. Herodotus writes that they 'have no connection with the Scythians but are a quite distinct race,' that they 'are the most savage of men, and have no notion of either law or justice; they are herdsmen without fixed dwellings; their dress is Scythian, their language peculiar to themselves, and they are the only people in this part of the world to eat human flesh.' They are separated from the Scythians by a great desert, and north of them 'so far as we can tell, there is utter desert without trace of human life.'¹¹⁷

As we see, Herodotus's information about this people is very vague. The desert that divides the Scythians and the Androphagi in his account probably appeared because the communication route broke off at the Dnipro rapids and contacts with the middle Dnipro region followed a different, overland route, thereby creating a gap in the information about the lands above the rapids. The description of the Androphagi is probably based largely, or even wholly, on conclusions drawn from their name, while their name in the form used by Herodotus is most likely based on some legend or an etymological misunderstanding.¹¹⁸ In Ptolemy's *Geography*, this same Dnipro territory is populated by the Amadoci, who live under mountains of the same name and have a city called Amadoca, a port on the Dnipro.¹¹⁹ The first to refer to the Amadoci was Pseudo-Hellanikos,¹²⁰ who made use of ancient sources, and there is some justification for the notion that these might be the Androphagi, or 'Man-eaters,' of Herodotus. The name Amadoci is thought to be derived from the Sanskrit *āmād*, *āmāda*—'eaters of raw meat,'¹²¹ which corresponds quite closely to Herodotus's 'Man-eaters.' In any event, it is difficult to place a group other than the Slavs in the middle Dnipro region in that age.

Farther to the east, beyond the Androphagi, Herodotus describes the land of the Black-Cloaks, the Melanchlaeni (Μελάγχλαινοι), locating it somewhere between the Dnipro and the Don. Herodotus tells us only that this was a non-Scythian people who had Scythian customs and all wore black robes, a characteristic also derived from their name.¹²² But despite the fact that Herodotus regarded this people as non-Scythian (like the Sauromatae), there is reason to believe that the Melanchlaeni were a kindred tribe of the Scythians of Iranian stock. Among the various nomadic peoples whom we see later in the vicinity of Olbia are the Saudaratae, whose name has the same meaning as that of Herodotus's Black-Cloaks.¹²³ Dio Chrysostom tells us that

var. Ναύβαρον], a city on the Carcinites River), and even less probable is the link with the Neruani of the Bavarian Geographer (Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 10.2.5).

117. Herodotus 4.18, 106. Isigonus of Nicaea provides some additional details about the Androphagi, but these are worthless because they were taken by the author from Herodotus's descriptions of the Scythians and applied to the Androphagi.

118. Compare the modern Samoyeds. Their name is obviously derived from the same root as the name of the Lapps, *Sam*, and the western Finns, *Suom*, whereas in Russian folk etymology (*Volksethymologie*) this has resulted in 'people who eat themselves'!

119. Ptolemy 3.5.16, 25, 28. However unreliable Ptolemy's grouping of geographical names may be, I believe that the port of Amadoca on the Dnipro serves as a certain point of reference.

120. 'Amadoci: a Scythian people, as Hellanikos says in his *Scythia*' ('Αμάδοκοι, σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Σκυθικοῖς)—Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnika*, s.v.

121. Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten,' 117: 8; idem, 'Die alten Thraker,' 128: 98.

122. Herodotus 4.20, 108.

123. In Ossetian, *saŭ* means 'black,' *daraes* means 'garment,' and *ta* is the plural suffix, according to the Ossetian dictionary compiled by Bishop Isosif of Vladikavkaz; cf. V. Miller, *Osetinskie étiudy*, 3: 79.

the Olbiopolitae wore black clothing, having adopted the custom from the ‘Scythian tribe, the Melanchlaeni.’ It is quite likely that the Black-Cloaks of Herodotus were a branch of the Sauromatae who had been pushed farther northwest from their main area of settlement (perhaps even by the movement of the Scythians) and who had returned to the vicinity of Olbia during the later migration of the Sauromatae.

Some scholars also regard Herodotus’s Budini as Slavs, based on the view that their name contains the Slavic root *-bud* or *-vod*, as well as the Greek historian’s claim that when fleeing the snakes, the Neuri moved into the land of the Budini. This has led these scholars to conclude that the Budini neighbored on the Neuri. To support the conjecture, they point to Ptolemy’s Bodini (Βωδινοί) under Mount Bodinus (Βωδιενόν or Βουδινόν), and they locate the Budini near the Dnipro.¹²⁴ However, Herodotus’s Budini lived to the north of the Sauromatae—in other words, in the basin of the Don and Volga. Moreover, he may have had more reliable information about the land of the Budini, because he knew of the Greek trading factory in their region, the wooden city of Gelonus.¹²⁵ To counter this, other scholars conjecture that there was another people with a similar name near the Dnipro, and that Herodotus confused the two.¹²⁶ However, since the location of Ptolemy’s Budini on the Dnipro is wholly hypothetical, the citing of one set of possibilities to support other possibilities cannot serve as serious evidence to support the theory that the Budini were Slavs.

* * *

Let us now turn our attention away from the northern neighbors of the Scythians and back to the history of the nomadic population of the steppe.

From the accounts of ancient Greek authors, we know that the Scythians were driven into the Black Sea steppes by various upheavals in the colonization of Central Asia. This pressure from Asia continued, inducing, in turn, further changes in the population of the Ukrainian steppes. At times, this pressure grew intense, causing ethnic explosions. On the other hand, the status and role of the hordes that controlled the steppe population also changed. We have already noted that in the time of Herodotus the numerically small tribe of the Royal Scythians, or even the smaller Paralatae branch of this tribe, ruled over the entire population of the steppes between the Don and Danube, as a result of which the name of the Scythians and of Scythia was applied to all the peoples under their dominion. Later, ever new and different hordes assumed political supremacy. As the rulers changed, so did the name of the steppe population (since, in fact, these were political designations). These two circumstances help us understand the subsequent changes in the colonization of our steppes and in the nomenclature of this region.

In the fifth century B.C., the power of the Scythians, as described by Herodotus, was still great. However, beginning in the second half of that century, the horde began to retreat in response to pressure from the east. This pressure was exerted by the slow expansion of the

124. Ptolemy 3.5.15, 24.

125. Some scholars have argued that Gelonus was Kyiv. Recently this fantastical conjecture has been supported by Niederle (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, 1: 287), who sees evidence of this in the finds of Trypilian culture (*sic*).

126. Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 10.3–4 (citing Ossoliński, *Wiadomości historyczno-krytyczne*); Mair, *Das Land der Skythen bei Herodor*; Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2d ed., 2: 619 (citing Leskien); Braun, *Razyskaniia*; and others.

Sarmatian hordes [Sauromatae] westward. In Herodotus, their western* border was the Don; by the time of Hippocrates—that is, at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth—the Sauromatae were already living around the Sea of Azov, in other words, on both sides of the Don (Tanais) River. This is even more clearly evident from the narrative of a later author from the fourth century, Pseudo-Scylax, who reported that beyond the Scythians, who then occupied the eastern part of Taurica, lived the Syrmatae (Συρμάται), on both sides of the Don.¹²⁷

It would appear from these accounts that by the fourth century the Scythians had been pushed out of their eastern lands, the very lands that had belonged to their ruling, dominant tribe, the Royal Scythians. It is thus probable that the last manifestation of Scythian power and might occurred in the second half of the fourth century on the western borders of Scythia. I have in mind the Scythian realm of King Atheas, known to us from his war against Philip II of Macedonia. Strabo thought that Atheas's realm included the majority of the population between the Sea of Azov and the Danube. We know that Atheas warred against the neighboring Thracian tribes and the Greek coastal cities (Istropolis, Byzantion) and clashed there with Philip of Macedonia. Atheas lost this war and was killed in battle.¹²⁸ The Scythian war against Lysimachus in 313 B.C., when the Scythians and the Thracians allied themselves with the Pontic colonies in their revolt against Lysimachus, also ended badly for the Scythians.¹²⁹

Soon thereafter this western Scythian state, too, lost its importance and disappeared under the continued pressure of the Sarmatians from the east and the Thracians and Bastarnae from the west and north.¹³⁰ In the account of Polyaeus, written no later than the second half of the second century B.C., the Black Sea coast is already under the dominion of the Sarmatians. The Scythian state is mentioned as lying in eastern Taurica and as being subordinate to the Sarmatians.¹³¹ In the Olbian decree in honor of Protogenes, dated to the third or second century B.C., the western steppes are described as in the hands of new hordes—the Saii, Thisamatae, and Saudaratae. The Scythians are listed among them as one of the smaller, weaker tribes. Together with the Thisamatae and the Saudaratae, they seek protection behind the walls of Olbia against an attack from the Sciri and the Galatae. In the Christian Era and later, in the writings of Strabo, Ovid, and Dio Chrysostom, the Sarmatians have supplanted the Scythians as the principal horde across the entire stretch of territory between the Sea of Azov and the Danube. In his account of the Scythians, Diodorus Siculus explains that after many years the Sarmatians, expelled by the Scythians from Media, increased greatly in number, destroyed most of Scythia and turned it into a desert, and expelled its population.¹³² Against this background,

* [The original has 'eastern,' which appears to be a typographical error.—Eds.]

127. Hippocrates, 'De aere' 24 (pp. 68–69), in *Opera*. Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus*, frag. 68; this information is dated to the second half of the fourth century.

128. On the state of Atheas, see Justinus 9.2; Strabo 7.3.18 (306 B.C.); Aristocrites, in *Clementis Alexandrini Stromata* 5.31; Frontinus 2.20.

129. Diodorus Siculus 19.73.

130. Tomaschek, 'Die alten Thraker,' 128: 98, expressed the very interesting theory that the Saii mentioned in the decree honoring Protogenes, who then lived in the vicinity of the Boh River, took their name from *xšaja* [ruler] and were therefore the Royal Scythians, the βασιλῆται of Herodotus. Although this would correspond to the changes in colonization, such an etymology appears somewhat unreliable to me.

131. Polyaeus 8.56. Some (e.g., Latyshev, *Issledovaniia ob istorii*, p. 88) regard this narrative as worthless; yet the conditions that it describes suggest a reliable source.

132. Diodorus's account of the Scythians as a whole is a scholarly invention of no great value. But the pressure of the Sarmatians on the Scythians was an event fresh in his memory and this detail may be treated seriously.

in which the Sarmatians had completely prevailed over the Scythians, Lucian relates the fantastical—though interesting in terms of the circumstances it reflects—story of the Scythian blood-brothers in his *Toxaris*.¹³³

This new pressure from Iranian tribes was probably the result of upheavals in southwestern Asia, the effects of which were also felt in territories south of the Caspian Sea.¹³⁴ The pressure continued for a very long period of time. The first indications of it were evident as early as the fifth century, or, at the latest, at the beginning of the fourth [B.C.], but the movements caused by this pressure lasted several centuries, until new tribes pushed out the Iranian population from our steppes almost completely.

Our main source of information about the population of the steppes after the expansion of the Sarmatians as far as the Danube is Strabo, who wrote in approximately 18 A.D. and based his account on reports about the Roman wars in the Black Sea region during the first century B.C. But his narrative is far less detailed than that of Herodotus, and, what is even more important, the terms 'Scythians' and 'Sarmatians' have no specific meaning in his writings. Hence, Pliny's later observation can be applied to Strabo as well: 'The name Scythians has spread in every direction, as far as the Sarmatians and the Germans, but this old designation has not continued for any except the most outlying portions of these races, living almost unknown to the rest of mankind.'¹³⁵

In Strabo, the region between the Danube, where the Sarmatians were in contact with the Getae and Bastarnae, and the lands east of the Dnipro was occupied by the Sarmatian peoples: the Iazyges, those called 'Royal' people (Βασιλῆιοι), and the Urgi (Οὐργοί). The territory between the Dnipro and the Don was inhabited by the Roxolani (Ῥωξολανοί). Beyond the Don lived the Sarmatians, whom Strabo did not designate in more specific terms, the Aorsi, and the Siraci—peoples that along with others were later known under the name of Alani. Farther to the east, beyond the Caspian Sea, lived the 'Eastern Scythians.'¹³⁶

The Scythian state still existed in eastern Taurica (the Crimea). At the end of the second century it fell in the war against Mithridates VI, whom the Chersonesites had called upon to assist them against the Scythians. But in the 60s A.D., we again read of a siege of Chersonese by a 'Scythian king,' obviously from that region.¹³⁷ Strabo wrote that this region and its neighboring lands to the north of Perekop Isthmus up to the Dnipro were called Scythia Minor. In Ovid's accounts, there were Scythians in the vicinity of the Danube, where they appeared alongside the Sarmatians. Strabo also related that there was a Scythia Minor on the Danube (for a long time thereafter the term was applied to modern Dobruja in Romania). Among the Sarmatian peoples he named, we find the 'Royal' horde of Herodotus. In Pliny we encounter the Auchetae (compare Herodotus's branch of the Auchatae).¹³⁸

All this indicates that the earlier, 'Scythian,' population did not disappear as the Sarmatians took control of the steppes, but was merely subsumed under the name of the new dominant horde, just as various subject tribes had been included under the Scythian name in earlier ages.

133. Strabo 7.3.13, 17 and 11.2.1; Ovid, *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, passim; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 5.2 (pp. 48–52); Diodorus Siculus 2.43; Lucian, Τόξαρις ἢ Φιλία 39–41, in *Opera*.

134. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 41.

135. Pliny 4.12.81.

136. Strabo 7.3.17; *ibid.*, 11.1.5, 8.

137. Strabo 7.4.3, 7; *IPE*, vol. 1, no. 185 (the decree of Diophantus); *CIL*, vol. 14, no. 3608.

138. Pliny 4.12. In Strabo's Urgi, scholars saw Herodotus's Georgi (Γεωργοί), and this theory is still current. Kulakovskii, 'Alany,' p. 98.

Under pressure from the Sarmatians, some tribes may have moved north or south, while others may have disintegrated and regrouped into new tribes. Ethnic names that had existed in earlier periods now emerged from under those of later tribes which had obliterated them for a time. Consequently, the ethnic composition of the population changed much less than did the nomenclature.

The ethnographic information on the Sarmatians is very meager. Our sources tell us very little about this horde. Moreover, inasmuch as the information about ethnographic matters possessed by the geographers of the Sarmatian period is very imprecise, it is difficult to cull from their accounts those details that apply specifically and unequivocally to the Sarmatians.

To begin with, there is the question of the name itself. Its forms vary considerably. The Greeks wrote it *Σαυρομάται* [Sauromatai] and *Συρμάται* [Syrmatai], while Latin texts contain *Sarmatae*. Scholars believe the name to be derived from the Iranian roots *sar* ('ruler') + *mada* ('woman').¹³⁹ This explanation is credible, because it corresponds to two other names: Herodotus wrote that the Scythians called the Sarmatian Amazons *Οιόρπατα* [Oiorpata], which is thought to be derived from the Aryan roots *vîra* ('man') + *pati* ('lord,' 'ruler'),¹⁴⁰ and in Greek sources, beginning with Pseudo-Scylax, the Sarmatians are called *Γυναικοκρατούμενοι*, i.e., 'subordinate to women.'¹⁴¹ All these names would thus mean 'people who are ruled by women,' 'women who rule men.' Apart from the influence of 'folk etymology,' which probably played a key role here, the Sarmatians could have earned their name owing to the special status of their women, who did not spend their time in the wagon dwellings, as did the Scythian women, but traveled on horseback and shot from bows like men.

Like the Scythians, the Sarmatians are described as primarily nomads. Strabo wrote that this mostly nomadic steppe population engaged in agriculture only in some areas and indicated the existence of such groups near the Danube and the Sea of Azov. He described the Sarmatian nomads in similar terms to those used by Hippocrates to describe the Scythians. He wrote that they lived in felt tents, which they transported on wagons, and they moved with their herds from place to place. Moreover, they were a warlike people, famous for combat on horseback. Their riders wore helmets and armor, made of leather or metal, and they used spears, bows, and swords in battle (Strabo and Tacitus wrote the same about the Roxolani).¹⁴² We see such heavily armed horsemen in the representations of the Iazyges on Roman bas-reliefs on the column of Marcus Aurelius and in the Kerch frescoes, which portray the wars with neighboring barbarians. The barbarian horsemen are sometimes depicted in short cuirasses and sometimes wearing long coats of mail that reach below the knees, making it necessary for them to ride side-saddle like women.¹⁴³ According to Pausanias (second century A.D.), the Sarmatians had no iron, but were very skillful at making armor from antler or bone plates, which they cut from horses' hoofs (such armor of antler or bone plates occurs in archaeological finds).¹⁴⁴ They also used bone points for their spears and arrows. Ancient authors noted that Sarmatian attire was identical to that of the Persians.¹⁴⁵ They wore wide trousers, and their clothes were generally

139. But there is also another explanation—that the word comes from the Avestic **saormant* 'armed with a sword.'

140. Herodotus himself gives an erroneous explanation: *οἶορ* = 'man,' *πατᾶ* = 'to kill.'

141. Herodotus 4.100. Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus*, frag. 70–71.

142. Strabo 7.3.17; Tacitus, *Historiarum libri* 1.79. Strabo also speaks of shields woven from small branches, but Tacitus denies that the Roxolani used shields.

143. For reproductions of the Kerch frescoes, see Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, vols. 1 and 2.

144. Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, 2: 73.

145. Pomponius Mela 3.4; Tacitus, *Germania* 17. The accounts of authors who wrote about Sarmatian culture are

loose and flowing. They had light hair, were fair-skinned (*flavi*), and had a harsh and wild appearance. I have already cited Herodotus, who wrote that the Sarmatians spoke a language similar to that of the Scythians. We have only scant references to their beliefs. There are accounts about their worship of fire and the sword, but we cannot be certain that these are not an instance of attributing to them earlier information about the Scythians, as is the later account of Ammianus Marcellinus about sword worship among the Alani.

As far as political order is concerned, we have no indications or suggestions that there existed some large political organization that encompassed the entire nomadic population of the Ukrainian steppe region, as was the case during the Scythian period. On the contrary, there are mentions of many Sarmatian dynasts.¹⁴⁶ That fits in with our knowledge that the Sarmatian horde consisted of a large number of ethnic groups. Thus, aside from the groups mentioned above—the Iazyges and the Roxolani—we also know of the Coralli near the Danube in the first century A.D., while the Olbian inscriptions name the Saii, Thisamatae, and Saudaratae (Melanchlaeni), as well as such ancient Scythian names as the Royal Urgi (?), the Auchetae, and in the eastern regions, the Iaxamatae, Aorsi, Siraci, etc. Various names emerged and disappeared amidst the warring hordes, which gradually pushed westward under pressure from the east.

Strabo wrote that the right bank of the Dnipro was inhabited by the Iazyges. At the beginning of the first century A.D., they were undoubtedly the dominant tribe in this region. By the middle of the first century, however, they had wandered farther west, into the Danubian region, where they settled between the Danube and the Tisza Rivers. These are the Iazyges Metanastae (Μετανάσται) whom Ptolemy named.¹⁴⁷ After the migration of the Iazyges, the Roxolani assumed dominance over the steppes. Judging by the references to their wars against the Romans and their raids into Moesia¹⁴⁸ and by geographical facts, it appears that prior to the arrival of the Germanic tribes in this region, the Roxolani constituted the principal and largest population in the Dnipro steppes and to the west of them.¹⁴⁹ Their name, which is believed to derive from Iranian, means 'White Alani' (in modern Ossetian *ūrs* means 'white').¹⁵⁰ (Among the nomadic hordes the adjective 'white' often served to distinguish between different segments of the population, i.e., one tribally homogeneous horde from another.) In the decree honoring Diophantus, scholars discern the Roxolani in the name of the Rheuxinali (Ρευξινάλιοι).

In the first century A.D., we find the first use of the name of the Alani alongside that of the 'White Alani' ('Alani et Roxolani' in Pliny). In the 60s and 70s A.D., they drew the attention of the Romans by their raids into the Transcaucasian lands. A kindred branch, who then lived

collected in Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, 3: 513ff.

146. 'Sceptuchi' in Tacitus, *Annales* 6.33; cf. σκηπτούχοι in the decree in honor of Protogenes.

147. Ptolemy 3.7. Another group of the Iazyges, named by Ptolemy together with the Roxolani near the Sea of Azov (ibid., 3.5.19), are probably an anachronism.

148. Tacitus, *Historiarum libri* 1.79; Cassius Dio 71.19; *SHA*—Marcus Antonius 22; 30 tyr. 10 [These numbers appear without a reference in the original.—Eds.], and others.

149. On Ptolemy's map (Ptolemy 3.5.19, 23), the Iazyges and Roxolani are located above the Sea of Azov because the Carpathian and Danubian tribes are incorrectly extended too far to the east.

150. V. Miller ('Épigraφικές sledy iranstva,' p. 8, and idem, *Osetinskie étiudy*, 3: 86) gives a somewhat different derivation of this name, one that is closer in form, but less certain in meaning. He derives it from *rox*s, 'fair' or 'light' or 'blond' (cf. Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten,' 117: 37). Compare this with the Alanorsi ('Αλανορσοί) next to the Alani Scythians ('Αλανοί Σκυθται) in Ptolemy 6.14.9.

near the Don and the Caspian Sea, were also called the Alani.¹⁵¹ By the first half of the second century, we already encounter the Alani near the Dnipro, and in the second half of the same century, near the Danube.¹⁵² On the one hand, this reflects the movement of Iranian tribes farther westward, and on the other hand, wider use of the new name. The name of the Alani took on a broader meaning and replaced the Sarmatian name in the eastern steppes, just as the Sarmatian name had supplanted that of the Scythians in the preceding age. In the fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus wrote of the Alani: 'On the other side [of the Don] the Alani, so called from the mountain range of the same name, inhabit the measureless wastes of Scythia; and by repeated victories they gradually wore down the peoples whom they met and like the Persians incorporated them under their own national name.'¹⁵³ Chinese annals also contain references to the expansion of this people in southwestern Asia. According to these sources, a nomadic tribe called the An'ts'ai, who lived east of the Caspian Sea and farther west towards Ta-tsin (the Roman Empire) and were subject to the nomads of Sogdiana, assumed the name A-lan-na during the Han dynasty (163 B.C.–196 A.D.) and became independent.¹⁵⁴ And so, in fact, at some point during the first to second century A.D., the name Alani became a collective designation for various nomadic peoples, primarily of Iranian origin, who lived on both sides of the Caspian Sea. For several centuries the name also encompassed the remnants of the nomadic Scytho-Sarmatian population of our steppes.¹⁵⁵

As a result, the Alani are described in terms similar to those used for the Sarmatians and the Scythians. Lucian (second century A.D.) wrote that the Alani had the same language as the Scythians, dressed alike, and only wore their hair differently (they cut it short).¹⁵⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary of the war between the Alani and the Huns, described the Alani as nomads who had neither houses nor agriculture, who ate meat and drank milk, lived on wagons, and camped by placing their wagons in a circle wherever they found good pasture for their herds of cattle and horses. Their customs and way of life were more civilized than those of the Huns, wrote Ammianus. They were handsome, blond, and carried light arms. They were very warlike and freedom-loving. All among them were regarded as equally noble, and they chose as judges those who had gained the greatest glory in battle. Ammianus's further observations about Alanian culture are somewhat suspect because of their close similarity to the descriptions provided by Herodotus, though in themselves they contain nothing improbable. He wrote that there was no greater honor among the Alani than to kill a man. They used the skins

151. Accounts of the Alani by classical authors have been collected by Kulakovskii in his 'Alany'; also Tomaschek, 'Alani.' For a more recent analysis, see Täubler, 'Zur Geschichte der Alanen.'

152. Ptolemy placed them in several locations in European and Asian Sarmatia—Ptolemy 3.5.19; 6.14.9.

153. Ammianus Marcellinus 31.2.13. Kulakovskii ('Alany,' p. 114), rejects this account, but his reasoning is flimsy; moreover, he ignores the information from Chinese sources cited below.

154. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. 5, bk. 3 (pt. 7 of his *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur*), pp. 625–26; Hirth, 'Über Wolga-Hunnen,' p. 250.

155. The Chinese name *An'ts'ai* is thought to be identical to the Aorsi of ancient tradition: see Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 139; Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 121. But this identification has been opposed on linguistic grounds, and Marquart (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*, 2: 240) ultimately identifies the An'ts'ai with the Massagetae. He regards the name *Aorsi* as a honorary political title, which was assumed by a certain group of tribes when the Massagetae gained dominance over them and called themselves by the honorary name Aorsi ('honored,' 'famous') as opposed to their earlier name of Massagetae ('fish-eaters'). He interprets *Alan* ('famous,' 'victorious') as also an honorary title, assumed by the ruling horde and later adopted by its subject tribes. More recent observations also in Täubler, 'Zur Geschichte der Alanen.'

156. Lucian, Τόξαρις ἢ Φιλία, in *Opera*. The author had to have been describing details from real life.

of their victims as ornaments for their horses. They had no religious temples or shrines and no sacred articles, but they placed a naked sword into the ground and worshipped it as a symbol of Mars, the protector of the land. They foretold the future using bundles of sticks.¹⁵⁷ If we keep in mind that the name *Alani* was used to designate what had been in part, or even for the most part, the same population as the one previously known as the Sarmatians, and before that, as the Scythians, there is nothing unusual in the fact that certain characteristics are repeated in connection with all these peoples. What we do not know is whether Ammianus took these characteristics from real life or copied them directly from Herodotus.

For a while, the Alanian name dominated across the entire stretch from the Danube to the Central Asian Mesopotamia (beyond the Aral Sea). But not for long. During the second to third centuries A.D., this nomadic Iranian population was driven out from the western part of the north Pontic steppes by the influx of Germanic tribes. In the third century, the Huns began to push in from the east, and under pressure from these and other hordes, which followed one another across the steppes in a westerly direction, the Alanian group of tribes disintegrated. The European Alani were cut off from their Asian kinsmen and were themselves divided into several parts: one group joined the Vandals and Suebi in 406 and migrated with them as far as North Africa; another group, after the fall of the Hun state, crossed the borders of Byzantium and settled in Lower Moesia.¹⁵⁸ A third group remained in the Caucasian steppes, and its remnants, driven into the mountains, have survived to our own times as the small nation of the Ossetians.¹⁵⁹ Yet another group settled in the Crimea, where an Alanian population existed as late as the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁰ Some remnants of the Alani were able to survive in the Don steppes, where they may have become part of the northern boundary of the Slavic dispersion into the steppes. These steppe remnants of the great Iranian colonization of our territory still await close research.¹⁶¹

* * *

Thus for approximately a millennium, until the second or third century A.D., the Ukrainian steppes were ruled by nomadic and semi-nomadic hordes, mostly of Iranian stock and culture.

157. Ammianus Marcellinus 31.2.18–24.

158. On the Alani migration westward, see Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 700ff.; Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, 1: 261–64; idem, *Urgeschichte*, 1: 223ff.; Kulakovskii, 'Alany.'

159. On the later fate of the Caucasian Alani and their links with the Ossetians (which were established by Klaproth in *Mémoire dans le quel on prouve l'identité*), see V. Miller, *Osetinskie étiudy*, vol. 3, chap. 2 (especially about the survivals of the Alanian name in the Caucasus, p. 111ff.); Kulakovskii, 'Alany'; idem, 'Khristianstvo u Alan.'

160. On the Crimean Alani, see Vasil'evskii on the history of Sudak-Sougdaiia, which was probably an Alanian colony (Vasil'evskii, 'Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 8,' and idem, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia*, pp. CLXVIII–CLXIX); also V. Miller, *Osetinskie étiudy*, 3: 77. On other Alanian groups, see Kulakovskii, 'Alany,' chap. 9.

161. In recent years, attention has been drawn to the tombs in Kharkiv gubernia—especially the large tomb in Verkhni Saltiv, under excavation since 1901—which resemble the Ossetian burials of the Caucasus in type and culture. Their contents point to the eighth to ninth centuries. Scholars believe that these burials contain traces of the Alani-As population of the Don region. That view has recently been argued by Spitsyn in his article 'Istoriko-arkheologicheskie razyskaniia. I,' in which the author is prepared to accept the existence of an Alanian population in the whole Don region up to the eleventh to twelfth centuries. We must, however, distinguish the existence of a common culture and common influences from ethnic commonality and await a somewhat more detailed archaeological study of the Don region. So far the historical sources available to us suggest that the existence of any kind of dense Alanic population across the entire Don region is not very likely.

During this same period, the Carpathian mountain regions were inhabited by a group of peoples that, like their southern Danubian neighbors, most likely belonged to the Thracian branch of the Indo-European family—a branch once powerful and widely dispersed on both the European and the Asian sides of the Black Sea, whom adverse historical conditions reduced to insignificant traces in the denationalized and romanized contemporary Romanians. However, the Thracian origin of the Carpathian peoples is conjectural, because we have far less information about this population than about the inhabitants of the steppes. Moreover, our information about Thracian colonization, which includes the Carpathian tribes, is also very limited, and it becomes even more meager as we move from south to north.¹⁶²

The first reference to a Thracian population in the Danubian region occurs in the fifth century B.C. in Herodotus. The Black Sea coast between the Danube and the Balkan peninsula was inhabited by the Crobyzi and, south of them, by the Tyritae. Farther north along the Danube, above the Yantra (Athrys) River, lived the Getae, ‘the most manly and law-abiding of the Thracian tribes.’¹⁶³ The Danube was regarded as the boundary between the Thracians and the Scythians, but this was only partly so. By writing that ‘the ancient Scythian land’ proper began beyond the Danube,¹⁶⁴ Herodotus hinted that, in fact, Scythian settlements even then extended across the Danube into what was later known as Scythia Minor (Dobruja). From the other side, Getae settlements also occasionally crossed the Danube. In the fourth century B.C., Alexander of Macedonia fought the Getae on the left bank of the Danube. This was the ‘Getae desert,’ where the armies of Lysimachus almost perished (313–218 B.C.) in a campaign against Dromichaetes, king of the Getae. Dromichaetes’ state lay on the left bank of the Danube, in modern Wallachia.¹⁶⁵ But if we assume that the Tyrageatae of Strabo’s time were the Dniester Getae, perhaps divided from the rest of their tribe by a wedge of the Bastarnae, then Getae settlements reached even farther east. Strabo placed them between the ‘Getae desert’ and the roaming grounds of the Iazyges, while Pliny, writing of an island inhabited by the Tyrageatae on the Dniester, obviously had in mind the mouth of the Dniester.¹⁶⁶

North of the Getae, on the Maris (Maros, Maresçul, Μάρισος) River—that is, in what is modern Transylvania—lived, according to Herodotus, the Agathyrsi. He described them as close to the Scythians,¹⁶⁷ but with a way of life resembling that of the Thracians. The kinship between the Agathyrsi and their Scythian neighbors noted by the Greeks can be explained by

162. The more important works on this subject include: Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 258ff., 696–700; Roesler, ‘Die Geten und ihre Nachbarn’; idem, *Römische Studien*; idem, ‘Einiges über das Thrakische’; Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte*, pp. 171–243; Tomaschek, ‘Die alten Thraker’; Braun, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 132–78; A. Pogodin, ‘K voprosu o frakiitsakh’; also Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, p. 189ff.; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 125ff.; R. Much, ‘Die Südmark der Germanen,’ pp. 16–17; I. Smirnov, ‘Ocherk kul’turnoi istorii,’ 1: 12ff. More recent works: Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, 1: 404ff.; Štastný, *Die Thraker*; Buschan, *Die Balkanvölker*. In Ukrainian scholarship, considerable work on the Thracians was done by the late Partyts’kyi in his *Sarynna istoriia Halychyny*, but he believed the Thracians to be Slavs and interpreted everything from that standpoint.

163. Herodotus 4.49, 93; Strabo 7.5.12.

164. αὐτῆ ἥδη ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη (Herodotus 4.99).

165. Strabo 7.3.8, 14; Pausanias 1.9.

166. Strabo 7.3.17; Pliny 4.26. On the ‘island of the Tyrageatae,’ see Brun’s *Chernomor’e*, vol. 1. Herodotus placed the Scythian people Sigynnae between the Getae and the Agathyrsi, but other sources describe the Sigynnae as inhabiting lands near the Caspian Sea. Some scholars thus legitimately suspect that Herodotus moved the Sigynnae here by mistake. Cf. Roesler, *Römische Studien*, 1: 9–10; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 2.

167. In the Greek legend that he relates, Agathyrsus, Gelonus, and Scythes were brothers, the sons of Heracles (Herodotus 4.10).

the kinship of the Thracians to the Iranians, and the Agathyrsi almost certainly were Thracians. The gloss preserved by Stephen of Byzantium explains that the Greeks called the Trausi the Agathyrsi,¹⁶⁸ and we know that the Trausi lived in the Rhodope Mountains.¹⁶⁹ Certain details from their way of life, such as tattooing, for example, also suggest that the Agathyrsi were Thracians. Their place was later taken by the Dacians. We have a reference from the second century B.C. to a battle between the Dacians and the Bastarnae.¹⁷⁰ That the Dacians were of Thracian stock is not in doubt, and it is quite safe to assume that this new name also encompassed the Agathyrsi, and perhaps other neighboring Thracian peoples as well, as a result of some political upheaval.¹⁷¹

In the first century B.C., the Getae and the Dacians united into a single political entity, the powerful state led by Burebistas, which made its presence known by ferocious raids into neighboring territories, resulting, among other things, in the destruction of Olbia and other Greek colonies as far away as Apollonia.¹⁷² Though it disintegrated after the death of Burebistas, by the end of the first century A.D. the Geto-Dacian state regained strength under Decebalus, a talented organizer and politician, who began a war with Rome in alliance with other neighboring peoples in the 80s A.D. Initially, the war went well for Decebalus (during the reign of Domitian). But when it was resumed by Trajan, the protracted fighting ended with the destruction of the Dacian state (ca. 106 A.D.). In its place, the Romans created the province of Dacia and colonized it with various tribes from other provinces.

Dacia, as described by Ptolemy,¹⁷³ occupied the region between the Tisza, Danube, upper Dnister, and Seret, while the Black Sea coast—namely, the Greek colonies of Tyras, Olbia, and others—were included in Lower Moesia. The principal center of Roman colonization and Roman life was the valley of the middle Maris and Szamos (Someş). Rome had only nominal control over the Carpathian slopes, and even less over the regions beyond the Carpathians. It has not yet been established how far the Roman fortifications reached in the north. The earthen walls of Galician Podilia (in the triangle between the Zbruch and the Dnister Rivers) and the two large ‘Trajan’s walls’ in Bessarabia, which run parallel across the area between the Prut and Dnister, are regarded by some as the remains of Roman border fortifications.¹⁷⁴ But the Roman origin of these walls remains hypothetical, and their connection with some system of Roman fortifications has yet to be established.

The Roman occupation of Dacia lasted a little more than a century and a half. Throughout that period, Dacia was an isolated fortified outpost of the Roman state (it was separated from Pannonia by the Iazyges between the Danube and the Tisza). It was difficult for Rome to secure

168. Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnika*, s.v. Τραυσοί.

169. Livy unambiguously calls them Thracians (Livy 38.41.6).

170. Justinus 32.3.16.

171. Justinus 32.3.16: ‘And the Dacians are kin of the Getae.’ Strabo 7.3.13: ‘the language of the Dacians is the same as that of the Getae.’ Cf. Cassius Dio 52.22.

172. Strabo 7.33.11. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 36.

173. [Ptolemy 3.8.]

174. On the ‘Trajan’s Wall’ in Galician Podilia, see the article by Kirkor, ‘Sprawozdanie i wykaz zabytków...1878,’ p. 38ff. We can only repeat the words of Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, p. 206, about the Bessarabian walls: ‘they certainly may be Roman, but so far we have no reliable evidence of this.’ Both are shown on the special map of the Russian General Staff, for instance. There is also a ‘Trajan’s Wall’ in Russian Podilia, in the Kamianets and Proskuriv districts (Setsinskii, ‘Arkheologicheskaiia karta Podol’skoi gubernii,’ p. 153, and map), but it has not been studied in any detail, and the likelihood of a Roman wall occurring here is even more remote. At one time, even the old walls in the Kyiv region were thought to be Trajan’s; see Antonovich, ‘Zmiiev valy.’

Dacia, and so when the neighboring peoples began conducting fierce raids on Roman territories in the middle of the third century, Emperor Aurelian decided to withdraw from this province. Romans and romanized inhabitants were moved to Thrace and Moesia, and Dacia was abandoned (274 A.D.). But to make the loss less painful, a new province called Dacia was founded on the right bank of the Danube in Moesia.

The smaller Carpathian peoples appear in historical records only after the fall of Dacia during the reign of Trajan. Unfortunately, Ptolemy, our principal source, gives a very confused account of the disposition of the various Carpathian tribes, making it difficult to establish their true locations.¹⁷⁵ Moving from the source of the Vistula eastward, he names the Anarti, Arsietae, Saboci, Piengitae, Biessi, Coestoboci, and Carpiani [Carpi] ("Αναρτοι, 'Αρσιήται, Σαβῶκοι, Πιεγγίται, 'Βίεσσοι, Κοιστοβῶκοι, Καρπιανοί).¹⁷⁶ Of these peoples, the last three are of the greatest interest to us. The Biessi inhabited the foothills of the 'Carpathian Mountains,' which on Ptolemy's map are located on the headwaters of the Dnister and Sian Rivers. Whether they lived on the southern or the northern side of the mountains is not indicated by Ptolemy. The Coestoboci (*Costoboci* in Roman sources) were located to the east of them. Ptolemy named this people twice, showing them divided by the Dnister and the Peucinian (Carpathian) Mountains. That would suggest that they lived on both sides of the Carpathians, but it is also possible that two accounts about the same people were combined.¹⁷⁷ In any event, the Coestoboci did inhabit the southern slopes of the Carpathians. The Carpi (a name obviously linked with the name of the Carpathians) are also mentioned twice by Ptolemy: the Carpiani (Καρπιανοί) and the Harpii ("Αρπιοι). In both cases, Ptolemy located them farther to the east, neighboring on the Bastarnae and the Tyragetae.¹⁷⁸ That would mean they lived somewhere near the Dnister and the Prut, even though Ptolemy used the name of the Carpathians to designate only the most westerly section of the mountain range, near the upper Tisza (consequently, some scholars locate the Carpi here).

These three tribes appear in historical records during the Marcomanni wars and the period following them as heroes of border wars and raids on Roman lands. Information is most meager about the Biessi. Apart from Ovid's somewhat ambiguous accounts of them on the lower Danube, the only other reference to the Biessi names them as taking part, along with the Coestoboci, in the wars waged by the Marcomanni. We do, however, know a bit more about the Coestoboci. We have accounts that they invaded places as far away as Achaea and Macedonia, plundering all they could (165 A.D.). From one inscription, we also know the name of their king, Pieporus.¹⁷⁹ It was probably because of their raids that the Roman governor of Dacia set the Vandals on them when the latter came seeking lands to settle in Dacia during the Marcomanni wars. The Vandals conquered the Coestoboci and took over their lands, and the Coestoboci disappeared from history.¹⁸⁰

The Romans had a much more difficult time ridding themselves of the Carpi. Their first

175. Cf. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 81ff.

176. Ptolemy 3.5.24 and 3.8.5.

177. Another conjecture is that this reflects traces of the migration of the Coestoboci from the northern foothills into the southern.

178. Ptolemy 3.5.24 and 3.10.13.

179. Ovid, *Tristia* 3.10.5 and 4.1.67 (about the Biessi on the lower Danube, see Braun, *Razyskaniia*, p. 161). *SHA*, Ant. Phil. 22; Pausanias 10.34.5; *CIL*, vol. 6, no. 1081; Benndorf and Bormann, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, p. 189.

180. Cassius Dio 70.12.

recorded raid into Moesia was during the 230s A.D. From the account of Peter Patrikios we learn that the Carpi thought of themselves as specialists at such raids, even better than the Goths, who were then already famous for their attacks on Roman territories.¹⁸¹ Occasionally the Carpi joined the Goths in attacking Roman possessions. The emperors Philip the Arab and Aurelian are noted for their victories over the Carpi. After defeating the Carpi, Aurelian resettled many of them on Roman soil.¹⁸² The process of relocating the Carpi begun by Aurelian was completed under Galerius and Diocletian. Following a war, about which we know nothing, the remainder of the Carpi, along with the Bastarnae, were settled on Roman lands (most likely in Pannonia and Moesia). This was Rome's way of appeasing troublesome neighboring peoples, and the move by the Carpi and Bastarnae was probably more voluntary than forced.¹⁸³ Quite possibly their readiness to relocate was also prompted by pressure from the Germanic tribes from the Pontic region in the southeast, as well as pressure from the Slavs on the northern slopes of the Carpathians (the history of the colonization of the Carpathians during this period is virtually unknown). After this, there is only a single reference to a people called the Carpodacae, who attempted to cross the Danube with bands of Huns and Sciri.¹⁸⁴ Perhaps they were the remnants of the Pannonian settlers described above.

Our sources contain only a few hints about the ethnicity of the Carpathian tribes. The fact that they comprised the northern—Danubian and Transylvanian—frontier of Thracian colonization suggests that they, too, may have been of Thracian stock. A number of other facts seem to support this theory. The Carpathian Biessi have the same name as the Thracian Biessi near the Rhodope. The name of the Carpodacae seems to suggest a kinship between the Carpi and the Dacians. The name of the king of the Coestoboci, Pieporus, and that of his kinsman Natoporus end in a characteristic suffix that in the form *-poris* occurs in many Thracian and Dacian names.¹⁸⁵ Even more significant is the fact that Ptolemy lists a number of settlements in the Carpathians and on the upper Dnister and Seret whose names end in *-dava* [*-dava*] (*δαυα*),¹⁸⁶ a common suffix for Dacian settlements found in other Thracian territories.¹⁸⁷ That all these towns were moved from Dacia into the region north of the Carpathians simply because of a lack of space on Ptolemy's map appears unlikely to me.

The facts cited above and some less important circumstances lend credence to the theory that these Carpathian tribes were of the Thracian family. Perhaps originally they had belonged to an earlier, non-Indo-European population that had intermingled with the Thracians and had become assimilated with them. We encounter remnants of this population in the Alpine regions, but it

181. *SHA*, Maximus et Balbinus 16; Dexippus, pp. 176–77; Peter Patrikios, pp. 428–29.

182. *SHA*, Aurelianus 30; Zosimos 1.22, 27, 30; Aurelius Victor, *De caesaribus* 39, 43.

183. Both Hydatius and Ammianus Marcellinus hint at this; for texts, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 1: 287. On the settlements of those who were resettled, see Ammianus Marcellinus 27.5.5 and 28.1.5.

184. Zosimos 4.34.

185. Concerning this suffix, see Tomaschek, 'Die alten Thraker,' 131: 21; also Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, p. 207. The name of Pieporus is reminiscent of the 'Dac(i) Petoporiani' on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (as has been noted by Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 697); Tomaschek, 'Die alten Thraker,' 128: 108. Perhaps 'Petoporiani' is an error and should read 'Pieporiani,' which would mean that the Coestoboci were Dacian. On Peutinger's map the 'Petoporian Dacians' are located on the eastern slopes of the Carpathians, on the left bank of the Dnister. Perhaps the same name is also contained in that of the city of Piroboridava (Πιροβορίδαυα) in Ptolemy 3.10.15.

186. Clepidava (Κληπίδαυα) (near the Dnister), Docidava (Δοκίδαυα), Patridava (Πατριδαυα), Carsidava (Καρσίδαυα), Petrodava (Πετρόδαυα), Sandava (Σάνδαυα), Utidava (Ουτίδαυα), Zargidava (Ζαργίδαυα), Tamasidava (Ταμασίδαυα), Piroboridava (Πιροβορίδαυα) (between the Dnister and the Seret)—Ptolemy 3.5.30; 3.8.6–7; 3.10.15.

187. Tomaschek, 'Die alten Thraker,' 131: 70.

might also have survived in the mountainous, inaccessible regions of the Carpathians. Our investigations, however, cannot lead us so far back into the depths of this ethnic process.¹⁸⁸ The rather widespread view, held earlier, that these Carpathian tribes were Slavic has no basis. It is contradicted by the Coestobocan names that we know from an inscription, which was written by a Coestobocan and therefore presumably rendered accurately. These names sound quite unlike anything Slavic.¹⁸⁹ Nor can we regard the entire population of the Carpathians to have been exclusively Celtic, even if we admit the existence of certain traces of the Celts there.¹⁹⁰ The Thracian theory is unquestionably sounder than the conjectures described above.

It is impossible to establish how far north this Thracian colonization reached or whether it extended beyond the boundaries of the Carpathian mountain zone. Its traces on the northern slopes are rather tenuous.¹⁹¹ As I have already mentioned,¹⁹² the Thracians could have come into contact with the Slavs here in ancient times. The Bastarnae wedge may have broken this contact for a while, though perhaps not along the entire length of the boundary. Individual Slavic bands could have migrated into the mountains and reached the southern slopes of the Carpathians even earlier, but we are not able to trace their route of expansion.

We possess almost no records of the way of life and culture of the Carpathian tribes. However, if we assume that they were Thracian tribes or tribes assimilated by the Thracians, we can apply to them some of the accounts we have about other Thracians (Getae, Dacians, and others).

There was, however, a major difference between certain southern, coastal, Thracian tribes, who rapidly absorbed foreign cultural influences, and those in the north, who maintained their primitive way of life for a long time. Even in historical times, there were settlements on piles among the northern Thracians, and there are references to 'troglodytes' (cave dwellers) living near the Danube. At the same time, other Thracians had already established towns and castles. The pastoral life predominated among the Thracians, and hunting was a favorite occupation. The harsh customs of the Thracians were widely known, as was their extremely warlike nature, love of fighting, and complete disdain for death. Accompanying this were the notorious Thracian love of drink (they usually went into battle drunk) and amorality in relations between men and women—all signs of an unstable, energetic nature. One of the uncivilized customs of the Thracians that the Greeks noted was the widespread practice of tattooing (στίζουσι, *picti*), which was also known among the Getae and the Agathyrsi-Dacians. The Agathyrsi were famous for their abundance of gold ornaments. Thracian weapons also enjoyed renown. To the Greeks, the Thracians appeared fair-skinned and red-haired (πυρροί). Their appearance on the frieze of

188. Perhaps the time will come when anthropology can offer us some information. Of some interest is the fact that the incidence of shortheadedness, or brachycephalism, is highest in the Alpine-Carpathian mountain regions. Possibly what we see here are traces of an ancient race that had been assimilated by the Indo-Europeans and had modified their anthropological type. The late scholar Potkański, from Cracow, took note of the high incidence of brachycephalism in the Carpathians in his 'O pochodzeniu Słowian' and tried to interpret this as the influence of the Celts as an 'Alpine race.' But it is much more logical to ask whether this Alpine race did not live in the Carpathians independently of the Celts and the Indo-European colonization as a whole.

189. Coestobocan inscription in *CIL*, vol. 6, no. 1801: d. m. | ziai | tiati. fil. | dacae uxori | piepori. regis | coisstobocensis | natoporus. et | drilgisa. aviae | cariss. b. m. fecer |

190. On the Celts, see pp. 102–4 below.

191. Obviously, we cannot rely solely on the geographic location of Ptolemy's settlements whose names end in *-dava* [*-dava*].

192. See p. 51 above.

Trajan's column resembles that of the Scythians in the Black Sea carvings and the Germanic people on the column of Marcus Aurelius: long hair and beards, the same facial type, similar attire (wide flowing pants, tunics, and cloaks). As I have already mentioned, the many cultural similarities between the Scythians and Thracians can be explained by the kinship of these two branches of the Indo-European family, which were close to each other both geographically and ethnically.

In the spiritual sphere, mention should be made of the high degree of development attained in the realm of song. Not only were the southern Thracians noted in this field, but the Agathyrsi were known to formulate their laws in songs to be memorized. Getan envoys arrived playing citharas. It was widely known that the Getae believed in immortality. They were popularly known as Getae-Immortals (*ἄθανατίζοντες*—'they make them immortal'). This belief, which made a great impression on the Greeks, among whom the notion of existence after death was very poorly developed, derived among the Getae from their worship of Zalmoxis, who was both the god of the dead and the god of the renewal of life in nature. When a Getan died, his favorite wife was killed and buried with him. This was also meant as a reproach to the wives who remained alive. Priests had great influence: the political revival of the Thracian tribes under Burebistas was achieved through the influence of a priest. Even later, until the fall of the Dacian state, the priests retained their political influence.¹⁹³

As we have seen, when the Dacian state fell, the Carpathian tribes were mainly destroyed or resettled in Roman territories. The inhabitants of Transylvania were largely romanized and evacuated together with the Roman colonists by Emperor Aurelian into the neighboring Roman provinces. All this greatly weakened the Thracian population of the Carpathian regions, reducing it to insignificant numbers. When the Slavs arrived in the Carpathians in large masses, they found very few Thracians.

The Romanian question centers on the remnants of the old Transylvanian colonizers. Two views have emerged on the formation of the Romanian nationality in recent decades. According to one, the Romanian population of Transylvania (the cradle of the Romanian nation) was formed from slaves (brought in by the Bulgars) and freeborn emigrants from the Balkans—in other words, from the romanized Balkan Thracians, the descendants of the ancient romanized population of the Roman province of Dacia, who had been relocated from Dacia to Moesia in the third century. According to the second view, the remnants of the romanized Dacians hid in the Transylvanian mountains. There their numbers increased and they formed a large Romanian population, which migrated in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries into the lands on the lower Danube. A third view accepts the existence of the remnants of a romanized population in Transylvania, but regards this group as insignificant and explains its eventual growth as the result of a later influx of romanized Thracians from the Balkan regions into Transylvania.¹⁹⁴ The last view is the most probable. With some modifications, we can apply this same theory to the eastern Carpathians. There, as in Transylvania, the remnants of the ancient inhabitants

193. On the way of life and culture of the Thracians, see Tomaschek, 'Die alten Thraker,' 128: 111ff., and *ibid.*, vol. 130, on their religious cults. See also the more recent work by Buschan, *Die Balkanvölker*, as well as E. Fischer, 'Die Haar- und Kleidertracht.'

194. For more on this question and the literature discussing it, see the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume. For a survey of this question, see Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*; K. Jireček, *Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmaniens*; Onciul, *Românii in Dacia Traiană*; E. Fischer, *Herkunft der Rumänen*; Iorga, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes*; Vasmer, 'Die neuesten Forschungen.'

also survived (though it is unlikely that they were romanized to any degree). There is a great deal in the toponyms and in the dialects of the eastern Carpathians that suggests the presence of an earlier colonization, despite the Vlach elements, which can be explained by later migrations and the influence of later Vlach settlements.¹⁹⁵ We have a historical record of the growth of these settlements, which were established at the end of the fourteenth century by emigrants from the Romanian regions of Hungary, and their example was later followed by the local population. We know for certain that these settlements were a new phenomenon, and therefore they cannot be linked directly with the pre-Slavic colonization of the eastern Carpathians, as is done by some who are not familiar with the history of our region.¹⁹⁶

Whether any kind of non-Slavic mountain population has survived in this region to our own time is something we cannot know for certain, but it is doubtful. The task of distinguishing between what was imported by later Vlach settlers and the ancient elements that remain in toponymy and language would be rewarding, but so far no one has investigated this subject seriously.¹⁹⁷

* * *

A new migration of a people called the Bastarnae later pushed a wedge between the Carpathian mountain and Iranian steppe populations.¹⁹⁸

The ethnic origin of the Bastarnae is not completely certain. In his classic section on this people, Tacitus expressed uncertainty about the group to which they belonged—Germanic or Sarmatian. In terms of language and way of life, he found them to resemble the Germanic people, but this seemed to be contradicted by their sloth and dirtiness and their singular obedience to their leaders. In an attempt to reconcile the two, Tacitus conjectured that this Germanic tribe had fallen under the influence of the Sarmatians owing to intermarriages with them. In addition to Tacitus, Strabo and Pliny—both writers from a period when their contemporaries already knew the Germanic peoples—regarded the Bastarnae as a Germanic tribe.¹⁹⁹ Other authors—Polybius, Livy, Plutarch—sometimes referred to this tribe as the Bastarnae and sometimes as the Celts. The Olbian decree in honor of Protogenes speaks of a fierce attack by the Sciri and the Galatae, and many identify these as the Bastarnae. Greek

195. From the term **boci*, which appears in the names of the Saboci and Coestoboci, some scholars derive the modern name of Bukovyna, as 'the land of the Boci' (Müllenhoff, Braun, A. Veselovskii). Šafařík saw in **boci* the Slavic *bokъ, bik* ('side'); later researchers interpreted it as the Thracian name of a people. The only problem is that the name of Bukovyna does not appear until very much later! For this same reason, the name of Bessarabia cannot be assumed to derive from the Biessi, as some scholars (e.g., Braun) believe even now.

196. The work of Miklosich and Kalužniacki, 'Über die Wanderungen der Rumunen,' proceeds from a purely linguistic position and completely disregards the history of the later Vlach colonization. But their writings are very popular in scholarly literature and have served as the principal authority for such erroneous conclusions. Not long ago, Potkański ('O pochodzeniu Słowian') cited the two authors in arguing with great assurance that during the period of Slavic expansion and later, the mountain regions of the Carpathians were the domain of Vlach shepherds.

197. The new work by Czirbusz, *A Kárpátok* (on the etymology of Carpathian geographic names), adds little to this field.

198. On the Bastarnae, see Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, pp. 126, 442; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 104ff.; Hahnel, *Die Bedeutung der Bastarnen*; R. Much, 'Die Bastarnen'; idem, 'Die Südmark der Germanen'; idem, *Deutsche Stammsitze*; Sehmsdorf, *Die Germanen in den Balkanländern*; Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*; Braun, *Razyskaniia*.

199. Tacitus, *Germania* 46. Strabo 7.3.17 adds cautiously: 'they also being, one might say, of Germanic stock.' Pliny 4.14.

authors often referred to the Germanic tribes as Celts, especially before they learned to differentiate between the two. And the name of the Sciri, a Germanic tribe belonging to the Gothic group, which in the Olbian decree appears together with the Galatae,²⁰⁰ supports the likelihood that the Bastarnae were an advance band of the Germanic migration southward, which began in earnest only somewhat later.²⁰¹ At the same time, as most scholars now believe, there may very well have been a significant admixture of Celtic elements in the culture of the Bastarnae, or even in their ethnic composition. Coming subsequently into closer contact with the population of the north Pontic steppes, the Bastarnae may have adopted some Sarmatian ways as well.

The remnants of Celtic population and culture in the lands inhabited by the Bastarnae can be attributed to the presence of Celts among them.²⁰² For instance, we know of tribes and cities on the lower Danube, as well as on the Dnister (if we accept the presence of the Celts there as credible), whose names contain Celtic linguistic roots.²⁰³ Some scholars view these as traces of the Celtic colonization of the western Balkan regions in the fourth century B.C.²⁰⁴ Others link the Celtic elements on the lower Danube with the Bastarnae colonization. Certainly the Celtic nomenclature of the middle Danube must be acknowledged as being independent of the Bastarnae. Celtic topographic names are quite prevalent here and probably derive from the colonization by the Celts of regions farther to the west, namely, the eastern Alps and Moravia. Celtic elements could have been imported into the eastern Carpathians by the Celtic colonists of the middle Danube or by the Bastarnae, but these elements are much more difficult to distinguish here. The evidence that has been collected so far is either very hypothetical or not absolutely convincing.²⁰⁵ In terms of geography, it would not have been impossible for the Celts also to have had contacts with the Slavs in the Carpathians before the Slavic expansion.

200. Prokopios (*De bello Gotthico* 1.1) even goes so far as to call the Sciri a Gothic people, but this statement is meaningless because he calls the Alani a Gothic people as well. Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, pp. 704–5) believed the Sciri to be an Alanian people because both Prokopios and Jordanes grouped them with the Alani.

201. The Bastarnae are regarded as a Germanic people by Zeuss, Kiepert (*Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*), Müllenhoff, and Sehmsdorf. Bremer (*Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, p. 180), considers 'the Germanic nationality of the people [Bastarnae] certain.' They are viewed as Celtic by Hahnel, Tomaschek, Niese, and other scholars.

202. On the traces of Celtic presence on the lower and middle Danube and in the Carpathian regions, see Tomaschek's review of the second volume of Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (p. 300); R. Much, 'Die Bastarnen'; idem, *Die Südmark der Germanen*, p. 14ff.; Braun, *Razyskaniia*, p. 126ff.; A. Veselovskii, 'Iz istorii'; A. Pogodin, *Iz istorii slavianskikh peredvizhenii*, pp. 96–97. See also the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

203. E.g., the tribe of the Britolagae on the lower Danube, the town of Noviodunum (Νουτιόδουνον), as well as probably Aliobrix ('Αλιόβριξ), then Carrodunum (Καρρόδουνον) and Vibrantvarium (Οὐίβρανταύριον) (in Ptolemy)—all bear names that are characteristically Celtic.

204. Those scholars who refuse to regard the Galatae of Protogenes's decree as the Bastarnae believe them to have been Danubian Celts.

205. Ptolemy situated the city of Carrodunum at the source of the Dnister, near the Carpathians, but this location is not reliable. The Celtic derivation of topographic names (e.g., Viah/Wiar = Wehra, Laborets/Laborec = Laber, from the Celtic *labara* 'noisy') remains hypothetical. Equally improbable is the derivation of 'Halych' from the name of the Galatae (Celts) as the 'memory of the Celts-Galatae, as it has been retained in the Galatia of Asia Minor and probably in Spanish Galicia as well.' Braun (*Razyskaniia*, pp. 166–74) devotes considerable attention to this matter. Rightly rejecting the derivation of 'Halych' from **sal* 'salt,' and from the Polish *hala* 'mountain,' he, nonetheless, is unable to prove the hypothesis that 'Halych' derives from the Galatae. According to him, 'Halych' is the Rus' form of 'Galați' (on the Danube). But the parallels that Braun himself cites—Halychi (Gács) in the Slovak Carpathians—seem to contradict his explanation. That is why the late A. Veselovskii, in his generally favorable review, accepted the 'genealogy' of Halych *cum grano salis* ('Iz istorii,' p. 15).

However, we see that the name of the eastern Celts, the Volcae, which was later applied as a general name to all Romance speakers, was not adopted directly from the Celts by the Slavs, but rather from the Germanic people (perhaps the Bastarnae) with the same meaning as it had in Germanic (Latin *Volcae*, German *Walhöz*, Slavic [Ukrainian] *Volokh*). This would suggest that there were no direct contacts between the Celts and the Slavs. Nor are we able to find clear traces of direct contacts between the Celts and the Slavs in Slavic culture. Consequently, Celto-Slavic contacts (very important from the standpoint of cultural history) are doubtful.

We have some details about the dispersion of the Bastarnae from the first century A.D. At that time, their advance bands occupied the Danube delta, 'the island of Peuce,'²⁰⁶ and they were therefore called Peucini. In the north, the Bastarnae lived on the eastern slopes of the Carpathians, hence the name Peuce or Bastarnian Mountains given them by geographers of the second to third century A.D. In the northwest, the Bastarnae neighbored on their countrymen, the Germanic people; in the southeast, on the Dnister Tyragetae. Of the various Bastarnae tribes, Strabo mentions, in addition to the Peucini, the Atmoni and Sidones.²⁰⁷

If the Olbian decree honoring Protogenes were dated, it would be very important to the chronology of the Bastarnae migration, especially if it were certain that the Galatae referred to in the decree were indeed the Bastarnae. But because there is some uncertainty on this point, and the decree is dated either to the third or the second century precisely because of the ethnic references it contains, the document contributes no additional information about the chronology of the migration of the Bastarnae. We know from other sources that the Bastarnae first appeared in 180 B.C., when Philip V of Macedonia called upon them to assist him against his enemies.²⁰⁸ They were then located on the left bank of the Danube, and it is generally accepted that they had arrived there around that time, because they were still called 'newcomers' (ἐπίλυδες) in the second century B.C.²⁰⁹ Of course, the alleged recent date of their arrival in this region is subject to various interpretations. But it is significant that there is still no reference to the Bastarnae during the period when Alexander the Great and his successors waged wars against the Getae on the Danube. The Bastarnae could have arrived in the Carpathian lands much earlier than the time their existence there appears in the historical record.²¹⁰

The Bastarnae appear most frequently in our sources during the period of the Roman Empire. Warlike and restless, they were troublesome neighbors everywhere, and especially to the Romans, whose borderlands they continually raided.²¹¹ In this they resembled their Carpathian neighbors, the Carpi, and shared the latter's fate. Emperor Probus deported 100,000 Bastarnae, together with tribes of Goths and Vandals, and settled them somewhere in Thrace, where, as the historian notes, they became loyal subjects of Rome. During the reign of Galerius, a large

206. See the discussion of this by Brun in *Chernomor'e*, vol. 1.

207. Strabo 7.3.5, 15, 17; Ptolemy 3.5.15, 19; *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

208. Livy 40.5; 41.18–19; 44.26–27; Polybius 31.9 (= 25.6, ed. Hultsch). The texts of these authors are collected in Zeuss's *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*.

209. Pseudo-Scymnus, frag. 46. C. Müller, the editor, believes this to be taken from Artemidoros, middle of the second century (p. 229).

210. Quite recently, Braun (*Razyskaniia*) resorted to linguistic conjectures (sound shift, *Lautverschiebung*) to date the migration of the Bastarnae to the fifth century B.C., but these conjectures are very hypothetical. Even less successful is his attempt to link Herodotus's legend about the migration of the Neuri with the arrival of the Bastarnae (Braun, *Razyskaniia*, appendix 16).

211. Cassius Dio 48.10 and 51.25–26; *SHA*, Ant. Phil. 22. About their deportation to Roman territory, see *SHA*, Probus 17; Zosimos 1.71.

mass of Bastarnae was once again deported together with the Carpi. Possibly the entire tribe of the Bastarnae was then evacuated, as was the whole Carpi tribe. In any event, afterwards the Bastarnae disappeared from history without a trace.

* * *

As I have already written, in addition to the Galatae, the decree in honor of Protogenes names the Sciri. Pliny, too, mentions the Sciri,²¹² and from his rather general reference it would appear that they lived near the lower Vistula. On this basis they are thought to have been a Germanic tribe, part of which migrated south with the Bastarnae, leaving the remainder to follow later. If so, the migration of the Sciri and Bastarnae was the beginning of the migration of the east Germanic tribes, an advance guard, as it were.²¹³ Though conjectural, this hypothesis is quite probable.

Whatever the facts may be regarding the Sciri and the Bastarnae, the great mass of east Germanic peoples began moving southward much later. They first appear in historical records in the second half of the second century A.D., in accounts of the wars with the Marcomanni. Indeed, these wars, which took place in 164–65 A.D., were largely the result of that Germanic migration. In his account of these wars, Julius Capitolinus wrote that various peoples, pushed out by barbarians moving from the north, demanded that the Romans allow them to enter Roman territories or they would wage war on Rome.²¹⁴ Dio Cassius mentions the Vandal tribe of the Hasdingi among the peoples who sought living space in Dacia, and among those taking part in the war, in addition to earlier neighbors, we encounter the Vandals and the Victophali—all tribes belonging to the east Germanic group.²¹⁵

This migration originated from the Oder-Vistula basin, where the east Germanic peoples of the so-called Gothic or Vandal group lived at the time.²¹⁶ It is here that in the first and second century A.D. we first encounter the Goths and their branches, the Gepidae and the Taifali (on the right bank of the Vistula), the Luggii on the upper Oder, the Vandals (also on the Oder), the Burgundians, and such lesser tribes as the Rugii, Sciri, Heruli, Turcilingi, and Lemovii.²¹⁷

Pressed in the east by the Slavs, who bordered directly on them on the Baltic coast and in the Vistula basin, and from the west by their western kindred tribes, the Gothic group was forced to seek living space for its expanding population by migrating south. Pressure from the Slavs must have played an important role in this. However, the theory about the group's southward migration has been disputed on the grounds that the Goths allegedly moved in an

212. Pliny 4.13.

213. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 110–11.

214. *SHA*, Antoninus 14: 'But other tribes, who had been driven on by the more distant barbarians and had retreated before them, were ready to attack Italy if not peaceably received.'

215. *SHA*, Julius Capitolinus 22, ed. H. Peter (with corrections by Müllenhoff and Mommsen). Cassius Dio 71.12 and 73.2. On this migration, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 1: 36ff.; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 5; L. Kauffmann, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 1: 72ff.; and others.

216. Contemporary scholars (e.g., Braun, *Razyskaniia*; Bremer, *Ethnographie der deutschen Stämme*; Paul, *Grundriß*) claim, primarily on the basis of linguistic observations, that the Gothic tribes originally lived farther to the southwest and migrated to the Vistula region only later (approximately in the fourth century B.C.). But even today there are those who subscribe to the ancient Gothic tradition (related by Jordanes) that the Goths migrated to the region near the mouth of the Vistula from Scandinavia. A more interesting supposition, raised by Braun (*Razyskaniia*, pp. 327–36), is that before their migration to the Black Sea region the Goths spent several centuries wandering.

217. Tacitus, *Germania* 44; Pliny 4.14; Ptolemy 2.11.17 and 3.5.20.

easterly direction. Yet, in reality, the Goths migrated south rather than east. The fact that they were unable to find a place to settle along the way and were forced to continue on to the Black Sea coast—a less-than-desirable location for them—indicates that the entire territory north of the coast was already densely inhabited by the Slavs.²¹⁸

We know almost nothing about the Gothic migration.²¹⁹ As we have seen, advance bands of east Germanic tribes migrated south into the central Danubian region as early as the middle of the second century A.D. This route was taken by the Vandals, and later by the Gepidae and the Langobardi. Jordanes cites Dexippus, a contemporary of the Vandal migration, who related that the Vandals traveled a whole year from their home on the ‘ocean’ to their new place of settlement because of the great distance between them (in fact, it would be surprising if the migration had indeed taken only one year).

The Goths followed a more easterly route than the Vandals. Jordanes tells us more about their migration than about the migration of the Vandals.²²⁰ But, though judged scholarly in its time, Jordanes’ account of this, like everything else he tells us about the history of the Goths that is not based on classical sources, is by modern standards a wholly unsuccessful compilation of Gothic legends and materials taken from ancient authors. Jordanes’ information must therefore be treated with considerable caution.

To begin with, it should be pointed out that the very fact that the Goths migrated from the Baltic coast contradicts the tendency of Jordanes, or, more precisely, his source, Cassiodorus, to link the history of the Goths with that of the Getae on the Black Sea coast. Of course, this migration was a generally known fact, passed down in oral tradition, and he could not ignore it altogether. It is corroborated by accounts of Gothic settlements on the shores of the Baltic Sea in the first and second century A.D. and is not subject to question (I state this because some present-day scholars, notably Jacob Grimm, still support the old theory that the Goths and the ancient Getae were the same people and that there was no Gothic migration). The Gothic tradition, related by Jordanes, preserved memories of wandering through impenetrable stretches of marshland—obviously the Polisian marshes—and of large numbers of people perishing when the paths constructed of brushwood across the marshy ground gave way. After crossing these marshes, the Goths came to a land that they called Oium.²²¹ Here they fought a battle with the native inhabitants (in Jordanes, the Spali).²²² Though tradition represents the battle as

218. The observation on the effect of pressure from the Slavs was first raised by Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 18.7. For an opposing view, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 1: 149, and Dahn, *Urgeschichte*, 2: 170.

219. Of the numerous works on this subject, in addition to the sources cited in the preceding two notes, mention should be made of several others. Among earlier works: Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, s.v.; Bessel, ‘Gothen’; Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, vols. 2–3; Bradley, *The Goths from the Earliest Times*; R. Much, ‘Goten und Ingvaeonen’; Gutsche and Schulze, *Deutsche Geschichte*; Rappaport, *Die Einfälle der Goten*; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme*; idem, *Allgemeine Geschichte*.

220. Jordanes, *Getica*, chaps. 4, 22.

221. This is interpreted as derived from the term *au* or *aue*—‘a land intersected by rivers.’

222. Scholars were mystified by Jordanes’ Spali. Their name first appears in Diodorus Siculus: Palos (Πάλος) and Napes (Νάπης), the sons of Scythes (Σκύθης), became the patriarchs of the Paloi (Πάλοι) and Napai (Νάπαι) peoples. Hence, the Paloi were a part of the Scythian horde prior to its migration from beyond the Don (Tanais) into Europe (Diodorus Siculus 2.43). From here they appear in Pliny, where they are known by two names, Inapaei-Spalaei and Napaei-Pelaei, and are located near the Don (Müllenhoff thought that this should be taken to be the Jaxartes [Syr Darya]—*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 23, 51). The Spali of Jordanes were probably a literary echo of the Paloi-Spalaei, and it is difficult to discern the name of a real people in his account of them. Šafařík (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1,

victorious for the Goths, reality must have been quite different in view of the Goths' failure to remain in the attractive (according to legend) region and in view of their need 'to hasten to the edge of Scythia, to the shores of the Black Sea.'

Other tribes, related to the Goths in varying degrees, wandered with the Goths proper or followed in their wake. We know this with certainty about the Heruli and the Taifali.²²³ Among the tribes that took part in the migration of the Goths, ancient sources also mention the Urugundi. We know nothing more about this tribe, but it may have been a branch of the Burgundians. Other, smaller, Gothic peoples, such as the Sciri and Rugii, are encountered with the Goths only in Pannonia. We do not know whether they had first migrated to the Black Sea region, or whether they moved down into the middle Danubian region directly from the Baltic shore, as the Vandals, Gepidae, and others had done. On the lower Danube, the Goths encountered the Bastarnae, who were probably a kindred tribe, but soon thereafter the Bastarnae disappear from history.

The migration from the Baltic Sea through the vast stretch of marshlands of eastern Europe must have taken a long time before the Goths, unable to find shelter anywhere, reached the Pontic steppes, which were sparsely inhabited by scattered Sarmatian tribes following the departure of the Iazyges for the middle Danube region. The fact that Gothic tradition preserved no accounts of a struggle with a steppe population suggests that the Gothic colonization took place without much strife and that there was plenty of room for them on this territory. We know nothing about the fate of the local Iranian inhabitants. Some may have migrated to join their western countrymen on the Tisza, while others may have joined their eastern compatriots on the Don.²²⁴ It is also possible that this Iranian population lived side by side with the Goths on the northern coast of the Black Sea. Many believe that Jordanes' 'treacherous tribe of the Rosomoni,' who rebelled against Hermanaric were in fact the Roxolani. But this interpretation has little to support it.²²⁵

sec. 15.1) thought them to be a non-Slavic (Scythian or Finnic) tribe that lived near the Don, and he believed that the Slavs knew of them. From their name he derived the words *spolynz*, *ispolynz* 'giant,' just as scholars derive from the name of the Avars-Obyri the Slavic words *obrinz* = *olbrzimy* [Polish, 'giants'], or from Ptolemy's Veltae the terms *velet*, *veleten* [Ukrainian, 'giant'] (by analogy with the German *Hünen* = 'Huns' = 'giants')—see Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 252–53, and A. Veselovskii in 'Iz istorii.' Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 67), followed by a number of scholars, such as Pallmann, Perwolf, and others, linked this name with the Spori (Σπόροι) of Prokopios, seeing in it the ancient name for the Slavs, while Ilovaiskii, *Razyskaniia*, p. 68, even derived the name of the Polianians from this name. See also the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

223. Zosimos 4.25.

224. In his 'Alany' (p. 108), Kulakovskii believes that during their migration, the Goths cut off the western branch of the Alani and pushed them closer to the Roman border, where in the third century they engaged in numerous wars with the Romans. That is a possibility. Less probable is his hypothesis that the Goths pushed the Alani into the Crimea (*ibid.*, p. 110).

225. It is difficult to accept this view, if only because while Jordanes knew the name of the Roxolani (*Getica*, p. 129), not a single codex of his work contains anything resembling their name in this passage. The most probable theory, in my opinion, is that the name of the Rosomoni is purely legendary (see the index to Mommsen's edition of Jordanes, p. 164; also Paul's *Grundriß*, p. 683; Simons, 'Zu Jordanes'; and, especially, Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensagen*, p. 60ff.). To be sure, none of the interpretations of this name as an epic term put forward so far has been accepted by scholars (from *rosamo* 'redness,' thus, 'red-haired, treacherous,' *hrausamuni* 'courageous,' etc.). For other historical interpretations, see the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume (aside from the Roxolani, the Rosomoni have been linked with the Caucasian Oromouskhi of Menander and the Rosmosoks of Moses Kaghankatuatsi [Daskhurantsi], a Caucasian Hunnic people). The earlier view that this name contains the name of the Rus' (J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*; Aspelin, 'La Rosomonorum gens') has been recently revived by Marquart, *Osteuropäische und*

The first reports of the Goths in their new home appeared in connection with their clash with the Romans in the first quarter of the third century. During his campaign to Asia in 214–15, Emperor Caracalla met some Gothic bands along the way and dispersed them.²²⁶ This fact provides us with the terminal date, *terminus non post quem*, but does not allow us to determine the exact time of Gothic colonization. The Gothic migration must have taken a relatively long time and occurred sometime during the period between the end of the second century and the beginning of the third. It is not possible to establish a more exact date.

The Goths remained in the Ukrainian steppes for more than two centuries, yet our information about their life there is quite limited. We know of their raids against the Roman Empire in the third century, but until the coming of the Huns, our only source on the Goths is Jordanes, who is not very reliable. His accounts of the pre-Hunnic period are mostly ambiguous recollections. His names are taken from popular tradition and arbitrarily combined with the ancient literary tradition. Only the fact that Jordanes has traditionally been held in reverence explains why scholars, especially in Germany, have not rejected his information despite the proven inconsistencies that it contains.²²⁷

We know that the Heruli colonized the eastern lands (above the Sea of Azov and partly in the Crimea). The Goths proper lived along the Dnipro and farther west on territory extending to the Danube and the Carpathians. They were divided into an eastern branch called the Ostrogoths, or Grutungī (scholars derive this name from *griut* ‘sand,’ ‘dwellers of sandy steppes’), and a western branch known as the Visigoths or Teruingī (*triu* ‘tree,’ ‘forest people’). These names must have been old, because a story about King Ostrogoth from pre-Hunnic times was well known in the sixth century.²²⁸ What remains unclear, however, is whether these names had been brought from the Goths’ original homeland, or whether they had appeared in their new Black Sea settlements.²²⁹ The Ostrogoths lived along the Dnipro. The Visigoths occupied the region between the Dniester and the Danube, and later (probably after the Romans left Dacia) they expanded farther north, into the Transylvanian Carpathians, pushing out the

ostasiatische Streifzüge, p. 365. He regards the term ‘Rosomoni’ as the epic name of the Heruli and associates it with the ‘Hros’ of Syrian compilations of the fifth century and the later ‘Pōç. I shall discuss this derivation in greater detail later. Here I merely wish to point out that this identification of the Rosomoni with the Heruli is purely conjectural and is based solely on the fact that the Heruli waged fierce battle against Hermanaric. And that would leave us with an odd situation indeed—that the Gothic historians failed to recognize the Heruli, whom they knew well, in the Rosomoni.

226. Spartianus (Caracallus 10), in *SHA*, states: ‘Gethae is a name for the Goths, whom [Caracalla] conquered in a series of skirmishes while on his way to the East.’ I share the accepted view that they were true Goths. Others—for instance, Bessel, ‘Gothen,’ p. 99; Kunik, ‘O zapiske gotskogo toparkha,’ p. 24; and Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, p. 217—have thought that this was a reference to the Getae, i.e., the Dacians. Spartianus provides the above information as an explanation for a malicious joke: Caracalla was supposedly called Maximus Geticus because he had overcome the Goths, while in reality this was an allusion to the fact that Caracalla had killed his brother Geta. There is no reason not to believe Spartianus’s unambiguous information that these were Goths, since it would have been more convenient for him when he explained the nickname if they had been Getae. For more recent investigations of this question, see Drexler, *Caracallas Zug nach dem Orient*; Rappaport, *Die Einfälle der Goten*, p. 19ff.

227. E.g., Wietersheim, Pallmann, Müllenhoff, Dahn, L. Kauffmann.

228. The names Grutungī, Austrogoti, Teruingī, and Visi were deciphered by Müllenhoff in the mutilated names of Trebellius Pollio’s biography of Emperor Claudius (*SHA*, Claudius 6). They also appear in Ammianus Marcellinus, while the name of the Visigoths occurs in the works of later authors of the fifth and sixth centuries.

229. Usually the names of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths are interpreted as meaning ‘Eastern Goths’ and ‘Western Goths,’ corresponding to their location in the Black Sea steppes and to their disposition in their subsequent migration westward. That is also how these names were interpreted in Jordanes’ time (*Getica*, § 82). But recently a new explanation has been gaining support, in which **austra* means ‘shining’ and **visi* means ‘good.’

Gepidae and Vandals. We have no indication how far north the Gothic colonization reached in the Dnipro region. Beyond the Heruli in the east, the Don and Caucasian steppes were inhabited by the Alanian tribes.²³⁰

According to Gothic tradition as related by Jordanes, all the Goths in ancient times, both eastern and western, comprised a single state. Only later did the Visigoths separate. Indeed, Tacitus already noted that royal power was highly developed among the Goths. During their long journey southward, in the midst of battles with various peoples, these Germanic tribes may have formed a single military organization. But as they dispersed widely across the steppes, this consolidated force must have weakened with time.²³¹ In Jordanes, the Goths comprise a single political organization for the last time in the reign of King Ostrogoth, that is, in the middle of the third century. But this dating is of little significance. All it indicates is that, according to tradition, the period of Gothic unity lay far in the past, in legendary times, following immediately upon their migration.²³² Later, in the sixth century, we see the growth of royal power among the Ostrogoths, while the Visigoths splinter into smaller groups, headed by chiefs, whom their contemporary Ammianus Marcellinus calls judges—'judices'.²³³

As I have already mentioned, our information about the Goths in the oldest sources derives from their attacks on the Roman provinces.²³⁴ The warlike nature of the Goths, developed in the battles they waged during their wanderings, found expression in these raids. They lasted half a century, from the second quarter of the third century onward, but for our purposes a short review will suffice.

Very little is known about the first raids. Historians believe that the Gothic raids began with the destruction of Istropolis on the Pontic coast in 238. Their attacks came at a time when there was considerable turmoil in Rome. The governors of Rome's border provinces, failing to obtain assistance from the central government, were forced to agree to pay annual tribute to the Goths. In all probability, the Romans' refusal to make these payments caused the Goths to wreak devastation in Moesia and Thrace several years later. Emperor Decius attempted to put a stop to the Gothic incursions and died in battle with the Goths along with his son in 251. Despite a treaty signed with the successor of Decius, the Gothic raids continued, though our knowledge of them is obscure. Not content with ravaging the Balkan peninsula with their frequent attacks, the Goths moved across the Sea of Marmara into Asia Minor. In addition to their land campaigns, they later engaged in raids by sea. Interestingly enough, the Goths exhibited complete ignorance of the sea and waged their wars on foreign ships, using foreign galley rowers and foreign craftsmen to build ships.²³⁵ The Goths were accompanied on these raids by their neighbors, the Heruli, Borani,²³⁶ Urugundi, and Carpi.

230. Jordanes, *Getica*, chaps. 17, 22, 23; Ammianus Marcellinus 31.3. For the dispersion of the Gothic tribes in the Black Sea region, see Rappaport, *Die Einfälle der Goten*, chap. 3; Loewe, 'Die Krimgotenfrage.'

231. This has been noted by Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, 2: 87–88.

232. However, many scholars—including Koepke, Siebel, and Wietersheim (*Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 2: 6)—accept the existence of a single state up until the times of King Hermanaric.

233. Ammianus Marcellinus 27.5 and 31.3.

234. See, especially, Rappaport, *Die Einfälle der Goten*; Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, vol. 1, chap. 5 and later chapters; Vasil'evskii, 'Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 7,' p. 87ff.; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme*.

235. Zosimos 1.31, 32, 34. I make mention of this because the Goths are usually regarded as a seafaring people, which has served as the basis for drawing various conclusions and for contrasting them with the 'land-dwelling' Slavs.

236. About this people, too, little is known. The surmise (e.g., Rappaport, *Die Einfälle der Goten*, p. 36) that before

As time went by and the Roman Empire proved helpless in opposing them, the Gothic raids assumed greater proportions, covered ever larger areas, and lasted longer periods of time. What had been raids now began to resemble occupation. On their last major campaign in 269, the Goths, accompanied by the chiefs of the Heruli, Gepidae, and Bastarnae, took along their families and slaves. In this event the distinction between a plundering raid and the migration of a people is no longer clear; we do not know whether it was only a campaign that was expected to last a long time, during which the soldiers dared not leave their families and households, or the attempt by an entire people to move to another location. It appeared like a genuine new migration of the Goths and their kindred tribes and allies. But this campaign, organized by land and sea, estimated by Emperor Claudius to include 2,000 ships and 320,000 men, ended in catastrophe for the Goths. The Germanic bands were destroyed, while a succession of strong and energetic emperors, beginning with Claudius, strengthened the Roman Empire's forces.

An additional factor was that shortly thereafter Emperor Aurelian abandoned Dacia (in 274) and evacuated its colonists to Moesia. As a result, a new territory became available for colonizing, and the Goths turned their attention to this region. It was then that the Carpathian lands came largely under their control. The Gothic pressure from the east may have caused the remainder of the earlier inhabitants of the Carpathians, the Carpi and the Bastarnae, to leave their home at the end of the third century and move into Roman lands, just as the pressure of the Slavs may have caused a similar movement out of the northern Carpathian regions. But we know almost nothing about events north of the Carpathians. We only know a little about the movement of the Germanic tribes in the south. The Visigoths occupied the Transylvanian Carpathians, pushing out the Vandals and the Gepidae. Moving in from the northwest, the Vandals occupied the Dacian lands that the Romans had abandoned. The Gepidae, Taifali, and Victophali also settled in what had been Dacia.²³⁷ These events were attended by clashes and wars among the Germanic tribes, but the memory of them remains only in the unreliable recollections of Jordanes.²³⁸ The process of colonization, accompanied by wars, turned the Gothic tribes away from raids against Rome. From the fourth century onward, we know of only rare occasions on which they fought with Rome. Jordanes' report that the old 'alliance' between the Goths and the Romans was revived at that time is quite probable. As a result of this alliance, the Goths received supplies from the Romans and paid for them with military assistance.²³⁹

The close contacts between the Goths and the Roman Empire were of considerable importance to the cultural evolution of southeastern Europe. Moreover, these contacts resulted in the spread of Christianity among the Goths and the appearance of a Gothic translation of the Bible. The translation was prepared by Ulfilas, the founder of the Arian Church among the Visigoths (341–48). The Visigothic elders, opposed to Roman innovations, persecuted Ulfilas and his followers, but that did not prevent Christianity from continuing to spread among the Goths.²⁴⁰

these raids, a new Germanic migration had occurred from the Vistula basin to the Black Sea region, bringing with it the Burgundians, Borani, and Heruli, is of a purely hypothetical nature.

237. Eutropius 8.2. See Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, pp. 68–69.

238. Jordanes, *Getica*, chaps. 17, 22. Some conjectures in Rappaport, *Die Einfälle der Goten*, pp. 105–6.

239. On these relations, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, and more recent information in L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme*.

240. For a discussion of this, see the article by Vogt, 'Wulfila,' and F. Kauffmann, *Texte und Untersuchungen*.

Thus historical facts seem to suggest a leaning toward the West in Gothic interests by the end of the third century. Yet in the legendary tradition, related by Jordanes, the Gothic forces were bent on overcoming their northern and eastern neighbors, and an Ostrogothic kingdom of unprecedented greatness under Hermanaric (Ermanaric or Ermanrich, as contemporary Germanists call him) is said to have existed here before the arrival of the Huns. This kingdom would be of great interest to us if Gothic accounts of it could be accepted as reliable.

Besides Jordanes, Hermanaric's contemporary Ammianus Marcellinus also writes about this great kingdom.²⁴¹ He relates that Hermanaric was a warlike king who was feared by neighboring peoples because of his numerous conquests. Ammianus describes his land as vast (*late patentes*) and fertile. While it is difficult to find evidence in Ammianus's account of the existence of a great power, Gothic tradition holds that the state of this last Gothic king assumed unprecedented, and quite improbable, dimensions. This legend, as related by Jordanes (chapter 23), has been reworked in a literary form. It is based on the folk saga of Hermanaric, which also survived in the northern tradition of poetic sagas and in various literary versions (the Quedlinburg Chronicle, the Würzburg Chronicle, etc.). But this saga had probably been reworked as early as in Jordanes' source, Cassiodorus, where it was changed and expanded on the basis of other written and oral versions. A hopelessly distorted excerpt from some Gothic song or saga is said to represent a list of the peoples subject to Hermanaric.²⁴² Not content with his domination of these tribes, Hermanaric defeated his neighbors, the Heruli, then began a war against the Venedi,* which ended with their utter defeat. The Baltic peoples (Aestii), 'who dwell on the far shore of the German Ocean,' complete the list of subject peoples, and Hermanaric rules 'all the peoples of Scythia and Germany by his own prowess alone.'

These final words give a clue to the entire narrative. According to Jordanes, Hermanaric, whom 'some of our ancestors have justly compared to Alexander the Great,' subjugated all the peoples of Scythia and Germany. Reflecting this, the legend included among those he conquered all the known tribes of the time (as was the case in the legend of Alexander). If the catalogue of distorted names indeed contains the names of the Meria ('Merens') and the Mordva ('Mordens') and, as some believe, the Chud [Baltic Finns] ('Tadzans') and the Vepsians [Ves] ('Vas'), rather than these being merely phonetically similar, then what we might have here is a list of northern Finnic tribes interpolated into the Hermanaric legend from some other Gothic tradition. These tribal names may have survived in the Gothic tradition from the period when the Goths had lived in the north and later wandered to the headwaters of the Dniro. Gothic lore included all neighboring tribes and all eastern European peoples in general known to historical tradition among Hermanaric's subjects, for the same reasons that the legend of Alexander the Great described all peoples, near and far, as Alexander's vassals.

The legend, however, betrays itself. While describing Hermanaric's realm in such vast and powerful terms, it nevertheless speaks of the independence of the Visigoths. Also, in relating the attack by the Huns, it makes no mention of the great empire of Hermanaric or of the many

241. Ammianus Marcellinus 31.3.1. On the legend of Hermanaric, see Note 3.

242. The list of peoples in Hermanaric's realm in Mommsen's version reads as follows: 'habebat si quidem quos domuerat Golthescytha Thiudos Inaunxis Vasinabroncas Merens Mordens Imniscaris Rogas Tadzans Athaul Navego Bubegenas Coldas' ('Among the tribes he conquered were the Golthescytha, Thiudos, Inaunxis, Vasinabroncae, Merens, Mordens, Imniscaris, Rogas, Tadzans, Athaul, Navego, Bubgenae, and Coldae') (Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Mommsen, p. 23).

* [Jordanes uses the term *Venethi*, other sources use *Veneti*, *Venadi*, *Venedae*, etc. Here, 'Venedi' is used as the name for this group of people. Other forms appear when Hrushevsky refers to them as cited in a specific source.—Eds.]

subject peoples who would have had to play some sort of role in that war. Nor does Ammianus mention them in his account of the Huns. And so, in Ammianus's description we see the real Hermanaric rather than the legendary figure—a warlike ruler of the spacious Ostrogothic lands in the Dnipro region and not much more than that! It is likely that Jordanes' history reflects the recollection of wars with such neighboring peoples as the Heruli and the Slavs, but in view of our knowledge of the true extent of Hermanaric's authority and of the fact that he did not have control over the Visigoths, this account cannot serve as evidence that the Ostrogoths ruled numerous and far removed peoples.

Given the illusory nature of the great monarchy of Hermanaric, modern scholars can only fail when, citing Jordanes, they try to apply certain details from later Scandinavian sagas to the Gothic state and interpret them as evidence of the existence of a Gothic realm on the middle Dnipro with the 'Dnipro burg' (Danparstaðir), believed to be Kyiv, as Hermanaric's capital. Even if we were to admit unreservedly the authenticity of Jordanes, this information would not amount to much, because it would merely indicate that the legend of Hermanaric had been transmitted not only through Jordanes, but also through the sagas. But inasmuch as the sagas known to us (which are much later versions) contain only very obscure references to a 'Dnipro burg' and to the 'Dnipro settlements' of the Goths, and make no mention whatsoever of the middle Dnipro and of Kyiv, these passages provide us with no reliable facts, and the Gothic realm on the middle Dnipro remains no more than groundless conjecture or myth.²⁴³ I repeat, the fact that some of the details contained in the Hermanaric legend are authentic cannot be regarded as proof that the Ostrogothic empire was indeed enormous. It would have had to have been much larger to reach the Kyivan lands.

This also explains the weakness of the Ostrogoths in the war with the Huns, who inundated the Gothic settlements in the last quarter of the fourth century. The Goths had no large forces at their command.

* * *

We have already seen that as far as we are able to trace the process, the influx of Iranian tribes into the Pontic steppes was the result of ethnic upheavals in Central Asia—namely, pressure on the Iranian population in its habitat between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya Rivers by the Turkic hordes of northern Asia. In response to that pressure, the Iranian population retreated in part to the west and in part to the south, until the torrent of the northern hordes broke through to the Black Sea steppes.

As we have already mentioned, the earlier steppe population, from the Scythians onward, may have contained some north Asian elements, albeit not in significant numbers. The mass movement of the north Asian (Ural-Altaic) peoples into the European steppes began later. The first hordes to push their way through the Iranian population into Ukraine were the Huns. Under pressure from the Huns, the Iranian colonists retreated to the south and west, leaving only scant traces of their presence on their former territories. One part of the European remnants of the Iranian population moved westward together with the Huns and Germanic tribes, while another was pushed into the Caucasian and the Crimean mountains, where it moved ever deeper into the region as time went by. The Ukrainian steppes now had new rulers. For the entire historical

243. For more on this myth, see Note 3.

period until the third century A.D., the steppes had been the home of a predominantly Iranian population; from the end of the fourth century until the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, with only a few intervals, this region was largely inhabited by nomadic hordes of the Turkic family, with a considerable Finno-Ugric* and Mongol admixture. The Germanic migration was an insignificant intermedium in this colonization process. Of far greater importance was the Slavic colonization, but, as we shall see, in the Black Sea region it, too, was of relatively short duration and occurred during a comparatively peaceful interval between the storms of Turkic migrations across the steppes. Fairly soon, a new movement of the Turkic hordes forced the Slavic population to abandon the steppe and retreat to more northerly lands.

The new process of migration originated in the steppes of Mongolia and the Amur River basin, the ancestral home of the Turkic and Mongolian peoples. Many centuries passed before the pressure exerted somewhere on the Amur made itself felt on the extreme periphery of this vast steppe zone—the Black Sea region and ultimately in the Danubian plain—and the wave of new colonizers reached this boundary. We can only imagine the ethnic upheavals that must have occurred along the path of this global migration and the diverse infusions that this migratory flow must have received along the way. When one part of a horde moved forward and another did not follow directly in its wake, the abandoned regions were populated by completely unrelated ethnic elements, who were later subjugated and forced to join the dominant horde in its movement westward. Even without considering such factors as conquest of territory, forced resettlement, and various other specific conditions, this mechanical process alone, this *horror vacui* that manifests itself almost identically in the process of colonization as it does in physics, had a major impact on the affected territory.

There were no significant differences in culture among these various peoples, and consequently the most dissimilar tribes—Mongol, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Iranian, and others—were swept up in the turmoil, were assimilated into it, and became part of new political and ethnic conglomerates. Hence the detailed differentiation of the ethnic composition of some hordes will forever remain a puzzle. To us they are of interest only to the extent that they have any significance in our own history. Some hordes remained on our territory a very short time, merely crossing our steppes. Others remained for several centuries. As a result, some are of greater importance than others in the history of the settlement of our territory and in the cultural and political history of our land, although in almost all cases their influence was negative.

Our knowledge of the earlier stages of this process of migration is very scant.²⁴⁴ What we know comes to us primarily from Chinese sources. During the Chou dynasty (up to 255 B.C.), there are references to a marauding nomadic horde in the Mongolian steppes in the north called the Hin-yung. During the Han dynasty (163 B.C.—196 A.D.), they were known as the Hiung-nu or Hun-nu, which in Chinese means 'miserable slaves' or 'slaves of the Huns' (probably a derogatory distortion in Chinese of the proper name of this people). The Chinese applied this

* [Hrushevsky uses the term 'Finnic' for what is now usually referred to as 'Finno-Ugric.' Where appropriate, the modern terminology appears here.—Eds.]

244. Principal works include: Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, pp. 190–96, 241–43, 350–52; K. Neumann, *Die Völker des südlichen Rußlands*, chap. 2; Iakinf, *Sobranie svedenii*, p. 76ff.; Wylie, 'History of the Heung-noo'; Újfalvy, *Les migrations des peuples*, p. 83ff.; Richthofen, *China*; A. Veselovskii, 'Neskol'ko novykh soobrazhenii'; Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten,' 116: 755, 759–60; Howorth, 'Some Notes of the Huns'; Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*; idem, 'Les révolutions de l'Asie,' p. 884ff.; Aristov, 'Zametki ob étnicheskom sostave'; Zaborowski, 'Huns, Ougres, Ouïgours'; Hirth, 'Über Wolga-Hunnen'; Inostrantsev, 'Khun-nu i gunny' (a bibliographic survey of the subject); Shiratori, 'Sinologische Beiträge'; Franke, 'Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen.'

general name to the Turkic peoples in their original homeland (some believe that the name also encompassed Mongolia). Warlike and restless, the Hiung-nu harassed their neighbors, especially the Chinese, particularly after they united into a single political organization in the second century B.C. Their endless raids forced the Chinese to build the monumental fortifications that later became part of the Great Wall (by the end of the third century B.C.). Thus China closed off its northern frontier with a system of cities and fortifications, while at the same time, like Byzantium, it looked for ways to weaken its enemy by making alliances with its enemy's enemies.

It is likely that Chinese policy was greatly responsible for the internal rifts that erupted among the Hiung-nu. By the middle of the first century B.C., part of the Hiung-nu recognized Chinese dominance over them, while the larger, more energetic portion sought out other regions in the west, advancing as far as Sogdiana, in the vicinity of the Aral Sea. This was the first known movement of the Hiung-nu westward, a harbinger of their later migration. A second such migration occurred at the end of the first century A.D. The Hiung-nu state split in two, and in 90–92 A.D., the Chinese government, allied with the southern Hiung-nu, who recognized Chinese supremacy, and with other neighbors who were foes of the northern Hiung-nu, destroyed the northern Hiung-nu and drove them away from China's borders. A portion of these northern Hiung-nu retreated farther to the north, into the Altai region, while another, under pressure from their neighbors, migrated westward. Such was the beginning of the migration that in the fourth century broke through into Europe. Leading the Finno-Ugric-Turkic stream, the Hunnic horde—the Hiung-nu of the ancient Chinese chronicles—appeared in the Black Sea steppes.²⁴⁵

That the Hunnic horde was not Indo-European is evident from the descriptions of the appearance of the Huns provided by Ammianus Marcellinus, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Jordanes. Though in such circumstances a frightened imagination greatly affects the portrayal of invaders, these accounts, nonetheless, contain authentic descriptions of the northern Asiatic (the Finno-Ugric-Turko-Mongol or the Ural-Altai) race. They are described as dark-skinned, beardless, and possessed of wide faces, which appeared as strange to the Indo-Europeans as the latter's 'horsefaces' did to the Chinese, who saw nothing unusual in the appearance of the Hiung-nu. Ammianus Marcellinus related that the Huns scarred their children's cheeks to stop the growth of facial hair,²⁴⁶ that they grew old without beards, without beauty, like eunuchs, and that they had powerful extremities, thick necks, were curious and small in stature, and resembled carelessly hewn logs made to look like the human body. Jordanes repeated this account and added that the faces of the Huns were very black, formless pancakes rather than faces, with dots instead of eyes. Sidonius Apollinaris, too, made reference to this 'absence of eyes' and also noted the broad cheekbones and seemingly crushed noses, and conjectured that the Hun children had their noses deliberately flattened.²⁴⁷ Their contemporaries described the Huns as typical nomads who spent their entire lives on horseback endlessly roaming from place to place, and

245. That the Huns of the fourth century were the Hiung-nu of Chinese history was a view put forward in the eighteenth century by Deguignes, the renowned French Orientalist, in his *Mémoire sur l'origine* and *Histoire générale*. However, he did not distinguish between the Mongols and the Turks, and among the 'western Tatars,' as he called them, he included the Huns.

246. This is, of course, an erroneous explanation for their lack of beards.

247. Ammianus Marcellinus 31.2.2; Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 24; Sidonius Apollinaris, p. 604. For an analysis of the ethnic information about the Huns, see Vasil'evskii, 'O mnimom slavianstve.'

who were highly expert in irregular mounted warfare. In comparison with these 'raw meat-eaters,' the nomadic herders and hunters known as the Alani appeared to their contemporaries as 'more civilized in their life and customs' (*mitiores*).

When we consider the Hunnic onslaught within the context of the migrations of the Hiung-nu and the subsequent movement of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric-Turkic hordes, we reach the obvious conclusion that the Huns were the first horde in the Finno-Ugric-Turkic advance. It is difficult to establish whether the Huns were a people of pure Turkic stock who had subjugated the Finno-Ugric and other peoples and swept them along in their march, or whether the mixture of Turkic and Finno-Ugric elements had been achieved earlier, in the horde's ancestral homeland. That the Huns were of Turkic rather than Mongol stock is evidenced by the fact that the Mongols did not begin moving westward until later. Moreover, in the oldest accounts, the Huns are described as kindred to the Turks, or the T'u Küe, as they were known in Chinese sources. Nor were the Huns of pure Finno-Ugric stock; they were a Turkic horde that contained Finno-Ugric elements. The once popular and still occasionally heard theory of the Huns as Slavs is completely groundless; at best, this theory drew attention to a few details that point to the existence of some Slavic elements in the state of Attila.²⁴⁸

Accounts of the Huns could have reached Europe from western Asia as early as the first to second century A.D., when the Huns were already near the European frontier. It was probably from there that Ptolemy mistakenly moved them on his map into the vicinity of the Dniro. But not all scholars accept that Ptolemy's 'Chuni' were identical to those we regard as Huns today. The reference by a second-century geographer (Dionysius Periegetes) to this people is more reliable. He located his 'Unni' (Οὐννοί) on the western shore of the Caspian Sea.²⁴⁹ Armenian authors called them 'Hunk.' However, it was not until they had attacked the Goths that more detailed information about them began to appear in ancient sources. At that time, contemporary writers placed the Huns near the Don, northeast and directly east of this river.²⁵⁰ Around 370 A.D., the Huns overran the Alani, who lived near the Sea of Azov and on the left bank of the Don, killed a great number of them and incorporated the remainder, and, having thus increased their forces, fell upon the Ostrogoths.²⁵¹

The aged Gothic king Hermanaric lost courage in the face of the attack and, despairing of being able to defend his realm, committed suicide so as not to see the fall of his empire. His successor, Vithimiris, with the assistance of the Alani and a tribe of Huns who had broken with the main Hunnic horde, went into battle with the Huns and was killed. The Ostrogoths then lost

248. The principal contemporary proponent of the Slavic theory is the Russian historian Ilovaiskii. See his *Razyskaniia*, his *Dopolnitel'naia polemika*, and his *Vtoraia dopolnitel'naia polemika*. The last contains references to polemical literature where considerable attention is devoted to criticism of Ilovaiskii's theory by Vasil'evskii, in his 'O mnimom slavianstve' and 'Eshche raz o mnimom slavianstve gunnov.'

249. Ptolemy 3.5.25; Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis descriptio*, in *GGM*, 2: 49.

250. Agathias 5.11; Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 4.5; Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 24. The account by Priskos of the Huns crossing into Europe over the Kerch Strait, which the Greek authors named above incorporated into their writings, either resulted from an error or referred to some smaller migration.

251. Chinese chronicles relate that this happened over the span of three generations before the middle of the fifth century. The Huns attacked the land of Suktak [Sogdiana], on the shores of a large sea that had been previously inhabited by the An'ts'ai, killed the king, and subjugated the local population. On the movement of the Huns into Europe, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 2: 12ff.; Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, p. 70ff.; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme*. For other works, see Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 2: 517. Following the outdated works of Thierry (*Histoire d'Attila*) and Fejer (*Aborigenes*), there has been no detailed study of the Hunnic migration to Europe.

all desire to continue the war, and the majority of them fled farther west, to lands on the Dnister (probably the middle Dnister, farther from the sea). An attempt by the Visigoths to stop the Huns also came to nothing. After the Huns detoured around the heavily defended camp of the Visigoths, which their chieftain Athanaric had established on the Dnister, the Visigoths, led by Athanaric, headed south* into the Transylvanian Carpathians, 'to Caucaland',²⁵² from which they expelled the autochthonous population. But the majority of the Visigoths, finding no haven in the mountain valleys, moved across the Danube and succeeded in obtaining permission from Emperor Valentinian to settle in Thrace (376). The Ostrogoths followed their example. Challenged by the Romans, they crossed the Danube by force. A few years later, they were joined by Athanaric, an inveterate foe of Rome, who had vowed never to set foot on Roman soil but now had to go back on his word in the face of adversity.²⁵³

Another branch of the Ostrogoths remained in the Black Sea steppes under the rule of the Huns. According to Jordanes, they retained their self-rule and their king, but he was forced to obey the Huns. But pressure from the Asian hordes probably intensified in the Black Sea steppes, and soon the Ostrogoths of the region began to move westward into the Danubian plain. We do not know when this occurred, because our information about conditions in the area is very meager. By the first half of the fifth century, however, we encounter the Ostrogoths on the middle Danube. An interesting episode from this period is the war of the Ostrogoths with the Antae, but that we will discuss later. Only the remnants of the Goths stayed behind in the Black Sea region.²⁵⁴ One colony of Goths remained in the Crimea, where they ultimately settled on the northern slopes of the Yaila range and along the coast. These Goths were still there in the eighteenth century. According to Jordanes, another group of Goths from the Crimea crossed over to the Caucasian shore, and we encounter them near the Strait of Kerch in the sixth century under the name of the Tetraxite Goths. There are also references to a sizable Gothic colony on the lower Danube, near Tomi (Constanța).²⁵⁵ In

* [The original has 'north' (*pivnich*), apparently a misprint.—Eds.]

252. 'Ad Caucalandensem locum altitudine siluarum inaccessum et montium' ('To Caucaland, a place inaccessible because of high mountains and deep forests')—Ammianus Marcellinus 31.4.13. Some explain the name as derived from the Germanic *Hauhaland*, German 'Hochland' (Highland), while others link it with the Dacian people called Caucoenses and with such similar names as *Καύκωνες* and *Καύκασα* on Chios—see Tomaschek, 'Die alten Thraker,' 131: 90–91. Ammianus's text is interesting because our chronicles also refer to the Carpathians as the Caucasian Mountains—*Hyp.*, pp. 2 and 499.

253. Ammianus Marcellinus 31.3.4 to 31.4.5; Zosimos 4.20, 26; Jordanes, *Getica*, chaps. 24–25.

254. Of the extensive literature on these Gothic remnants I shall mention: Kunik, 'O zapiske gotskogo toparkha'; Vasil'evskii, 'Russko-vizantiiskie otrvyki. 7'; Tomaschek, *Ethnologische Forschungen*; Braun, *Die letzten Schicksale der Krimgoten*; Loewe, *Die Reste der Germanen*; idem, 'Jakob Ziegler über die Krimgoten'; idem, 'Die Krimgotenfrage'; Götze, 'Die Krimgoten.'

255. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 4.5; idem, *De aedificiis*, Bonn ed., p. 262; Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 51; Walafrid Strabo, *Liber de exordiis* 7. Our information is most detailed with respect to the Crimean Goths. Until the 1480s, they had their own political organization, and their center was modern Mangup (formerly Theodoro). It was taken by the Turks in 1475, but a Gothic diocese existed there until the second half of the eighteenth century. As early as the sixteenth century, the traveler Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq recorded a considerable number of Germanic words used by the local Goths. Later they assimilated with either the Tatars or the Turks. Scholars regard the Tats, who were deported from the vicinity of Mariupil by Empress Catherine II, as the remnants of the Crimean Goths. Much less is known about the Caucasian Goths. After comparing all references to them, Loewe, in *Die Reste der Germanen*, concluded that they survived on the Taman peninsula until the end of the eighteenth century. But these references are much too general to be reliable. The name of the Caucasian Goths, the Tetraxite Goths, is associated with Tamatarcha-Tmutorokan (Vasil'evskii, Loewe). It is to one of these groups of Goths that the reference in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* (*Slovo o*

effect, this concluded the history of the Goths on the territory of Ukraine.²⁵⁶

Other Black Sea peoples—the Heruli, the Alani, as well as the Huns—followed the Goths into the central Danubian steppes. By the fifth century, we encounter the main body of the Huns on the territory between the Danube and the Tisza, once the region inhabited by the Iazyges. It was from here that Attila collected tribute from the Romans. Unfortunately, except for its relations with the Roman Empire, we know very little about the Hun state. A Roman envoy told his Byzantine counterpart that Attila ‘ruled the islands of the Ocean and, in addition to the whole of Scythia, forced the Romans to pay tribute.’²⁵⁷ These general remarks do not allow us, of course, to determine with any precision the true dimensions of the Hun state, though some scholars have attempted to do so.²⁵⁸ The Huns may have dominated the Black Sea hordes and other tribes in the steppes and held them in some form of subjugation; they may also have demanded of them some more substantial forms of assistance; they may even have collected tribute from this population as they did from the Romans. But it is impossible to determine the actual conditions in this region with any precision. It has not even been established reliably that the Black Sea hordes were indeed subject to the Hun state, or that they were under Hun control continuously. Our sources indicate that the Huns were only beginning to conquer some of these tribes, while others were already breaking away and placing themselves under Roman suzerainty. Before his death, Attila’s father had had to fight the Danubian tribes, which turned to the Romans for protection. The Akatzir tribe, which lived near the Volga, placed itself voluntarily under Attila’s domination only because one of its chieftains had been personally insulted by the Romans. Attila then appointed one of his sons to rule over them and ‘over other peoples who live in Pontic Scythia.’²⁵⁹ As we see, none of this information supports the existence of strong political ties in the steppes, let alone with peoples who lived farther to the north.

With the death of Attila (453), even the weak ties that bound the different tribes and hordes under his domination were severed. The peoples of the middle Danube rose up against Attila’s sons, who were to rule jointly as his successors. We have no information about other revolts, but there would have been no need for tribes in more remote regions to rebel, since any dependence on Attila that may have existed would almost certainly have disappeared with his death. The revolt in the Danubian region forced the Huns out of these lands, and most of this territory passed into Germanic hands: the Gepidae took over what had been Dacia and the Ostrogoths moved into Pannonia. Some Huns settled on the right bank of the Danube, in so-called Scythia Minor (Dobruja), and in the Roman provinces, where they became Roman

polku Ihorevi) about the ‘beautiful Gothic maidens’ applies. They are usually thought to have been the Crimean Goths, but in view of the references collected by Loewe, it is more probable that the *Ihor Tale* refers to the Taman Goths. The Danubian Goths (on them in particular, see Loewe, *Die Reste der Germanen*, chap. 5) were the first to disappear from history: there is no mention of them after the ninth century.

256. A much more fanciful continuation of this history is propounded by the so-called Gothic theory of the origins of Rus’. We shall speak of it later.

257. Priskos in *HGM*, 1: 312 (ed. de Boor, p. 141).

258. E.g., Wietersheim (*Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 2: 240) did not hesitate to claim that the Finnic, Slavic, and some Germanic peoples between the Black and Baltic Seas were subject to Attila.

259. Priskos in *HGM*, 1: 276, 298 (ed. de Boor, pp. 120, 130). The fact that the Huns in the past (πάλαι) attacked Persia (Priskos in *HGM*, 1: 312) also proves nothing, because we do not know whether this campaign was waged by Attila’s horde. But even if it were, this would not prove the existence of a closely knit political organization in the Black Sea steppes.

subjects. Others crossed the Danube into the Pontic steppes. Jordanes wrote that Hunnic hordes lived near the Dnipro, but his information is not sufficiently reliable to indicate whether this was specifically Attila's horde.²⁶⁰

The Hunnic horde of Attila was merely the advance guard of the mixed, primarily Finno-Ugric-Turkic, nomadic wave that moved in its wake through the Black Sea steppes. This wave moved slowly and over a long period of time; at times it halted or was interrupted, only to burst forth in a sudden onslaught attended by unremitting wars among the different hordes and against their sedentary neighbors. In this turmoil, entire hordes often disintegrated and perished without a trace.

In the accounts of contemporaries, the Huns were followed by the Bulgars. The first mention of them occurs toward the end of the fifth century A.D. At the time, their name was thought to be merely a new appellation for Attila's horde. A comparison of the accounts of fifth- and sixth-century authors attests to this clearly. In fact, the Bulgars may not have been the Huns of Attila, but one of the hordes that had earlier been under the domination of the Huns. Another possible explanation may be that some part of Attila's horde took over the leadership of some new hordes, which became known by the name of the dominant group. Remnants of the language of the Danubian Bulgars (especially personal names and titles), as well as reports about their way of life, leave no doubt that they were a Turkic horde, or at least one that was very heavily influenced by Turkic culture.²⁶¹ It could also have contained Finno-Ugric elements, but these were not as manifest among the Danubian Bulgars as among the northern, Volga, branch of this horde, which settled on Finno-Ugric soil after its separation from the western (later Danubian) horde.²⁶²

Before their migration to the banks of the Danube, the Bulgars are known to have inhabited the region above the Sea of Azov. A seventh-century Armenian geographer, a contemporary of the Bulgar crossing of the Danube, relates that the Bulgars arrived at the mouth of the Danube from the Azov-Caucasian lands, where there were four hordes of them: Kuphi-Bulgars (the Kuban Bulgars), Duchi-Bulgars, Oghkhundur-Bulgars, and Kidar-Bulgars.²⁶³ The Byzantine

260. Jordanes, *Getica*, chaps. 50–52. Cf. Priskos in *HGM*, I: 345–46 (ed. de Boor, p. 587). Jordanes says of the Huns that they occupied 'eas partes Scythiae peteret, quas Danabri amnis fluenta praetermeant, quam lingua sua Hunni Var appellat' ('the parts of Scythia that border on the stream of the river Danaper, which the Huns call the *Var* in their own tongue'). Variants contain 'Danubria' and 'Danubii.' Formerly this was read as 'Danubii,' and this name is defended by some scholars because Attila's sons appear near the Danube (Jordanes and Priskos, loc. cit.). But there could have been Huns near the Dnipro (on its lower reaches) as well. At one time, the words 'Hunni var' were read as one word, 'Hunnivar,' and some saw in this the name of a location, even Kyiv. In reality, this is the Finno-Ugric name of a river. Mommsen's edition points out that the Hungarian *var* means 'river'; on this, see the article by Munkácsi, 'A Dnjepr folyónak huszu, "Var" neve.' Directly linked to this word is the Turkic name for the Dnipro, *Varuch*, in Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 38 (this was once regarded by scholars as a mutilated form of Borysthene: e.g., by Grot, *Izvestiia Konstantina Bagrianorodnogo*, and Vasil'evskii, 'Kiev—grad Dnepra').

261. The house of Dulo, from which the royal dynasty of the Danubian Bulgars is thought to have descended, was known by the Turks in their original home: Aristov, 'Zametki ob étnicheskom sostave,' p. 297.

262. Published studies on the origins of the Bulgars were cited in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume. For a survey of this literature, see Shishmanov, 'Kritichen pregled.' On the 'Black Bulgars,' see also Westberg, 'Die Fragmente,' p. 102ff., and his 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov'; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 503.

263. I made use of the article by the Armenian specialist Patkanov, 'Iz novogo spiska geografii,' which contains the texts of both versions (condensed and expanded) of the Armenian translation of Ptolemy, signed with the name of the Armenian historian Moses Khorenatsi.

author Theophanes, who wrote a century after the Bulgars had crossed the Danube, knew of the Unugunduri Bulgars and the Kotragi Bulgars in the Danubian lands.²⁶⁴ In these names we recognize the tribes known in sixth-century Byzantine sources as the Kutriguri and Onoguri (otherwise, Unuguri, Uturguri [Utiguri], Unugunduri, the Armenian Oghkhondor, and in other sources, Woghchondor, Vghndur, Venantar). In the sixth century, the Kutriguri lived on the right bank of the Don and the Utiguri beyond the Don, on the Sea of Azov.²⁶⁵ Their contemporary Jordanes distinguished the Bulgars from the Hunnic peoples of the Sea of Azov and placed the Bulgars to the north of them. But when we compare his account of the Bulgar raids on Byzantium with Prokopios's reports that these raids were made by the Kutriguri, it becomes evident that they both mean the same people. Obviously, the Kutriguri, whom Jordanes does not mention, were otherwise known as the Bulgars, perhaps after the name of the principal horde.

In Armenian history (in Moses Khorenatsi) the Bulgars appear already sometime in the third century A.D.²⁶⁶ The first Bulgar raids against Byzantium were recorded in the fifth century: Theodoric encountered the Bulgars in Moesia even before his campaign into Italy, that is, before 487, and defeated them there.²⁶⁷ From the end of the fifth century onward, Bulgar attacks on Byzantine territories continued almost without interruption. The Danubian Slavs also took part in these raids.²⁶⁸ In the middle of the sixth century, Byzantium paid a large annual tribute (δῶρα) to the Kutriguri Bulgars, but they continued to devastate the Danubian territories and were 'enemies and allies at the same time,' as Prokopios calls them.²⁶⁹ Even then (in the middle of the sixth century), Justinian set the Utiguri against them and thus forced a large number of the Kutriguri to migrate to Moesia and settle there. Another group joined the Avars and migrated with them somewhat later to the middle Danubian region. The remainder were overcome by one of the Turkic hordes 'from under the Golden Mountain' (Altai), which had overpowered the Caspian hordes in the middle of the sixth century.²⁷⁰

Under pressure from these new invaders, the Bulgar hordes dissolved sometime at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century. Some bands retreated north, where later, during the ninth to tenth centuries, we see a Bulgar state on the middle Volga and Kama Rivers. Another group, called the Black Bulgars, remained near the Sea of Azov. And a third group moved farther west and for a while settled in the region between the Dnister and Danube known as the 'Corner' or 'Onglos' ("Ὀγγλος), 'in a place safe and inaccessible from all directions,' protected by marshes and rivers.²⁷¹

264. Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 356: Οὐννογουνδοῦρων Βουλγάρων καὶ Κοτράγων. Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 713) regarded the forms 'Unuguri,' 'Unugunduri,' and 'Uturguri' as variants of the same name. In view of the fact that these variants do not appear at the same time, his conclusion is quite plausible. Munkácsi ('Ursprung des Volksnames "Ugor"') has explained the name of the Ogonduri as a plural formed from *ogur*, *ugur* (the names of the western Turks and the Uighurs).

265. See Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 4.5.18, on the Kutriguri; on the Utiguri, see *ibid.*, 4.5. Prokopios called them Huns, but his use of this designation is quite meaningless inasmuch as he used the term 'Hun' very broadly, even to include the Cimmericians. In Jordanes' text, which lists the 'Altziagiri,' 'Saviri' [Sabiri], 'Hunuguri,' Zeuss corrected 'Altziagiri' to read 'Cutziagiri' (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 711), but there is nothing similar in the variants included in the Mommsen edition.

266. See Patkanov, 'Iz novogo spiska geografii,' p. 25.

267. Ennodius, *Panegyricus*.

268. These raids are listed in Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 379, along with selected passages from the original sources.

269. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 4.5.18; Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 5.

270. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 87–89 (Bonn ed., pp. 401, 404).

271. It is not known when these Bulgars settled in this area. Theophanes Continuatus and Nikephoros, *Historia*

For a time, the western Bulgar horde was under the domination of the Avars.²⁷² In the 630s, the Bulgars shook off Avar rule and entered into an alliance with Byzantium.²⁷³ But these relations, too, did not last long. The western Bulgars then began to devastate Byzantine lands from beyond the Danube, and, in approximately 670, under Asparuch, they settled south of the Danube. After subjugating the local Slavic ‘Seven Tribes,’²⁷⁴ they founded a state that, though it bore the Bulgar name, was in reality Slavic. In that state, over the span of several generations, the Bulgar horde was assimilated by the Slavs.

The Avars (the Obyr of our chronicles) were of Turkic stock and were closely related to the Huns. They were known as the Avaro-Huns in historical sources: Var-Huni and Varchonitai. A tribe of mongolized Turks, called Uar-Hun [Juan-juan], still lives in western Mongolia.²⁷⁵ However, the advance of the Avars westward was the result of ethnic upheavals in Central Asia later than the one involving the Huns, when the place of the Huns was taken by an eastern Turkic tribe. As the recently uncovered remains of their state (eighth century) in the Orkhon River basin in Mongolia indicate, the name ‘Turks’ was one that they used themselves.²⁷⁶ It was then that the Avar horde appeared for the first time, a signal of the fresh ethnic upheaval in Central Asia. It is first mentioned as being on the frontier of Europe in the middle of the fifth century. The Avar horde pressed the Sabiri (in the Caucasian regions) from the east, and was itself pressed by the Turkic hordes of Central Asia, ‘the peoples from the ocean, who abandoned their lands because of great fog and gryphons, which ate the people.’ As the Avars pressed the Sabiri, the Sabiri pressed their western neighbors (including the Onoguri). This was a repetition of the same story as the one told a millennium ago by Greek authors about the advance of the Scythians. Ultimately breaking through into the midst of the Caspian hordes, the Avars neighbored for a time, in the middle of the sixth century, on the Sabiri.²⁷⁷ Subsequently, pressure from the eastern Turks, who regarded the Avars as ‘our slaves...who have fled their masters,’²⁷⁸ caused the Avars to continue moving farther westward. In the 560s (558, according to Menander), the Avars established relations with Byzantium. Like the Bulgars, they, too, demanded annual gifts from Byzantium and represented themselves as a most powerful and most warlike people. Byzantium agreed to this ‘alliance’ because, as the historian explains, ‘whether the Avars prevailed or were defeated, both eventualities would be to the Romans’

syntomos, give the date as in the second half of the seventh century, but in their accounts, events that took place over the span of a century have been compressed into a few years.

272. Theophanes Continuatus, p. 357.

273. Theophanes Continuatus, p. 358; Nikephoros, *Historia syntomos*, p. 34.

274. Nikephoros, *Historia syntomos*, p. 24.

275. It is linked with the name of the Uar (or Uhar) River in the Altai system; see Aristov, ‘Zametki ob étnicheskom sostave,’ p. 310. But we have already seen (fn. 260 above, p. 118) that this name was widely used. For more on the Avars, see Zeuss, Hunfalvy, and the cited articles by Cahun and Aristov.

276. On the Turkic horde—the ‘Tu-he’ or ‘Tu-ku’ [T’u Küe] of Chinese sources—and its history, apart from the works cited above (p. 113, fn. 244), see also Thomsen, ed., *Inscriptions de l’Orkhon déchiffrées*; Barthold, ‘Die historische Bedeutung’; Chavannes, ‘Documents sur les Tou-Kiue.’ The earlier history of the Turks is known from Chinese sources, where they are known from the beginning of the sixth century and are regarded as the descendants of the ‘Hun-nu’ [i.e., Hiung-nu], and their homeland, the Golden Mountains, is called ‘Altun-ish’ [i.e., Altun-tag(h)]. Around the year 600, they divided into a western and an eastern horde. The history of the eastern Turks in the eighth century, including their social organization and culture, is revealed to us by the inscriptions from the Orkhon basin.

277. The fact that Menander later describes the Avars as having newly arrived is not confirmed by historical facts, and the phrase itself is rhetorical. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 4 (Bonn ed., p. 283; ed. de Boor, p. 442).

278. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 86–89.

[Byzantines'] advantage.'* In his Ukrainian translation of the passage Hrushevsky gives 'Byzantium' rather than the literal 'the Romans' of the original, so as to make the meaning clear.—Eds.] We know that the Avars later fought with the Sabiri and Utiguri, and, later still, with the Slavs-Antae.²⁷⁸ In response to Emperor Justinian's appeal, the Avars campaigned against the Franks, and later took part in the war of the Langobardi against the Gepidae on the middle Danube (567). After destroying the Gepidae, the Avars settled on their territory, together with their traveling companions, the Kutriguri Bulgars. The Avars had made a previous agreement with the Langobardi that the territory of the Gepidae would be theirs. But the Langobardi then moved into Italy, and the Avars were left to rule the entire central Danubian plain (568). This began a new era in Avar history. From their Danubian settlements, they began devastating Byzantine lands, continuing to do so with brief intervals throughout the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. The Avars thus became the most feared enemy of Byzantium and all their other neighbors. We shall discuss their relations with the Slavs later in this volume. Let us now turn to the dispersion of the Slavs, which was progressing amidst the movement of all the hordes described above.

* [Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 4–6. In his Ukrainian translation of the passage Hrushevsky gives 'Byzantium' rather than the literal 'the Romans' of the original, so as to make the meaning clear.—Eds.]

278. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 4–6.

IV

Slavic Colonization and Turkic Pressure

The migrations of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric-Turkic hordes, beginning with the advance of the Huns, coincide with the age of the Slavic colonization of Ukrainian territory. However, in order to understand the specifically East Slavic patterns of settlement, we need first to examine Slavic colonization as a whole.

Let us begin with a survey of the traces of earlier Slavic migrations to the southwest. In the second chapter of this volume we identified as precisely as possible the Proto-Slavic homeland. Over the course of many centuries, the boundaries of this territory undoubtedly changed under the impact of the colonization processes that the Slavs' closest neighbors were undergoing. Individual bands or even whole 'branches' or tribes of Slavs may have separated from the main body and wandered farther westward and southward into the Black Sea region or over the Carpathians.¹ Scholars find evidence of such Slavic colonies in various Slavic-sounding toponyms outside the boundaries of the Proto-Slavic territory, especially west of the Carpathians (e.g., Pelso, Pleso, i.e., Lake Balaton; the rivers Ulca, Urbas, Bustricius; and, especially, Tsierna, i.e., Cerna, a city at the mouth of the Cerna River on the Danube, which appears in this form in an inscription as early as the second century), as well as in various traces of contacts between the Slavs and the Roman world, and so forth.² All such traces, however, are very uncertain,

1. The most recent evidence of Slavic expansion beyond the Carpathians before the great migration, and even before the birth of Christ, has been collected by Niederle in his *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, pt. 1, chap. 3. He supplements the linguistic and historical evidence that had been described earlier with archaeological materials indicating the presence of burials of the Slavic type in Slovakia. However, this archaeological argument is based on premises that have not been confirmed and is therefore of little help, or, at least, of no more help than the purportedly Slavic place-names in the region. Archaeological materials reveal the distribution of certain cultural types but not necessarily the presence of a given people. Thus, while Niederle finds archaeological evidence of Slavic settlement beyond the Carpathians, Hadaczek (*Cmentarzysko ciałopalne koło Przeworska*) tries to prove that in the second to fourth centuries A.D., the Slavs had not penetrated even as far as the northern slopes of the Carpathians, between the Vistula and Buh Rivers. Similar arguments—the existence of allegedly Slavic topographic names in the Balkans that predate Slavic expansion and the existence of Roman-Slavic cultural contacts, which, however, did not become known until later—were used to formulate the analogous and once quite popular theory that Slavic migration into the Balkans had begun as early as the third century. This theory was proposed by Drinov in his *Zaselenie Balkanskogo poluostrava slavianami*, chap. 2, and was accepted in a modified form by K. Jireček in the first, German, edition of his well-known *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (chap. 3), and by others. There is a difference in the likelihood of the theories, however. While Slavic expansion west of the Carpathians is possible and probable in principle, despite the lack of absolute proof, the colonization of the Balkans by the Slavs before the great Slavic migration has much less a priori probability. The arguments underlying this theory were shown to be fundamentally fallacious by Krek (*Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 275ff.), and it has been thoroughly discredited in modern scholarship. Nonetheless, it has recently been reiterated to spite the Germans by Denis in his survey of Slavic history ('L'Europe orientale,' p. 690). For other literature on this subject, see the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

2. On these names, in addition to Niederle, see, for example, Kochubinskii, 'O russkom plemeni v dunaiskom Zales'e,' 2: 47; and Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, p. 158. The Slavic origin of Cerna (*CIL*, vol. 3, no. 1568: 'stationis tsiernen'; Διεργα in Ptolemy 3.8.10; 'Tierna' on Peutinger's map, *Weltkarte des Castorius*) is accepted even by scholars

since all the supposedly Slavic place-names may be no more than phonological similarities. This does not preclude the possibility that advance Slavic groups wandered outside their primordial habitat to colonize certain territories even before the onset of the great Slavic expansion. For example, Peutinger's table—prepared in the fourth century, but, we now know, on the basis of the map of Agrippa from the first century—places a group of Venedi⁷ northwest of the Carpathians, separated from other Venedi to the east by the Bastarnae, and still another group of Venedi between the Danube and the Dnister, south of the Carpathians.³ Perhaps what we see here are the actual traces of such advance colonizing forays by Slavs well before their later dispersion. This Slavic penetration may have been prompted by a decline in the Thracian and Bastarnae populations in the Carpathian lands in the third century and the wars and raids that these peoples waged against Roman lands. In general, however, apart from such sporadic and not wholly reliable indications, we have no information about the presence of Slavs to the west and south of the boundaries of their original habitat until the period of their great dispersion. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine any significant mass movement of Slavs westward and southward prior to that period.

The great Slavic expansion began as a result of the movement of the Germanic tribes. In the south, another important factor affecting this colonization was the advance of the Finno-Ugric-Turkic hordes.

If the supposition put forward in the preceding chapter that pressure from the Slavs and Balts was one of the causes that compelled the eastern Germanic tribes to migrate from the Oder and Vistula basins into the Danubian and Black Sea regions is correct, the Germanic migration south should have been followed immediately by a Slavic migration west, into the territories abandoned by the Germanic population. Yet even if the Slavs and Balts did not provoke the migration of the Germanic tribes, their movement in itself would have resulted in Slavic expansion toward the west. The availability of uninhabited territories adjoining their western frontier would surely have prompted the Slavs to populate these lands. The Germanic migration began in the second half of the second century A.D. (the migration of the Vandals), and the Goths left this region no later than the beginning of the third century. Therefore, we can assume that the mass advance of the Slavs westward began in the third century. This expansion proceeded slowly and peaceably. Unlike the warlike Germanic bands, who created such a stir in history with their raids on Roman territories, the Slavs mostly took over lands that had been abandoned. Conflicts between the incoming Slavs and the Germanic population that still remained on these territories were not of major proportions, and so they passed without drawing much attention. As late as the sixth century, when writing about the Slavs on the Danube and on the Black Sea coast, Jordanes named the Vistula as the boundary between 'Germania' and 'Sarmatia' and made no mention of Slavs on the Oder and Elbe Rivers. Other sources of the period also continue to describe the Germanic tribes as in control of the territories west of the

not at all inclined to indulge in Slavic fantasies, among them Kiepert in *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, p. 337. For arguments against this identification, see Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 275–76, and Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 378, neither of whom accepts these names as Slavic.

* ['Venethi' in Jordanes.—Eds.]

3. Müllenhoff rejected these locations on Peutinger's map, arguing that the Venedi had been moved west owing to the compressed shape of the map (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3: 80). But that does not explain how the Venedi came to be located west of the Bastarnae. Cf. Roesler, 'Über den Zeitpunkt,' p. 84. On Peutinger's map, see *Weltkarte des Castorius*.

Vistula and make no reference to the Slavs.⁴ Only Prokopios, a contemporary of the migration of the Heruli from the middle Danube to Denmark at the beginning of the sixth century, who described the event, refers in passing to a number of Slavic tribes along the Heruli's route—undoubtedly in the Carpathian lands and in the Oder basin. But the Slavs did not yet occupy this whole region. Prokopios wrote that the Heruli crossed a large uninhabited region in the lower Elbe basin before reaching the Baltic coast and the lands of the Varni and Danes.⁵

More details about Slavic expansion westward become available only after the formation of a West Slavic state by Samo in the second quarter of the seventh century and the onset of wars between the Slavs and the Frankish Empire. However, a contemporary of these wars, a seventh-century author, described the Polabian Slavs as longtime inhabitants of their region.⁶ By then the West Slavs had occupied the Elbe basin as far as the Saale and Eder Rivers and territories on the Vltava (Moldau) and Morava Rivers. The migration of the Marcomanni into Bavaria (at the beginning of the sixth century) allowed the Slavs to expand unopposed into the upper Elbe region as well. In the east, this West Slavic colonization extended to the western Carpathians, while in the west, individual Slavic colonies penetrated into Thuringia, Franconia, and Bavaria. In the south, on the middle Danube near the Vienna Woods, the settlements of the West Slavs adjoined those of the South Slavs. In the absence of other facts, we must rely solely on linguistic differences as an indicator of the boundary between the settlements of the West Slavic branch consisting of the Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks, and those of the southern group of Danubian Slavs.

In the south, the Venedi ['Venadi'] on Peutinger's table provide the earliest historical indication of Slavic migration in a southwesterly direction along the foot of the northern slopes of the Carpathians. But the mass Germanic colonization of the Carpathian and Danubian regions in the fourth century must have interrupted this Slavic advance, if it indeed had begun. The Ostrogoth tradition reflects these events. Hermanaric's dominion over the Slavs is, of course, a myth. On the other hand, Jordanes' account of the war waged by Vinitharius, king of those Ostrogoths who remained under Hun rule, against the Antae led by 'king' Boz (or Bozh) is probably based on historical fact. Jordanes recounts that Vinitharius, 'disliking to remain under the rule of the Huns, withdrew a little from them and strove to show his courage by moving his forces against the country of the Antae,' and defeated them.⁷ No matter how unreliable Jordanes (or Cassiodorus) may be with respect to Gothic history,⁸ his account of the conflict between the Ostrogoths and the Antae has all the earmarks of authenticity. It is only Jordanes' interpretation of this event that is mistaken. After the fall of Hermanaric's state, when the Goths themselves were being pushed westward by the Huns, they were scarcely in a position to engage in distant campaigns. Consequently, I believe that the war described by Jordanes in fact reflects the expansion of the Slavs and their clash with the Goths in the southwest. This colonization

4. See Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 94ff.

5. '[The Heruli] traversed all the nations of the Sclaveni one after the other, and after next crossing a large tract of barren country, they came to the Varni, as they are called'—Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 2.15.

6. 'A people of Slavic origin long subject to the Franks'—Fredegar, *Chronicarum*, p. 68.

7. Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 5.

8. See L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme*, p. 107ff., and Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 367ff. Marquart hypothesizes that the war with the Antae took place during Hermanaric's reign. On the other hand, he provides a very credible interpretation that Vinitharius is the epic name of Vithimir [Vithimiris] and means 'conqueror of the Venedi ['Veneti']-Antae' (analogous to *Vandalarius* 'conqueror of the Vandals' and *Hunimundus* 'Hun subject').

proceeded not from the western Slavic settlements in the Carpathian regions, but rather from the lands of the Antae—in other words, from the southeastern (Ukrainian) settlements. The conflict itself had no special significance; the Huns took it upon themselves to defend the Antae against the Goths and, with the help of Goths loyal to the Huns, destroyed Vinitharius.

The turmoil caused by the passage of the Huns, the defeat of the Alani and of the Gothic state, and the migration of the Germanic and steppe hordes westward must have drawn in the neighboring Slavs, who needed new territorial outlets for the population surplus in their crowded ancestral home. The theory that Slavic bands took part in the advance of the Huns into the middle Danube region⁹ seems quite plausible, even though we have no clear evidence of the presence of Slavs in the Hun campaigns, except for a few Slavic-sounding words surviving from the Hun camp.¹⁰ There is no doubt, however, that the southward expansion of the Slavs commenced immediately after the Alani had been destroyed and the Germanic tribes, as well as the Huns themselves, began their westward drive. That was the most suitable time for this expansion, much more suitable even than the period following the defeat of Attila, when the Huns, who had been ousted from the Danube region, retreated into the Black Sea steppes and new hordes were approaching from the east.

By the first half of the sixth century, the Slavs had occupied the Don basin and had moved nearer to the Sea of Azov. Describing the peoples living above the Sea of Azov, Prokopios wrote that 'to the north [of the Huns, who inhabited both shores of the seas—M.H.], the countless tribes of the Antae are settled.'¹¹ At the same time, the Slavs also occupied the western portion of the Black Sea steppes. In his geographic and ethnographic description of eastern Europe, Jordanes placed the western boundary of the Slavic territory on the Danube: 'Near their [the Carpathians—M.H.] left ridge, which inclines toward the north, and beginning at the source of the Vistula, the populous race of the Venedi ['Venethi'] dwell, occupying a great expanse of land.... They are chiefly called Sclaveni and Antae. The abode of the Sclaveni extends [along the Danube—M.H.] from the city of Noviodunum ['civitas Novietunensis'] and the lake called Mursianus ['lacus Mursianus'] to the Dnister ['Danaster'], and northwards as far as the Vistula.... The Antae dwell in the curve¹² of the Black Sea that extends from the Dnister to the Dnipro ['Danaper'].'¹³ Jordanes' information is corroborated

9. Grot, *Moravia i mad'iary*, p. 36; Uspenskii, *Pervye slavianskie monarkhii*, p. 7.

10. The words μέδος in Priskos (ἀντὶ δὲ οἴνου ὁ μέδος ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενος: 'and instead of wine what is called by the natives *medos*')—Priskos in *HGM*, 1: 300 (ed. de Boor, p. 138), and *strava* in Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 49: 'stravam super tumulum eius quam appellat, ipsi ingenti commessatione concelebrant' ('a *strava*, as they call it, was celebrated over his [Attila's—M.H.] tomb with great revelry')—the Slavic funeral feast. These terms, along with some less important ones (κάμος in Priskos, which has been interpreted as both *kumys* [fermented mare's milk] and *kvas* [a beverage of slight acid flavor made of rye bread or flour and malt]), remain the subject of heated debate. They are the principal evidence cited by the proponents of the theory that the Huns were Slavs, while others have argued that the terms themselves are not Slavic. See Vasil'evskii, 'O mnimom slavianstve,' and his 'Eshche raz o mnimom slavianstve gunnov'; Ilovaiskii, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 518, 538, and his *Dopolnitel'naia polemika*, pp. 11–13; Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, p. 93; note by Mommsen in his edition of Jordanes, p. 198. For an overview of this question, see Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 261ff.

11. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 4.4.

12. The Black Sea does in fact form a curve in this region.

13. [Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 5. Names from the original text are given in brackets.—Eds.] This text presents certain difficulties of interpretation. Most scholars believe that 'lacus Mursianus' is a reference to the swamps at the mouth of the Drava, near ancient Mursia (now Osijek)—see the bibliographic references in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume. The simplest explanation of 'civitas Novietunensis' (thus in Mommsen's edition, in accordance with the

by Prokopios, who wrote of 'the Sclaveni and Antae, who are settled above the Danube, not far from its banks.'¹⁴

The colonization of such large territories, no matter how sparse, could not have been achieved in a mere few years. It must therefore have begun not later than the first half of the fifth century. Hence, the theory that it was the Avars who provided the impulse for Slavic expansion in the south must be discarded.¹⁵ By the time the Avars appeared in the Black Sea steppes at the beginning of the second half of the sixth century, the Slavic colonization of the Black Sea region was already well under way and pushing its way across the Danube.

Upon reaching the Danube, the Slavs would not have remained passive bystanders as the various nomadic hordes that appeared in the Black Sea region after the disintegration of Attila's empire launched attacks on Byzantium. Tacitus was the first to note that the Slavs who bordered on Germanic and Finnic populations were a very warlike people who raided and destroyed settlements in neighboring mountains and forests.¹⁶ Their wanderings and encounters with the steppe hordes would only have enhanced their bellicose, restless nature. It is very likely that the Slavs took part in the Bulgar raids on the Transdanubian lands as early as the end of the fifth century. Traditionally, ancient sources tell us only of the principal belligerents, the Bulgars, and it is only from accounts of later wars, such as the war of 559, and by comparing various sources, that we are able to establish that these were joint Bulgar and Slav attacks.¹⁷ The Slavs most probably made such raids on their own as well. Prokopios writes that 'Illyria and all of Thrace, that is, from the Ionian Gulf to the suburbs of Constantinople, including Greece and the [Thracian] Chersonese, were overrun by the Huns [Bulgars—M.H.], Sclaveni, and Antae almost every year, from the time when Justinian took over the Roman Empire [527—M.H.], and they wrought frightful havoc among the inhabitants of that region.' A raid in 551 drew particular attention. On that occasion, the arrival of 'a Slavic army, the likes of which had never been seen,' forced Justinian to deploy troops against the Slavs that had been designated to campaign in Italy. The Slavs, however, avoided a decisive battle. We also know that in 559 a vast army of Bulgars and Slavs surrounded Constantinople itself, but the city was saved by Belisarios.¹⁸

These raids opened the way for Slavic colonization south of the Danube. The first reliable reference to this colonization is from the third quarter of the sixth century, in John of Ephesus. After describing the devastation of the Balkan peninsula by the Slavs following the death of

majority of manuscripts) is that it is a reference to Noviodunum in Lower Moesia, now Isakcha. This makes for a rather strange description of this Slavic boundary (see Mommsen's edition of Jordanes, p. 163; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 94). Since 'lacus Mursianus' is named as the boundary between 'Germania' and 'Scythia,' Westberg recently postulated that this is a reference to Neusiedler Lake (Mošonske in Slavic) and that 'civitas Novietunensis' stood near it ('Zur Wanderung der Langobarden'). But we know of no such city there. Earlier interpretations of this text were based on the distorted variant 'Noui' and have no value, including the conclusion that 'Nova civitas' is Novgorod and 'lacus Mursianus' [Musianus is the form in Hrushevsky's text.—Eds.] is Lake Ilmen.

14. Prokopios, *De bello Gothico* 1.27. The earliest reference to Slavs on the Danube is by Pseudo-Kaisarios in *PG*, 38: 851ff., with corrections in Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. 2, appendix 13, but the date of the writing of this treatise has not been established.

15. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 605.

16. Tacitus, *Germania* 46.

17. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 378ff. He puts forward the well-argued theory that the 'Getae' of Ammianus Marcellinus were a combination of Bulgars and Slavs (p. 383).

18. Prokopios, *Historia arcana* 18; idem, *De bello Gothico* 3.39; Agathias 5.11; cf. Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 283; Bonn ed., p. 360. For a catalogue of the raids before the coming of the Avars, see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 378ff., and M. I. Sokolov, *Iz drevnei istorii bolgar*, p. 40ff.

Justinian, he states that the Slavs took advantage of Byzantium's troubles in the east to settle unopposed on Byzantine territories. As he tells it, having attacked Byzantine lands in 580, they 'remain unperturbed to this day [585—M.H.], without fear or concern, in the Roman provinces.'¹⁹ Of course, this colonization could have begun much earlier. Though both the Slavic and Bulgar raids were made for booty, that does not preclude the possibility that the invaders went on to settle in the desirable, cultivated Transdanubian lands. At times, the initiative for such settlements came from Byzantium. For example, Justinian called upon the Antae to populate the abandoned city of Turrus [Turrus Severi, Turnu Severin] and its vicinity (in Dacia) and to accept payment from Byzantium in exchange for defending it from the Bulgars.²⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that the Antae took up Byzantium's offer on that occasion, but they may have done so at some other time. Service in the Byzantine army also promoted colonization. Many Antae and Sclaveni fought in the Byzantine army during the Italian campaign (waged from 537 onward),²¹ and individual Slavs even held high military office, as, for example, one 'Dabragezas, an Antian, taxiarch' (Δαβραγέζας, Ἄντης ἀνήρ, ταξίαρχος), in 554–55.²² After completing their service, many of these soldiers may have gladly settled in the new lands.

For a time, Byzantium put a stop to the Slavic raids by setting the Avars on them.²³ Once the Avars settled on the Danube, however, they themselves became Byzantium's fiercest enemies, and the Danubian Slavs became the Avars' allies in raids on Byzantine lands, just as they had once been allies of the Bulgars. Byzantium's attempts to incite the Avars against the Slavs and to obtain assistance against the Danubian Sclaveni from their eastern relatives, the Antae, proved unsuccessful.²⁴ Toward the end of the sixth century, Emperor Maurice's campaigns into the Transdanubian region held the Slavs at bay.²⁵ But after his death in 602, such turmoil overtook Byzantium that there was no question of holding off the Slavs. It was then that, according to a Western chronicler, 'the Slavs took Greece from the Romans.'²⁶ When the Bulgars occupied Moesia around 670, they found a confederation of 'seven tribes of Sclaveni in the vicinity.'²⁷ But Slavic colonization was not confined to Moesia; a large number of Slavic settlements began to appear in Macedonia, Thessaly, Boeotia, Epirus, and the Peloponnesus. A Western traveler (Willibald, eighth century) called the Peloponnesus 'a Slavic land' (*Slawinia*). From the Balkan shores the Slavs even crossed into Asia Minor. Meanwhile, the Serbs and Croats moved in from the north to occupy Illyria on the Ionian coast. 'Our whole land has become slavized and barbarian,' remarked Constantine Porphyrogenetos with some justification.²⁸

19. John of Ephesus, 6.25: in the German translation, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, p. 255; in the English translation, *Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History*, p. 432. This unambiguous evidence finally put to rest Roesler's *argumentum a silentio* (in 'Über den Zeitpunkt') that Slavic colonization of the Transdanubian lands began only after the death of Emperor Maurice, at the beginning of the seventh century.

20. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14.

21. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 1.26; 3.22.

22. Agathias 3.21 (cf. 3.7).

23. See Menander Protector's praise of the Avars in *HGM*, 2: 34⁴⁻⁵.

24. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 98–99; Theophylaktos Simokattes 8.5; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique* 10.21.

25. For a discussion of these campaigns, see Roesler, 'Über den Zeitpunkt,' p. 99ff.

26. Isidore of Seville, *Chronicon*, p. 1056 ('Sclavi Graeciam Romanis tulerunt').

27. Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 359: τῶν παρακειμένων Σκλαυνῶν ἐθνῶν τὰς λεγομένας ἐπτὰ γενεάς.

28. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus*, p. 53; *Vita Willibaldi*, p. 93.

The first bands of Slavs may have found their way into the middle Danube region to the north of the Balkan lands as early as during the westward migration of the Huns (and it is safe to assume that Slavic colonizing forays were made into the area even earlier). Later, when the Slavs had occupied the Black Sea steppes and approached the lower Danube, they quite naturally began expanding into the lands that had once made up Dacia. At the same time, they may have also continued pouring into the region from the north, over the Carpathians. As we have seen, in the middle of the sixth century, Jordanes located the western boundary of Slavic settlement at the mouth of the Drava. His information is corroborated by Prokopios's account from the beginning of the 550s. Prokopios wrote that a large band of Slavs devastated Illyria and, despite the army that was sent against them, crossed the Danube with their booty, because the Gepidae allowed them to pass through. Most likely, these were Slavs from the northern bank of the middle Danube.²⁹

The continued expansion of the Slavs in the middle Danube region was probably affected by the arrival of the Avars in the area. An even more significant role in this expansion was played by the destruction of the Gepidae and the migration of the Langobardi into Italy, which brought to an end the Germanic colonization of the middle Danube. The Avar horde posed no more of an obstacle to Slavic settlement in this region than did the various nomadic tribes to their colonization of the Black Sea lands. The Slavs' expansion proceeded without opposition. In the second half of the sixth century they occupied the lands south of the Vienna Woods, the basins of the Drava, Sava, and Mur Rivers, and approached the borders of Bavaria. This is evident from the battles that the Bavarian dukes waged with them from the end of the sixth century onward. The Slavs also expanded in the opposite direction, toward the Adriatic. From the left bank of the Danube, they began devastating the lands along the right bank of the middle Danube, slowly beginning to settle there, as well. These raids, as the above material indicates, probably began even before the arrival of the Avars. But the Avar incursions into Byzantine territories during the second half of the sixth and first quarter of the seventh centuries led to an increase in Slavic campaigns. The joint Avar and Slavic attacks reached their apogee at the beginning of the seventh century, when the invaders destroyed the last centers of Roman civilization in the western Balkan region, the cities on the Dalmatian coast. Not surprisingly, this is also the period of the Slavic colonization of the western Balkan lands. An Armenian geographer of the seventh century related that twenty-five Slavic tribes lived in Dacia, but they were pressed by the Goths and so crossed the Danube and settled in Macedonia and Thrace, Dalmatia and Achaëa.³⁰ On the other hand, Constantine Porphyrogenetos, who wrote three centuries later, reported that the mass colonization by Serbs and Croats occurred in the second quarter of the seventh century, at the invitation of the Byzantine crown. Byzantium allegedly allotted them these western lands, which were then occupied by the Avars, and the Serbs and Croats migrated there from the Carpathians.³¹ But scholars reject this account as filled with obvious errors and discrepancies. The Serbo-Croatian colonization was, in fact, an integral part of the general spontaneous movement of the Slavs from the middle and lower Danube into these southern regions in the sixth and early seventh centuries.³²

29. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 4.25; cf. Roesler, 'Über den Zeitpunkt,' p. 86.

30. Patkanov, 'Iz novogo spiska geografii,' pp. 21–32.

31. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 30.

32. For works on the subject, see below.

By the middle of the seventh century, Slavic expansion westward and southward had largely reached its outer boundaries, and the Slavic territory had been defined. In the west the Slavs clashed with Germanic settlements and were subsequently forced to defend their territories. It is more difficult to determine what inhibited the progress of the Slavs southward, yet their expansion in the south came to a halt in the middle of the seventh century. At the same time, this colonization began to congeal and take on definite form. As the outer perimeters were reached, the advance bands of Slavic colonization must have defined their borders in relation to those who were following in their wake from the Slavic homeland and whose pressure was pushing them westward and southward. Eventually, the territories of the groups in the rear must also have become defined, and, ultimately, also in the region from which Slavic expansion had originated.

By occupying lands along the western boundary of Slavic territory, the Baltic, Polabian, and Czecho-Slovak groups made room for the westward expansion of the Polish group, which crossed over onto the left bank of the Vistula and into the Oder basin. This also allowed the Baltic tribes to expand somewhat. The migration of the southern group probably enabled the western group to move somewhat farther to the south as well. In general, the West Slavs expanded in a southwesterly direction. It is true that the Chronicle claims that a portion of the West Slavs also moved in the opposite direction and formed a wedge between the ancestors of modern Belarusians, the Krivichians, and the southern, Ukrainian tribes. The shorter redaction of the Primary Chronicle* states that the Radimichians were 'from the stock of the Liakhs' and had resettled on the Sozh River ('they came and settled there'). The ethnographic survey in the longer redaction of the Primary Chronicle includes the neighboring Viaticians in this entry. It states that both the Viaticians and the Radimichians are 'of the Liakhs,' descendants of two brothers 'among the Liakhs,' Radim and Viatko, who resettled on the Sozh and the Oka, respectively, and founded the two tribes.³³ This passage suggests that the Slavic colonizers of the Sozh and the upper Desna and Oka regions did not belong to the eastern group, that is, to the 'Slavs' in the narrow sense that the term is used in the ethnographic survey in the Primary Chronicle, but, rather, that they were 'from the Liakhs,' as the Chronicle calls the Polish and Baltic groups jointly.³⁴ Leaving aside the rather questionable form in which the Chronicle relates this ethnographic information (the two brothers Radim and Viatko moving with their 'kin' to the Sozh and the Oka), even the simpler and somewhat earlier account in the shorter redaction of the Chronicle of an enclave of West Slavs on the left bank of the Dnipro is not supported by other evidence—linguistic or ethnographic—and consequently cannot be taken very seriously.³⁵

* [See Excursus 1 for Hrushevsky's views on the redactions and versions of the Primary Chronicle and the *Tale of Bygone Years*. The shorter redaction is frequently referred to as the Novgorodian or early redaction. The expanded, longer, or later redaction occurs in two versions, the Northern, or Suzdalian, and the Southern, or Hypatian. In the text, Hrushevsky frequently uses 'redaction' and 'version' interchangeably.—Eds.]

33. *Novg. I*, p. 33; *Lavr.*, p. 11.

34. *Novg. I*, p. 33; *Lavr.*, p. 11.

35. Nevertheless, various scholars have continued to infer factual information from the entry. Potkański attempted to make the Chronicle's report the cornerstone of his otherwise rather critical work, 'Lachowie i Lechici.' Accepting the information without reservation, he used it as the only basis for drawing various conclusions in support of his theory. Shakhmatov, too, cited the Chronicle account in support of his theory on the grouping of the Old Rus' tribes, but he interpreted it to reflect the memory of the migration of the Radimichians and Viaticians across the Dnipro from the vicinity of the frontier with the Poles, and put forward various arguments in support of this hypothesis ('K voprosu,' *RFV* 32: 9–10). His arguments are rather weak, however, and his correction of the chronicle tradition is arbitrary: it does, after all, clearly refer to the Radimichians and Viaticians as Liakhs (Poles). In a more recent article ('Iuzhnye poseleniia Viatichei'), Shakhmatov regards the account of the Viaticians as a misunderstanding, but is prepared to

* * *

What was described by Prokopios as the colonization by the 'Antae' of the Black Sea steppes between the Dnipro and the Don, and was confirmed by Jordanes with respect to the lower Dnipro, was in fact the southward migration of the Ukrainian tribes. This is the first Ukrainian colonization that we are able to ascertain, and for that reason we shall discuss it in greater detail.

As we have already seen, contemporary authors differentiated between the Slavs (Σκλαβηνοί, *Sclaveni*) and the Antae. This division is clearest in Jordanes. He calls the Slavs as a whole 'Venethi'—a variant of the old Germanic name. The Sclaveni are the western portion of them, living to the west of the Dnister, and the Antae are the eastern portion, living beyond the Dnister. Moreover, Jordanes explains that these are the names of whole groups that consist of individual tribes, each known by its own name.³⁶ Greek authors of the time do not use the Germanic name *Venedi*; they know only the Sclaveni and the Antae and do not define the boundaries of their settlements in any detail. But their accounts coincide with the information provided by Jordanes. Prokopios's narrative about Slavic ambushes and raids in the Danube region in the middle of the sixth century indicates that the Sclaveni lived directly along the Danube. We encounter them here again towards the end of the sixth and at the beginning of the seventh centuries, in the reports of Menander Protector and Theophylaktos Simokattes.³⁷ The Antae, on the other hand, lived somewhere farther from the Danube.³⁸ In light of this information provided by Greek writers,³⁹ and given the complete reliability of Jordanes on the subject, we can accept his disposition of the territories of the Sclaveni and the Antae and the boundary between them as accurate.⁴⁰ Jordanes, after all, lived in Moesia, witnessed the endless attacks by the Slavs and Antae on Byzantine lands, and frequently referred to them in his writings.⁴¹

accept the Radimichians as a 'Liakh' tribe—presumably taking this on faith from the Chronicle, inasmuch as he produces no corroborative evidence.

36. 'Though their names [i.e., those of the Venedi—M.H.] are now dispersed amid various clans and places, yet they are chiefly called Sclaveni and Antae'—Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 5.

37. Prokopios, *De aedificiis* 4.7; Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 99; Theophylaktos Simokattes 6.6; 7.15; and 8.6.

38. Thus it would appear from the account of Theophylaktos Simokattes (8.5). Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 606) thought that the Antae named here had settled in the Byzantine province of Moesia. However, apart from the fact that we know nothing of a mass migration of Antae into this region, such a migration does not seem very probable in and of itself. The whole story of this campaign and the opposition to it by the Avar army (evidently, against an expedition into the Black Sea steppes) clearly dispute this theory. See also Roesler, 'Über den Zeitpunkt,' p. 113.

39. A seemingly contradictory report appears in the recently published chronicle of Patriarch Michael the Syrian (based on the history of John of Ephesus), which states that 'their land' was west of the Danube (*Chronique*, 2: 361). But this is either a simple misunderstanding or, more likely, applies to the lands of the Sclaveni and not those of the Antae.

40. Niederle (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, 2: 196) interprets Jordanes to mean that the territories of the Antae stretched all the way to the Danube delta, while the Sclaveni lived between the Prut and the Danube. But there is no need for this correction.

41. Jordanes, *Romana* 388; idem, *Getica*, chap. 23. That is why I find unconvincing Marquart's surmise (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. xxv) that Jordanes was familiar with the location of the West Slavs and described it from his own knowledge, whereas his account of Antae settlements relied on Cassiodorus, who had taken it from Ablabius, and therefore had the Antae living only between the Dnister and the Dnipro, while in reality the Antae also occupied territory east of the Dnipro (as we see in Prokopios). It is inconceivable that Jordanes would

The name Σκλαβηνοί, *Sclaveni*, is clear. This was the general name of the Slavs, which was applied here specifically to the group comprising the southwestern settlements in order to distinguish that branch from the Slavic population inhabiting territory to the southeast. But what about the name *Antae*? Attempts to find the derivation of this name in the Slavic languages or to find traces of it in the later numerous names of Slavic tribes have proved unsuccessful. Like the name *Venedi*, it is obviously of foreign origin, given to the Slavs by some neighboring people. The conjecture that *Antae* is another form of *Venedi* is very attractive, but it has been seriously disputed from the linguistic standpoint, and, moreover, ancient sources (Jordanes) clearly differentiate between *Venedi* and *Antae* as two distinct names.⁴²

The *Antae* are named for the first time in Jordanes' description of the war waged on them by the Ostrogoth king Vinitharius at the end of the sixth century.⁴³ Unlike the story of Hermanaric's subjugation of the *Venedi*, which is legendary and pure invention, this account is credible. What is not certain is whether the historian did not transpose the contemporary name of the *Antae* to the period that he was describing. Yet when we take into account that Jordanes knew the name *Venedi* as the general name of the Slavs, that he knew the *Antae* to be only a component part of a larger people, and that in other passages he clearly wrote of the division into *Sclaveni* and *Antae* as something contemporary,⁴⁴ then we must assume that the name of the *Antae* in the Ostrogoth episode had been passed on by Gothic tradition (in any event, it was a name that was known earlier than the sixth century). That the Ostrogoths knew the *Antae* and their name is confirmed by the Ostrogoth catalogue of peoples that survived in a later Langobard legend,⁴⁵ and Ostrogoth

not have known this, and his description of the territory of the *Antae* should not be taken to mean that it extended *only* to the Dniipro.

42. On this conjecture, see Perwolf, 'Polen, Ljachen, Wenden,' p. 65; idem, 'Slavische Völkernamen,' p. 12; Jagić, 'Ein Nachtrag,' p. 76; cf. idem, review of I. Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, p. 234; Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 254–56. The Slavic origin of the *Antae* name remains doubtful, and all attempts to link it with some later Slavic names have proved futile. Some scholars see a cognate of the *Antae* in the name of the Viatichians (Gil'ferding, Perwolf, Ilovaiskii). Lambin hypothesized that *Antae* = *Unlizi* = *Ułci* [Ulychians]. A. Pogodin linked the name of the *Antae* with phonetically similar sounding names in Hungarian charters of the ninth to thirteenth centuries—*Antus*, *Ont*, *Onthus*—but these, at best, might be shown to derive from a Slavic root, from which the term *Antae* also derived—that is, if we knew that the latter name were indeed Slavic. In that event, we could point to Ut (adjectival *Utinъ*, var. *Uspinъ*), one of the princes of Rus' or one of his boyars (*Hyp.*, p. 29).

43. Prior to this, an inscription from Bosphorus dated to the third century (270s) includes among other Bosphorans the name 'Antas Papi...' ('Papios' or 'Papion') (Αντας Παπι... [Πάπιος or Παπίου]). It has been cited as the first reference to an Antian (A. Pogodin, 'Ėpigrafičeskie sledy slavianstva'). This would precede Jordanes' reference to the *Antae* by a century, but it is doubtful that the name on the inscription can be interpreted as an ethnic designation.

44. See the quotation cited above from Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 23; cf. *ibid.*, chap. 5.

45. In the tradition about the origins of the Langobardi, passed down in several versions (in *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, second half of the seventh century, and in the *Historia Langobardorum* by Paul the Deacon), we find a list of the lands through which the Langobardi passed as they migrated from the north into the Danubian regions: 'Golanda, Anthaib et Bantaib, seu et Burgundaib.' See *Origo gentis Langobardorum* and Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 1.13 (p. 54). Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 472) was the first to decode the name *Anthai* (var.: *Anthai*, *Anthap*) as 'the land of the *Antae*' (*aib*, *eiba*—'district,' 'land'). But this interpretation has often been disputed on the grounds that the Langobardi could not have come in contact with the *Antae* (e.g., Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2: 98). A very apt solution to the question was offered by Braun (*Razyskaniia*, p. 308ff.). He guessed that this alliterative fragment of a phrase, taken almost certainly from some song or saga, as well as certain other names of tribes (e.g., the Bulgars), entered into this Langobard tradition from the Ostrogoths. That is a very plausible conclusion, and the cited phrase very probably reflects Ostrogoth recollections of 'the lands of the *Antae*, *Venedi*, and *Burgundians*' (Braun interprets the latter two names differently, but this has no bearing on our subject—cf.

familiarity with the Antae name dates at least as far back as the beginning of the fifth century.⁴⁶

The name of the Antae entered into general usage in the works of Byzantine authors in the sixth century (Jordanes may be included among them, because he lived in the Eastern Roman Empire).⁴⁷ Nearly all these authors distinguish between the Sclaveni and the Antae: Prokopios, Agathias, Maurice, Menander, John of Ephesus, Theophylaktos Simokattes.⁴⁸ The official nature of this name is indicated by the title Ἄντικος, *Anticus*, which was assumed by emperors who had scored victories over the Antae. The Antae appear for the last time in the account of an episode in the war of 602 by Theophylaktos Simokattes, who lived in the first half of the seventh century. Subsequently their name vanishes from the historical record. However, this is also the time when all reports from the Transdanubian lands cease in Byzantine sources. The name of the Antae may have lived on in this region for much longer, but by the time that reports from the Black Sea region began appearing once again in Byzantine literature (tenth century), the Antae name had already disappeared.⁴⁹ Could not the Byzantines have learned this name from the eastern Finno-Ugric-Turkic hordes, who neighbored on the southeastern Slavs and toward the end of the fifth century came into close contact with Byzantium?

What is the significance of the division into Sclaveni and Antae? It is difficult to regard it as serving merely to indicate a geographic differentiation, for the distinction among sixth-century authors occurs much too frequently and consistently for this to have been the case. Various authors consistently applied the Antae name to the entire population inhabiting the region between the Dnister and the Sea of Azov, rather than solely to the territory on the boundary between the Antae and the Sclaveni. Individual persons from this group are identified as Antae ('Dabragezas, the Antian, taxiarch,' Δαβραγέζας Ἄντης ἀνήρ ταξιάρχος). At times

criticism of his views by A. Veselovskii, 'Iz istorii,' p. 26ff., but Veselovskii, too, accepts the cited phrase as a *versus memorialis* of Gothic tradition). Westberg ('Zur Wanderung der Langobarden,' p. 28) defends Langobard tradition and opposes this interpretation with the conjecture that the Langobardi could have passed through the lands of the Antae (East Slavs) in Galicia, across the region at the headwaters of the Dnister and Sian, and even discerns in Bardějov a hint of the Langobardian Barden. But it is quite improbable that the East Slavs already inhabited the upper reaches of the Dnister and Sian at the end of the fourth century, as Westberg claims, and he stops short of locating the Langobardi farther to the east. The encounter of the Langobardi with the Antae remains implausible and must therefore be left to the Goths.

46. A view put forward by Marquart in *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, pp. 78–80, and in *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 147.

47. The Ostrogoth reference to the 'land of the Antae' obviously originates from the period when the Ostrogoths occupied the Ukrainian steppes, i.e., before 376. It is less probable that this name entered into their tradition after they had crossed into Byzantine territories. In any event, after Theodoric's drive west, the Ostrogoths had no more opportunity to encounter the Antae.

48. Agathias mentions only the Antian named Dabragezas. Maurice is the author of a treatise that contains the special chapter (bk. 11, chap. 5) [In most editions the chapter number is four.—Eds.]: 'How the Sclaveni and Antae and such people should be accommodated' (see *Strategicon*, ed. Scheffer; excerpts in Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, and in Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 295). For the view that the author of this treatise was not Emperor Maurice, see Zachariae von Lingenthal, 'Wissenschaft und Recht,' p. 440; Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, p. 635. I have already mentioned the accounts of other authors and shall cite still others later.

49. All attempts to prove a later occurrence of the Antae name have failed. The last such attempt was made by Niederle (1906–10). He argued that the *Vantit* in Arabic geography of the ninth century (in Gardizi) were the Antae: 'and this proves that the mighty Antae still existed in the ninth century' (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, 2: 271). But that name has been read in a variety of ways, and it is very naïve to cite it as proof of the existence of the name of the Antae in the ninth century. Despite considerable effort, Niederle has been unable to extract anything relating to the history of the Antae from Arabic sources.

the Antae and the Sclaveni are described as allies, but at others, they are reported to be adversaries (in the middle of the sixth century). They later pursue opposing policies toward the Avars and Byzantium. All these circumstances indicate that the Antae and the Sclaveni were two distinct groups. The difference between them cannot be reduced to the mere fact that the Sclaveni supposedly lived west of the Dnister, while the Antae occupied lands east of this river. The difference must have been greater.

Some scholars have suggested that the name *Antae* applied to a political organization, a state formed following some conquest, and that hence it was a political designation. But this conjecture is totally unacceptable. Only an enormous state, stretching from the Dnister to the Caucasus, would have been able to impose a new name on the ethnic group populating it. Yet there is no indication of any kind of strong political organization among the Antae. Their contemporary, Prokopios, stated clearly that neither the Sclaveni nor the Antae were ruled by single leaders, but that, rather, they had lived from ancient times under 'a democracy.' Prokopios described a resolution passed at an Antae popular assembly.⁵⁰ This kind of political order does not produce a huge state organization.⁵¹

The only possible explanation is that in the sixth century the distinction between the Sclaveni and the Antae corresponded to an existing division of the Slavs into two separate ethnic branches. If we look at the location of the Sclaveni and Antae in the south, we see at once that the Sclaveni name encompassed the Slavs in Moesia (later the Bulgars) and those in Pannonia, since these were the Slavs that in the first half of the sixth century lived along the Danube on territory stretching from the Drava to the sea and the Dnister. No other people could have lived in the region between the Danube and the Dnister in the middle of the sixth century except the Slavs, who moved into Moesia during the sixth and seventh centuries, leaving the lands east of the Dnister to their eastern and northern neighbors. Therefore, the Antae could only have been the eastern group, though not necessarily all of it, since we do not know how far north the Antae name reached. In theory, it may have encompassed all the East Slavic tribes, but in our references we encounter the name only in connection with events and circumstances that bear on the southern, Black Sea colonization of the East Slavic branch. Thus, according to our material, the Antae were the southern group of the East Slavs, i.e., those tribes that comprised the ethnic entity known today as the Ukrainian people.

Everything points to the identification of the Antae with the ancestors of the Ukrainians, allowing us to conclude that this was almost certainly the case. The Antae appeared on the territories that were later inhabited by the Rus', and even in the sixth century no other Slavic population could have occupied the lands between the Dnister and the Don. The boundary between the Antae and the Sclaveni was then the Dnister, but as the Sclaveni moved westward and southward, this boundary, too, had to move westward. Indeed, by the tenth century, the Danube demarcated the boundary between the Rus' and the Slavs of Moesia. Our sources indicate that the Antae were the eastern neighbors of the Sclaveni and distinguish them as a separate group, most probably in the ethnic sense. The same distinction is evident between their successors, the Rus' and the Bulgars. And finally, the Antae colonization corresponds exactly to what we have been able to determine with respect to the ancestral home of the Ukrainian people and the direction of their expansion on the basis of available data on the directions of

50. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14.

51. For more about the Antae, see Note 4.

Slavic colonization in general. All these factors indicate that the Antae were almost certainly the ancestors of the Ukrainian tribes.

* * *

The identification of the Antae with the Ukrainian tribes reveals several facts about the earliest history of Ukrainian colonization.

Chronologically, we must begin with the war waged by Vinitharius against the Antae, which took place in the last quarter of the fourth century, toward the end of the 370s or 380s—the date cannot be established more precisely. As I have already stated, everything in this account suggests that the name of the Antae in the episode should not be regarded as an anachronism. I might add that the war may have taken place quite near the Dnipro, since the Ostrogoths' westward migration to the middle Danube region under Hun pressure was quite slow. Thus, even in terms of geography, there is nothing to refute the possibility that the Antae took part in this war. However, Jordanes' interpretation of the event needs to be amended somewhat. About Vinitharius, Jordanes writes: 'Disliking to remain under the rule of the Huns, he withdrew a little from them and strove to show his courage by moving his forces against the country of the Antae. When he attacked them, he was beaten in the first encounter. Thereafter he fought valiantly and, as a terrible example, crucified their king, named Boz,⁵² together with his sons and seventy nobles.'⁵³ As I have already pointed out, more likely than not, this war betokens Slavic colonization in the south and its clash with the Goths. Jordanes adds that the Huns came to the defense of the Antae against the Goths and with the help of Goths loyal to the Huns destroyed Vinitharius. I consider this mention of the Hun defense of the Antae against the Ostrogoths also important because it casts light on the first stages of Slavic expansion in the Black Sea region.

We have no specific information about this expansion during the fifth century. Accounts from the sixth century describe the later stages of this colonization retrospectively. From them, we learn how the turmoil in the steppes, the passage of various hordes and the unrest they caused swept up the Slavic elements, taking them along on joint raids and migrations. We also see from these records how amidst the tumult in the steppes the Slavic tribes continued to advance, pressing upon one another.

In the first half of the sixth century, the Antae emerge as participants in the raids carried out by the Danubian Slavs on Byzantium. There are several clear references to this by contemporary writers. Jordanes ends his Roman history with a mention of 'continual attacks by the Bulgars, Antae, and Sclaveni.' When describing the legendary empire of Hermanaric and how loyal the Slavs had once been to him, Jordanes points out that now the 'Venethi'—i.e., the Antae and the Sclaveni—'rage in war far and wide, as a consequence of our neglect.' Prokopios is even more explicit. He writes that since the beginning of Justinian's reign, the Huns (i.e., Bulgars), Sclaveni, and Antae overran Illyria and Thrace every year, wreaking terrible devastation. In another place, he relates that at the beginning of Justinian's reign, the 'Huns [Bulgars—M.H.], and Antae, and Sclaveni had already made the crossings [of the Danube—M.H.] many times

52. *Boz nomine*, perhaps Bozh-ko, Bozhydar, Bohdan. Some identify him with Bus from the *Tale of Ithor's Campaign* (there Gothic maidens 'sing of the time of Bus'), a conjecture that is very attractive but not very credible. Cf. Müllenhoff's note in Mommsen's edition of Jordanes, *Getica*, pp. 147–48.

53. Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 48.

and done irreparable harm to the Romans.⁵⁴ This indicates that the Antae usually took part in the frequent attacks by the Bulgars and Sclaveni. It is logical to assume that if the Antae participated in the raids against Byzantium in the first decades of the sixth century, they would already have been doing so at the end of the fifth century. The Slavic and Bulgar raids were especially frequent during the reigns of Justin and Justinian. From the time of Justin, there is a later mention of an attack by the Antae, which the Greeks repulsed.⁵⁵ In 530 Justinian entrusted the defense of the Danube to the *magister [militum, i.e., army commander]* Chilbudios, who succeeded in holding off the Transdanubian barbarians—the Bulgars, the Antae, and the Sclaveni—for three years. Chilbudios even led campaigns across the Danube, but he was killed in battle during one such expedition into Slavic territory, and the raids resumed.⁵⁶ Although these incursions caused serious damage to neighboring Byzantine provinces, they very rarely assumed major proportions. That explains why Justinian did not pay particular attention to the attacks and spent his time planning more distant campaigns. The brief reports of these raids by contemporaries do not name all those who took part in them. In most cases, they speak only of the Bulgars and, more rarely, of the Sclaveni. The participation of the Antae is known only from general remarks. Only in one instance, when writing of the Antae, does Prokopios note their attack on Thrace during the reign of Justin.⁵⁷ The reference is worded in such a way that it is difficult to know whether this was an independent attack by the Antae or not. It is not very likely, however, that the Antae attacked Byzantium on their own. Apparently, they were usually participants in campaigns waged by others, most often the Bulgars, who may have recruited bands of Antae, either voluntarily or by force, when they marched against Byzantium from the Azov steppes.

Prokopios reports that in the second half of the sixth century the Antae and Sclaveni became enemies, but he does not explain the reason for the rupture: 'Later [after the death of Chilbudios, in 534—M.H.], the Antae and the Sclaveni became hostile to one another and engaged in a battle, in which it so fell out that the Antae were defeated by their opponents.'⁵⁸ In a later passage he writes that the two sides held talks and established secure mutual relations.⁵⁹ This suggests that the war did not last long, but that following it there were no closer relations between the two neighbors (at least not then). It is quite possible that the conflict broke out over territory as a result of the Antae pressing on the Sclaveni (though, of course, there may have been other reasons as well). This war must have taken place sometime toward the end of the 530s or at the beginning of the 540s. The Dnister was then the western boundary of Antae territory; west of it lived the Sclaveni, who had colonized the Balkan and middle Danube regions during the sixth and seventh centuries. As the Antae continued to expand, they must have penetrated beyond the Dnister into the lands of their western neighbors.

Byzantium probably tried to exploit the hostility between its enemies (perhaps it even had something to do with it). It turned to the Antae in an attempt to win them over to the Greek

54. [Jordanes, *Romana* 388]; Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 23; Prokopios, *Historia arcana* 18; idem, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14.

55. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.40. The manuscript text has been emended to read Justinian instead of Justin (also in the new edition by Haury—Prokopios, *Opera omnia*, 2: 476), but there is no need for this.

56. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.18. On Chilbudios, see I. Ivanov, 'Nadgrobniiat nadpis Khilvuda.'

57. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.40.

58. [Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14].

59. 'For there barbarians were already on peaceful terms and were mingling with one another without fear'—Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14.

side. Justinian invited them to settle in the vicinity of Turris, an abandoned Roman fortress built, according to Prokopios, by Trajan on the left bank of the Danube (in Dacia). In return for defending Byzantium from the Bulgars (and, at the same time, from the Sclaveni), Justinian promised the Antae a large payment and various benefits.⁶⁰ However, no agreement was reached at that time because of the appearance of a man called Chilbudios among the Antae. This episode is described in detail by Prokopios, affording him an opportunity to provide a very valuable description of the way of life of the Sclaveni and Antae. Among the prisoners taken by the Sclaveni in the war against the Antae was a young Antian named Chilbudios. A Greek slave from Thrace who lived among the Antae informed his master that the Sclaveni held prisoner Chilbudios, the same famous Roman *magister* who had wrought so much havoc among them, but that the Sclaveni did not know this. The Antae ransomed this Chilbudios. Though he assured them that he was an Antian, the Antae did not believe him: at a popular assembly,⁶¹ they forced him to pretend to be *magister* Chilbudios. When Justinian made his proposal regarding Turris, the Antae agreed to resettle only on condition that their Chilbudios be reinstated in his post and live with them in the new land. It so happened that on his journey to Byzantium to negotiate the matter, the Pseudo-Chilbudios met the Byzantine general Narses, who had known the real Chilbudios. Narses exposed the impostor, arrested him, and took him in chains to the emperor. This put an end to all negotiations concerning Turris.

Although these Byzantine overtures did not bring the desired results at the time, it is possible that the change in Antae policy dates to this period of their war with the Sclaveni and their negotiations with Byzantium,⁶² since afterwards the Antae are described in Greek sources as allies of Byzantium. The record of this alliance, however, is from a somewhat later period, the reign of Emperor Maurice.

Menander's fragment relates that during the 550s the Antae suffered at the hands of the Avars, who were then crossing from the Caspian region to the west. Menander's account, which has no beginning, relates that the Antae were not successful in their battle with the Avars and that the Avars began to devastate and plunder their lands. To arrange for the ransom of their war prisoners, the Antae sent one of their most prominent men, Mezamer, as their envoy.⁶³ But Mezamer's haughty bearing was exploited by one Bulgar (a Kutrigur), who was close to the Avar kagan and an enemy of the Antae.⁶⁴ The Bulgar counseled the kagan to kill Mezamer because he enjoyed a great deal of authority among the Antae and was capable of leading them in war. The Avars heeded the advice and killed Mezamer. Afterwards they devastated the lands of the Antae even more fiercely, taking slaves and plundering.

60. 'And he [Justinian] further agreed to give them all the assistance within his power while they were establishing themselves, and to pay them great sums of money'—Prokopios, *De bello Gothico* 3.14.

61. 'Practically all the Antae assembled to discuss the situation' [Prokopios, *De bello Gothico* 3.14].

62. Bands of Antae fought with Byzantine forces in Italy both before the episode involving Pseudo-Chilbudios and after, but together with Bulgar and Sclaveni troops. Prokopios, *De bello Gothico* 1.26–27; 3.22. As a result, this fact does not attest to an alliance with Byzantium; it only indicates the absence of any state organization among all these tribes.

63. 'Mezamer, the son of Idariz and brother of Kelagast'—Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 5–6 (ed. de Boor, p. 443).

64. 'That Kutrigur who was a friend of the Avars and had very hostile designs against the Antae'—Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 5–6 (Kutrigur is Κοτρίγουρος in this passage in all manuscripts, but appears variously in other passages where mention is made of the Kutriguri). These words seem to suggest that the Kutrigur incited the kagan against the Antae because of some difference between them and the Bulgars. This reading would permit some interesting conclusions if it were the only possible interpretation.

This episode took place toward the end of the 550s. It is generally held that the Avar attack on the Antae was incited by Byzantium. In his treaty with the Avars, Justinian did indeed call upon them to fight the enemies of Byzantium.⁶⁵ But there is no evidence of the Antae troubling Byzantium at that time, and it is far more likely that the Avars ‘harassed’ the Antae along their way without any particular encouragement from Byzantium. This recalls the entry in the Primary Chronicle that reads: ‘The Obry [Avars—M.H.] made war upon the Slavs and harassed the Dulibians, who were also Slavs, and did violence to the Dulibian women: when an Obr made a journey he did not cause either a horse or an ox to be harnessed, but gave command instead that three or four or five [Dulibian] women should be yoked to his cart and be made to draw him.’⁶⁶ The account is undoubtedly rooted in popular recollection of the violence suffered by the Dulibians at the hands of the Avars. Although the chronicler writes that the incident occurred in the reign of Emperor Herakleios (610–41),* this date is derived from a Byzantine report of 610⁶⁷ and arbitrarily ascribed to what was obviously a folk tradition about the oppression of the Dulibians. In all likelihood it reflects the recollection of the sufferings inflicted by the Avars in the sixth century, as related by Menander. Of course, such violence cannot be ruled out in later periods as well, when the Avars occupied the middle Danube region.⁶⁸ But the only reference to the relations between the Antae and the Avars in the seventh century speaks more *against* than in favor of this conjecture. The description of the Avar war in 602 indicates that the Danubian Slavs were then allies of the Avars and somewhat dependent on them, while the Antae were wholly independent, and that the Avar army was very reluctant to follow their kagan’s orders to march against the Antae. In fact, it rebelled and refused to go to war. Consequently, all sorts of theories are possible about the later campaigns of the Avars against the Antae, but they cannot be judged as very reliable.

Following the period of Avar oppression, there is only a single reference to the Antae in the second half of the sixth century. In the 580s, when the Avar kagan, allied with the Sclaveni and Langobardi, attacked Byzantine possessions, the Byzantine emperor was not able to deal with the aggressors and hired the Antae to create a diversion by attacking the lands of the Sclaveni. The Antae attacked the Sclaveni and destroyed, burned, and plundered all their wealth.⁶⁹ A similar episode is described in a report from 602, the last that we have about the Antae. During the war with Byzantium, when the Greeks turned their forces against the Transdanubian Slavs allied with the Avars, the Avar kagan sent his forces as a diversion ‘to destroy the Antae people, who were in fact allied with the Romans.’⁷⁰ But the Avar troops began to defect to the Greeks and the kagan was

65. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 5–6.

66. *Hyp.*, p. 7. Some scholars have suggested that the Chronicle’s compiler had ascribed to the Ukrainian Dulibians the Avar oppression suffered by the Czech Dulibians because of a misunderstanding and confusion resulting from their identical names (the latest such suggestion is in Westberg). But it seems very unlikely that in the eleventh century the Kyivan chronicler would have heard of the Avars’ persecution of the Dulibians specifically but not of their oppression of the Czechs and Moravians as a whole.

* [In the original the latter date is given as 640.—*Eds.*]

67. Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 301–2.

68. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 5–6.

69. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 2: 361. In his history, the twelfth-century patriarch Michael of Antioch relied on the chronicle of his predecessor, John of Ephesus, who wrote as a contemporary of the described events (he died in the 580s). However, all that has survived from this section of the history of John of Ephesus are the chapter titles; these correspond to the content of Michael’s narrative. Michael’s chronicle has become available only recently in the complete French translation by Chabot. Before the publication of Michael’s work, this event was known from an account by Bar-Hebraeus (thirteenth century), but there the name of the Antae was mutilated.

70. [Theophylaktos Simokattes 8.5.13.]

forced to abandon his plan. These episodes are interesting because they reveal that the Antae were wholly independent of the Avars and were allies of Byzantium. As such, they were obliged to fight against the Sclaveni and therefore kept themselves apart from them and were on hostile terms. These events reflect not only Avar-Antae relations, but also relations among all the nomadic hordes and the Slavic population of our territory. The attention of all the hordes that crossed our territory was fixed on the wealthy Byzantine lands. They took large payments from Byzantium for 'alliances' and raided its possessions for booty. They were much less interested in the Slavs, especially as fighting the Slavs involved great difficulties. Byzantine sources (Theophylaktos Simokattes, Maurice, Leo Grammatikos) report that the Slavs were masters at concealing themselves in inaccessible places. As a result, the wars between the Slavs and the nomads rarely went beyond harassment when an opportunity presented itself, as in the case of the 'Avar troubles' related by our own and Byzantine sources. This explains how our ancestors were able to colonize the steppes amidst and despite the movement of various hordes through the region during the fifth to seventh centuries.

In the sixth century, even the Sclaveni on the lower Danube were not very closely linked with the Avar state. It is true that at the end of the sixth century they were allied with the Avars, but before that (in 578) our sources report an episode in which the Sclaveni refused to recognize the authority of the Avars and the Avar kagan punished them only much later, at another opportunity.⁷¹ During the first quarter of the seventh century, the Bulgars were subjugated by the Avars, but they freed themselves around 630.⁷² We do not know the exact location of the Bulgars at the time, and therefore we cannot determine the Avar sphere of influence in that period. Although Avar supremacy over the Antae tribes, especially their control over the western tribes, cannot be excluded, historical sources contain no evidence of this, and the war of 602 attests the contrary.

* * *

The Avar state began to disintegrate in the second quarter of the seventh century. In the third quarter of the same century, the Bulgars abandoned the Black Sea steppes and crossed the Danube. A powerful Khazar state defended the steppes from the incursions of other hordes from the east. Thus the period from the second half of the seventh century until the middle of the ninth, that is, until the migration of the Hungarians* and the arrival of the Pechenegs from lands west of the Don, was one in which conditions for Slavic colonization were most favorable, because the sedentary population of the steppes faced no serious enemies. This was the period when Slavic colonization of the region reached its peak.

At the end of the sixth century, the Sclaveni still inhabited the left-bank region of the lower Danube. Only after the colonization of the Balkan lands had been completed and the Bulgars had crossed the Danube were the Antae able to occupy the lower Danube. They assimilated the remnants of Sclaveni colonization, and later (during the ninth to tenth centuries) the population in this region was comprised of the East Slavs. In the west, the intensive expansion of the southern West Slavs to the south and west allowed the Ukrainian tribes to colonize the Carpathian lands in the second half of the sixth and first half of the seventh centuries. The

71. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 99.

72. Nikephoros, *Historia syntomos*, p. 24.

* ['Hungarians' is used in this text for the group of Ugrians frequently referred to as Magyars.—Eds.]

colonization of their territory by Ukrainians may have been completed, for the most part, in the second half of the seventh century (I say 'for the most part' because ethnic boundaries were not firmly established from the outset; they had to undergo various changes, and the Ukrainian colonization of the mountain regions of the Carpathians, in particular, must have proceeded slowly and probably was not completed until considerably later).

Unfortunately, contemporary information about the progress of this colonization is lacking. Byzantine accounts of the East Slavs break off at the beginning of the seventh century. This is due partly to a decline of Byzantine historiography and partly to historical circumstances. New Slavic states arose on what had been Byzantine possessions on the Danube, and Byzantium's direct contacts with the Transdanubian lands became weaker. The Primary Chronicle, especially its ethnographic sections, now becomes the source for the history of the colonization of the Ukrainian territory. But the Chronicle was written much later, in the eleventh century, and tells us very little about the dispersion of the Slavs before the changes that were produced in this process by renewed pressure from the steppe hordes during the ninth to eleventh centuries. This information is supplemented on occasion by Arab authors of the ninth and tenth centuries and by Byzantine writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but these sources contain very few reliable geographic indicators. To augment this meager store of information, the historian would gladly turn to archaeology and dialectology for assistance, but in their present state these disciplines can only rarely provide accurate information.⁷³

The information provided by the Primary Chronicle, supplemented by other facts, gives us the following general picture of East Slavic colonization during the tenth to eleventh centuries.

With the exception of territories occupied by the Baltic peoples during the great dispersion, the northern part of the primitive Slavic home was inhabited predominantly by one large tribe, the Krivichians. They were age-old neighbors of the Baltic peoples, who even now call all the East Slavs 'Krievs.'⁷⁴ The Krivichians settled on the lands around the headwaters of the Dnipro, the Daugava [Western Dvina], and the Volga and divided very early into two branches (the division is apparent as early as the tenth century): a western branch along the Daugava with its center in Polatsk, and an eastern branch, formed later, with Smolensk as its center (the latter are the Krivichians of the Primary Chronicle). In all likelihood, the Krivichians also colonized the basin of the Velikaia River (with its center at Izborsk, later Pskov).⁷⁵ The Slovenians of the Lake Ilmen region, with their capital in Novgorod, are believed to have been a colony of the Krivichians. However, the Primary Chronicle provides no grounds for regarding the Novgorodians as Krivichians, and the Novgorodian dialect differs significantly from that of the Krivichians.⁷⁶ The Novgorodian

73. For bibliography, see Note 5.

74. [Latvian] *Krievs*—a Russian; *Krievu zeme*—Russia; *Krievu ticība*—Russian, i.e., Orthodox, faith. The meaning of the name *Kriviči* remains unclear.

75. There is a clear statement to that effect in only one of the later compilations of the Chronicle—the Arkhangelogorod [Ustiug] Chronicle—but that information may be no more than conjecture on the part of its compiler. But even without that reference, everything that the Primary Chronicle tells us suggests that the Krivichians populated the Pskov region. See N. Barsov, *Očerki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 178; Golubovskii, *Istoriia Smolenskoï zemli*, p. 46.

76. The Novgorodian Slovenians were thought to be a Krivichian colony by Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 1: 47; I. Beliaev, *Rasskazy*, 2: 215; N. Barsov, *Očerki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, pp. 85, 303 (tentatively); Golubovskii, *Istoriia Smolenskoï zemli*, p. 45 (categorically). Recently Shakhmatov marshalled arguments in support of the theory that the Novgorodian Slovenians belonged to the same group as the Krivichians ('K voprosu,' *RFV* 32: 15–16). Citing

Slovenians could thus have been a separate tribe. The use of the general name 'Slovenians' for this tribe is explained by the probability that theirs was a colony at the edge of the Slavic world.

Toponymic and, in part, archaeological evidence has been cited to support the theory that at one time the Krivichian territory must have been inhabited by a non-Slavic population (primarily Finnic). But I have already indicated how unclear this matter remains.⁷⁷ Although the toponymy of the region has not yet been studied in detail, a general survey of local place-names does indeed suggest that before the final Krivichian and Slovenian colonization of these lands in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the headwaters of the Dnipro and territories farther north, west, and east were occupied by a non-Slavic population. Only later, during historical times, did the Krivichians advance from their original home westward along the Daugava (until they encountered the Germanic colonization of the Livonian Order) and, to an even greater extent, eastward. From the territory of the Krivichians and the Novgorodian Slovenians, the Slavic colonizers pushed steadily into the lands of the Finnic tribes in the Volga basin: the Vepsians (who lived along the northern tributaries of the Volga—the Tvertsa, Mologa, and Sheksna Rivers—and near Beloe Ozero [White Lake]), the Meria (in the Oka basin, along the Moskva, the upper Kliazma, and on the Volga itself, east of the Vepsians), and the Muroma (on the lower Oka, east of the Meria). Here the Krivichian colonization met with that of the Viaticians. By the tenth century, this eastern colonization had become quite substantial, as is evident from the fact that Rus' principalities were founded in such centers as Rostov and Murom at the end of that century or at the beginning of the eleventh. This colonization initiated the formation of the youngest, albeit most numerous, Slavic nation—the Russians. This people emerged on Finnic soil from the Novgorodian-Krivichian and Krivichian-Viatician tribes, which assimilated the Finnic population and were modified by it, but, nevertheless, fully retained their Slavic ethnic character.⁷⁸

The Primary Chronicle places the Drehovichians south of the Krivichians on the right bank of the Dnipro: 'they settled between the Prypiat and the Daugava and were called Drehovichians.' Their name means 'people from the swamps,' from the words *drehva*, *drehovyna* 'marshes, swamps' (*mochary* in both Ukrainian and Belarusian). The text of the Primary Chronicle suggests that they occupied the entire large area between the Prypiat and the Daugava. However, the northern part of the region between the Prypiat and Daugava, that is, the lands along the Biarezina River, did not belong to the Prypiat towns of Turiv [Turaŭ] and Pynsk [Pinsk], but rather to the Polatsk land (the Minsk Principality). This has led some scholars to believe that the Drehovichian territory was confined to the Prypiat basin and included the towns of Turiv and Pynsk, while the Biarezina basin was occupied by the Krivichians.⁷⁹ Of course,

similarities between Novgorodian and Ukrainian vocalism, as well as certain references in later literary works to the arrival of the Novgorodians from the south, Kostomarov put forward the conjecture that Novgorod was a colony of the southern, Ukrainian, Rus'. He also cited the Chronicle, but it offers no support for this view. The theory was criticized from a linguistic standpoint by Gil'ferding, 'Drevnii Novgorod,' p. 407ff. Nonetheless, some Ukrainian philologists continue to argue that parallels between Ukrainian and Novgorodian vocalization of vowels are so significant that they cannot be regarded as due to mere chance. It would be a good thing if this issue were resolved once and for all.

77. See above, pp. 53–54.

78. The most important sources on this northern Slavic colonization include: N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, chaps. 3 and 8; Korsakov, *Meria i Rostovskoe kniazhestvo*, chaps. 1 and 2; Golubovskii, *Istoriia Smolenskoi zemli*, chap. 1; Danilevich, *Ocherk istorii Polotskoi zemli*, chap. 2; and the non-specialist article by I. Smimov, 'Znachenie uralo-altaiskikh plemen.' Also the archaeological observations by Spitsyn, 'Vladimirskie kurgany.'

79. This view was put forward by N. Barsov (*Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 124) and was supported by

the words of the Primary Chronicle are not sufficiently clear to allow us to maintain categorically that the Drehovichian territory stretched all the way to the Daugava. But the view that the Biarezina basin did not belong to the Drehovichians is also based on nothing more than the region's political association with Polatsk, which, too, cannot serve as a decisive argument.

In the west, the Drehovichian area of settlement did not extend beyond the basin of the Prypiat, where it bordered on territories inhabited by the Dulibians on the Buh River.⁸⁰ In the Nemunas watershed, the Drehovichians neighbored the Baltic tribes. Here, too, it is difficult to establish an exact ethnic boundary; available toponymic and archaeological evidence is still insufficient for this purpose. As in the case of the Finns, the expansion of Slavic territory here occurred at the expense of the Balts. The expansion unquestionably dated back to the remote past, but the process has been very poorly researched.⁸¹

As long as the question of the northern boundaries of Drehovichian territory remains unresolved—was it confined to the lands along the Prypiat, or did it extend to the Daugava?—we cannot establish with absolute certainty to which of the East Slavic groups the Drehovichians originally belonged. Today, only the western part of the Drehovichian territory belongs ethnically to Ukraine—the Pynsk region and the tip of the upper Prypiat. The lands north of the Prypiat are inhabited by the Belarusians, whose territories also stretch south of this river in places. One explanation for this may be that initially the Drehovichians belonged to the same group as the Krivichians (the Belarusian group), while the Pynsk region was assimilated by the Ukrainian population living to the south of them. But the opposite may also be true—that the remainder of the Drehovichians was assimilated by the Belarusians at a later date. The first possibility would be more likely if we were certain that the Biarezina basin was also populated by the Drehovichians. The Prypiat basin was subject to too many radical changes and population movements, from south to north and from north to south, to enable us to use the present-day Belarusian majority as a guideline.⁸²

some other scholars (e.g., Bagalei, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli*, p. 10; Miliukov, 'Russkaia istoricheskaia geografiia'; cf. the map in Miliukov's *Ocherki po istorii russkoi kul'tury*, vol. 1). It was opposed by Zavitnevich in the article 'Oblast' Dregovichei,' in which the author used archaeological materials to establish the territory of the Drehovichians. These materials were confirmed by his later investigations described in 'Formy pogrebal'nogo obriada,' and in his reports 'Iz arkhelogicheskoi ékspursii' and 'Vtoraia arkhelogicheskaja ékspursiia.' Zavitnevich demonstrated that the funerary ritual of laying the corpse on the surface of the earth and covering it with earth, which was typical for the Drehovichian territory (he found that such burials comprised 70 percent of all burials between the Dnipro and the Prypiat), also occurs in the basin of the Biarezina River (on this, see also A. Grushevskii, 'Ocherk,' pp. 10–11). However, this Drehovichian burial type is not clearly distinct from the burials of neighboring territories, and the types of finds and forms of burial resemble the Derevlanian-Volhynian type often encountered south of the Prypiat. On the north side of the Prypiat, the Drehovichian type is found alongside those of the Krivichians and Radimichians, and so far it has been almost impossible to distinguish between the mixed types and the transitional ones (cf. Spitsyn, 'Razselenie drevne-russkikh plemen,' pp. 325–27, who sees in the burials of the Biarezina basin a mixture of Drehovichian and Krivichian types). Perhaps only massive statistics on burial types could reveal something to us. Shakhmatov puts forward some other arguments in support of Drehovichian colonization of the Biarezina basin ('K voprosu,' *RFV* 32: 10–11).

80. We should note that the burials of the middle Buh region (in the vicinity of Dorohychyn) are quite different from those of the Prypiat-Biarezina type. This would support the view that a different tribe inhabited the middle and lower Buh, but so far the archaeological material from the region is very meager and we must postpone reaching any conclusions. See Avenarius, *Drogichin Nadbuzhskii*; idem, 'Kratkie izvestiia o Bel'skom uезде'; Zavitnevich, 'Formy pogrebal'nogo obriada'; Spitsyn, 'Razselenie drevne-russkikh plemen,' pp. 337–38; A. Grushevskii, 'Ocherk,' p. 11.

81. For relevant literature, see p. 54, fn. 112, above and p. 167 below.

82. In addition to the literature cited on Ukrainians and Belarusians on the Prypiat in Note 5, see Karpinskii, 'Govor Pinchukov,' and Dovnar-Zapol'skii, *Belorusskoe Poles'e* (1895).

The Primary Chronicle locates the Radimichians on the left bank of the Dnipro, in the basin of the Sozh. This tribe was obviously small, or weak and amorphous, and played no significant political or cultural role. It was the butt of various jokes, probably owing to its backward and underdeveloped way of life (e.g., the remark recorded by the chronicler that 'the Rus' mock the Radimichians, saying: "The Pishchanians run from a wolf's tail*").⁸³ We have already mentioned that the entry in the Primary Chronicle that traces the descent of the Radimichians 'from the stock of the Liakhs' probably resulted from some misunderstanding.⁸⁴ The principal centers of the Radimichians were Homii, now Homel, and Chachersk on the Sozh River. The region at the headwaters of the Sozh belonged to Krivichian Smolensk and quite possibly was populated by the Krivichians. This territory became part of the lands of the Belarusian tribe.

At the same time, the Viatichians, the close neighbors and kindred tribesmen of the Radimichians, as the Primary Chronicle describes them, belong to the Russian group, as do all other Slavic tribes that colonized the basin of the Oka and the headwaters of the Don—the lands of the Muroma, the Mordva, and the Meshchera tribes, i.e., the Murom-Riazan domain (*volost'*).⁸⁵ The Viatichians could also have been a Slavic colonization on a Finnic base.

According to the Primary Chronicle, the Viatichians occupied the basin of the Oka—that is, its headwaters and the basin of its upper tributaries, as is generally accepted. It is very likely that they also penetrated into the middle reaches of the Oka—the Murom-Riazan land—as part of the East Slavic colonization of Finnic territories.⁸⁶ The recently expressed view that the Viatichians also occupied the Don basin has less to support it, inasmuch as no corroborative evidence has been found.⁸⁷

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* [The reference is to a military leader named 'Wolf's Tail.'—Eds.]

83. On this tribe, see, apart from more general works: Antonovich, 'Pogrebal'nyi tip mogil radimichei'; Spitsyn, 'Razselenie drevne-russkikh plemen'; the studies by Golubovskii, 'Istoriia Severskoi zemli,' and Bagalei, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli*; and Karskii, *Belorussiya*, 1: 71–74.

84. Could this not have been occasioned by some similarity in the sound of the name, comparable to the dispute among modern philologists whether to derive the name of Podliashia [Podlachia] from *lis* 'forest' or from *liakh* 'Pole'? Cf. the modern name *Polekhy* for the eastern Belarusians.

Recently the Polish botanist-ethnologist Rostafiński, in his 'O pierwotnych siedzibach,' analyzed the meaning of the term *liakh* and put forward the hypothesis that it is an agricultural term meaning people who burn forests and prepare land for agriculture (*liadyny*, *lendy*). It was the name the neighboring Ukrainian (in the Polish text: *ruskie*) tribes gave to their western neighbors, the Polish tribes, and also to their northern neighbors, the Radimichians and Viatichians, quite independently of one another. The chronicler then derived the Radimichians and the Viatichians from the Polish 'Liakhs.'

85. N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, chap. 7; Bagalei, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli*, chap. 1; Golubovskii, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli*; idem, *Istoriia Smolenskoi zemli*, p. 52; Ilovaiskii, *Istoriia Riazanskogo kniazhestva*; Shakhmatov, 'K voprosu,' *RFV*, vol. 32; idem, 'Iuzhnye poseleniia Viatichei'; Gorodtsov, 'Drevnee naselenie Riazanskoi oblasti.' See also my commentary on these works in 'Do pytannia pro rozselennia viatychiv.'

86. 'The Viatichians, that is, the Riazanians'—this explanation is given in a whole series of later chronicle compilations (see Shakhmatov, 'Iuzhnye poseleniia Viatichei').

87. Shakhmatov, in his 'Iuzhnye poseleniia Viatichei,' has expressed this view on the basis of a clever but loose interpretation of the Chronicle's account of Sviatoslav's campaign against the Viatichians. Everything he has said on this subject can be regarded only as a hypothesis.

Let us now examine the southern group of the East Slavs.

At the center of the area of Ukrainian colonization lived the Polianians. The Primary Chronicle does not describe the boundaries of their territory precisely; it says only that 'they settled along the Dnipro and were called Polianians.'⁸⁸ It is obvious that the Chronicle is referring to the region around their capital, Kyiv, where the 'Polianians-Kyivans' lived. The Primary Chronicle also explains that they were so called because they were settled on the field (*pole*), that is, on an unforested plain.⁸⁹ But the vicinity of Kyiv, notably those lands that in the tenth to eleventh centuries were predominantly Polianian territory, can hardly be described as a 'field.' Moreover, in another section the Primary Chronicle relates that the Polianians lived 'on these [Dnipro] hills' and 'in the forest on the hills above [or along] the river Dnipro.'⁹⁰ Even today, the Kyiv region north of the Stuhna River is abundant in forests; in the past, these were densely forested lands.⁹¹ Probably the simplest explanation for this contradiction is that in earlier times, before the advance of the steppe hordes in the tenth to eleventh centuries, the principal settlements of the Polianians lay south of the Stuhna, a region with a more level, treeless terrain, the 'open field' of the Chronicle.⁹² In contrast to this area, the northern part of the Kyiv region was called the 'forest land.'⁹³ Accordingly, the southern portion may have been called the 'field land' and its inhabitants, *Poliane (Poljane)*.^{*} The Primary Chronicle does indeed call the land of the Polianians *Pol'skaja zemlja*, but it applies this name to the whole Polianian territory.⁹⁴ It is also possible that the Polianians brought their name from some other *pole*, which they had inhabited earlier, or that the name *Poljane* was only an etymologized form evolved to make more comprehensible some older, different name.⁹⁵ This, however, falls into the realm of pure conjecture. Moreover, such conjecture is quite needless, because similar names derived from the word *pole* are found among various other Slavic peoples—the Polish Polanians (*Polanie*), the Bulgarian Poliatsi, the Polchane, Poltsi, the Slavic Polantsi, and the Poliane neighboring the Moravians—quite independently of one other.⁹⁶

In the tenth and eleventh centuries the territory inhabited by the Polianians was quite small. The accounts and references to this land in the Chronicle reveal that among the larger towns along its frontiers were Bilhorod (on the Irpin) in the northwest and Vyshhorod (on the Dnipro).⁹⁷ The age-old eastern boundary was the Dnipro. Although it seems that a narrow strip

88. *Hyp.*, p. 3.

89. 'Zaneže v polě sědjaxu' ('because they were settled on the fields')—*Hyp.*, p. 16.

90. *Hyp.*, pp. 3, 4, 9. The fact that in historical times the Polianians did indeed live 'in the forest on the hills' is itself sufficient to contradict the unfortunate notion expressed by Filevich (*Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, p. 144) that 'the term "Polianians" has a purely topographical and not at all an ethnic meaning.' Consequently, claimed Filevich, there was no Polianian territory.

91. For references to forests in this region, see *Hyp.*, pp. 5, 9, 296, 300, 354.

92. 'Čistoe pole' beyond the Stuhna—see *Hyp.*, p. 301.

93. *Hyp.*, p. 575.

* [In contemporary Ukrainian, the standard form is *Poliany*.—*Eds.*]

94. *Hyp.*, p. 12.

95. Thus Ilovaiskii believed the name *Poljane* to be a folk etymological form of a name that he derives from *ispolinъ* 'giant,' recalling in this context the ancient Spali (*Razyskaniia*, pp. 163, 255–56); on the Spali, see above, pp. 106–7.

96. K. Jireček, *Cesty po Bulharsku*, pp. 63, 394, 437; Perwolf, 'Slavische Völkernamen,' p. 597; Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, p. 143.

97. From the Kyiv Chronicle ['Kyiv Chronicle' is used to designate the chronicle that covers the period from 1118 to 1200. When Hrushevsky refers to the Primary Chronicle and its early versions, or to the Primary Chronicle and the Kyiv Chronicle together by the term *Kyivs'ka litopys'*, that term is translated as 'Chronicle of Kyiv.'—*Eds.*] (*Hyp.*, p. 215), it is obvious that beyond these towns

of land across the Dnipro also belonged to Kyiv, the Dnipro was always regarded as the boundary between the Kyiv and Chernihiv regions, namely, between the Polianians and the Siverianians.⁹⁸ In the south, the frontier outpost of the Kyiv region in the tenth century was Roden [Rodnia], 'at the mouth of the Ros,' but later the Rus' princes abandoned all thought of defending the Ros region from the Pechenegs and began to defend the banks of the Stuhna.⁹⁹ The 'Polianian land' was thus pushed back into the forests.

These historical records are not contradicted by archaeological evidence, inasmuch as characteristic Derevlianian burials occur on the left bank of the Irpin and in the vicinity of the Rostavytsia River, while those on the left bank of the Dnipro are cremation burials, typical of the Siverianians.¹⁰⁰

The small triangle between the Dnipro, Irpin, and Ros Rivers was the very center of the historical life of the Ukrainian people and the cradle of the land that bore its name—it was Rus' proper. As early as the eleventh to twelfth centuries, the Kyiv region, under the name 'Rus',' 'the Rus' land,' was recognized as distinct not only from the northern and eastern lands and peoples (Novgorod, Polatsk, Smolensk, Suzdal, and the Viatichians), but also from the other Ukrainian lands, including that of the Derevlianians, even though the latter was indissolubly linked with the Polianian land (*zemlia*) into a single political entity.

Thus, for example, Sviatoslav Olhovych fled from Novgorod 'to Rus' to his brother,' that is, to Kyiv. The Polatsk princes disobeyed Mstyslav when he summoned them 'to the Rus' lands to give him assistance' (to Kyiv). Iurii advanced from his Rostov-Suzdal land with the Rostovians and Suzdalians against Kyiv 'to Rus'.' When the sons of Mstyslav (the Mstyslavyches) exchanged gifts, Iziaslav of Kyiv gave presents 'from the Rus' lands and from all imperial lands' (local articles and Byzantine imports to Kyiv), while Rostyslav of Smolensk reciprocated with gifts 'that came from the upper lands [Novgorod] and from the Varangians.'¹⁰¹ In some contexts the distinction is not absolutely clear, and Rus' might signify the whole of southern Rus' rather than just the Kyiv region (we find such use of the term 'Rus' to distinguish the southern, Ukrainian, lands from the northern and eastern lands in the twelfth century). There are also instances in which the Kyiv region is called Rus' to distinguish it from Volhynia and Galicia. For the Galicians, the Kyivan army was the 'Rus' army'; the Kyivan boyars were 'Rus' boyars,' as opposed to Galicians. After he was forced to leave Kyiv, Iziaslav [Mstyslavych] thanked his retinue (*druzhyna*) for following him and leaving behind 'the Rus' land' for his sake; upon returning he, as well as others, spoke of entering 'the Rus' land.'¹⁰²

lay the Derevlianian land (Dereva). A similar indication that the Derevlianian frontier lay near Kyiv can be found in the account of the death of Liut in *Hyp.*, p. 49.

98. *Hyp.*, pp. 104–5, 462.

99. *Hyp.*, pp. 51, 83.

100. Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, p. 3, also idem, 'Dnevnik raskopok.' Cf. *Imperatorskii Rossiiskii istoricheskii muzei*, pp. 149–51 (about 'cremation burials' on the left bank of the Dnipro). However, the significance of these facts should not be overrated, since the characteristic Polianian burial type has not been established yet, and it cannot be determined to what degree it differed from the burials of the Derevlianians and Siverianians. Moreover, the frontier belts, the banks of the Dnipro, and the right bank of the Irpin have not been systematically studied. Antonovych believed that the characteristic Polianian burial was that of the warrior with his horse, but we now know that that was a Turkic burial (see above, p. 42) and that the numerous burials of this type on the Ros belong to the Black Hats (*Chorni Klobuky*) in the Kyiv region.

101. *Hyp.*, pp. 217, 221, 259, 322.

102. *Hyp.*, pp. 214, 284, 289, 298, 319.

These passages, however, may reflect the fact that the concept of the Kyiv region as a political entity—that is, the Kyivan domains (*volosti*, sing. *volost'*)—was still used interchangeably with the notion of the old Kyivan, i.e., Polianian, land.¹⁰³ But when the Chronicle also makes a distinction between the old Derevlianian land, which had been a Kyivan domain from the outset, and the Kyiv region, meaning the Polianian land as Rus' in the narrowest sense, there is no doubt about the actual meaning of the term 'Rus'.' Thus, when Riuryk is summoned from Vruchyi (modern Ovruch) in the Derevlianian land by Sviatoslav, with whom he shares the Kyivan throne, 'to Rus', that is, to Kyiv, the original and primary meaning of the term is revealed clearly. Rus' was the land of the Polianians, and the Rus' (*Rusyny*) were above all the Polianians, even though in the eleventh to twelfth centuries this name also acquired a broader meaning and encompassed all of Ukraine, and even all of East Slavdom, which the Kyivan princes had welded into a single state and which they sometimes called Rus' to distinguish it from all other political bodies.¹⁰⁴

Although in the eleventh to twelfth centuries it was known in Kyiv and beyond that the 'Rus' land' signified the Polianians, the old Chronicle of Kyiv in its later redaction (the Primary Chronicle) contains the view of one of its editors that the Polianians adopted the Rus' name later: 'the Polianians, who are now called Rus'.¹⁰⁵ According to this chronicler, the Rus' name was introduced by the Varangians; it was the name of the Varangian princely dynasty and its retinue: 'From the Varangians they were called Rus', while at first they were Slavs. Even though they were called Polianians, still they were Slavic in speech.'¹⁰⁶ Such an explanation is highly improbable. According to this theory, the Varangians-Rus' had answered the call of the Novgorodians to come and rule over them and had come to Kyiv only a generation later. At that time, and in some cases sooner, they settled in several regions in addition to the Polianian land. This being the case, how did it happen that their name should come to be identified exclusively with the Polianians—not even with Kyiv and its political domains—and should become so closely associated with them that it became the second name of their land, as opposed to such a Varangian center as Novgorod, which was not encompassed by the Rus' name until much later? The name 'Rus' appeared in Ukraine much earlier than the second half of the ninth century. By the ninth century, it was already being used by Arab geographers to designate specifically the Kyiv region. Al-Jayhani, a very authoritative geographer who was a vizier of the Samanids, the rulers of Khurasan (a land to the southeast of the Caspian Sea [i.e., northeastern Iran]), and who relied on even earlier sources, which are presumed to date to the middle of the ninth century, distinguished three groups or tribes in Rus'. For him, Rus' proper was the Kyiv region: 'their ruler lives in Kyiv (*Kuyaba*).'¹⁰⁷ The annotations, emendations, and explanations provided by the editor of the Primary Chronicle in introducing his theory of the Varangian origin of the Rus' name clearly reveal the traces of the old, generally held view that the Rus' were the Polianians and that this name was not of northern, Varangian, but of

103. Cf. 'rus'ki volosti' ('Rus' domains') in *Hyp.*, p. 318.

104. It is in this broad sense of the term that Vasylko Rostyslavych prepared 'to take revenge' on the Poles for the 'Rus' land' and that the princes attending the council at Liubech agreed 'to defend the Rus' land'—*Hyp.*, pp. 167, 174.

105. *Hyp.*, p. 15.

106. *Hyp.*, p. 16.

107. See my *Vyimky z zherel istorii Ukraïny-Rusy*, p. 34, where this information is compared with later accounts by Arab authors of the tenth to twelfth centuries. On the probable source used by al-Jayhani, see Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. XXVIIff.

southern, local, origin. Take, for instance, the explanation cited above. While describing the Slavic origin of the Rus', the chronicler—wholly unexpectedly, it would seem—brings in the Polianians, quite obviously because the name 'Rus' was synonymous with the name of the Polianians.¹⁰⁸ Or the observation surviving in the Primary Chronicle that the Novgorod and Varangian retinues brought by Oleh to Kyiv began to call themselves Rus' only after coming to Kyiv: 'And he had Varangians and Slovenians and others with him. And they began to call themselves Rus'.¹⁰⁹

It is quite obvious that 'Rus' was the special name of the Kyiv region, the Polianian land. Since all attempts to derive the Rus' name from other, foreign peoples, both northern and southern, have so far proved unsuccessful,¹¹⁰ we are compelled to regard it as the native, age-old name of the Kyiv region. Of some interest in this context is the phonetic similarity between this name and that of the Ros, the largest river (after the Dnipro) in the Polianian land.¹¹¹

To the east of the Polianians, on the left bank of the Dnipro, lived the Siverianians, probably the largest of the Ukrainian-Rus' tribes. 'They settled along the Desna and along the Seim and the Sula, and they came to be called Siverianians,' says the Primary Chronicle of them.¹¹² Accordingly, this tribe occupied the whole basin of the Desna, with the possible exception of its headwaters, which later belonged to the Smolensk land and could have been populated by the Krivichians at an earlier date. The watershed of the Sozh and Desna separated the Siverianians from the Radimichians, and the watershed of the Oka from the Viaticians; the Dnipro served as their eastern boundary with the Polianians.¹¹³ In the south, the Chronicle extends the territory of the Siverianians to the basin of the Sula. When this information was recorded, the lands along the Sula were already greatly weakened and devastated by the Pechenegs and Cumans. Therefore, the remarks about Siverianian settlements on the Sula should be regarded as a recollection of earlier times, as something that had held true in the middle of the tenth century. By the end of the tenth century, Volodymyr the Great no longer thought it sufficient to build fortresses along the Sula as a defense line against the Pechenegs, and he erected a second line behind the first along the Trubizh and Seim Rivers, and a third on the

108. 'The Slavic tongue and the Rus' are one, for from the Varangians they were called Rus', while at first they were Slavic in speech. Now they were called Polianians, because they were settled in the field, but the Slavic tongue is one.' *Hyp.*, p. 20.

109. *Hyp.*, p. 13. This contradicts Sobolevskii's theory that the identification of Rus' as the Kyiv region is of later date, from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, and therefore unknown to the Primary Chronicle ('Neskol'ko mest Nachal'noi letopisi,' pp. 6–7). The Primary Chronicle, too, contains a number of passages in which Rus' means the Kyiv region. For example, Iaroslav 'assembled a great many Rus', Varangians, and Slovenians' (*Hyp.*, p. 100), and other passages. On the tendency of the editor of the Primary Chronicle to derive the Rus' name from the Varangians, see the recent work by Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia*, sec. 199ff.

110. On these attempts, see Excursus 2, 'The Normanist Theory.'

111. The author of the Hustynia Chronicle, among various conjectures about 'why our people came to be called the Rus', notes that 'some [derive the name] from the river called Ros' (*Hustynia Chronicle* in *PSRL*, 2: 236). Recently Professor Knauer, in the article 'O proiskhozhdenii imeni naroda Rus', demonstrated the link between the name Rus' and the root *ros and *rońs (*rosa* 'dew' and *ruslo* 'channel,' *Ros* and *Rusa*). If that conclusion is correct linguistically, the connection between *Ros*' and *Rus*' is highly plausible (Knauer draws attention to 'Рѡс as the name of the Volga, but, taken in the historical context, that is impossible).

112. *Hyp.*, p. 4. On the Siverianian colonization, see N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, chap. 7; Bagalei, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli*, chap. 1; Golubovskii, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli*, chap. 1; idem, *Pechenegi, torki i polovtsy*, chap. 3.

113. On the differences between the burials in the watershed of the Desna and Sozh (the Snov and Iput Rivers), see Eremenko, 'Raskopki kurganov.'

Oster and the Desna.¹¹⁴ Evidently he did not hold out great expectations for the Sula region. At the end of the eleventh century, these fortresses made it possible still to hold the Sula region, but it was completely devastated, as evidenced by the report that even in Pereiaslav, Volodymyr Monomakh and his retinue suffered 'from war and hunger.'¹¹⁵ In the twelfth century, the Sula region was colonized anew, no doubt mainly by the same Siverianian population.¹¹⁶

There is no mention in the Primary Chronicle of any Slavic settlements south of the Sula and east of the Seim region. Yet before the arrival of the Pechenegs in the second half of the tenth century, Slavic colonization extended far to the east and south of the Sula. We know from Prokopios that in the first half of the sixth century, Slavic territory stretched almost to the Sea of Azov or perhaps even reached this sea. Describing the Kutriguri and the Utiguri as divided by the Sea of Azov, Prokopios wrote that 'to the north [of the Utiguri—M.H.] the countless tribes of the Antae are settled.'¹¹⁷ In any event, the Slavs occupied the Don basin. This information is corroborated by Arab authors. Two Arab historians, al-Baladhuri (ninth century) and al-Tabari (tenth century), who supplement each other's information, describe an Arab campaign against the Khazars in the first half of the eighth century. The Arab general Marwan advanced across the Caucasus Mountains past the city of Samandar and attacked the Slavs who lived on the lands of the Khazars along the 'River of the Slavs' (the Arabic term for the Don River and sometimes also for the lower Volga, which the Arabs thought joined with the Don). He returned with 20,000 prisoners (al-Tabari wrote that 20,000 homes were destroyed). Describing the Caucasus Mountains, a third Arab author, Ibn al-Faqih (beginning of the tenth century), wrote that these mountains neighbored Greek lands on the Alani border and extended as far as the Slavic territories. He even mentioned a 'tribe of Slavs' living in the Caucasus Mountains (perhaps he meant some tribe similar to the Slavs). Finally, the famous Arab geographer al-Mas'udi (first half of the tenth century) said of the Don that 'its banks are

114. *Hyp.*, p. 83.

115. *Lavr.*, p. 240.

116. A conjecture appeared in scholarly writings that there existed a separate tribe of Sulychians, but it arose out of a misunderstanding. Among the numerous variants of the name of the Ulychians (more about whom below), some manuscripts (the Radziwiłł and the Academy Manuscripts of the Suzdalian redaction), in relating the war of Oleh against the Ulychians (under the year 885), contain *sъ Suličī* instead of *sъ Uličī* or *so Uličī*, as appears in the Laurentian Manuscript and in all other manuscripts of the Southern redaction. It is obvious that *s Uličī* was read here by the scribe as one word, since these same manuscripts do not contain the variant in other places where they speak of the Ulychians. But the *Suličī* of these manuscripts gave birth to the *Posuličī* (*Tver.*, p. 34, and in the destroyed Troitskii Manuscript: see the variants of the Laurentian version, *Lavr.*, p. 24) and even the *Suljane* in the chronicle edited by L'vov, the *Letopisets russkii*, 1: 22 (the variant does not appear in a new edition of this chronicle, taken from a different manuscript: *PSRL*, vol. 20, pt. 1, p. 45). Thus there appeared a new tribe called Sulychians or Posulychians, purportedly inhabiting the region along the Sula River. They were located there by Schlözer, albeit hypothetically (*Nestor*, 2: 281 of the Russian edition). Karamzin (*Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskogo*, 1: 77 and notes), going further, asserted categorically that they were the Sulian branch of the Siverianians. A recent attempt to resurrect them was made by Zavitnevich ('Sushchestvovalo li slavianskoe plemia sulichi'), who tried to found his theory on the presence of a burial type in the Pereiaslav area that differs from the Siverianian (inhumation as opposed to cremation). But inhumation burials are also found alongside cremated remains in the vicinity of Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siverskyi, and therefore this argument cannot serve as evidence of the existence of the Sulychians.

117. Καὶ αὐτῶν καθύπερθεν ἐς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἔθνη τὰ Ἄντων ἄμετρα ἴδρυνται —Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 4.4. From a subsequent passage (4.5), it would appear that the settlements of the Utiguri and the Kutriguri did not border on one another north of the Sea of Azov and that the Kutriguri were located closer to the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Hence, north of the Utiguri, who occupied the eastern coast of the Sea of Azov, the Antae could have held lands as far as the sea at the mouth of the Don. However, Prokopios's account is not very clear.

populated by the numerous Slavic people and other northern peoples.¹¹⁸ In light of these Arabic accounts, it is difficult to doubt the existence of a Slavic population in the Don and the Azov-Caucasus regions. These accounts also help to explain the important role that, according to al-Mas'udi, the Slavs played in the Khazar state. The Khazar army and the kagan's personal retinue were largely made up of Slavs.¹¹⁹

The information in Arabic sources about the Slavic colonization of the Don basin in the eighth to tenth centuries can be supplemented by some indirect evidence from later history. The very fact that the Rus' state extended to the Sea of Azov, where the Ukrainian Tmutorokan Principality must have existed by the middle of the tenth century, also supports the existence in the tenth century of at least some larger remnants of Slavic population in the Don basin. We know that such remnants still lived there much later, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when conditions were much harsher. There were Rus' fortresses in the Don basin, such as Donets, near present-day Kharkiv, in the twelfth century. There was probably a Slavic colony in Sarkel (*Bila vezha*, 'White Tower'), and other such colonies probably existed in the 'Cuman towns' of the Don region. We know that in the twelfth century there was a 'Rus' port' at the mouth of the Don and in the thirteenth century, a 'Rus' village' higher on the same river. In the twelfth to thirteenth centuries there was also a Rus' population called the *Brodnyky** in the steppes of the lower Don area. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the traveler William of Rubruquis called the Don the boundary of Rus'.¹²⁰

All this confirms that between the fifth and tenth centuries the Slavs occupied the Don region and that only pressure from the Pechenegs, and later the Cumans, weakened this colonization and forced the majority of the Slav population to migrate farther north.¹²¹ But

118. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 38, 80–81, 140; Dorn, 'Auszüge,' p. 648. Upon reviewing these reports, Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. 200, 509) recently brought to light an account by al-Ya'qubi of a campaign in 854–55, in which tribes defeated in the Caucasus flee 'to the ruler of the Romanei, to the ruler of the Khazars, and to the ruler of the Slavs.'

119. This generally accepted view of the Slavic colonization of the Don region was recently disputed by Westberg in 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov.' Arguing that Arabic writers sometimes used the word for Slavs to refer to various peoples of the white race, Westberg concluded that the Caucasus and Don Slavs were, in fact, the Alani and that the River of the Slavs was the Volga. However, these conclusions, which some other scholars have already accepted (Brückner, 'O Rusi normańskie'), are quite unfounded. Since the lower Volga and the Don were regarded as two arms of the same river, the lower Volga may also have been called the 'River of the Slavs.' But this name definitely belonged to the Don. Although other tribes may sometimes have been included with the Slavs, the use by the Arabs of the term 'River of the Slavs' indicates that they meant the Slavs proper. We cannot be certain from the descriptions of Marwan's campaign routes that they were confined exclusively to the Volga region. Moreover, as we have seen in the text (let alone in Prokopios), some Arabic reports clearly distinguish between the Caucasus Slavs and the Caucasus Alani and regard them as separate groups.

* [The name *Brodnyky* is usually rendered as 'Wanderers.' George Vernadsky posits that it should be interpreted as 'Fishermen.' See G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1972), p. 158.—Eds.]

120. On Donets, see *Hyp.*, p. 438; also, on more recent excavations, *Trudy XII Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, vol. 1. The *Bilovezhitsi* ('White Towerites') who came 'to Rus' during Volodymyr Monomakh's reign (*Hyp.*, p. 205) and there founded a new *Bila Vezha* were probably neither Khazars (as the *Hustynia Chronicle* claims—*Hustynia Chronicle* in *PSRL*, 2: 291) nor Turks. Archaeological finds at what is presumed to be the site of the ancient Sarkel fortress reveal traces of a Christian and, especially, of what was probably a Rus' colony (e.g., a cross with the images of SS. Borys and Hlib): see the literature cited below, p. 176, fn. 239. On the 'Rus' port' and other settlements of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, see vol. 2, chap. 7, of this *History*, which contains information about the Rus' population of the steppes during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

121. It is to this Rus' on the Don that Ilovaiskii (*Razyskaniia*, p. 55) applies the reports of Arab authors, beginning with al-Jayhani, about a third group of Rus' lands—Taniia (or Tabia), as it is called by al-Jayhani, and Arta or Artsania,

the Chronicle does not tell us which tribe lived in the Don region. Some scholars have conjectured from certain hints that these were the Siverianians. They claim that not only did this tribe occupy the Desna and Sula basins, but that before the eleventh century Siverianian settlements extended farther to the south and east into the Don region, perhaps even reaching as far as the Sea of Azov.¹²² But there is no clear evidence of this. On the contrary, there are some indications that contradict this view and suggest that if this southern region was not inhabited by the Ulychians, it must have belonged to some other tribe, whose name we do not know.¹²³ We must, after all, consider the possibility that the Kyivan chroniclers of the eleventh century did not know the names of all the tribes, and that the list of tribes they recorded was far from a complete catalogue of all the groups that comprised the East Slavic population.¹²⁴

as called by later geographers (the name has many variants). Ilovaikii cites the words of Ibn Hawqal: 'Arta lies between Khazar and Great Bulghar, which is immediately north of Rum [Byzantium].' This description does in fact correspond to the Don Rus', but al-Idrisi states something quite different: 'The third people is called Artsania, and their emperor lives in the city of Artsan. This beautiful city stands on an inaccessible mountain; it lies between Slavia and Kuyaba. Kuyaba is four days' journey from Artsana, and Artsana is also four days' journey from Slavia.' This has led other scholars to regard Arta as Smolensk, inasmuch as Slavia is usually thought to be Novgorod. Because of the similarity of names, some identified Arta as the Mordva-Erzya people. Westberg recently went so far as to suspect that this might be Scandinavia, while Niederle believed it to be the land of the Antae. All in all, a definitive conclusion in this matter is elusive.

122. This view was put forward by N. Barsov (*Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 149), and it found support among the historians of the Siverianian lands, Bagalei (*Istoriia Severskoi zemli*, p. 216ff.) and Golubovskii (*Istoriia Severskoi zemli*, p. 3ff.; he did not, however, repeat it in his *Pechenegi, torki i polovtsy*), and later among other scholars (e.g., Shakhmatov, 'K voprosu,' *RFV* 32: 11–12; Rozhkov, *Obzor russkoi istorii*, p. 55).

123. The view that Tmutorokan belonged to the Siverianian land, or, more precisely, to the Siverianian ruling dynasty, is as arbitrary a conjecture as the inclusion of the Rostov-Suzdal land in the Pereiaslav domain. We cannot take as proof the fact that a later (fifteenth-century) catalogue of towns in the Voskresensk Chronicle lists Tmutorokan together with several Siverianian towns (Myroslavets, Tmutorokan, Ostrecheskii, Chernihiv on the Desna—*Voskr.* in *PSRL*, 7: 240). In the first place, we cannot read *Tmutorokan ostrecheskii* as one word and take it to be Tmutorokan on the Oster River (as believed by Tatishchev and, more recently, by Bagalei and Shakhmatov). 'Ostrecheskii' is probably a separate name—that of Oster. If there was indeed a Tmutorokan in the Siverianian land, it could have been named after the Tmutorokan on the Sea of Azov (in any case, not the other way around, because the Tmutorokan on the Sea of Azov was the earlier name) for the simple reason that the Siverianian princes, who ruled in the Azov Tmutorokan, could have given the same name to some small Siverianian fortified town. The Tmutorokan name could also have been included in the list of Siverianian towns quite by chance as a domain of the Siverianian dynasts, and this is probably the most likely explanation. The fact that the Donets River was called the Siverianian Donets (we find the name *Severskii Donets* on a seventeenth-century [The original has 'sixteenth-century,' an error.—Eds.] Muscovite map—Spasskii, *Kniga glagolemaia Bol'shoi Chertezh*, p. 27) actually serves as a counterargument. The name was clearly linked with the upper reaches of the Donets River, which does in fact have its source in the Siverianian Seim region, and these upper reaches were so named to distinguish them either from the upper tributaries of the Donets, which probably were also called by the same name (hence the 'Donetske Horodyshe' stood on the Udy River), or from the river's middle and lower courses. In later local nomenclature, passed down in surveys of Ukrainian castles of the mid-sixteenth century, the name of the Siverianian hunting and fishing refuges (*ukhody*) is associated only with the Siverianian territory as described in the Chronicle and does not extend beyond the Sula region (*AluZR*, pt. 7, vol. 1, p. 103; cf. the map of these Siverianian hunting and fishing grounds accompanying the article by Padalka, 'Po voprosu o vremeni osnovaniia goroda Poltavy,' p. 24). This, too, is an argument *contra*. All these observations and considerations have compelled me to abandon the theory that the Don region was colonized by the Siverianians, which I tended to support in the first Ukrainian-language edition of this volume. Shakhmatov also saw these circumstances as evidence against the Siverianian theory and proposed, instead, the Viaticians as the colonizers of the Don region. However, this hypothesis is no more convincing than the Siverianian one (see above).

124. Perhaps what we see here are the results of conjecture on the part of the compilers of the Primary Chronicle (evidence of which we shall see in many other places later in this *History*)—that is, an attempt to find a location for

Consequently, we need not insist that it had to be some neighboring tribe known to us that occupied the Don region.

When discussing the Drehovichians, I raised the problem of determining whether they belonged to the northern, now Belarusian, or the southern, Ukrainian, group of tribes, since their territory is now bisected by the linguistic boundary between these two groups. In the middle Dnipro region, such uncertainty does not exist regarding the territories of the Polianians and Siverianians; both are part of the present-day Ukrainian territory, and there is nothing to indicate that the situation was ever otherwise. However, some scholars have expressed different views, and we need to consider them here.

Historians have debated for fifty years whether the ancient population of the middle Dnipro region was Ukrainian or Russian. Failing to distinguish the characteristic features of the Ukrainian language in ancient Kyivan literary works, some scholars conjectured that the ancient Polianians and other inhabitants of the middle Dnipro region belonged to a different East Slavic group than the Ukrainians—the ‘Great Russian’ or ‘Middle Russian.’ According to that view, sometime in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries this ancient population fled north in the face of Tatar attacks, and its place was taken in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries by colonizers from Volhynia and Galicia. These later colonizers are the ancestors of modern Ukrainians in the Dnipro region. But this hypothesis, though it is championed by several prominent philologists, is quite untenable.¹²⁵

To begin with, we know nothing about a mass migration northward from the middle Dnipro region in the thirteenth century; it is quite improbable a priori and we cannot accept that it took place. Throughout the preceding centuries, the Ukrainian tribes had grown accustomed to various dangers and possessed excellent hiding places in the forest regions nearby. It is therefore hardly likely that in the thirteenth century this population would have fled from the Tatars into the Volga region or to lands on the upper Dnipro, where the proponents of this theory take it. Nor is there any evidence of a migration in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries by a western Ukrainian population into the Dnipro and Trans-Dnipro regions. Such a migration, too, is improbable. We know that before the end of the sixteenth century, when an influx of population from western Ukrainian territories did indeed occur but was prompted by quite different, socioeconomic, causes, the settlers who moved into the devastated lands along the Dnipro came from Polisia, predominantly from the Ukrainian part of this region. In other words, this was the same population that had retreated into the forests, as it had customarily done during major upheavals. As we shall see later,¹²⁶ the theories on the radical evacuation of the Dnipro region in the thirteenth century are based on tendentiously selected and exaggerated or simply unreliable reports. Consequently, the theory that the ancient Dnipro population was replaced by some new population in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries is completely groundless.

There are also no grounds to justify the claim that the old (tenth- to twelfth-century) inhabitants of the Dnipro region were different from the western tribes of the southern (Ukrainian) group. The Polianian land, as we have seen, was only a small territory on the Dnipro, enclosed from the north and west by the Derevlianian population. To assume that this Polianian territory was an alien, Russian, enclave on the right bank of the Dnipro is quite illogical. It is just as difficult to imagine that the Derevlianians, being Russians, also migrated

each known tribal name and to dispose these tribes so that all the territory of the Rus' state would be accounted for.

125. For a more thorough review of this subject, see Note 6.

126. In vol. 3, chap. 2, of this *History*.

to the north from their forests, which provided such excellent cover from the nomadic hordes, and that their place was later taken by a newer colonization. The Derevlianian population of Polisia was unquestionably Ukrainian, and, along with the Polianians, belonged to the southern, Ukrainian, group. The weak dialectological coloring of Kyivan documents can be explained by the fact that the Kyivan literary school was not local in character, but one that encompassed people from various other centers, resulting in the emergence of a kind of common language, similar to the Greek koine (κοινή). Moreover, recent studies show that beginning from the eleventh century, Kyivan materials contain a number of linguistic features which, placed alongside the western, Galician-Volhynian group, characterize these works as belonging to a separate eastern Ukrainian group.

In view of this, some proponents of the old theory about the Russian colonization of the Dnipro region have now admitted that the Polianians were a tribe of the southern East Slavic group, yet continue to regard the Trans-Dnipro [Left-Bank] Siverianians and the population of the Don region and of the coast of the Sea of Azov as belonging to the 'Great Russian' or 'Middle Russian' group. That, however, is no more than a final concession to the old theory. The Siverianians always had the closest possible cultural and political links with Kyiv. Burial rituals on both sides of the Dnipro reveal great similarities.¹²⁷ The other arguments that have been brought forward in the absence of linguistic evidence to prove an ethnic difference between the Right- and Left-Bank colonization are not convincing. The assumption that the Siverianian population left and was replaced by another is as difficult to prove as the emigration of the Derevlianians. The northern parts of the Siverianian territory were equally well protected by nature against attacks from the steppes. A native population bearing the traditional old name of *Sevruky* was found on Siverianian territory as late as the sixteenth century. The forests and marshlands of the middle Desna allowed this population to survive, even though it intermingled to some degree with the neighboring Belarusians during migratory fluctuations. The present-day inhabitants of the Siverianian territory speak a northern Ukrainian dialect with archaic elements reminiscent of the dialects of Kyivan Polisia. This dialect is clearly distinct from the dialects of the Seim and Sula regions, which evolved during a later colonization. Since the dialects of the Desna region contain obvious remnants of the old Siverianian dialect, this latter was unquestionably Ukrainian. The circumstance that the northern part of the old Siverianian territory is now inhabited by a population speaking the Belarusian dialects need not trouble us.¹²⁸ The Siverianian borderlands could easily have been infiltrated by the movement of the Belarusian population southward.¹²⁹

The assumption that the early inhabitants of the lands on the left bank of the Dnipro did not belong to the same southern group from which the modern Ukrainian nation has formed is therefore unfounded.

* * *

127. See Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany'; Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, 2: 179; Eremenko, 'Raskopki kurganov'; Speranskii, 'Raskopki kurganov.'

128. Karskii (*Belorussiy*, ethnographic map) extends modern Belarusian dialects to Liubech, Horodnia, and Novhorod-Siverskyi.

129. This movement is well illustrated in the mid-sixteenth-century surveys of castles on the right bank of the Dnipro such as those at Chornobyl and Mazyr (in *AJuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 1, pp. 587–92, 611–47). The Muscovite border presented an obstacle to this movement on the left bank of the Dnipro, but the Oster census offers similar indications.

Let us now consider the western Ukrainian tribes.

The Polianians' immediate neighbors to the west were the Derevlians. The Primary Chronicle does not describe where they lived, because to the Kyivan author this information was all too obvious. He merely explained that they were called Derevlians because they had 'settled in the forests.'¹³⁰ Other methods must therefore be used to determine their territory. Since the Primary Chronicle reports that their northern neighbors, the Drehovichians, settled 'between the Prypiat and the Daugava,' the Prypiat must have served as the northern boundary of the Derevlian lands. Archaeological excavations (though not overly systematic and with far from definitive results) and a comparison of burial rituals on both sides of the Prypiat have led scholars to conclude that the Drehovichians predominated on the northern banks of the Prypiat and were mixed with the Derevlians on the southern.¹³¹ This supports the indication in the Primary Chronicle that, in general, the Derevlians and Drehovichians were separated by the marshy banks of the Prypiat. As already described, in the east, the Derevlians bordered the Polianians across the basin of the Irpin River, while in the northeast, Derevlian territory may have extended to the Dnipro.¹³² The western and southern boundaries of the Derevlian lands remain hypothetical. In the west, the conflicts between the Kyivan and Volhynian princes over the Horyn River region¹³³ suggest that this is where the settlements of the Derevlians and the Dulibians bordered on each other. But no distinct ethnic boundary can be discerned here in archaeological finds; recent excavations of burials in the basins of the Sluch, Horyn, and Styr Rivers reveal great similarities in funerary rituals and in cultural type.¹³⁴ It is possible that Derevlian settlements extended into the basin of the Horyn and even the Styr, although from the tenth century onward, these basins, especially in their upper reaches, were probably densely populated mainly by the Ulychians and other southern peoples, who had retreated north from the Boh River region. The information offered by Constantine Porphyrogenetos that the nomadic encampments of the Pechenegs bordered on the lands of the 'Ulychians, Derevlians, and Luchians'¹³⁵ suggests that in the south the Derevlian lands extended beyond the forest line and into the basin of the upper Boh.

The Ulychians initially occupied the lower Dnipro. This is clearly stated in the earlier [shorter] redaction of the Chronicle,¹³⁶ in the account of Ihor's war with them: 'The Ulychians first lived along the lower Dnipro and later moved to [the region] between the Boh¹³⁷ and the

130. *Hyp.*, p. 3.

131. Zavitnevich, 'Oblast' dregovichei'; idem, 'Iz arkhelogicheskoi ěkskursii'; idem, 'Vtoraia arkhelogicheskaja ěkskursiia'; idem, 'K voprosu.' See also my *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli*, pp. 3–4, and A. Grushevskii, 'Ocherk,' pp. 10–12, where other sources are given.

132. On Shakhmatov's more recent conjecture that the chronicler included the region north of the Desna in the Derevlian lands, see chap. 8.

133. On the Horyn region, see my *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli*, pp. 14–16.

134. Gamchenko, 'Raskopki v basseine r. Sluchi'; Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan'; Antonovich, 'Raskopki kurganov v zapadnoi Volyni.'

135. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 37: 'The province of Iabdiertim is neighbor to the tributary territories of the country of Rus', to the Ulychians and the Derevlians and the Luchians [In the translation by Moravcsik and Jenkins (p. 169), they are called 'Oultines,' 'Dervlenines,' and 'Lenzenines.'—Eds.] and the rest of the Slavs.'

136. That is, in the Archaeographical Commission's (fifteenth-century) Manuscript and the Tolstoi (eighteenth-century) Manuscript of the *Novg. I*, pp. 7–8. Also in *Sofia I* in *PSRL*, 5: 97; *Voskr.* in *PRSL*, 7: 277; *Nikon.* in *PSRL*, 9: 26; and *Tver.* in *PSRL*, 15: 47.

137. Both manuscripts of *Novg. I* [pp. 109, 435], contain the mutilated *bъ, bъi*. The correct reading was deciphered

Dnister and settled there.’ The passage does not state on which side of the Dnipro the Ulychians lived, but the simplest reading of the text is that they inhabited the right bank, and there is nothing to suggest that that interpretation should be rejected.

The later [expanded] Primary Chronicle, in both redactions, the Southern (Hypatian and others) and the Suzdalian (Laurentian and others), does not contain this episode. Instead, it describes the Black Sea population in its ethnographic tracts. According to the manuscripts of the Southern redaction, ‘the Ulychians and Tivertsians were settled along the Boh and the Dnipro, and over toward the Danube. There was a multitude of them, for they were settled along the Boh and the Dnipro all the way to the sea.’¹³⁸ The Laurentian version, on the other hand, states: ‘The Ulychians and Tivertsians were settled along the Boh and along the Dnister [the correct reading of ‘sědjaxu bo po Dněstru’—M.H.], over toward the Danube. There was a multitude of them, for they were settled along the Dnister all the way¹³⁹ to the sea.’¹⁴⁰

Thus the various redactions of the Chronicle reveal uncertainty about the name of this people (*Uliči*, *Ugliči*, *Uluči*, *Ulutiči*), as well as about the location of their territory. Much time has been spent attempting to explain this matter and it has a large literature.¹⁴¹ Yet the issue is quite clear.

Listing the tribes neighboring on the Pechenegs in the text cited above, Constantine Porphyrogenetos proceeds from east to west. Directly after the Kyivan Rus’ (i.e., the Polianians), he names the Oultines (*Ульци*, Οὐλτινούς), the Derevljanians (*Δερβλενίνους*), and the Luchanians (*Λευζενίνους*). Obviously, the Oultines (Οὐλτινοί) are the Ulychians, the Luchanians (*Λευζενίνοι*) are so called after Lučesk (modern Lutsk); a second form of their name could have been the *Lučiči*. Constantine thus distinguishes between the Ulychians and the Luchanians, and he locates the former east of the Derevljanians and the latter, west of them.

Constantine’s description of the Oultines-Ulychians as neighbors of the Derevljanians is also confirmed by our chronicles. It is interesting that the Southern and Northern redactions of the Primary Chronicle, in speaking of the *Uluči–Ulutiči* in their ethnographic tracts, vary in the name by which they identify this tribe, yet all versions report that Kyiv waged a war against the Ulychians. All the redactions of the Chronicle agree that there was a tribe called the Ulychians and that the first Kyivan princes warred with them. To be sure, the Novgorodian variants reveal uncertainty about whether they were called *Uliči* or *Ugliči*, and the different versions of the Chronicle report different princes fighting them (Askold and Dyr, Oleh, Ihor),

by Lambin before this chronicle was published.

138. *Hyp.*, p. 7.

139. In *Lavr.*: ‘ili’ (or) instead of ‘oli’ (all the way).

140. Thus in *Lavr.*, p. 12; other manuscripts of the Northern version contain major differences and are closer to the Southern version (on the other hand, manuscripts of the Southern version do not have variants). The Troitskii Manuscript has *Lutiči*, and there is a similar emendation by a different hand in the Radziwiłł (Königsberg) Manuscript. Instead of the passage ‘po Dněstru prisědjaxu... po Dněstru’ (‘were settled along the Dnister... along the Dnister’), the Königsberg and the Academy Manuscripts contain ‘po Bugu i po Dněpru’ (‘along the Boh and along the Dnipro’).

141. Of the extensive literature on the Ulychians, I shall name the most important. Of earlier studies, see Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, sec. 28.12, and Nadezhdin, ‘O mestopolozhenii goroda Peresechena.’ Among recent works, see Lambin, ‘Slaviane na severnom Chernomor’e,’ and the review of this work by Bychkov, ‘Razbor sochineniia N. P. Lambina’; Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 37–38; N. Barsov, *Očerki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, chap. 5; Dashkevich, *Zametki po istorii litovsko-russkogo gosudarstva*, p. 65ff.; Molchanovskii, *Očerki izvestii*, p. 17ff.; Sobolevskii, ‘Neskol’ko mest Nachal’noi letopisi,’ pp. 3–4; Partys’kyi, ‘Do istorii pershykh Rurykovychiv,’ pts. 1 and 4; Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, p. 290ff.; my own *Barskoe starosvo*, pp. 9–10; Shakhmatov, ‘K voprosu,’ *RFV* 32: 19–20; A. Veselovskii, ‘Iz istorii,’ p. 20; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. 189–95.

but it is clear that all are variants of the Ulychian name (I believe that *Ugliči* is a later etymologized form).¹⁴² In other words, there was only one people called the Ulychians (or Uhlychians), the princes of Kyiv waged wars with them, and the entry in the Novgorodian redaction of the Primary Chronicle that says this people lived on the Dnipro and later migrated to the region between the Boh and the Dnister refers to them.¹⁴³ The fact that the names *Uluči–Ulučiči* appear in the ethnographic overviews of both the Southern and Suzdalian redactions and that these redactions provide contradictory information about their area of settlement probably stems from the circumstance that the Chronicle authors confused the Ulychians in the east with the Luchanians (*Lučiči–Lučane*) in the west (who appear in Constantine's work under the name Λευζενίνοι). In addition to the close similarity of these names, another factor contributing to the confusion may have been that, judging by Constantine's account, the Luchanian territory must have extended quite far to the south in order to have neighbored on the Pechenegs. Their migration caused even further confusion. The Suzdalian redaction had reported that after migrating, the Ulychians settled on the Dnister, and the later editor, knowing that they had previously lived on the Dnipro, corrected this and changed their name. We must keep in mind that the chroniclers were writing about the Ulychians long after they had left their original habitat and thus their knowledge of these long-ago events was limited and vague.

142. Perhaps the form results from the fact that there was later a city called Uglich in the north. Compare the *Letopisets russkii*, 1: 42, edited by L'vov, where the Ulychians are called *Ugliči* and the city of Peresichen is called 'Uglech.' But these were editorial corrections—see the new publication of this chronicle in *PSRL*, 20, pt. 1: 51.

143. The usual approach to resolving this issue has been to establish the true form of this tribe's name and to use that as the basis for defining its territory. Those who accepted *Ugliči* as the correct form looked for a *ugolʹ* [огълъ] ('corner') and found it in the region known as *Ugol*, Ὀγγλος, also 'Bujak' [Bucak] ('corner') ['Bujak' [Bucak] is the Turkic translation of the postulated Slavic term.—Eds.], along the Black Sea between the mouth of the Danube and the lower Dnister (e.g., Nadezhdin, Golubinskii, Partyts'kyi, Filevich), or between the lower Dnipro and the sea (A. Veselovskii), or along such rivers as the Uhol, now Orel, on the left bank of the Dnipro (Schlözer, *Nestor*, 3: 9; Partyts'kyi), or the Inhul and Inhulets on the right bank of the Dnipro (Lambin). Those who accepted the form *Uluči* sought a *luka*, i.e., a bend in the sea or a river (the Dnipro; Filevich). What everyone overlooked was the improbability of this name being derived from an *ugolʹ* or from a geographical bend, which are easily seen on a small map but are not at all so obvious in the actual configuration of territory. After thoroughly examining the references to the settlements of the Ulychians on the Dnipro, Lambin did not venture to argue that all the reports and all the variants of the name applied solely to this group, and, instead, put forward the theory that the Dnipro *Ugliči* (he accepted this form) were separate from the western *Uliči* and that they were two branches of the same tribe. Sorting through the variants of this name, Sobolevskii believed the form *Ulučiči* to be correct and linked this name with Luchesk. But in so doing, he had to abandon the Dnipro *Uliči*. By changing the punctuation in the Chronicle, he read: 'where the Volhynians and Ulychians are now. The Tivertsians....' Consequently, he concluded that the *Ulučiči* were part of the Dulibians and rejected the report that the Ulychians had changed location. Following Lambin's study, this was a step backward with nothing to support it. If Sobolevskii's emendation were correct, according to the Southern redaction of the Chronicle, the Tivertsians would have had to occupy the whole territory between the Dnipro and the Danube. Yet Sobolevskii has himself admitted that the difference in the wording of the two redactions cannot be explained as an error on the part of the scribe, and he has stated that this was a deliberate change made by someone who knew what he was writing. The Novgorod Chronicle's description of the change of location by the Ulychians and the designation of their territory in the Southern redaction in fact corroborate each other. Though we must admit some confusion in these descriptions, we cannot reject this information when establishing the Ulychian territory. The very fact that all the manuscripts of the Suzdalian redaction are emended in accordance with the correction in the Southern variant may also be significant. The version of the Laurentian Manuscript, *sědjaxu bo po Dněstru* 'were settled along the Dnister,' is perhaps an emendation, in place of *sědjaxu po Bo[g] Dněstru* ['along the Boh and Dnister'] (that is how Shakhmatov, in 'K voprosu,' *ZhMNP*, vol. 322, restored it, independently of my conjecture to the same effect in the first Ukrainian-language edition of this volume).

The similarity in the sound of the names *Uliči*, *Lučiči*, and *Lučeskъ*, which contributed to the confusion, has suggested to contemporary scholars the attractive notion of associating Luchesk with the Ulychians (*Uluči*, *Ulučiči*).¹⁴⁴ If this were the case, however, we would have to conclude that the Ulychians named their city Luchesk after their tribal name and subsequently called themselves Luchanians (*Lučane*) after the name of the city. We know of no analogous instance and must therefore reject this explanation as overly contrived.¹⁴⁵ Constantine Porphyrogenetos obviously used his name for the Luchanians as a political identification derived from the name of the city. Moreover, this designation must have been quite old, since it was very well known in the 940s. It is therefore rather risky to associate it with the migration of the Ulychians from the Dnipro, even though it is possible that when the Ulychians later retreated, they may also have entered the lands of the Luchanians.

The Primary Chronicle tells of the migration of the Ulychians from the Dnipro to the region beyond the Boh in connection with the 'suppression' of the Ulychians by the Kyivan army: Ihor's voivode, Sveneld, conquered them and forced them to pay tribute. The war continued for several years (the siege of Peresichen alone lasted three years) and apparently ended only shortly before Ihor's death. It is not clear from the wording of the Chronicle whether the Ulychians crossed the Boh after the war or before it, and there are various readings of this passage in the scholarly literature.¹⁴⁶ But a comparison of the Chronicle's account with Constantine Porphyrogenetos's list of the neighbors of the Pechenegs suggests that the Ulychians had left the Dnipro region before the 940s. According to Constantine, the Pechenegs bordered on the right bank of the Dnipro with the Rus'-Polianians, which means that the Polianian settlements were by then unprotected from the south because the Ulychians had left the region. The Ulychians were then located somewhere farther west, among the Polianian settlements (because they were able to survive on the Dnipro longer than elsewhere) and those of the Derevlians. By then the Ulychian migration had begun.

Whether this migration took place before Sveneld's campaign (in light of Constantine's material, I consider this the more probable sequence)¹⁴⁷ or after it, the prime reason for it was pressure from the Pechenegs. Harassment by the Kyivan princes alone would not have compelled the Ulychians to leave their settlements and seek out new territories already populated

144. This notion appeared quite early. See the annotation (new) in the margin of *Tver*. (p. 23: 'the name of Lutsch must come from their name'), or the interesting but unreliable variant *Lučane* in *Rossiiskaia letopis' po spisku Sofiiskomu* (of 1795, a very careless edition; cf. Schlözer, *Nestor*, 1: 212). Sobolevskii ('Neskol'ko mest Nachal'noi letopisi') put this view into scholarly circulation. In my book *Barskoe starostvo* and, subsequently, in the first Ukrainian-language edition of this volume, I accepted the theory, albeit with significant changes. I combined it with some of Lambin's views and put forward the reference by Constantine Porphyrogenetos, which Sobolevskii had ignored. I have explained in the text of the present work why I have since rejected the link between the tribal name of the *Uluči* or *Ulučiči* and Luchesk.

145. Hence it is not possible to speak of a tribe called Luchanians, as some scholars do (e.g., Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan'). It is highly unlikely that this was a tribal name.

146. For example, N. Barsov (*Očerki russkoi istoričeskoj geografii*, p. 98) thought that they relocated before the war, while Filevich (*Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, p. 301) thought that they did so after the war. The chronology of these events in the Chronicle, written a century later, is not reliable; hence there is no point in devoting undue attention to this text.

147. The migration of one Rus' tribe from the Dnipro to the neighboring Dniester would not have attracted a great deal of attention, and therefore it is unlikely that Constantine would have learned of it a mere two or three years later. His information about the Pecheneg colonization and the Rus' frontier indicates a good source—some thorough account—and that report deserves special attention.

by other tribes, just as this harassment did not induce other tribes who were subjected to the same political process to move. Moreover, the Ulychians left their original territory in the first half of the tenth century—a period chronologically consistent with the time when the Black Sea population was forced to retreat north. Accordingly, the direction that the Ulychians would have had to take was not due west, but northwest, moving from the lands of the lower Dnipro and Boh into those of the middle and upper Boh and the middle Dnister. It is difficult to ascertain whether in so doing the Ulychians penetrated into areas inhabited by other tribes or retreated into more secure parts of their own territory. The steppe populations of the Black Sea region covered much larger territories than those farther inland. Here, on the periphery of colonization, the Ukrainian tribes were able to occupy large expanses of land, but they settled them less densely, and so when the nomads began to press in on them later, they were able to form more compact groups in safer parts of their territory.

Taking into consideration all that has been said above, it becomes clear that originally the Ulychians most probably inhabited lands on the right bank of the lower Dnipro. We do not know whether they also occupied territories on the left bank of the Dnipro or whether another tribe lived there. In the north, they neighbored the Polianians, and in the south their lands probably extended to the sea, before they were pushed back by the Pechenegs. This is clearly stated in the Suzdalian redaction of the Chronicle, and even though we find an emendation there, it is a deliberate one: when the later editor retained the phrase ‘all the way to the sea,’ while changing the names of the rivers, he must have believed or relied on traditional evidence that the Slavic (Ulychian) settlements stretched to the sea here too. In the west, Ulychian settlements reached the Boh and perhaps even crossed over to its right [western] bank. In the tenth century, retreating before the advance of the Pechenegs and perhaps also from the harassment of Kyivan rulers, the Ulychians withdrew to lands on the middle and upper Boh and Dnister.¹⁴⁸

The region along the coast between the Dnister and the Danube was settled by the Tivertsians, who lived along the Dnister. Their exact borders with other Ukrainian tribes cannot be defined. However, the fact that the Suzdalian redaction of the Chronicle locates the Tivertsians along with the Ulychians on the Dnister suggests that the Tivertsian population must have inhabited the region on the right [western] side of the Dnister. The Primary Chronicle (the Suzdalian redaction is of particular importance here) states clearly that the Tivertsian settlements once reached the sea and the Danube and that theirs was a large population (‘there was a multitude of them’). On the northern bank of the Danube, the Tivertsians may have neighbored on the remnants of the ‘Sclaveni’ who had not yet left for Moesia. In the northwest, their settlements may have extended to the Carpathians. On the upper Dnister, they must have bordered on the Dulibians. The town of Tyrviv on the Boh (Vinnytsia district)—the only settlement whose name suggests the presence of the Tivertsians—has led some scholars to extend their territory to the middle Boh.¹⁴⁹ But the existence of a single place-name is not sufficient. The name of the tribe has also been associated with the ancient name of the Dnister, Tyras (Τύραξ),¹⁵⁰ and, indeed, this name has no parallels among other Slavic names.¹⁵¹

148. Scholars point to several toponyms in the western regions—an Ulych near Stryi and another near Liubachiv, an Ulych on the Sian River, and one in the basin of the Uzh River—as evidence of this migration.

149. N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 96.

150. The name bears a resemblance to the name *Thourlou* by which the Dnister is known in Abu al-Fida and to Constantine Porphyrogenetos’s Τροῦλλος, in *De administrando imperio*, chap. 38. Golubovskii (*Pechenegi, torki i*

* * *

To the west of the Derevlunians lived the Dulibians. 'The Dulibians lived along the Buh, where the Volhynians are now,' and 'the Buzhanians are settled on the Buh—and, finally, the Volhynians,' says the Primary Chronicle about them,¹⁵² thus indicating not only the location of their settlements but also the changes in the tribal name. Although some scholars still regard the Dulibians, Buzhanians, and Volhynians as three distinct tribes that followed one another on this territory,¹⁵³ that view is unfounded. It is quite improbable in and of itself that one Ukrainian tribe would drive out another at such a late stage of settlement as the eighth to ninth centuries and in a region as far removed from upheavals in colonization as the Buh area. Moreover, the name 'Volhynians' is obviously a political designation, derived from the town and not the tribe. The wording of the Primary Chronicle that the Buzhanians still live on the Buh corroborates that only the name had changed and not the tribe.¹⁵⁴ We see here the history of the displacement of the old tribal name by later political designations. Such political designations are very numerous in this region, indicating intense development of urban political life.

The name of the Dulibians is an old Proto-Slavic one that has its parallels in the Carinthian Dulibians and in the Bohemian and Moravian Dulibians. It was obviously the earliest name of this tribe, and for that reason it appears in the account in the Primary Chronicle about the harassment of the Dulibians by the Obry-Avars. By the eleventh century, the name had already fallen out of use and had been replaced by such later names as the Buzhanians, Volhynians, and Chervenians. At the end of the eleventh century, this tribe was apparently most commonly known as the Volhynians, and so the new editor of the Chronicle, upon encountering the names for the Dulibians and Buzhanians, identified them as the contemporary Volhynians. The meaning of the Dulibian name is not clear: in some Slavic dialects it now means 'a stupid man' (Russian *duleb*; Bulgarian *dulup*),¹⁵⁵ but we do not know the connection between these terms and the historical name of the Dulibians.

The Primary Chronicle derived the name of the Buzhanians from the Buh River, or, more precisely, one of the last editors of the Primary Chronicle inserted this explanation. It is quite

polovtsy, p. 202) explained this as a derivation from the Cuman *turlu* 'various, manifold,' but it is possible that what we have here is an echo of the ancient name.

151. Ilovaiskii (*Razyskaniia*, p. 286), and, later, Filevich (*Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, pp. 302–3), disputed that the name of the Tivertsians was of the same category as the other tribal names. Instead, they believed it to be an echo of classical tradition—a revised form of the name of the Tyragetae or Tauroscythians. But no such name can be found in classical tradition, nor is it possible to explain why the chronicler would want to pair such a name with the tribal name of the Ulychians. Equally improbable are the theories that link the Tivertsians with Constantine's Βερβιάνοι (or Τεβερβιάνοι, as Šafařík read it), or the 'Attorozi' of the Bavarian Geographer (Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, sec. 28.13), or the attempt of A. Veselovskii ('Iz istorii,' p. 20)—albeit a very tentative one—to link the Tivertsians with Strabo's 'Taurisci' and the Ulychians with Jordanes' 'Angisciri.' Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. 189–95) discerns the Tivertsians in the 'Tur̄si' of the *Life of St. Cyril*, which contains a list of peoples who worship the Christian God in their own language (*Life of St. Cyril*, p. 227), and he has even identified the Ulychians and Tivertsians in al-Bakri's 'al-Ṭuriskin' and 'al-Anqliyyin,' a conjecture that he later retracts (*ibid.*, p. 509–10).

152. *Hyp.*, pp. 6, 7.

153. This view was recently defended by Shakhmatov, 'K voprosu,' *RFV* 32: 19 [sic]. I discuss it in greater detail in my 'Spirni pytannia starorus'koï etnografii.'

154. That is the sense in which some later transcribers of the Chronicle completed the phrase about the Buzhanians—see, for example, the Chronicle of Pereiaslavl-Suzdalskii (*Letopisets Pereiaslavlia-Suzdal'skogo*, p. 3), or *Tver.*, p. 22.

155. Perwolf, 'Slavische Völkernamen,' p. 10. See also M. E. Sokolov's article, 'O dulebakh.'

possible in theory that the tribe known in its primitive home as the Dulibians came to be called the Buzhanians in their new area of settlement. But the fact that the Dulibians appear under their old name in the Primary Chronicle story of the Obry, which followed the dispersion of the Slavs from their original habitat, as well as the fact that there was a town called Buzhsk on their territory (modern Busk in Galicia), makes it more probable that the name of the Buzhanians came not from the Buh River, but from the town of Buzhsk, their political center.¹⁵⁶ In view of this, the name Buzhanians, like the tribe's other name, Volhynians, was most probably also a political designation.¹⁵⁷

The Primary Chronicle cites the Volhynian name as a contemporary designation, that is, the name used in the second half of the eleventh century. Though we do not encounter it in the Chronicle from that period in the form of a tribal name, we find it applied to a territory: that of Volhynia (in the entry under 1077).¹⁵⁸ Its derivation was correctly deciphered by Jan Długosz (or perhaps he found the explanation in a tradition that was still fresh or in the sources that he used). The Volhynian land, wrote Długosz, was named after Volyn, a fortress that once stood at the site where the Huchva flows into the Buh.¹⁵⁹ In the events described by the Chronicle under 1018, there is indeed mention of the town of Volyn or Velyn on the Buh. This town must have been the political center of the Volhynian land in an earlier period, because by the end of the tenth century, newly founded Volodymyr had assumed that role and Volyn had lost its significance. When was Volyn an important center? The answer could lie in one piece of information, if it were possible to apply it with certainty to the Ukrainian Volhynians. Al-Mas'udi writes about a tribe called the *Valinana*,¹⁶⁰ which 'in olden times' ruled over other Slavic tribes, but later their state disintegrated. Despite all the difficulties that arise in this connection, there is some degree of probability in linking the information with the Volhynians. If al-Mas'udi's *Valinana* were indeed the Volhynians, the hegemony of Volyn would date to the ninth century. But even if this identification cannot be made, Volyn's dominance cannot be dated later than the tenth century.¹⁶¹

Yet another analogous name on the territory of the Dulibians, albeit in a different form, is that of the Cherven fortified towns, *grady Chervenskyia*.¹⁶² At the beginning of the eleventh century, this was the collective name of the fortified towns in the vicinity of Cherven (today Chermno, south of Hrubeshiv). Like the Volhynians, Buzhanians, and Luchanians, the

156. This view was put forward by N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 101, and was disputed by Andriiashev, 'Ocherki istorii Volynskoi zemli,' p. 7.

157. This is not the only instance in which the Primary Chronicle derives the name of a people from a river rather than from a town. It derives the name of the Polochanians (*Polochane*) from the Polota River in the same manner.

158. *Hyp.*, p. 140.

159. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae*, 1: 22. There is indeed a site of a fortified settlement (*horodyshche*) at the confluence of the Huchva and the Buh, which has been regarded since the times of L. Dolega-Chodakowski as the site of Volyn.

160. Variants: *Valmana* or *Valiana*, *Valiamana*, *Valinbaba*, *Vljnbaba*. [Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, taken from quotation 188.]

161. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 135, 137 (Hrushevs'kyi, *Vyimky z zherel do istorii Ukraïny-Rusy*, p. 53). Using al-Mas'udi as his source, Ibrahim b. Ya'qub al-Turtushi repeated this information—see Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 46. Some scholars have identified the *Valinana* with the Baltic [island and castle] Velin-Julín [Wolin], but we know of no princes there. On this matter, see Vestberg, *Kommentarii na zapisku*, p. 60, and Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. xxxvi and 101. For more on this account by Arab authors, see chap. 7, below, and Note 5.

162. *Hyp.*, pp. 101, 105.

inhabitants of this Cherven region were probably called Chervenians. Some surmise that this name is reflected in the name 'Chervona Rus' [Red Rus'] (*Russia rubra*).

As for the Luchanians, as I have already written, there is no way to determine with certainty whether they occupied Dulibian territory or not. The possibility that they were Dulibians cannot be discounted, but, on the other hand, this territory could also have been annexed to the Dulibian land later.¹⁶³

In any event, there were several political toponyms on the territory of the Dulibians, derived from the names of towns, and these names supplanted the old tribal name. Were these names that applied to the Dulibian land as a whole and followed one another, or were these the names of certain parts of the Dulibian territory, grouped around individual towns, that existed concurrently? The most likely general name may have been that of the Volhynians, judging by the fact that the name 'Volhynia' that was applied as early as the latter half of the eleventh century to the entire Volodymyr Principality, which included old Volyn, Cherven, Buzhsk, and even Lutsk. But in this case, too, the name of the part may have been transferred to the whole. We would have to attribute a broader scope to the Volhynian name only if it were certain that al-Mas'udi's reference applied to them. If that were the case, the Volhynian state may very well have included even territories outside the ethnic Dulibian boundaries, although this would not exclude the narrower significance of Volyn as the center of all the Dulibians. It seems more probable to me, however, that all these names were but the appellations of smaller districts, which at times may have existed simultaneously. For instance, the name Buzhanians may have applied to the population of the southwestern part of the Dulibian territory on the upper Buh, while the Volhynian name may have designated the inhabitants of the northern part on the middle and lower Buh. But at the mouth of the Huchva, the towns of Volyn, Chermno [Czermno], and Volodymyr are situated so close together that as political centers they could have only followed one another, probably in the order that I have named them: first Volyn, then Chermno, and finally Volodymyr. At certain times, Volyn, or perhaps Buzhsk, may have been more important and served as the center for all the Dulibians, or even of larger territories, but we have no conclusive evidence of that. There is no doubt that the Luchanian name was of local significance, but we do not know whether this group belonged to the Dulibians.

There is, in fact, very little information that would enable us to define the ethnic boundaries of the Dulibians. The Chronicle tells us only that they inhabited the basin of the Buh.¹⁶⁴ To the southwest, in the basin of the Styr, lay the territory of the Luchanians, its ethnic affiliation uncertain. To the north, in the middle Buh region, the Brest [Berestia] domain wavered between Kyiv and Volodymyr during the eleventh to twelfth centuries and was not, generally speaking, closely connected with the rest of Volhynia. Its separate status can be explained by both ethnic and political causes. The Dulibian boundary in the west is part of the difficult

163. It was this later affiliation that Długosz (*Historiae Polonicae*, 1: 62) obviously meant when he wrote: 'The Dulibians were named after their ruler Duleba, and afterwards they were Volhynians, and now they are called Luchanians.' I believe that Długosz's words refer to the time when Lutsk had become the political center of Volhynia, which was the case in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. Therefore we cannot be certain that this is an echo of some old tradition.

164. N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 102, believed that this territory encompassed the headwaters of 'both Buh Rivers' ['Both Buh Rivers' refers to the Boh or Southern Buh and the Buh [Bug].—Eds.]. Shakhmatov ('K voprosu,' *RFV*, vol. 32) thought that it lay on the Boh. The Boh has to be rejected owing to the location of Volyn, from which the Volhynians took their name. The theory that the Dulibians occupied both the Buh and Boh regions is based on completely unfounded conjecture.

question of the western frontiers of Rus' colonization in general, and of tribal names in particular. This question therefore needs to be examined more closely.

It is customary to accept that west of the Dulibians lived the Rus' tribe of the Croats.* This view is based on Constantine Porphyrogenetos's accounts of 'White Croatia'¹⁶⁵ and on the entry in the Primary Chronicle that includes the Croats among the Rus' tribes.¹⁶⁶ But the reference in the Primary Chronicle appears to be an interpolation: the Chronicle enumerates all the tribes named beforehand, telling us that they 'lived in peace,' and adds to this list the name of the Croats, of whom there had been no mention earlier. This looks like an addition by a later editor, who used the phrase 'and they lived in peace' as an opening for compiling a full catalogue of the Rus' tribes and added the Croats, having found a mention of them further in the text (under the year 993).¹⁶⁷ Neither here nor anywhere else does the Primary Chronicle tell us where these Croats lived, and there is no firm evidence indicating a Croat tribe or a Croat territory in Ukraine. Despite various efforts to define the territory of these Croats,¹⁶⁸ there is no support for its existence except for Constantine's mention, and we know of no people in this region who called themselves Croats.

Constantine's information creates such difficulties that it introduces more confusion than it explains. He claims that the southern Croats and Serbs emerged from 'White Croatia' and 'White Serbia' and locates these lands between Bavaria and Hungary, neighboring Germany.¹⁶⁹ It is highly likely that Constantine based his account on reports about the Elbe Sorbs,

* [Some authors call the Croats (*Khorvaty*), thought to be a Rus' tribe, 'White Croats' or 'Khorvatians.'—Eds.]

165. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, pp. 13, 30, 31.

166. *Hyp.*, p. 7.

167. This entry in the Primary Chronicle is related to the earlier enumeration of 'the Slavic people/tongue in Rus' (*Hyp.*, p. 6), and the phrase 'and they lived in peace' serves as a transition to the next entry: 'For they had their own customs.' Originally the passage probably read as follows: 'And they lived in peace—the Polianians, Derevljanians, Siverianians, Radimichians, Viaticians, and Dulibians'—in other words, all the tribes that had been listed earlier. The Croats and Tivertsians were added by a later hand (later transcribers made other such additions as well—cf. the variants in later compilations). The information about the Dulibians is of the same order. The only tribe about which this editor of the Primary Chronicle had nothing to say were the Croats. He knew nothing except their name from the entry about Volodymyr, where the reference to the Croats may very well have applied to a non-Rus' tribe.

168. For example, N. Barsov, *Očerki ruskoj istoričeskoj geografii*, p. 95, argues that the name of the Croats indicates that they lived in the Carpathians, because these were called *Horby* 'hills' (*Xr̃by, Xr̃ipy*). According to him, the presence of a Croat people is revealed in place-names on territory ranging from the headwaters of the Wisłok, Biała, and Sian Rivers to the Tisza with its tributaries the Bodrog, Szamos [Someș], and Kraszna [Crasna] in the south, to the Dnister in the east, and to the Vistula in the north. However, most of the names that Barsov cites have nothing to do with the Croats. The association of the Croat name with the Horby-Carpathians by Šafařík (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 10.10) was rejected by later philologists: see Grot, *Izvestiia Konstantina Bagrianorodnogo*, p. 88; Geitler in 'Etimologija imena Hrvat'; Perwolf, 'Slavische Völkernamen,' p. 626; Sobolevskii, 'Neskol'ko mest Nachal'noi letopisi,' p. 3; A. Pogodin, *Iz istorii slavianskikh peredvizhenii*, p. 88. Others, however, are attempting to revive this theory: e.g., A. Veselovskii, 'Iz istorii,' p. 14. Several toponyms (some four) in the Carpathian region (Barsov, loc. cit.; Pič and Amlacher, 'Die dacische Slaven,' p. 246), which are indeed derived from the word *Khorvat*, cannot serve as a basis for the conclusion that this was Croat territory.

169. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chaps. 30–33. The theory about White Croatia and White Serbia on the basis of Constantine's account in Šafařík (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, sec. 31) was criticized by Rački, 'Bijela Hrvatska i Bijela Srbija,' as well as in his polemic with Grot, a representative of the traditional view (idem, 'K. Grot i T. Florinskij o Konstantinu Bagrenorodnom'); cf. the observations of Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 323–26; Jagić, 'Ein Kapitel'; Oblak, 'Eine Bemerkung'; also in Vestberg, *Komentarii na zapisku*, Excursus, p. 12; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, chap. 6. History and lesser bibliography in Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, chap. 5, p. 244ff.

mistakenly assuming them to be the same tribe of the southern Serbs. Other sources contain the information that a Croat tribe lived between the Elbe and the Oder.¹⁷⁰ Coupling the entry about the Rus' Croats (or, rather, later conjectures about their settlements) with Constantine's report of Pecheneg raids on the White Croats, some scholars have assumed the existence of a White Croatia that stretched along the Carpathian foothills from the basin of the Elbe River to the upper Dnister (or, as others believe, along the southern slopes of the Carpathians, in modern northern Hungary). This, however, means that three peoples with the same name, belonging to three separate groups—Czech, Polish, and Rus'—would have had to live on the same territory. And if we add the immigrants from the south to this mixture, we will find ourselves with some sort of mystical Croatian microcosm that encompassed peoples from every possible Slavic branch.¹⁷¹

In reality, Constantine's report about a White Croatia in the north (and those of other authors) may have been based merely on the similarity of the name 'Croatia' (*Chrobatia*) to that of the Carpathians.¹⁷² If we assume that this designation is founded on some actual link with the name of the Croats, two possibilities present themselves. The first possibility is that in the tenth century 'Croatia' was a geographic name in the Carpathian lands echoing the earlier presence there of the (southern) Croats, who had already migrated south, and that their former neighbors called various tribes who occupied the same territory by this name, just as the name of the Celtic *Boii* had been passed on to the German *Baiuwarii* (or *Baivarii*) and the Czech Bohemians (Ger. *Böhmen*), or as the name 'Scythia' had been applied to the region's later colonizers. If this were the case, the name had no ethnic significance.¹⁷³ The second possibility is that Constantine based his account of the Croatian migration on the fact that a people named Croats did indeed live in the Carpathian region in his time. The problem with the first conjecture lies in the circumstance that Constantine's entire history of the migration of the Croats from the Carpathian regions is very dubious, and, as I have already shown, modern scholarship is inclined to question the credibility of this report. It is very difficult to accept it as the cornerstone of any theory, and it is equally difficult to believe that the Carpathian region

170. I have in mind the forged founding charter of the Prague cathedral (see below, chap. 9); it is unlikely that the names of tribes and place-names in this document are fictitious.

171. The late Rački, in his otherwise very critical study 'Bijela Hrvatska i Bijela Srbija,' reached this odd conclusion because, despite his skepticism with respect to Constantine's report, he could not completely rid himself of Šafařík's (almost universally accepted) theory of a Greater Croatia that stretched from the Czech mountains to the middle Dnister (Šafařík, *Slovanské starožnosti*, vol. 2, sec. 31). Moreover, despite all that critics of this view have said to invalidate it, the same theory finds support in *optima forma* from Niederle in the last part of *Slovanské starožnosti*, 2: 272, 279, which aspires to integrate all research on Slavdom of the last decades.

172. Especially in the Old Germanic (northern) form 'Harfaða' (*Harfaða fjöll*) of the *Hervararsaga*. Some interpret this name as 'Carpathian,' others as 'Croat' mountains. If it were possible to establish that this name was known in the south, the question of *Chrobatia* would be resolved.

173. Kryzhanovskii presented this view regarding the Rus' Croats aptly in his study *Zabuzhskaia Rus'*, p. 342ff. Marquart, too, ultimately reached the conclusion that the name had a toponymic, geographical nature (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. xxxix). That the name *Chrobacya*, when applied to the region on the Vistula, has only a historical (more precisely, conventional) meaning has also been admitted by Wojciechowski in a work of the same name (*Chrobacja*, pp. 2–3). Potkański, in his study 'Kraków przed Piastami,' completely ignores these conventional Polish Croats (cf. his 'Lachowie i Lechici,' p. 208). Klajić (*Hrvati i Hrvatska*) and Kos (*Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev*) identify the White (meaning 'free,' 'independent') Croats as the state founded by Samo. Westberg also locates White Croatia in Czech and Slovak lands, but relocates White Serbia to Galicia, probably because of [Constantine Porphyrogenetos's] Boiki (Boiki). Marquart returns to a Croatia on the Vistula, and so on.

was known by the general name of Croatia. As to the second conjecture, the question arises: what Croats do we know in this region? Other sources tell us only about Croats on the Elbe and Oder. In fact, Constantine's account of 'White Croatia,' as well as all the other references to Croats that have been discovered to date,¹⁷⁴ can all be applied to this western Croatia. Hence there is no point in continuing on about some eastern Croatia. Some scholars saw an indication of the eastern location of Croatia in Constantine's report that the Croats were attacked by the Pechenegs. But the Pechenegs of Constantine's narrative could just as well have attacked the western Croats when they were mounting raids against the neighboring Hungarians. This is quite possible in light of the Pecheneg and Cuman raids on Hungary in the ninth century. The second detail in Constantine's account, which supposedly points to the eastern Carpathians, is his reference to a 'place called Boiki (Boϊki)' on the border with the White Serbs; for a long time this was considered—and some consider it still—to be a reference to the Ukrainian Boikos.¹⁷⁵ That is very unlikely, however, because the location is too far east for the Serbs, nor is there any indication that the name of the Boikos was ever in such wide usage.¹⁷⁶

So all we are left with to suggest the existence of a Rus' Croatia in the Carpathians is the Primary Chronicle. But this source is so ill informed about the western Ukrainian lands, and its references to the Croats are so meager, that only in combination with Constantine's account is it possible to conjecture a Rus' Croatia on the Dnister. Because this brings us full circle, I regard the question as an open one. It is doubtful that there was a Ukrainian tribe called the Croats. If such a tribe existed, we do not know where it lived.¹⁷⁷ At the same time, we do not know how far west the boundaries of the Dulibians extended or by what tribal name the Ukrainian colonizers of the Carpathian slopes were known.¹⁷⁸

* * *

Leaving aside the question of tribal name as unresolved and quite secondary in nature, let us now examine the Ukrainian colonization of the western frontiers of Ukrainian territory. As I have already written, the Chronicle tells us very little about these western borderlands (its

174. King Alfred's 'Horiti,' al-Mas'udi's 'Khrovatin' (or so it has been corrected), and the Croats in the *Legend of St. Wenceslas* (St. Václav). Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. XXXIV [also pp. 468, 471]) recently surmised that the mysterious city in Slavic lands mentioned in Arab geography of the ninth century (and thence in Ibn Rusta, Gardizi, and others), which until now has been read as 'Jarwab,' 'Jarwat,' or 'Khurdab,' should be read as 'Khorwat' and taken to mean Cracow. This is a completely arbitrary conjecture!

175. Šafařík was the first to offer this interpretation. In 1894, Partyts'kyi engaged in a heated polemic on this subject with I. Verkhrats'kyi in feuilletons that appeared in *Dilo* (Partyts'kyi, 'Do rozpravy o "Boikakh,"' 'V odvit p. Verkhratskomu,' and 'Zvidky pishla nazva "Boiky"?'; Verkhrats'kyi, 'Do kvestii pokhodzenia nazvy "Boiky,"' 'Zamitka na odvit p. Partytskoho,' and 'Zvidkilia vziala sia nazva "Boiky"?''). Published by H. Jireček, the *Karten zur Geschichte* (1897) also show the 'Boiki' on the Dnister (map 4).

176. It is more likely that Boϊki is a distorted variant of the name *Boiohem*, or Bohemia, as most scholars now believe.

177. Niederle (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, 2: 265–66) has stated that he cannot agree with my skeptical attitude toward this Croatia on the Dnister, but he has been unable to muster any evidence to support its existence. His exposition on this subject exemplifies the arbitrary and unfounded arguments that occur rather periodically in his pretentious and intellectually weak work.

178. The presence of several places named Duliby in the basin of the upper Dnister could be indicative of the western boundary of Dulibian territory (one Duliby near Khodoriv, another near Stryi, and a third near Buchach), but we must not ascribe too much significance to such individual names.

information about the eastern and southern peripheries is just as meager) and knows very little about them (I cite examples of this below). We must therefore take a regressive tack and reconstruct the early stages from later facts about Ukrainian settlement here.

As we know, present-day Ukrainian ethnic territory extends far to the west, in a narrow wedge between lands inhabited by Polish and Slovak populations. This wedge reaches almost to the source of the Dunajec, from whence it widens and stretches eastward along both sides of the Carpathians. The northern boundary runs in a northeasterly direction, encompassing the lands at the headwaters of the Poprad, Ropa, Wisłoka, and Wisłok up to the Sian.¹⁷⁹ In the region of Iaroslav [Jarosław] it crosses from the right bank of the Sian to the left and from there leads into the watershed of the Vistula and the Buh, which is inhabited by a mixed population of Poles and Ukrainians. According to the latest statistics, the middle Vepr [Wieprz] serves as the approximate border, east of which Ukrainians predominate, though in places they also occupy territory on this river's west bank. In the basin of the Narew [Narań], the Ukrainian settlements neighbor Belarusian territory, which now encompasses the southern part of the Nemunas basin.¹⁸⁰

South of the Carpathians, Ukrainian settlements also begin in the Dunajec basin, but here they are quite slovakized. They occupy a narrow belt, interrupted and isolated by Slovak communities, which extends eastward along the Carpathian slopes, following the Hungarian border along the Poprad across the upper reaches of the Torysa, Toplia [Top'la], Ondava, and Laborec Rivers.¹⁸¹ A larger, uniformly Ukrainian territory only begins on the Uzh River. From there, it stretches eastward between the ridge of the Carpathians and the upper reaches of the Tisza¹⁸² and its tributary, the Vișeu [Vyshava] (Vissó),¹⁸³ until it encounters the Romanian (Vlach) colonization on the upper reaches of the Vișeu, Bistrița, and Moldova Rivers. Beyond this belt of uninterrupted Ukrainian territory, there are islands of Ukrainian settlement in the foothills of the Carpathians surrounded by Slovak and, farther on, by Hungarian populations. These islands extend far to the south, into the basins of the Bodrog, Hernád, Sajó, Kraszna, and Szamos Rivers, but by now they are denationalized to such a degree that only the Eastern rite bespeaks their Ukrainian origin.

A look at the shape of this Ukrainian ethnic territory on a map reveals that the homogene-

179. That is, the districts of Nowy Targ, Nowy Sącz, Grybów, Gorlice, Jasło, and Krosno, where according to the census of 1900 there were about 61,000 Ruthenians. Ukrainian settlements begin in the west with a group of villages west of the Poprad. Cut off from their eastern countrymen by the Polish town of Piwniczna, they neighbor directly upon Ukrainian villages that are heavily slovakized in the Szépes [Spiš] komitat. East of the Poprad, Ruthenian settlements extend to Grybów (Królowa Ruska, Bogusza), follow the right bank of the Ropa in a northeasterly direction, and on the Wisłoka River cross, moving southward, to the headwaters of the Wisłok River. Beyond the Wisłok, with the exception of the foothill region, there are no Ruthenians. The region between the Wisłok and Sian Rivers is occupied by a mixed population, and the Ukrainian element decreases as we move in a northwesterly direction farther away from the mountains and the Sian. The group of so-called Zamishantsi villages in the bend of the Wisłok between Krosno and Strzyżów constitutes the last Ruthenian outpost; farther north, the area of Ruthenian settlement decreases and is confined to a narrow belt along the Sian below Iaroslav. Immediately north of this region, Poles also inhabit the right bank of the Sian in significant numbers, and below Leżajsk the population on both sides of the Sian is almost uniformly Polish.

180. For the most important literature on the Ukrainian-Polish border, see Note 7. Additional bibliography appears in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

181. The Szépes, Sáros, and Zemplén komitats.

182. A little above the mouth of the Borzhava River.

183. The Uzhhorod, Berehovo, Ugocsa, and Máramaros komitats.

ously Ukrainian mountain belt, with regions of mixed population at both ends and with weak admixtures of Ukrainian population in areas to the north and south of the belt, resembles the trunk of an ethnic body with atrophied, almost lost, extremities. It is quite obvious that the colonization of the mountain regions could not have proceeded from east to west only by way of the mountains. Ukrainian colonizers must have entered the mountains from the plains, moving in from the north or the northeast and following the river valleys.¹⁸⁴ It is also clear that the Ukrainian element found today in the ethnically mixed regions represents, for the most part, the remnants of Ukrainian colonization rather than any gains in this process. There has been no new mass movement of Ukrainian population in this direction. Thus the original colonization in the ethnically mixed areas must have been substantial, in light of the fact that in these regions Ukrainians, generally quite resistant to assimilation, are being absorbed before our very eyes by the alien populations surrounding them.

Let us begin with the Polish-Ukrainian border. A comparison of the results of Galician censuses from the last several decades reveals that the Ruthenians in the western borderlands are slowly being polonized. Their numbers are increasing at a much lower rate than those of the Poles. Moreover, some of them have retained only the traditional 'Ruthenian faith' but have lost all other attributes of their original national identity.¹⁸⁵ This process has continued for centuries. Polish national identity, Polish culture, and the Polish language have predominated here since the fourteenth century, owing to the existence of a Polish state. In contrast, the earlier supremacy of Rus' had lasted only a short time and with various interruptions. Catholicism has always been aggressive upon encountering an Orthodox population, and it has inevitably served as an instrument of polonization. The Orthodox Church, on the other hand, has usually assumed a defensive position and one that has often been quite weak. Colonization efforts have drawn the Ukrainian population eastward and southward since very early times (as early as the eleventh century), and the territory it abandoned was occupied by Polish and German colonists, whose numbers, though small, had an impact in the region. The German colonization (at times quite significant), which began early and continued after the formation of the Polish state with the latter's encouragement, strengthened the Polish element because, sooner or later, the German Catholics were polonized. All these factors lead to the conclusion that over the course of many centuries Rus' must have suffered large losses to the Poles along the Polish-Ukrainian boundary. Historical sources offer a number of facts and indications that such losses did indeed occur. The privileged urban and rural communities forced the native population into the background and denationalized it. New Catholic churches and 'converted' Orthodox churches lured this population to Catholicism. The practice of closing Orthodox churches resulted in conversion to Catholicism, polonization, and so forth.¹⁸⁶

184. I am describing this colonization as a whole. In places it may have proceeded over the mountains, but that would have been the exception.

185. See the table of percentages (p. 520) in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

186. Take the example of Dubetsko on the left bank of the Sian River. Today this is the Polish town of Dubiecko. Near it stands the village of Ruska Wieś ['Ruthenian Village']; in the fifteenth century, however, Ruska Wieś was called Ruske or Stare Dubetsko ('Ruthenian' or 'Old Dubetsko'; *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 16, no. 1647, p. 188). It is quite obvious that the old settlement was Ruthenian (there are still many Ukrainians in this 'Ruthenian Village'), but a city was founded near it on Magdeburg law and it was polonized. This fact casts light on a similar Ruska Wieś near Rzeszów, also known from the fifteenth century (*Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 16, no. 1394). I am fairly certain that it was the ancient Ukrainian Riashiv (there is an 'Old Town' near it, as well). In general, the Ukrainian population in the whole Sian basin around the bend in the river near Dubetsko and Dynów [Dyniv] is now highly diluted and

Some facts lead us so deep into Polish territory that our findings strike us as improbable at first glance. At Kazimierz on the Vistula there was a Church of the Holy Spirit, as is evident from a Ruthenian inscription on the Gospel that had been given to the church by the citizenry of the town (fifteenth-century inscription).¹⁸⁷ The tradition of a Ruthenian church has survived in the neighboring village of Ćmielów (on the opposite side of the Vistula): in the founding patent of 1505, by which the town was granted a charter under Magdeburg law, the king abrogated both Polish and Ruthenian rights and customs that he found displeasing.¹⁸⁸ As late as the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Lublin was one of the principal centers of Orthodoxy

intermingled with Polish settlements. It is decreasing before our very eyes, being polonized and converted to the Latin rite under pressure from Catholic clergy and laity. Roman Catholic priests each year convert individuals to the Latin Rite and polonize them. Sometimes they succeed in converting entire settlements. In some places, the population still retains its 'Ruthenian faith,' but has lost the language and speaks Polish. Filial churches in small Ukrainian colonies remain in some places as the vestiges of once large communities or independent parishes. In Dubetsko itself, despite the presence of a Ruthenian parish, the Ukrainian population has decreased over the course of the last seventy years (1833–1903). Instead of doubling, it has decreased to two-thirds of its former size. Only a small group of Greek Catholics remain of the former parish in Dynów. Their ancient church is all that holds them to their 'Ruthenian faith.' Tradition holds that the church that stood until the end of the eighteenth century in Sianik [Sanok] was bought in Jasienica [Iasenytsia] (located between Dynów and Krosno [Korosno]). There have been no Ruthenians in Jasienica for a long time. I do not know whether there are any Ruthenians in the neighboring village of Wesola [Vesela] (also west of Dynów), but old people still remember that the local inhabitants were Ruthenians, and that they had only recently been 'refashioned' into Poles by some noblewoman who built a Roman Catholic chapel that later became a church. There was also an old Ruthenian parish in the village of Kreminna on the Sian, above Dynów. All that is left now is an old filial church and a handful of Greek Catholics, whose number has also decreased by a third in the last seventy years. The Roman Catholics tried to seize the church with the use of a forged key, but the Uniates succeeded in keeping their church. See the schematisms [parish directories] of the Peremyshl eparchy from 1833 (*Schematismus*) and 1903 (*Shematysm*). On the latinization of the villages of this region, see Pryslopskii, *Prymir liatynyzatorskoi hakaty na rubezhakh Halitskoi Rusy*, which contains data on Kreminna. On Wesola, see Magierowski, 'Kilka wiadomości o ludzie polskim,' p. 151. Such instances of seizures of Ruthenian churches are very fresh in our memory because of the legal actions of recent years. There exists an interesting letter written in 1593 by the owner of the Dynów demesne, Katarzyna Wapowska, in which she reports that she brought in Jesuits from Jaroslav and then confiscated the Ruthenian churches in the villages of Izdebky, Lubna, Holodne, Bakhir, and Vara, and in the suburb of Dynów so as to convert them into Roman Catholic ones. She then founded Latin parishes in them so that they would convert Ruthenians to Catholicism and see to it that Ruthenian children were not baptized by their own priests. See Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, pp. 53–55. The Ruthenians in these villages built new churches, and there are still large Ukrainian communities here. But this and other such episodes reveal the methods used to increase the number of local Roman Catholic Poles.

The Ukrainian population of the region along the bend of the Sian between Dubetsko and Przeworsk appeared quite different as late as the eighteenth century. The Porokhnyk deanery, which today numbers eleven parishes, comprised more than thirty in the eighteenth century. For example, Kashytsi, which had a Greek Catholic parish in the eighteenth century, has only thirteen people of the Greek Catholic faith. Cheliatycki has twelve, and Khlopychi five. The Ukrainian-rite church in Khlopychi has been converted into a Roman Catholic church by the authorities. See the schematism of Peremyshl of 1879 (*Skhymatism*, pp. 325, 452; the order regarding the Khlopychi church); M. Zubryts'kyi, 'Znadoby dlia kharakterystyky,' p. 18. Parish visitations in the middle of the eighteenth century provide some interesting indications of how Ruthenian (Uniate) lands were taken over by Roman Catholics, who then ceased making donations to the church. An island of only three villages—Zalissia, Bila, Matysivka—has survived near Rzeszów, surrounded by a 'Mazurian' [Polish] colonization. Local tradition in Rzeszów recalls a Ruthenian church where the present-day Roman Catholic church stands. Ruthenian churches in neighboring Malawa and Luka were also transformed into Roman Catholic ones. By the end of the nineteenth century, the 'Ruthenian Village' near Rzeszów—probably old Riashiv—had only a few Greek Catholics. See also the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

187. Vostokov, *Opisanie slavianskikh rukopisei*, p. 185. On the basis of *Hyp.*, p. 564, many historians also assume the existence of an Orthodox church in Sandomierz, but the reference is probably to a Roman Catholic church.

188. Baliński and Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska*, 2: 335.

and was considered a Ruthenian city. At the beginning of the sixteenth century (1505) Prince Hlynsky, in distributing donations to leading Orthodox churches from the estate of Prince D. Putiatych, also gave 'the Church of the Savior' in Lublin five *kopy* [300 groszy]. During the brotherhood movement toward the close of the sixteenth century (1594), an Orthodox brotherhood was founded under the auspices of this Lublin church, on the initiative of 'the citizens of the holy Greek rite.' As early as 1659, the Cossacks demanded the return, among other things, of 'the monastery and church in Lublin' that had been confiscated by the Uniates. Canon Krasieński (d. 1612), describing the borders of Rus' (which he drew from the vicinity of Cracow),¹⁸⁹ included the Lublin region among the Rus' districts. In Ukraine, during the rise of national awareness in the middle of the seventeenth century, the 'Rus' land' was defined as extending almost to Cracow and to Lublin. Khmelnytsky counted on Lublin and Cracow to assist Orthodox Rus' and threatened to drive the 'Liakhs' beyond the Vistula, which then demarcated the Polish ethnic boundary. In the proposals for the partition of Poland in 1657, the Vistula also figured as the Polish boundary with Rus' and Orthodoxy, as it did in Doroshenko's treaty with Turkey (to the Vistula and the Nemunas). Obviously it was then an accepted notion that Rus' and Orthodoxy extended to the Vistula.¹⁹⁰

In the light of these facts, the military campaigns into Poland of Volodymyr the Great and the continual strife between the western Ukrainian princes and Poland take on a new significance. Much of the Ukrainian territory, and even more territory with a mixed population, remained outside the borders of the Rus' state, or was part of it for only certain periods of time. At the end of the tenth century the Polish princess Oda wrote of Rus' bordering on the Prussians and of 'Rus' lands that stretch as far as Cracow.' In all likelihood, this was Rus' not only in a political, but also in an ethnic sense, inasmuch as the description corresponds exactly to later ethnic boundaries. But the population of the belt along the boundary on the plain was mixed from very early on. The population of the plain along the Wisłok and Sian was mixed as early as the fifteenth century.¹⁹¹ Surveys from the sixteenth century depict how numerous the German colonists were in Sianik.¹⁹² The practice of inviting foreign colonists, known to have begun in the reign of Danylo, took on new impetus when Magdeburg law began to spread. We see the beginnings of this in the reign of Boleslav Troidenovych of Galicia-Volhynia, who granted the German community of Sianik rights under Magdeburg law.¹⁹³ Yet the mingling of ethnic elements must have begun even before this later German and Polish colonization, owing to the presence of both Ukrainian and Polish populations in the region.

189. Krasieński, *Polonia*, p. 418: 'quae Carpathios montes attingit non longe ab urbe Cracovia' ('which reaches the Carpathian Mountains not far from the city of Cracow').

190. Michałowski, *Księga pamiętnicza*, pp. 375–76; *Akty IuZR*, 3: 557: 'the towns extending to the Vistula River in which pious Ruthenian people lived and churches stood'; *Akty IuZR*, 9: 167: 'The Ruthenian people is divided today among different countries... and from the second side from the Vistula River, and from the third, from the Nemunas, and from the fourth, from Sevs and Putyvl.'

191. For instance, in reviewing references to Ruthenian churches and priests in the Sianik acts of the fifteenth century, I have found that they correspond largely to villages that remain Ukrainian to this day. Lialyn (now Ialyn), a Ukrainian village beyond the Sian, was even then called 'Lialyn Rus'kyi' (*Ruthenicalis*), and beside it lay 'Lialyn Nimetskyi' (*Theutonicalis, Allemanicum*), like the new Dubiecko and Rzeszów that were established alongside existing Ukrainian towns and settled by foreign colonists.

192. *Zherela*, 2: 226–310 (survey for 1565).

193. See vol. 5, chap. 4, of this *History*.

Taking into account all that has been said above about the age-old process of weakening experienced by the Ukrainian population in the west, it is fairly safe to assume that the initial East Slavic colonization occupied the basins of the Buh and Sian and at some points even approached the Vistula. However, the reverse movement of Polish colonization merged with it in the watershed of the Vepr and Sian quite early on, when the Ukrainian settlement of this periphery was quite sparse. It was at this early stage that the regions with mixed populations emerged along the Wisłok and Wisłoka and between the Vepr and Vistula. Over the course of later centuries, there was an influx of Poles and an outflow of Ukrainians. In addition, historical circumstances steadily weakened the Ukrainian element to the advantage of the Poles, and in the end only the unexploitable mountain regions were left firmly in Ukrainian hands.

Farther to the northwest, along the boundary with Belarus, Ukrainian territory now ends more or less in the Dorohychyn [Drohiczyn] region. In the basin of the Narew we encounter transitional dialects, intermediate between Ukrainian and Belarusian (the Zabłudów [Zabludaŭ] dialects).¹⁹⁴ Thus Ukrainian ethnic territory forms a wedge to the north, into the Buh basin, between Poles and Belarusians, and corresponds to the political boundaries of Rus' in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, which extended to the Nur [Nurzec] River, the right-bank tributary of the Buh.¹⁹⁵ The northern part of the Buh region (Dorohychyn, Melnyk, Brańsk) is often regarded as a Slavic occupation of Yatvingian lands.¹⁹⁶ This view, however, is purely hypothetical; we know nothing about the Yatvingian colonization of the Buh region,¹⁹⁷ nor do we have any facts that would indicate some later Rus' colonization of this area. Only the fact that the Brest-Dorohychyn area of the Buh region has somewhat weaker links with Volhynia suggests that this land was distinct in some way. But it is difficult to determine whether the distinction was ethnic or sociopolitical. It is possible to accept the a priori assumption that the northern part of the Rus' region on the Buh—the territory beyond Brest that extends beyond the Prypiat-Nemunas watershed—was occupied later. But so far nothing has been found to confirm that this was a later Ukrainian colonization. Therefore, this question remains unresolved. A great deal remains to be done by philologists, archaeologists, and ethnographers to lay the foundations that would allow us to settle the matter, as well as to resolve the history of the present-day border of the Ukrainian territory in the north and its relationship to the Belarusians and the tribes forming the local population.

As we move to the southern slopes of the Carpathians, we encounter the same phenomenon as on the northern side. The Ukrainian population has fared best where it lives in compact masses (it has even increased, despite insupportable economic and cultural conditions and a large emigration). In regions where the population is mixed, the Ukrainian element is growing weaker and steadily becoming denationalized.

It has been observed that the Ruthenians submit to Slovak influences with particular ease. Although they are unwilling to absorb anything from the Mazurians, they readily adopt the

194. Scholars agree that Ukrainian territory on the left bank of the Buh extends farther, to the town of Sterdyń (Rittikh, *Prilozhenie k materialam dlia etnografii*). They also see transitions from Ukrainian to Belarusian here (Sobolevskii).

195. See vol. 2, chap. 6, of this *History*.

196. Jaroszewicz, *Obraz Litwy*, 1: 17. See also N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 41 (he locates the Yatvingian colonization on the Nemunas and its southern tributaries as far as the watershed of the Buh and Prypiat); Andriiashev, 'Ocherki istorii Volynskoi zemli,' p. 39.

197. In the thirteenth century, the time in which there are actual references to the Yatvingians, we find them beyond the Narew and Biebrza Rivers.

Slovak language, even when they work for Slovaks, but especially when they live among them.¹⁹⁸ That is the explanation offered for the existence of many bilingual Slovak-Ukrainian villages along the western rim of Rus'. But the local conditions of settlement need to be studied in greater detail to determine whether the Ukrainian-Slovak mingling of today is not in some measure also the result of an earlier mixed colonization, rather than just the effect of an assimilation process along the western border of Ukrainian ethnic territory. That the Ukrainian element is indeed weakening in the territories with a mixed population is unquestionably true. The majority of Ruthenians in the Szépes komitat is Slovakized to such a degree that only the Greek rite and Ukrainian elements in their language betray that they were once Ruthenians. A passionate debate is already raging over the 'Ruthenian graves' in the region to determine whether they belong to Slovakized Ruthenians or age-old Slovaks.¹⁹⁹ Documents from earlier centuries show Ruthenians where now there are only Slovaks. As late as the beginning of this century there were significant numbers of Ruthenians on the Hron River, but today they are all designated as Slovaks.

A similar process is taking place on the Ukrainian-Hungarian border, primarily because of the political, social, and economic predominance of the Hungarians. A Russian traveler at the beginning of the nineteenth century, traveling from Miskolc through Košice to Bardejov, felt that he was among Ruthenians: 'from Miskolc to the borders of Poland [*sic*], the villages and towns are mostly inhabited by Ruthenians.'²⁰⁰ This may have been an exaggeration, but the number of Ruthenians among the Hungarians on the Hungarian plain is decreasing before our very eyes. The losses suffered by the Ukrainian population during the Hungarian 'millennium [of statehood]' must have been very large. There is no doubt that the Ukrainian colonies that extend even today beyond the Sajó, Kraszna, and Szamos Rivers are the remnants of an earlier and much denser, if not mass, colonization (the traces of which are still very strong in local toponyms). Regardless of the initial dispersion, the Ukrainian population tended to descend from the harsh mountains into the plains to seek an easier living (that is how the Ukrainian colonies across the Danube in Bačka, near the mouth of the Tisza, came into being in the eighteenth century). For its part, the Hungarian population slowly infiltrated into territories bordering on the foothills. In the mixed territories thus created, the Ukrainian element was not able to retain its ethnic identity.

There are no longer any Ruthenians in Transylvania. They disappeared at a time that is still fresh in our memory, as it were. Remnants of this population are said to have survived here as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁰¹ The only traces of the Ruthenians now left throughout Transylvania are the numerous place-names that have been magyarized, romanianized, and germanicized—Oroszi, Oroszfalva, Oroszegy, Rusești, Rusielu, Rusdorf, Reußdorfl, Rusz, etc.²⁰² The toponymy of Transylvania as a whole betrays a former Slavic colonization—sedentary and possessing its own culture from the very beginning—later overlaid by Hungarian, Romanian, and German strata. This is indicated by the fact that Slavic settlers began the mining

198. Golovatskii, *Narodnye pesni Galitskoi i Ugorskoi Rusi*, p. 743; Broch, 'Zum Kleinrussischen in Ungarn,' vol. 17, introduction, and vol. 19, p. 17.

199. See the articles by J. Škultety, S. Mišík, S. Czambel, and V. Hnatiuk.

200. Bronevskii, *Puteshestvie ot Triesta do S.-Peterburga*, pp. 137, 159, 163, esp. 192. See Lamanskii, *O slavianakh v Maloi Azii*, supplement, p. 56.

201. For more on this subject, see Note 7.

202. See the small map of names connected with Rus' in Pfič [and Amlacher], 'Die dacischen Slaven,' p. 253; Kochubinskii, 'O ruskom plemeni v dunaiskom Zales'e,' p. 65.

of salt and ore deposits in the Transylvanian mountains. The Hungarian words *akna*, *bánya*, *szolnok* are Slavic terms for ore and salt mines, and they appear very frequently in magyarized or romanianized form in topographic names.²⁰³ These Slavic elements are present in Transylvanian documents from the beginning of the region's recorded history—the twelfth century. Numerous Ruthenian place-names in Transylvania also reveal clearly that this Slavic element was partly Ukrainian.²⁰⁴ Documented traces of the Rus' name date to the thirteenth century: e.g., Mount Ruscia in a charter of 1228 and the town of Forum Ruthenorum, founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It now appears that the 'Bisseni' named in thirteenth-century documents often signified the Ruthenians.²⁰⁵ There were still many Ruthenians in Transylvania in the fifteenth century, as is evident from a papal bull (1446) that refers to the numerous and large Ruthenian population in Hungary and Transylvania.²⁰⁶

The Carpathians did not mark the limit of Ukrainian colonization. The Slavic elements in toponymy, which serve as evidence of an ancient Slavic population throughout Transylvania, are not confined to this locale, but extend farther to the southeast, into present-day Moldavia.²⁰⁷ The Rus' colonization of the lower Danube is documented in the Primary Chronicle: 'all the way to the Danube.' Remnants of this colonization survived here even after the influx of the Turkic Pechenegs and Cumans. Their numbers were still quite significant as late as the twelfth century, when the Galician Principality controlled the lower Danube ('you have closed the Danube's gates, ... spreading your jurisdiction to the Danube'—the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*). This region was populated by a large number of fishermen, various merchants, and other categories of freemen (the prototype of the later Cossacks); its center was the widely known Bîrlad (Byrlat) on the lower Danube.²⁰⁸ In the north, this Danubian Ukrainian population bordered directly on Ukrainian colonies in the mountain regions of Transylvania. When the Ukrainian settlers were forced to retreat from the Black Sea coast under pressure from the Pechenegs, part of this population must have migrated northward into the mountains, where it strengthened the original colonization.

As a result, we encounter Ruthenians along the entire southern foothill zone of the Carpathians, from the Tatra Mountains to the southern Transylvanian Alps, and farther southward as far as the sea. How could it have been otherwise? In the course of the general expansion of the Slavs westward and southward, the East Slavs occupied the northern slopes of the Carpathians and the lands between the Dnister and Dnipro ('they settled along the Dnister, all the way to the Danube'). It was therefore quite natural for this population, as it

203. This material has been collected in Kochubinskii, 'O russkom plemeni v dunaiskom Zales'e,' p. 15ff.

204. Pfič [and Amlacher] ('Die dacischen Slaven,' p. 257) see[s] traces of the Ruthenian element even in the anthropological type of the local population. Cf. Filevich, 'Otchet,' p. 19.

205. As far back as the eighteenth century, some authors (J. Benkő, J. Eder) conjectured that the Bisseni were Ruthenians. Kochubinskii ('O russkom plemeni v dunaiskom Zales'e,' p. 63) believed that in charters from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the name referred to the Ruthenians, though in fact it was applied to the Pechenegs. Upon examining the original of a charter from 1324, Filevich discovered that the term *Rutheni* appeared instead of *Bisseni*, which would seem to indicate that the names were sometimes used interchangeably (see the charter in Filevich, 'Otchet,' p. 27, and a discussion of it in *ibid.*, pp. 9–10, 12–13).

206. '...quod in regno Ungariae illiusque confinibus et Transsilvanis partibus nonnulli, Rutheni nuncupati, gens quidem satis populosa et grandis numero, exisistant...' ('...that, in the kingdom of Hungary as well as on its peripheries and in its Transylvanian parts, there appear some who are called Ruthenians, a people that is indeed quite populous and large in number...')—Katona, *Historia critica*, p. 497.

207. These have been noted by Roesler, *Romänische Studien*, p. 325.

208. For more on the Danubian Rus', see vol. 2, chap. 7, of this *History*.

followed the rivers upstream and downstream on the other side, also to colonize the mountain zone of the Carpathians, which was practically uninhabited (even proponents of the theory that during the great migration of peoples, the remnants of romanized Dacians, the ancestors of modern Romanians, had taken cover in the Carpathians, especially in the Transylvanian Alps, admit that their numbers were insignificant). It could not have been otherwise. Moreover, this movement of Slavs into and across the Carpathians must have begun as soon as the Ukrainian tribes reached the Carpathians from the north and east—that is, in approximately the sixth to seventh centuries. That is why we have no historical record of the migration of Ukrainian tribes beyond the Carpathians. There was no later colonization of this region, and our only information about Slavic dispersion from the period of their initial expansion comes from those regions in which the Slavic colonists clashed with what was then the civilized world. The influx of the Rus' into Hungary beginning from the time of the Hungarian voivode Almus [Olom] to that of Prince Fedir Koriiatovych of Podilia, which later Hungarian historiography offers as an explanation for the Ukrainian colonization,²⁰⁹ consists of partly unreliable and partly insignificant facts that do not account for such a mass colonization. The actual facts surrounding the migration of Ukrainians into Hungary are not contained in the historical records.

According to the chronicle of the anonymous notary of King Béla (twelfth or thirteenth century), Almus [Olom] brought with him a band of the Rus' that he took from Kyiv when he moved through Rus' to Hungary, and Rus' soldiers and peasants served him as guides through the Carpathians (he is said to have traveled from Galicia to the source of the Uzh River).²¹⁰ When we consider the conditions in which the Hungarians made their way to the region that is modern Hungary—they were fleeing the Pechenegs and, as Constantine Porphyrogenetos reports, the Pechenegs were pursuing them²¹¹—we can be certain that the Hungarians had other things on their minds than taking the Rus' with them. Under such circumstances, the Rus' would hardly have wanted to join them of their own accord. The anonymous notary thus merely echoes the view generally held in the twelfth (or thirteenth) century that the Rus' were just as much colonists in Hungary as were the Hungarians, and that they had lived in the Carpathians for centuries while the Hungarians were still migrating in the direction of Hungary. Even after the Hungarians had arrived in Hungary, the Rus' population must have controlled these lands for quite some time. The route by which the Hungarians reached the Danube is still uncertain and controversial.²¹² In all likelihood, they must have used shorter routes from the Danube region to Hungary and entered it from the south rather than from the north. But regardless of the route by which they arrived, they initially occupied only the middle Danube region and subjugated neighboring territories only slowly. The Carpathian foothills did not become part of

209. These are enumerated in Czoernig, *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie*, 2: 146. The Rus' came into Hungary in four waves: with the Hungarians; during the reign of Duke Tosko; with Predslava, the wife of Coloman [Coloman was married to Efymlia, the daughter of Volodymyr the Great. Hrushevsky probably meant Ladislaus I, the Saint, whose wife was Predslava, daughter of Sviatoslav.—Eds.]; and with Fedir Koriatovych.

210. Anonymous *Belae regis notarius, Gesta Hungarorum*, chap. 10, p. 47: 'Similarly [to the Cumans—M.H.], many of the Rus', following their leader, Almus, came to Pannonia with him. Their descendants live in various places in Hungary to the present day' (cf. *ibid.*, chap. 12).

211. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 38.

212. For instance, Pič (*Der nationale Kampf*, pp. 65–66) still defends the anonymous notary's account that the Hungarians crossed the Carpathians from the north; Roesler claimed that they came through the Iron Gate (*Romänische Studien*, p. 162); Grot (*Moravia i mad'iary*, p. 307) argued that they arrived through the mountains neighboring the Iron Gate; etc.

the Hungarian state until the eleventh century. Before that, both this region and the Galician foothills may have been within Kyiv's political sphere of influence, at least at times. From the eleventh century onward, it belonged to Hungary, and at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century the Carpathians were known in Rus' as the Hungarian Mountains. In the thirteenth century the Hungarian chronicler Simon of Kéza called them the Ruthenian Mountains (*Ruthenorum alpes*),²¹³ either on ethnic grounds or, perhaps, because of the existence of the Galician Rus' state on the eastern side of the Carpathians.

The Ukrainians were not the only settlers in Transylvania and on the northern banks of the Danube. In addition to the Romanians, the East Slavic population must have come into contact here with settlements of the South Slavs (Bulgars) during the initial stages of Slavic expansion. Hungarian tradition offers a great deal of information about Bulgarian dominion in the Transylvanian lands. Although the question of whether Transylvania in fact belonged to the Bulgarian state remains unresolved, it is very probable that during periods when Bulgaria was especially strong, as in the first half of the tenth century, the lands north of the Danube were within its political sphere of influence. Our sources tell us nothing about a massive South Slavic colonization of the territory of Transylvania and Moldavia. Recently scholars have drawn attention to the presence of Slavic elements in the Hungarian and Romanian languages, which they claim entered these languages largely from the Bulgarian dialects, but this matter requires further investigation.²¹⁴ The remnants of the Transylvanian Bulgars (particularly in Cegléd) that have drawn such attention²¹⁵ are believed to have been later settlers (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries)—either Bogomils or war prisoners.

Ultimately, however, the contacts with Bulgars had no significance, since the Bulgarian population was abandoning these regions. The Romanian element was more important.

Earlier I mentioned the controversy over the degree to which the population of Transylvania was formed from local remnants of romanized peoples who had hidden there from Roman times and the significance of the later Romanian colonization from the Balkans. I wrote then that I believed it most probable that there were indeed romanized remnants here, but that they were weak and were only subsequently strengthened by a later migration from the Balkans. This migration must have inundated not only the Slavic colonization of Transylvania, but also that of modern Wallachia and Moldavia. It has been dated variously—to the tenth century by some and to the thirteenth by others, and it can be dated even earlier. We encounter Romanians (*Blaci*) in Transylvanian decrees of the thirteenth century, but they must have arrived here earlier, because Hungarian tradition holds that the Romanian colonization was very old, certainly older than the Hungarian one.²¹⁶ At the end of the twelfth century, we have clear references to Romanians on the northern banks of the Danube. After the disintegration of the Cumans during the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the Romanian population

213. Simon of Kéza, *Gesta* 2.1 (p. 103).

214. See, for example, the studies by Ásbóth: 'Die Anfänge der ungarisch-slavischen ethnischen Berührung,' and 'Bolgarskoe *sh* i slavianskie zaimstvovannye slova vengerskogo iazyka.' See also Jagić, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache,' vol. 47, pt. 2, p. 376. Jagić (review of I. Filevich, p. 237) identifies Slavic non-Ruthenian names in Transylvanian toponyms (cf. idem, 'Einige Streitfragen,' *ASP* 20: 22–23). This question requires further clarification.

215. In addition to the works listed above, mention must be made of studies by Tsonev, 'Transilvanskite bălgari'; Miletich, 'U sedmigradskite bălgari'; idem, 'Sedmigradskite bălgari'; idem, 'Zeselenieto na katolishnite bălgari'; and K. Jireček's review of L. Miletich, 'Sedmigradskite bălgari.'

216. Anonymus Belae regis notarius, *Gesta Hungarorum*, chap. 24 (p. 65).

must have been strengthened even more, and it inundated the local Ukrainian settlements—remnants of an earlier colonization that had been weakened by the Turkic pressures of the tenth to twelfth centuries and of a later colonization arriving in the Danube region after the thirteenth century.²¹⁷

As a result, Ukrainian colonies in the basin of the upper Tisza survived to our own times (in compact masses in the foothills and in enclaves on the plain), whereas in Transylvania and the Danube region they disappeared altogether. Differences in the conditions of colonization were the reason. The initial Ukrainian colonization of these western borderlands must have been rather sparse in relation to the area that it covered. Its outer perimeters may have reached far, but they must have been very weak. Therefore, when the Hungarians arrived in the plain between the Danube and the Tisza, the southern Ukrainian settlements, inundated with a foreign population, began to denationalize under the impact of the predominance of the Hungarians in the political and other spheres. The weak remnants of Ukrainian settlements along the Danube disappeared in the same manner under a wave of Romanians. In the foothills of the Carpathians, left to themselves on territory in which the Hungarians-Magyars were not interested, the Ruthenians grew stronger over the centuries and populated the region in a compact mass. But they were not left in peace in the Transylvanian mountains. Their lands in the southeast were occupied by the Magyars (Szeklers) and Germans. An even more important factor was that the Ruthenians had serious competitors for their lands in the Romanians, who were particularly adapted to the pastoral life of mountain regions. From the very outset, the local Ukrainian population intermingled with the Romanians. Since the Romanians came here in large numbers and the Ukrainian colonies had weak links with their motherland, the Ukrainians were ultimately absorbed. Nonetheless, the remnants of this Ukrainian colonization were still quite significant in the fifteenth century. On the lower Danube, too, the remnants of the 'numerous and fierce' Rus' were known as late as the end of the sixteenth century. A papal instruction to the legate Alessandro di Comolo of 1594 makes mention of them.²¹⁸

* * *

Such was the picture of Ukrainian colonization in the period of the great Slavic dispersion. However, the boundaries defining that colonization at its maximum extension were not durable, and it soon suffered substantial losses, particularly in the steppe zone.

The movement of East Slavic tribes southward, which began during the Hunnic migration through Ukrainian territory, continued steadily throughout the fifth and sixth centuries despite the dangers that life in these regions posed. The East Slavs penetrated the southern lands amidst the continuous flow of ever new Turkic hordes and the remnants of the earlier population of the Black Sea region, which streamed spontaneously westward, only to fall back again whenever some obstacle halted their progress. By the middle of the sixth century, caught in the midst of

217. Długosz (who was close in time to the Romanian migration to the northern banks of the Danube) gives an interesting report. He refers to the expulsion by the Romanians of Rus' settlers from Danubian Romania and calls the Rus' 'ancient rulers and inhabitants' of these lands (Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae*, 9: 277). Some might suspect that Długosz based this observation on the reference in the Primary Chronicle to the Romanians expelling the Slavs from the Danubian lands. However, Długosz is speaking of a later Romanian colonization—not about the Slavic and specifically Rus' settlers whom the Romanians pushed out.

218. 'The Rus', who are a people neighboring these, but more numerous on the banks of the Danube and more fierce than the others...': Clement VIII, 'Instruction to Alessandro di Comolo (1594).'

this storm raging in the steppes and unafraid of it, the Slavic settlers succeeded in occupying the entire coast of the Black Sea between the Danube and the Don. They were obviously no less successful at adapting to the dangers and permanent warfare in this area than were the Turkic and Ugrian hordes roaming the steppes amid the Slavic settlements. Slavic volunteers joined these hordes in their wanderings and looting raids on Transdanubian and other lands. The passage of the Avars was followed by a period of relative calm. The Finno-Ugric-Turkic tribes in the Don and Volga regions had organized under the leadership of the Khazar horde and blocked the Turkic stream from Asia to Europe for some two to three centuries, allowing the Black Sea region to enjoy a somewhat more peaceful life.

This was an unusual phenomenon in the Black Sea steppes, and we therefore need to take a closer look at this singular horde, whose role in the history of Slavic colonization and culture was positive rather than ruinous like that of others. Unfortunately, information about the Khazars is very limited and insufficient to answer the most interesting questions associated with their history and their relations with the East Slavs.

The hordes that were known under the single name of Khazars were not ethnically homogeneous. The thirteenth- [and fourteenth-] century Arab geographer Abu al-Fida reported that there were two distinct physical types among the Khazars, one dark and one fair. Certain other facts also support the theory that the Khazars were an ethnically mixed population, a conglomerate of various hordes that had moved into the Don region as part of the Finno-Ugric-Turkic wave. Some scholars have conjectured that the Khazars were originally of Finno-Ugric stock but had fallen under the influence of the Turks, either culturally or as a result of having been conquered by some Turkic horde. The names of the highest offices among the Khazars were Turkic. Al-Istakhri wrote that the Khazar language was similar to Turkic. But other ethnic elements may have been present as well.²¹⁹

The Khazars are named for the first time as allies of Emperor Herakleios in Byzantium's war against the Persians, begun in 622.²²⁰ It is quite likely, however, that the people being referred to as Khazars were the Akatzirs, who were known from the mid-fifth century, and were then living somewhere in the middle Don or Volga region, in the vicinity of the Bulgars.²²¹ The Akatzirs were allied with Byzantium during the reign of Attila and fought against him, but later they voluntarily submitted to the Huns.²²² The Turkic pressure in the mid-sixth century affected the Akatzirs as well; they were conquered by the Ugrian Saraguri, who were being pushed by the Sabiri, a Turkic or mixed horde. This new combined Saraguri-Akatzir horde also allied itself with Byzantium, in exchange for 'gifts.' Perhaps it was to serve Byzantine interests

219. For studies on the Khazars, see, in addition to the old edition by Frähn ('Veteres memoriae Chasarorum') that contains some of the Arabic texts about the Khazars, the following works: V. Grigor'ev, 'Obzor politicheskoi istorii khazarov'; idem, 'O dvoistvennosti verkhovnoi vlasti u khazarov'; Cassel, *Der chasarische Königsbrief*; Howorth, 'The Khazars...were they Ugrians or Turks?'; Golubovskii, 'Bolgari i khazary' (contains additional literature on the subject); Tomaschek, *Ethnologische Forschungen*, vol. 1; Kunik, 'O zapiske gotskogo toparkha,' p. 84; Harkavy, 'Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Cordoba und Astrachan'; idem, 'Mitteilungen über die Chasaren'; idem, 'Skazaniia evreiskikh pisatelei o khazarakh'; idem, 'Soobshcheniia o khazarakh'; idem, 'Nekotorye dannye po istoricheskoi geografii'; Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung'; idem, 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov'; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*; Kutschera, *Die Chasaren* (a dilettantish compilation).

220. Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 315.

221. Cf. Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 5.

222. Priskos in ed. de Boor, pp. 130, 139 (*HGM*, 1: 298-99, 310).

that they began to wage campaigns against Persia.²²³ The similarity of the policies of the Akatzirs in the sixth century to those of the Khazars also suggests that the two were in fact the same people.²²⁴

When the main body of the Bulgars began to move westward from their encampments around the Sea of Azov, the Khazars expanded into the region, subjugated the remnants of the Bulgar hordes near the Don,²²⁵ occupied the northeastern coast of the Caspian Sea, and even attempted to conquer the Transcaucasus. For a whole century—from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the eighth—the Khazars (now known under this name) battled the Arab Caliphate, which had conquered the Persian Empire of the Sasanians and hoped to annex the southern Caucasus. In the end, Transcaucasia came under Arab rule. After the middle of the eighth century, the Khazar border did not extend beyond the Pass of Derbend, where the Sasanians had built a wall to keep out the Khazars.²²⁶

Unfortunately, information on the expansion of the Khazar state north of the Caucasus—a topic of special interest to us—is very scanty. We know from events at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries that the Khazars controlled the Strait of Kerch (Phanagoria-Tmutorokan) and the eastern Crimea. For a while there was even a Khazar governor (*tudun*) in Cherson. Though Cherson was retained by Byzantium, the Khazars remained in the eastern Crimea for a long time.²²⁷ Our Chronicle tells us that for a time Khazar suzerainty was recognized by the East Slavic tribes—those in the Don region, as well as those farther removed, such as the Viaticians on the Oka, the Radimichians on the Sozh, and even the Polianians. According to the Chronicle, the Viaticians remained vassals of the Khazars until the second half of the tenth century. In the letter of the Khazar kagan Joseph (purportedly from the second half of the tenth century), the Khazar state is described as bordering on the lands of the nomadic Ugrians (Hangrin)²²⁸ in the north and on the Yaik (Ural) River in the northeast.

223. Priskos in *HGM*, 1: 341, 346 (ed. de Boor, pp. 158, 161).

224. The anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna was the first to identify the Akatzirs as the Khazars: 'which Khazars the above-mentioned Jordanes calls Agaziri' (*Ravennatis Anonymis Cosmographia* 4.1). Marquart recently rejected this identification and suggested a number of other possibilities (that the Akatzirs were Ugrians or that they were Mordvins—*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. 40, XXIV), but without putting forward any serious arguments to support his theory or to disprove that the Akatzirs were indeed the Khazars. Mention should be made of Howorth's interpretation that the Akatzirs were 'White Khazars' (from the Turk. *ak* 'white'). Another theory, supported by Marquart, is that their name meant 'forest people' (from the Turk. *aghaj* 'tree').

225. Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 358. Cf. the letter from Kagan Joseph (Harkavy, 'Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Cordoba und Astrachan'). The full text contains an interesting mention that the Khazars occupied the territories of the Venantari people after expelling them. Most probably, that name is a variant of the name of the Oghkhundur-Bulgars (cf. above, pp. 118–19, the variants Woghchondor, Unugunduri, etc.); other interpretations are Venedi, Antae, Viaticians, etc.

226. On these wars, see V. Grigor'ev, 'Obzor politicheskoi istorii khazarov,' pp. 51–57.

227. Nikephoros, *Historia syntomos*, pp. 41, 45; Theophanes the Confessor, ed. de Boor, 1: 373, 378; the catalogue of eparchies published by de Boor ('Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatum'); *Life of St. Cyril*. See also above, p. 75.

228. 'Hangrin'—vulg., but likely. In the translation of the full text published by Garkavi ('Soobshcheniia o khazarakh,' p. 160; idem, 'Nekotorye dannye po istoricheskoi geografii'), we have 'Hagrie.' Among the subject peoples in this text we find the 'Veltit (or Venentin, Vanantiat) [...], Sever (Savar, Suur), Slaviun.' The 'Veltit' have been identified as the Viaticians and 'Sever' as the Siverianians, but both names may be an anachronistic reminiscence of the local Venantari and Sabiri. Kagan Joseph's letter remains a puzzle; but even if it is apocryphal, it presumably has some real basis in tradition.

The center of the Khazar state, however, was in the Caspian region. At the mouth of the Volga stood the Khazar capital, Atil (Itil); farther south, not far from the mouth of the Terek, stood Samandar [Semender], famous for its vineyards.²²⁹ It was here, along the Caspian shore, that the Khazars proper probably lived. The Arab author Ibn Hawqal (tenth century) writes that this population lived in houses of wattle and daub. The account of Kagan Joseph indicates that it was a sedentary population that engaged in farming and gardening. The Khazars ate mostly fish and rice, which was probably local produce.²³⁰

The organization of the Khazar government was dualistic, which was a rather common system among peoples of Turkic origin or culture. Headed by a kagan, who was held in very high esteem but had no real power, the state was in fact governed by his deputy, the *beg*. Some scholars see in this evidence of an earlier subjugation of the Khazars by some foreign (Turkic) horde. But it may also signify that the begs, who were leaders of the army, had usurped the kagan's power. Arab sources note that Khazaria was the only state with a permanent army, recruited from among the Muslims and Slavs.²³¹ The beg's power rested on the army. The political order was characterized by great tolerance toward various subject peoples, even though in theory the power of the kagan was absolute.

Khazar cities served as important intermediaries in trade and cultural relations between Europe and the East. According to al-Mas'udi (first half of the tenth century), there were seven judges in Atil: two for the Muslims, two for the Khazars, two for the local Christians, and one for the Slavs, the Rus', and other pagans. Similar accounts are given of Samandar: the Muslims had their mosques, the Christians their churches, and the Jews their synagogues.²³² Khazaria engaged in large-scale trade with the Slavs and other eastern European peoples and served them as go-between with the Caliphate and Asia Minor, similarly to Bulghar, the capital of the Volga Bulgars.

The Khazar state played an even more important role as eastern Europe's bulwark against the Asian hordes. Though more detailed information concerning this dates to the middle of the tenth century, it nevertheless throws light on the policy of the Khazar state in general. In the tenth century the Khazars prevented the Turkic horde called the Oghuz [Ghuzz, Uzes] from crossing the Volga and moving into the Black Sea steppes. They also blocked access to the east for the Rus' pirates who plundered the Caspian shores in their boats.²³³ By maintaining peace, the Khazar state served its own economic interests, since the Khazars controlled the regions along the Black and Caspian Seas and collected profits from the trade of these lands. By the tenth century the Khazars had already become weak and were unable to serve as a bulwark against marauding campaigns from both sides. But in the eighth to ninth centuries the empire was still strong, and the role it played in maintaining peace and promoting commerce was much greater.

Unfortunately, we have very little information about the very interesting struggle of the Khazars against the Turkic hordes. The horde of the Altaic Turks that overran the Caspian lands in the second half of the sixth century very soon lost its power in the west. By the ninth

229. Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung'; idem, 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov.'

230. See Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 92, 220; Joseph's letter in Garkavi, 'Soobshcheniia o khazarakh,' p. 161.

231. Al-Mas'udi in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 130.

232. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 129–30, 220; cf. the catalogue of eparchies (Boor, 'Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatum,' p. 534), which includes a bishop, ὁ Ἀστῆλ—probably Atil.

233. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 131; Kagan Joseph in idem, 'Soobshcheniia o khazarakh,' pp. 160–61. An analysis of this information appears in Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. 337–41.

century, the Ugrians and the Pechenegs were pressing the Khazars. Arab sources report that in the middle of the ninth century, the Turkic hordes put such strong pressure on the Khazars that the latter asked for assistance from the Arabs.²³⁴ At the end of the ninth century, the Khazars, unable to stop the Pechenegs, allowed the horde through into Europe;²³⁵ subsequently, their eastern policy consisted of containing the Oghuz.

The decline and fall of the Khazar state began at the end of the ninth century. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, the Alani and the Black Bulgars in the Caucasus were no longer under Khazar control and opposed them from the south, while the Oghuz pressed them from the east and the Pechenegs from the west.²³⁶ Byzantium had strengthened its position in the Crimea and contained Khazar influence in the region. Meanwhile, the emerging Rus' state on the Dnipro had not only removed the Slavs from under the suzerainty of the Khazars, but it now ravaged their empire with frequent campaigns. An indication of the decline of the Khazar Empire in the ninth century, apart from the Arabic account of Khazar helplessness in the war with the Turks, was the well-known episode described by Constantine of the construction of Sarkel on the Don during the reign of Emperor Theophilos. No matter how this puzzling episode is interpreted (that the fortress was built by the Greeks on their own initiative as a bulwark against the Khazars for their eastern possessions,²³⁷ or, as Constantine claims, that the Greeks built Sarkel at the request of their allies the Khazars for the purpose of strengthening Khazar defenses), this fact nevertheless indicates that in the first half of the ninth century the Khazars had become significantly weaker. If the fortress had been built to defend the Khazars, as Constantine insists, it would have been to protect them against the Ugrians, who threatened them from the west.²³⁸ It is also possible that the Rus' had already begun to trouble the Khazar Empire, and the purpose of the Sarkel fortress on the Don was to block their way from the Don to the Volga and to the Caspian Sea.²³⁹ Such Rus' campaigns wrought terrible devastation on the Khazars in the tenth century, culminating in the final strike by Sviatoslav, who reduced the once famous Khazar state to ruins.

Apart from the onslaught of external enemies, another cause of the decline of the Khazar Empire in the tenth century was some sort of internal struggle. According to Constantine, sometime toward the end of the ninth century civil war broke out among the Khazars, and the losing side left and joined the Ugrians.²⁴⁰

234. Ibn al-Athir in Grigor'ev, 'Obzor politicheskoi istorii khazarov,' p. 58.

235. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 37. But Constantine is mistaken when he writes that the Khazars, allied with the Oghuz, deliberately drove the Pechenegs into Europe.

236. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chaps. 10–12.

237. This theory was put forward by Uspenskii ('Vizantiiskie vladeniia'), who transposed the episode from the first half of the ninth century to the beginning of the tenth. Though well-argued, the theory remains a hypothesis in view of Constantine's testimony regarding the loyalty of the Khazars. See Uspenskii's polemic ('O mirzhakh' and 'Otvet') with Vasil'evskii on this subject. See also Lamanskii, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla,' *ZhMNP* (June 1903), pp. 353–54.

238. Cf. the Arabic account (Ibn Rusta, ninth century): 'They say that in earlier times the Khazars, fearing the Hungarians and other neighboring peoples, dug trenches as a method of defense' (Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 27).

239. Archaeologists suggest that Sarkel was located at the site of an old settlement on the left bank of the Don in the village of Tsimlianskaia, where excavations have revealed the remains of brick walls, fragments of Byzantine columns (perhaps from a church), and Byzantine and Rus' crosses and coins. See Sizov, 'Raskopki'; Kh. Popov, 'Gde nakhodilas' khazarskaia krepost' Sarkel,' *Trudy*, vol. 1, with a discussion on p. 102 of vol. 2; Zverev, 'Materialy po arkhologii Dona'; Laskin, 'Sochineniia Konstantina Bagrianorodnogo,' p. 223ff.; Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung,' sec. 4; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, chap. 1 (for other interpretations).

240. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 39.

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I have already mentioned that, according to Kagan Joseph's letter, the northern boundary of the Khazar Empire extended to the lands of the Ugrians. This description seems probable, and it may be that pressure from the Khazars caused the western portion of the Ugrians to separate and move west under the name of Hungarians-Magyars. We now know for certain that the Hungarians—or Magyars, as they call themselves—are a people of Finno-Ugric stock, most closely related to the present-day Ural Voguls [Mansi] and Ostiaks [Khanty] (their western neighbors, the Zyrians [Komi] and Votiaks, still call these people the Jögra).²⁴¹ But, as the Hungarian language indicates, the Finno-Ugric base was significantly altered by Turkic elements, either as the result of contacts and intermingling or through conquest. Constantine Porphyrogenetos writes that the Ugrians were vassals of the Khazars and that a portion of the Khazars joined them. There may have been other instances in which Turkic elements were incorporated into the Hungarian horde or in which the Hungarians were ruled by the Turks.²⁴²

We have no reliable information about when the Hungarians-Magyars separated from their countrymen and began their migration westward.²⁴³ Constantine Porphyrogenetos,²⁴⁴ the only relatively trustworthy source on the Hungarian migration,²⁴⁵ relates that in ancient times, the 'Turks,' as he calls the Hungarians, lived near the Khazars and under their suzerainty. Their land was called Lebedia, after the name of the principal Hungarian voivode (βοέβοδος), and was located on the river Chidmas (Χιδμάς) or Chingilous (Χιγγιλούς). Under pressure from the Pechenegs, the Hungarian horde split into two parts: one group remained in the east (near Persia, according to Constantine), while the other moved west to Atelkuzu [Etelköz] and thence migrated to the middle Danube region. But from his account it would appear that the Hungarians spent only three years living near the Khazars: the Pechenegs arrived in Europe at the end of the ninth century, and in 893, the Hungarians had already reached the middle Danube. Thus the passage of the Hungarians through the Black Sea steppes, as related by Constantine, must have been unusually rapid, like that of the Avars before them. Such a possibility is rather doubtful, and it has given rise to suspicions regarding the credibility of the source. We now know that the migration of the Hungarians from the Ural region to the Danube took at least a century. Contemporary Arabic accounts clearly dispute Constantine's report, which was written in a later period. We have information about the Hungarians from the time of their migration in a number of Arabic works that date to the middle or second quarter of the

241. In his study, which was based on linguistic phenomena, Winkler ('Das Finnenthum der Magyaren') established several influences on the Finno-Ugric stock of the Hungarians: Turkic, Mongol, Dravidian, Iranian, and Caucasian. Dravidian influences, if in fact present, would point to Iran, while the Caucasian influences would indicate that territories in the Caucasus were stages in this migration. Zichy ('La migration de la race hongroise') also puts forward archaeological evidence for the presence of the Hungarian horde in the Caucasus.

242. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 38.

243. Among the most interesting works on the origin of the Hungarians and their migration, see Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*; idem, 'Die Ungarn oder Magyaren'; Vámbéry, *Der Ursprung der Magyaren*; Hunfalvy, *Vámbéry's Ursprung*; Grot, *Moravia i mad'iary*; Kuun, *Relationum Hungarorum cum oriente*; Zichy, 'La migration de la race hongroise'; Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung' (the section 'Magyaren'); Hampel, *A honfoglalasi kor hazai emelékei* (on remains from the time when the Magyars were settling the lower Danube); Winkler, 'Das Finnenthum der Magyaren'; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, passim; Munkácsi, 'Az ugorok'; Lüttich, *Ungarnzüge in Europa*.

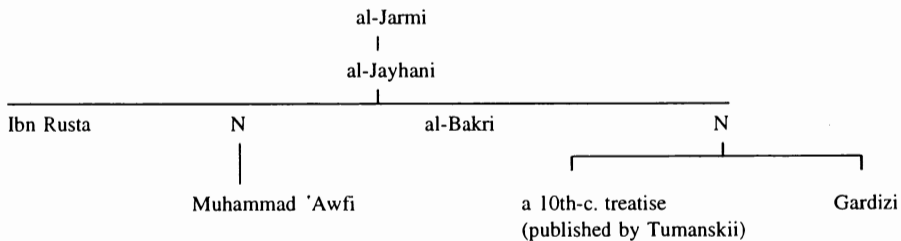
244. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 38.

245. *Gesta Hungarorum*, by Anonymus Belae regis notarius, has been wholly discredited in scholarship.

ninth century. The Hungarians then occupied the Black Sea or Caucasus steppes and were known as a warlike, plundering horde that wrought great devastation among its neighbors.²⁴⁶ As a result, the migration of the Hungarian tribes from the Volga must be pushed back to an earlier time than Constantine's date—at least to the beginning of the ninth century. The various references to Hungarians on the western borders in the second half of the ninth century then become credible. In his account, Constantine almost certainly condensed events that occurred over a longer span of time.²⁴⁷

Of the regions named by Constantine as places where the Hungarians remained for some time during their migration, the site of Lebedia cannot be established. Some situate it between the Dnipro and the Don (Χιγγιλοός could then be the Orel River, 'which the Rus' call Uhol'),²⁴⁸ but that is pure conjecture. 'Atelkuzu' certainly refers to the region on the left bank of the Danube (we cannot determine whether it stretched from the Danube to the Dniester or as far as the Dnipro). The word is thought to mean 'the river Kőz,' that is, the lands along the Kőz—the Hungarians' last stop on their way to the middle Danube region. Before that, in the words of the Arabic source, they lived along the banks 'of two rivers that flow into the Roman [Black—M.H.] Sea,' in the neighborhood of the Caucasus Mountains, probably on the coast of the Sea of Azov (near the Kuban or the Don River). Thus, throughout this period they neighbored directly on the Ukrainian tribes.²⁴⁹ According to Arabic sources, this proximity to the Hungarians made life very difficult for the Ukrainian tribes, and it must have had an impact on the Black Sea population: 'They exercise dominion over all the neighboring Slavs, impose

246. When first published, these reports were taken from Ibn Rusta, a tenth-century Arab author, but their origin was not known at the time. Only later, after identical reports were found in al-Bakri and, especially, in Gardizi, did it become obvious that these were accounts from the middle or even the first half of the ninth century. Scholars believe that the source for this information was a work on the geography and political situation in the Roman (Byzantine) Empire and neighboring barbarian lands by Muslim al-Jarmi. This work has not survived, but al-Jayhani relied on it, as did the geographers of the tenth century. Marquart gives the following table of these works on geography:



Some information about al-Jarmi and his writings is provided by al-Mas'udi: see excerpts in A. Vasil'ev, *Vizantiia i araby*, supp., p. 73.

247. The Hungarian historian H. Marczali (in Szilágyi, *A magyar nemzet története*, p. 20ff.) departed furthest from Constantine's account. He conjectured that the Hungarians reached Lebedia as early as 700 and lived there for more than a century, and that they spent a long time in Atelkuzu as well.

248. *Hyp.*, p. 427. In any event, it is not the Inhul River, as is usually assumed.

249. On traces in the Hungarian language of the Hungarians' life near the Slavs and on their origins, see Munkácsi, 'Die Anfänge der ungarisch-slavischen ethnischen Berührung'; Ásbóth, 'Die Anfänge der ungarisch-slavischen ethnischen Berührung'; idem, 'Bolgarskoe *sh* i slavianskie zaimstvovannye slova vengerskogo iazyka'; and the polemic of Melich, 'Die Herkunft der slavischen Lehnwörter'; also the paper by Janko about Rus' terms in Hungarian fishing terminology (first published in *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum naprazi osztáli Ertisitöje*; see the review by Škultétý of Ásbóth, p. 51).

upon them heavy burdens, and treat them like captives of war'; 'They constantly attack the Slavs'; 'When they attack the Slavs and take captives, they take them along the seacoast to one of the Roman [Byzantine] ports, which is called "Karkh" [probably Kerch—M.H.]...and the Greeks come out to meet them. The Hungarians conduct trade with them, offer them their captives, and in exchange receive Greek brocade, colorful carpets, and other Greek goods.'²⁵⁰ Though it refers to the passage of the Hungarians, the Primary Chronicle does not speak of any harassment by them of the Rus' population. It relates a single episode in which a band of Hungarians passed near Kyiv, but that account appears to be only a literary explanation of the origin of the site in Kyiv called Uhorske.²⁵¹ The Kyivan chronicler, taking the opportunity to mention the Hungarians several times because he knew of their existence from tradition, had not heard of any suffering that they had caused and therefore did not write of this, as he had done in the case of the Avars. The hardships inflicted by the Hungarians affected the Ukrainian population farther to the south—a matter of little interest to Kyiv, despite the fact that the Hungarians had a very strong impact on Ukrainian life in the steppes.

The Hungarians left the Ukrainian steppes in the 890s. While in the lower Danube region, at the behest of Byzantium, they took part in the Byzantines' war against the Bulgars. The Bulgars, however, set the Pechenegs on them. Caught between the two sides, the Hungarians migrated up the Danube to lands formerly occupied by the Huns and Avars and settled there. That marked the end of their migration.

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250. Khvol'son, ed., *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 27; Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 122; Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 63. On these accounts, see Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung,' p. 214; idem, 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov,' p. 20; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 27ff. The Hungarian campaigns into the Black Sea region in the 860s are also mentioned in the *Life of St. Cyril*. Karkh has also been identified as Tmutorokan, Cercinitis, and so forth. Some scholars argue that Karkh could not be Kerch, because Kerch did not belong to the Greeks in the ninth century. But a degree of inaccuracy in the Arabic source is possible. Another possibility is that we may not know all the political changes that took place in Kerch.

251. 'The Hungarians (*Ugre*) went past Kyiv by way of the hill that is now called Uhorske (*Ugor'skoje*). And coming to the Dnipro they camped in their tents [on wheels]. For they were nomads, as the Cumans are now,' says the Primary Chronicle (*Hyp.*, p. 14). Of course, the route the Hungarians took did not lie near Kyiv. An individual band may have wandered that way, but even that is questionable, in light of the circumstance that the chronicler's purpose in referring to the Hungarian presence was to explain the name of a Kyiv landmark. This report is therefore uncertain and hardly provides a basis on which to surmise a Hungarian attack on Kyiv, as Lüttich (*Ungarnzüge in Europa*) does even today (dating it to the year 862). On the other hand, the reference to the Hungarian 'tents on wheels' seems to be a genuine popular recollection of the Hungarians. It is interesting that when the Primary Chronicle enumerates the hordes that passed through Rus', it names the Pechenegs ahead of the Hungarians: 'After these [the Obry-Avars—M.H.] came the Pechenegs. And then the Black Hungarians went past Kyiv' (*Hyp.*, p. 7). However, in the Chronicle's very next phrase the Hungarians precede the Pechenegs, for they are said to have come through during Oleh's reign, whereas the Pechenegs came in Ihor's time. This transposition of the Pechenegs before the Hungarians reveals that the passage of the Hungarians left a very weak trace in the Rus' tradition, which became combined with the memory of the Pechenegs. In both entries in the Chronicle the arrival of the Hungarians is dated on the basis of foreign sources, and these dates have no meaning for the history of Rus'. The arrival of the Hungarians is related in connection with the story of the preaching of Cyril and Methodius and with the conquest of Moravia by the Hungarians, and the date 6406 (898), under which the Chronicle tells of the mission of Cyril and Methodius, of the passage of the Hungarians near Kyiv, and of their wars with the Greeks and Moravians, is—as Shakhmatov ('*Khronologiia drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodov*') has persuasively explained—conjectured from the lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius. This date, however, does not correspond to the chronology of the Hungarian drive westward.

The migration of the Hungarians and the devastation they wrought among the inhabitants of the Black Sea region was but a harbinger of a nomadic advance that was far more calamitous for the population of the region. By the middle of the ninth century, the Pechenegs were exerting strong pressure on the Khazars, who were blocking their passage to the west. Meanwhile, the Pechenegs were being pressed from the east by the Oghuz (the 'Torks' of our chronicles), and behind them by the even mightier horde of the Kipchaks-Cumans. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, the Pechenegs were then occupying the region between the Volga and the Urals. Unable to withstand the Pecheneg pressure, the Khazars ultimately allowed them through. This occurred no later than the 870s or 880s.²⁵² Once across the Volga, the Pechenegs fell upon the Hungarians and drove them from their lands. The Hungarians fled westward and the Pechenegs followed upon their heels, arriving in the lower Danube region by the beginning of the 890s. There they destroyed the Hungarian settlements and forced them to migrate into the middle Danube basin.²⁵³

The passage of the Pechenegs from the Volga to the Danube appears to have been very swift, much like that of the Avars. But unlike the Avars, the Pechenegs did not proceed westward; they remained in the Ukrainian steppes.

Their hordes dispersed across the vast expanse between the Don and the Danube. According to Byzantine accounts, in the first half of the tenth century the 'Pecheneg land' (Πατζινακία) stretched 'from the lower reaches of the Danube, across from Dristra [Silistra—M.H.], to the Khazar fortress of Sarkel [on the Don—M.H.].'²⁵⁴ Constantine relates that of the eight tribes that comprised the Pecheneg horde, four occupied the territory east of the Dnipro, and four, the region between the Danube and the Dnipro. According to him, two Pecheneg tribes occupied the western edge of the steppe, near the Danube: one 'neighbored the Rus', or Polianians; the other, the Ulychians, Derevlians, and Luchanians, i.e., the lands between the Dniester and the Dnipro. A day's journey separated the Pecheneg nomadic encampments from the Rus'-Slavic colonization above the steppe zone. East of the Dnipro, the Pecheneg territories adjoined the lands of the Khazars and the Alani in the east and Byzantium's Crimean domains in the south.²⁵⁵ The former Pecheneg lands east of the Volga were occupied by the Oghuz-Torks.

Having a large, very belligerent, and savage Pecheneg horde as a neighbor proved too difficult for the Slavic population of the steppes. Disturbed even earlier by the Hungarian

252. Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*De administrando imperio*, chap. 37) states that it happened fifty or fifty-five years previously. Since the relevant part of his work was compiled around 950 (in 951–52, according to Bury), this suggests that the Pechenegs crossed the Volga during the final years of the ninth century. In fact, however, the Pechenegs must have crossed the Volga somewhat earlier.

253. Concerning this episode and its controversial chronology, see Grot, *Moravia i mad'ary*; Golubovskii, *Pechenegi, torki i polovtsy*, chap. 3; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 519ff.; Bury, 'The Treatise,' sec. 13. Our Chronicle records the arrival of the Pechenegs under the date 6423 (915): 'The Pechenegs came for the first time against the land of Rus' and, having made peace with Ihor, they went to the Danube.' But Shakhmatov has offered the likely explanation ('*Khronologiiia drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodov*,' p. 473) that the Rus' chronicler calculated that date from the account of George the Monk about the participation of the Pechenegs in the Byzantine-Bulgarian war of 914, because an account of that war immediately follows the passage. The author of the Primary Chronicle must have reasoned that on their way to the Danube the Pechenegs would have had to pass through Rus', and that because he had no knowledge of a war with Ihor, they must have 'made peace with Ihor.'

254. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 42. See Uspenskii's 'Vizantiiskie vladeniia,' p. 263, for his observations on this chapter in Constantine (he believes it to be an account from the beginning of the tenth century), and Bury, 'The Treatise,' sec. 14.

255. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 37.

attacks, this population began to leave the dangerous regions and migrate in large numbers to safer areas. Unfortunately, our sources provide no information about this process. Silent about the devastation wrought by the Hungarians, the Primary Chronicle begins to speak of the Pechenegs only when they begin to lay waste the vicinity of Kyiv in the second half of the tenth century. The only detail about life in the steppes contained in our sources concerns the difficulties that the Pechenegs posed on the steppe routes. From Constantine Porphyrogenetos's account about the Rus' trade caravans that traveled from Kyiv along the Dnipro and the sea to Constantinople in the first half of the tenth century, we learn that these caravans had to be well armed, because the Pechenegs stalked them both on the Dnipro and along the coast.²⁵⁶ Prince Sviatoslav was killed in the steppes by the Pechenegs when they, learning that he was returning to Kyiv with rich booty, ambushed him near the Dnipro rapids. We can deduce the conditions of life in the steppes and along the border with the steppes during the Pecheneg period from later, Cuman times: continual raids on towns and villages that lived in constant fear and on military alert; large numbers of slaves taken in raids and sold in Crimean ports as laborers in distant lands, while those unfit for work or sale were killed; mass destruction of settlements. Faced with such conditions, the population fled and left entire regions uninhabited. We must not forget that there had been two centuries of peaceful sedentary life between the initial, dangerous period of Slavic expansion and the steppe upheavals of the ninth to tenth centuries. During the age of expansion, the southern Ukrainian settlers had developed a restless and warlike nature, and they readily joined the Huns and Bulgars on their raiding forays. But two centuries of sedentary life had changed this population. Unable to cope with the danger posed by their nomadic neighbors, the majority left the steppes.

Only the effects of these events are evident, moreover, at a much later stage, when the Pechenegs had been replaced by the Torks and Cumans in the steppes (second half of the ninth century). Therefore, we must consider the overall result of the Turkic impact over the course of the tenth (including part of the ninth) and almost all of the eleventh centuries.

When referring to the Ulychians and Tivertsians (in its ethnographic tract), the Primary Chronicle speaks of them in the past tense: 'They were settled along the Boh and the Dnipro [Dnister—M.H.]...and over toward the Danube...there was a multitude of them.' It adds that their towns (fortifications) still exist ('their fortified towns exist to the present day') and thus underscores that the Black Sea colonization is a thing of the past: the towns remain, but the former 'multitude' of people has gone.

I have already cited the entry in the Novgorodian redaction of the Primary Chronicle about the Ulychians' move from the lower Dnipro across the Boh in the first half of the tenth century and indicated that in all probability this migration was caused by Pecheneg pressure. This is but one episode in the history of the retreat of the Ukrainian population from the Black Sea steppes northward. In fact, that process took a long time: the steppes emptied slowly and gradually, from more dangerous regions to less threatened ones. Following the initial large migrations provoked by the first major upheavals, the outflow of the Rus' population probably lasted several centuries. The remnants of this population may have continued to straggle out of the region until as late as the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The Ulychians retreated into the lands between the Boh and the Dnister, moving in a northwesterly direction into the middle and upper Boh regions. This was the direction in which

256. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 9.

most of the steppe tribes withdrew. In the north they joined an already settled population, increased its numbers, and induced an outflow even farther to the north. One of the consequences of this reverse movement from the steppes was a population increase in the forest and marshland zones of northern Ukraine, which had been abandoned during the voluntary migration southward. To the west stretched the still sparsely populated mountain regions of the Carpathians. Their colonization must also have been affected by the expulsion of Ukrainian settlers from the coast. It is highly probable that the Tivertsians and Dulibians-Ulychians, who had previously inhabited the Dnister lands, migrated into the Carpathian and Transcarpathian regions.²⁵⁷ This is the period during which the Rus' colonization of the Carpathians as a whole was strengthened.

A similar slow retreat of Ukrainian population from the Black Sea coast must have occurred on the left bank of the Dnipro, but here we lack even the scant references available to us about the right bank. On the one hand, we can ascertain (from foreign reports) that the Don region was probably populated by Ukrainian tribes as far as the Sea of Azov before the coming of the Hungarians and Pechenegs. On the other hand, the descriptions of campaigns against the Cumans at the beginning of the twelfth century indicate that by then, the steppes south of the Sula River had been almost abandoned by Ukrainian settlers. By the twelfth century the steppes had emptied to such a degree that we can find only occasional hints of the presence of remnants of a Slavic population in the region. In all probability, the Left-Bank inhabitants also retreated mostly to the north, or, more precisely, to the northwest. Just as during the initial Slavic expansion the population influx into the Don region moved in a southeasterly direction from the middle Dnipro, so the exodus from the Don region and the coast of the Sea of Azov must have followed the ancient trade routes in a northwesterly direction, primarily into the Dnipro region, and particularly into Left-Bank lands (perhaps also into lands on the Right Bank from the territories on the lower Dnipro).²⁵⁸

The Primary Chronicle tells us nothing about the struggle between the Rus' in the Black Sea region and the Pechenegs. Nor do we know whether the Kyivan princes took any steps to defend the steppe population, which by then was dependent to a greater or lesser degree on Kyiv. There is only the single laconic reference in the Primary Chronicle, under the year 920, that Ihor fought the Pechenegs.²⁵⁹ It was only after the Pechenegs began to harrass the vicinity of Kyiv in the second half of the tenth century that a little more attention was paid to them in the Primary Chronicle. Under 968 the Chronicle reports: 'The Pechenegs came against the land of Rus' for the first time.' This refers to the first attack on the lands of the Polianians, which the chronicler knew from tradition.²⁶⁰ That, however, was a major offensive. The Pechenegs

257. Cf. N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 100; Potkański, 'Lachowie i Lechici,' p. 196 (his conjecture is expressed rather ineptly).

258. It is difficult, therefore, to accept Shakhmatov's theory (in 'K voprosu,' *RFV* 32: 3-14, as well as in part in his later work, 'Iuzhnye poseleniia viatichei') that the Don population—whom he at first identified as the Siverianians, and later as the Viaticians—colonized the lands on the Oka River as it retreated north. He has not managed to provide any serious evidence of this, and a migration directly and exclusively to the north is rather improbable.

259. *Hyp.*, p. 26.

260. The Primary Chronicle contains two such 'first' attacks by the Pechenegs on the Rus', described in identical terms—one under the year 915, the second under 968 (one of the manuscripts, the Khlebnikov, noted this contradiction and amended the word 'first' describing the attack under 968 to 'second'). It may be that the attack in 968 was recorded in the Primary Chronicle as the first known assault, but a later editor conjectured an earlier attack from a Greek source and recorded it under 915, failing to correct the later entry [*Hyp.*, pp. 26, 42].

took advantage of Sviatoslav's absence at war with the Bulgars: a large horde of them ('an uncountable multitude') laid siege to Kyiv and blocked all contact with the outside. The Rus' auxiliary divisions that arrived from the other side of the Dnipro did not dare approach Kyiv. Only the news that Kyiv would surrender the next day to the Pechenegs, together with fear of the punishment that Sviatoslav might mete out, compelled them to come to the assistance of the Kyivans. Even then it was only chance, as the Primary Chronicle relates, that saved Kyiv: the Pechenegs assumed that the troops were Sviatoslav's army and fled.

In reality, this siege of Kyiv must have been preceded by lesser Pecheneg raids and incursions into the Polianian land and the region around Kyiv. However, the raids did not survive in the oral tradition later recorded by the chronicler. Generally speaking, the Primary Chronicle reports only those episodes from the period of the Pecheneg troubles that were connected with popular lore or local recollection. Such is the story of the Pecheneg attack on lands east of the Dnipro, 'on the opposite side from Sula' (under the year 993), which is tied to the legend of the victory of a Rus' boy over a Pecheneg and with the name of the city of Pereiaslav, founded on the site where the boy had literally 'seized glory' (*pereiav slavu*) from his Pecheneg opponent. The episode recorded under 996 is associated with the Church of the Holy Transfiguration in Vasyliv. When the Pechenegs attacked Vasyliv, Prince Volodymyr the Great, unable to defeat them 'with a small retinue,' fled and hid under a bridge. While hiding, he vowed that if he were saved he would build a church on this site. Living up to his promise, he later built the Church of the Holy Transfiguration in Vasyliv. The story of the siege of Bilhorod (997) is linked with the anecdote (part of the cycle about foolish people) of how the Bilhorod citizenry outwitted the Pechenegs by convincing them that they could extract fermented pudding (*kysil'*) from the ground and thus persuaded them to lift the siege. The final Pecheneg attack during Volodymyr's reign is connected to the death of Prince Borys and is taken from the *Tale and Passion and Encomium of the Holy Martyrs Borys and Hlib*.

Of particular interest in these episodes are the general observations made by the chronicler. Before launching into the story of the Bilhorod pudding, the narrator states that there was continual warfare with the Pechenegs ('for there was continuous heavy fighting') and that Volodymyr had gone to his northern domains to gather troops for war against them ('for northern soldiers,' referring to the source of the Dnipro and to the northern domains in general).²⁶¹ Relating how Volodymyr built 'fortified towns' (*grady*) around Kyiv and populated them with settlers from the northern lands (a fact well remembered in oral tradition), the chronicler explains: 'for the Pechenegs were making war.'²⁶² These incidental remarks reveal the conditions of the period. They indicate that in the second half, and particularly in the last quarter, of the tenth century and at the beginning of the eleventh, the Pechenegs, having driven out the mostly Ukrainian population from the steppes, gained open access to more distant, as yet undevastated lands and began to harrass the middle Dnipro region, and especially the vicinity of Kyiv, which was famous for its treasures. The Kyiv region was continually under siege by the Pechenegs. Though the chronicler states that Volodymyr 'was fighting them and overcoming them,'²⁶³ the episodes that he himself describes indicate how difficult this war was. Volodymyr's local forces were insufficient and the prince had to bring in troops from distant northern domains. There were not enough people to inhabit the newly built fortress-

261. *Hyp.*, p. 87.

262. *Hyp.*, p. 83.

263. *Hyp.*, p. 83.

towns in the vicinity of Kyiv, and again Volodymyr was forced to recruit prosperous individuals from the northern lands: 'from the Slovenians and the Krivichians, and the Chud [Estonians], and the Viaticians, and with them he settled the fortified towns' ('i otъ six naseli grady').²⁶⁴ Of course, the vicinity around Kyiv emptied very quickly.

The town of Roden, at the confluence of the Ros and the Dnipro, still stood as the third quarter of the tenth century began. Along the Dnipro, which ensured contacts with Kyiv and the northern lands, the Ukrainian population was able to hold out longer. From Constantine's account about the Ukrainian border with the Pechenegs, it would appear that in the first half of the tenth century, the Rus', i.e., Polianian, settlements that had been left open to the Pechenegs by the Ulychian migration extended some distance into the steppe. Individual fortresses were able to survive along the Ros as well. But toward the end of the tenth century, the Ros region as a whole was already so weak that Volodymyr refused to waste time and effort on fortifying and defending it against the Pechenegs, and instead busied himself building fortresses nearer Kyiv, along the Stuhna and Irpin Rivers. The Primary Chronicle is unambiguous about this line of fortifications. Under 992, it says of Bilhorod on the Irpin: 'Volodymyr founded the fortified town of Bilhorod, and brought [enlisted] men from other fortified towns, and brought together many people in it, for he loved this fortified town.' There was probably a town there earlier, but Volodymyr fortified it as part of the whole system of fortifications for defense against the Pechenegs.²⁶⁵

Volodymyr built an even more elaborate system of fortifications, at least judging by the Chronicle, on the left side of the Dnipro: 'And Volodymyr said: "It is not good that there are so few fortified towns around Kyiv." And he began to place fortified towns along the Desna and the Oster and the Trubizh and the Sula and the Stuhna.' The lands on the left bank of the Dnipro were probably subject to even more attacks from the Pechenegs than those on the right bank.

As the above text indicates, the fortifications were built in three rows—along the Sula, the Trubizh, and the Seim. Although the Sula line was fortified, that may have been done for purely strategic reasons, that is, to make access to Pereiaslav, one of the most important political and commercial centers, as well as to Kyiv itself, more difficult. The Rus' colonization of the Sula region was by then probably at the same stage as that of the Ros region. So it seems from the story of the Pereiaslav youth, in which the Pechenegs approach from the Sula as if they were coming directly from the steppes and Volodymyr meets them on the Trubizh River.

In addition to fortresses, the frontier was defended by lines of walls and ditches. The German missionary Bruno of Querfurt, who visited Kyiv during Volodymyr's reign, related that Volodymyr circled Kyiv from the Pechenegs 'with a very strong and long wall.' Bruno saw this 'wall' with gates in it somewhere near the Stuhna, and even today there are three lines of walls along the Stuhna. Similar walls are found near Pereiaslav. The walls near the Stuhna (on the right bank) and the Pereiaslav walls are mentioned in the Chronicle in passing at the end of the eleventh century.²⁶⁶ There is no later reference in the Chronicle to the southern line of walls along the Ros and the Sula. These may have been fortifications dating to a later period (eleventh century).²⁶⁷

264. *Hyp.*, p. 83. Variant of the phrase following the word 'Viaticians': 'and from all fortified towns' ('i ot vsѣxъ grad')—*Novg. I*, p. 65.

265. On the building of castles by Volodymyr, see the special study on the subject (unfortunately, not very comprehensive in content) by Berezhkov in 'Sviatoi Vladimir.'

266. *Hyp.*, pp. 153, 158, 159.

267. About the walls on the right and left banks of the Dnipro, see Maksimovich, 'O drevnem vale,' p. 340ff.;

Looking at a map, one sees that at the end of the tenth century, the boundary of the most densely populated territory, which had not been destroyed by the waves of Turkic invasions, lay more or less along the border of the forest zone. This was not coincidental. The forests afforded protection from attacks by the nomads. A survey of the later attacks mounted by the Cumans (which are better documented) indicates that they never, or very rarely, penetrated into the forest lands of the Derevljanians or the Dulibians. They concentrated on the vicinity of Kyiv, which neighbored on the unprotected Ros region, and, to an even greater degree, on the Pereiaslav lands, which lay entirely outside the forest zone. Perhaps it was because of Pereiaslav's vulnerability that Volodymyr built more elaborate fortifications on the left bank of the Dnipro.

The steppe region south of the Stuhna and Sula, though forsaken by the Kyivan princes, did not empty at once. As I have already stated, this was a slow process that occurred over many decades. Significant remnants of Slavic colonization can be found in the steppes even in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, following all the storms and upheavals experienced by the sedentary agricultural population of the region. When the pressure from the steppes grew intense, this population retreated north to await calmer times, and whenever conditions improved, it returned south. In the second half of the tenth century or the first half of the eleventh, these remnants must have been considerable in number. In the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, the rather large Ukrainian population called the *Brodnyky** lived in the steppes in close alliance with the nomadic hordes that ruled the region. There were also the Danubian *Berladnyky*, merchants and pirates who on one occasion mustered a force of 6,000 men, and the Galician fishermen who lived along the lower Danube. Oleshia, an important commercial center and Kyiv's outlet to the sea, stood at the mouth of the Dnipro, and there was a Rus' port at the mouth of the Don. Tmutorokan was a Rus' domain as late as the second half of the eleventh century—an island beyond a sea of Cumans. Some settlements also survived in the steppe. All these remnants must have been larger in the first years after the Pechenegs arrived in the steppes.

In describing the former multitude of Ulychians and Tivertsians, the chronicler writes that their towns still stand (in the second half of the eleventh century). One Chronicle version has the following variant: *gradъ ixъ spy* ['the earthworks (walls) of their towns'], which suggests that what remained standing were the abandoned sites of former towns. Constantine Porphyrogenetos also mentions deserted fortresses or towns (ἐρημόκαστρα) between the Dnipro and the Danube.²⁶⁸ Yet the editor of the Primary Chronicle did not have the kind of archaeological interest that would have compelled him to devote attention to abandoned towns. In light of the existence of Oleshia, the Rus' port, and Tmutorokan, it is quite possible that other towns, too, were still populated. Located on the coast and on the larger rivers, they could have survived a long time. Also, a relatively large population probably remained in the steppes after the arrival of the Pechenegs. In part, this population slowly retreated north from the steppes. In part, it adapted to living in the steppes alongside the nomads, reverting in some measure to the warlike, semi-nomadic life of their ancestors, the Black Sea Slavs, during their period of *Sturm und Drang*, when they had accompanied the Huns and Bulgars on campaigns during the fourth to sixth centuries.²⁶⁹

Antonovich, 'Zmievy valy,' and his *Arkheologicheskaia karta Kievskoi gubernii*, p. 133ff.; Liaskoronskii, 'Gorodishcha, kurgany...v baseine r. Suly'; idem, 'Gorodishcha, kurgany...po techeniiu rr. Psla i Vorskly.'

* [See editorial note on p. 148 above.]

268. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 37.

269. On the Ukrainian population in the steppes during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, see vol. 2, chap. 7, of this *History*.

The Material Culture of the Ukrainian Tribes during and after the Period of Dispersion *

Before embarking on a description of the culture and way of life of the Ukrainian tribes at the time of their dispersion, we need to examine the sources that provide us with information about the life of these tribes in prehistoric times and at the dawn of history. There are several kinds of sources, which supplement and corroborate one another. Together they provide a fairly accurate picture of the life of this population.

The first such source is language. Comparative Slavic linguistics reveals a common stock of words that date back to the Proto-Slavic period before the dispersion and final separation of the Slavs into individual tribes, thus enabling us to identify the cultural stage that the tribes had attained by the time they migrated into the territories they now inhabit.¹ The cultural heritage of the Slavs as a group was, of course, shared by each individual tribe, including the ancestors of the Ukrainians. However, we must be careful to distinguish between the vocabulary that was part of their original common linguistic stock and the various new terms that the different Slavic tribes adopted from the common store at some later stage. In some cases, a degree of uncertainty remains. Whenever I have not been absolutely certain, I have used the terms

* [In this chapter, words and terms cited by Hrushevsky are frequently given in both their Ukrainian and Old Church Slavic or Old Church Slavonic (in Hrushevsky's terminology, 'Old Slavic,' or, at times, 'Slavic') forms, as well as in English translation. The abbreviations 'Ukr' and 'OSlav' have been inserted, as required, to identify these forms; other information provided by the editors is enclosed in brackets. Hrushevsky himself often gives a modern Ukrainian or Old Slavic word as the equivalent of a word in Proto-Slavic, Common Slavic, Proto-European, etc. Given the linguistic nature of the material, quoted words and terms are rendered in the International Scholarly (Linguistic) System of transliteration from the Cyrillic. Words and terms from other languages cited by Hrushevsky usually appear in modern transliteration and notation systems. Abbreviations for languages occurring in the chapter are as follows: CE – Common European, Celt – Celtic, CSlav – Common Slavic, ESlav – East Slavic, Ger – German, Gk – Greek, Gmc – Germanic, Goth – Gothic, HG – High German, IE – Indo-European, L – Latin, Lith – Lithuanian, MHG – Middle High German, ML – Mediaeval Latin, NGmc – North Germanic = Old Icelandic, NL – New Latin, OHG – Old High German, OLG – Old Low German, OSlav – Old Slavic, PE – Proto-European, PIE – Proto-Indo-European, Pruss – Prussian, PSlav – Proto-Slavic, Skt – Sanskrit, Slav – Slavic, SSlav – South Slavic, Ukr – Ukrainian, WSlav – West Slavic, Zend – Zend = Avestan.—*Eds.*]

1. Although linguistic research now plays a leading role in this field, it still leaves a great deal to be desired. The short discussions on the subject included in such general studies as Jagić, *Historija književnosti*, and, especially, Vócel, *Pravěk země české*, were followed by the long chapter in Krek's *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 108–83; the specialized (unfinished) work by Budilovich, *Pervobytnye slaviane*, vol. 1, fasc. 1 and 2, and vol. 2; and the monograph on Slavic flora by Šulek, 'Pogled iz biljarstva.' Budilovich's work was not favorably received by critics, even though it offers a great deal of material. Schrader (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2d ed., 1: 84) accused Krek of an 'overly high opinion of the Proto-Slavic culture.' On the other hand, German cultural historians were often inclined to underrate the level of Slavic culture, explaining linguistic similarities as Slavic borrowings from the German: Uhlenbeck, 'Die germanischen Wörter im Altslavischen'; Hirt, 'Zu den germanischen Lehnwörtern'; Loewe, 'Altgermanische Elemente der Balkansprachen'; Peisker, *Die älteren Beziehungen*. This bias is also evident in such exceptionally valuable studies of ancient life as Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*; Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*; idem, *Realexikon*. Slavic linguists, while protesting the indiscriminate application of the loan theory, are themselves often inclined to follow the same well-trodden path. See, for example, Brückner, *Cywilizacja i język*, p. 30, and the commentary by Jagić in his review of the book, pp. 536–37. An interesting attempt to indicate a reverse trend of borrowing from Slavic to German was made by Schrader in 'Über Bezeichnungen der Heiratsverwandschaft,' pp. 29–34.

Common Slavic and Common European, instead of Proto-Slavic and Proto-European.²

Archaeological materials are our second source. Finds that can be unequivocally attributed to the Ukrainian tribes reveal this population's culture in the period before it adopted Christianity. Of special importance in that category are the large groups of excavations on the territory populated by the Derevlians, another group in southern Volhynia, and a third group on the territory of the Siverianians.³ The Siverianian site is dated by coins from the ninth and tenth centuries. The finds made in the burial fields in the vicinity of Kyiv would be of great importance to the study of the earlier, preexpansion period, inasmuch as that population can be regarded as unquestionably Slavic, but, unfortunately, the published information on these excavation sites is highly incomplete.⁴

The third source is information contained in written historical records. There are a number of important accounts from the period of Slavic dispersion, mostly about the Black Sea Slavs as a group (the Antae and the Sclaveni taken together). From the ninth century onward, local and foreign sources offer a great deal of information that applies specifically to the Ukrainian tribes. There is thus a diverse body of material from various periods.⁵

Let us begin with material culture, which is concrete and therefore easiest to define. Linguistic evidence, especially interesting in the sphere of material culture, shall be our point of departure.

2. Slavic works on linguistic borrowing—an exceptionally important phenomenon in the study of cultural history—include the earlier work by Miklosich, *Die Fremdwörter in den slavischen Sprachen*, and the corrections to it by Matzenauer, *Cizí slova ve slovanských řečech*; Stanoevich, 'Gipoteza o slavianskikh zaimstvovannykh slovakh' (on the chronology and historical conditions of Slavic borrowing of words from the Germanic languages); Štrekelj, 'Zur slavischen Lehnwörterkunde'; Schrader, *Die germanischen Bestandteile*; Janko, 'O stycích starých Slovanů'; and the numerous reviews of Peisker's *Die älteren Beziehungen*. On this polemic, see my article, 'Novi konstruktsii.'

3. Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*; Gamchenko, *Zhitomirskii mogil'nik*; idem, 'Drevnii poselok'; idem, 'Raskopki v basseine r. Sluchi' (the last work is of little value in this respect). On southern Volhynia, see Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan'; Antonovich, 'Raskopki kurganov v zapadnoi Volyni.' On the Siverianian region, see Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' and the new edition of his expedition journals—idem, *Mogily russkoi zemli*. On more recent excavations on the upper Vorskla River (near the village of Nytsakha), see Mel'nik, 'Raskopki kurganov.'

4. Khvoiko, 'Polia pogrebenii'; objects from these sites in *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vol. 4. Cf. above, p. 39.

5. Scholarly literature has relied primarily on historico-literary materials. In my *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli*, I attempted to describe life in Old Rus' on the basis of historico-literary and archaeological evidence. A similar trend can be seen in some of the later Kyiv monographs on various regions. Apart from these, however, little has been done in this field in recent years. Although the amount of available archaeological material is growing every year, it remains poorly analyzed and unsystematized. Antonovych gave a general, very short, and therefore very cursory portrayal of East Slavic culture on the basis of archaeological materials in his 'Cherty byta slavian.' At the Twelfth Archaeological Congress, Zavitsevich raised a very interesting subject in his paper, 'O kul'turnom vliianii Vizantii,' but what he presented under that title (a cursory description of the collection of the Kherson museum) was not at all interesting. Very few monographs have appeared on the available archaeological material. The very solid studies published by Anuchin back in the 1880s, entitled 'O drevnem luke i strelakh' and 'O nekotorykh formakh,' serve as an example of what needs to be done, but very little progress has been made in this realm since then. At the Eleventh Archaeological Congress, Gorodtsov presented a large work on eastern European ceramics, 'Russkaia doistoricheskaia keramika,' but the very simple system he applied makes it difficult to make sense of this material. This explains, in part, why contemporary historians have not abandoned the historico-literary approach used by their predecessors to investigate the life of the Rus' tribes in their courses on the history of Old Rus'. On the other Slavic tribes we have the comprehensively planned though somewhat mechanically executed course by I. Smirnov, 'Ocherk kul'turnoi istorii.' Ignoring linguistic evidence, the author based his work on historical materials, ethnographic and folkloric facts, and archaeological findings, though he was not always successful in his use of the last. On the Czech lands, there is the work by Píč, *Starožitnosti země české*, the third volume of which has begun to deal with the history of the princely era. The archaeological material is interesting, but the author's historical analysis is weak.

Inasmuch as agriculture had become the foundation of the Slavs' economy by the time they entered the age of their dispersion, agricultural terminology is the logical place to begin our investigation. The beginnings of agriculture probably date back to Proto-Indo-European times, even though only weak traces of it can be discerned in the language.⁶ We have already seen that agriculture was known in eastern Europe as early as the Neolithic Age. European languages contain a significant number of terms associated with agriculture dating from that period, and even skeptical investigators admit the existence of farming at a fairly developed stage among the European group of Indo-Europeans. There are names for at least three kinds of cereal grains—barley, wheat, and millet—as well as terms for plowing, sowing, harvesting, milling, and the tools used to do these jobs.⁷ Agriculture developed even further during the period of shared life of the Balto-Slavic group. Consequently, at the time of its separation, the Slavic group already had a significantly advanced agricultural economy. The lands of the original Slavic habitat, especially its southern parts, were very well suited to agriculture. Judging by linguistic evidence, agriculture, not surprisingly, was the Slavs' primary means of obtaining food in their original home. Ukrainian *žyto* is a Proto-Slavic term meaning 'food' (from the Slavic word *žiti* 'to live') and, at the same time, serves as a general designation for agricultural products as the principal source of food.⁸ The term became specialized among the various Slavic peoples and was applied to the principal variety of cereal crop grown locally. Thus in Ukrainian and among the West Slavs it means 'rye,' while among the South Slavs it means 'wheat' (and even 'corn' among the Riazanians). The same significance of agriculture as the foremost source of food and wealth is evident in the words **sъbožlje* (in Ukrainian and West Slavic related to *bogъ* [Ukr *boh*] 'god' and *bogatъ* [Ukr *bahatyj*] 'prosperous, rich'), which in Ukrainian (*zbižžja*) means both 'moveable possessions' and 'grain';⁹ *obilije* from the chronicles, which means a 'grain harvest,' 'unharvested grain' (as in the Chronicle), and 'abundance' (in all Slavic groups); Ukr *borošno* (OSlav *brašno*), which in the various Slavic languages means either 'food' in general (in some, 'possessions') or specifically 'flour.'

Along with common Proto-European terms, there are Proto-Slavic names for the following varieties of grain. The term *ръжь* (*secale*; in Ukrainian the Proto-Slavic term has been supplanted by the general word *žyto*, which has taken the specialized meaning of 'rye') is common to all the northern European tribes (Lith *rugys*, NGmc *rúgr*).^{*} The terms *ръшенца* 'wheat,' from *ръхати* 'to pound, crush,' and *ръшено* (Ukr *pšono*) 'crushed grain'¹⁰ are among

6. I shall use the term 'Proto-Indo-European' for the period before the Indo-Europeans dispersed and 'Proto-European' for the cultural stages shared in common by the European branch of the Indo-Europeans (excluding the eastern, Indo-Iranian, group).

7. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, pp. 8–10; idem, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3d ed., 2: 185ff. For the history of agriculture, see the bibliography given in chap. 2, p. 29, fn. 31, on Indo-European culture in general, in which, following the example set by Schrader, increasingly wide use is made of archaeological and ethnological materials, in addition to linguistic and literary evidence, to describe Indo-European culture. That is also the direction taken by Hirt in his numerous studies, recently compiled into the comprehensive course *Die Indogermanen*, and in a number of separate works listed below. At this point let me name: Bücher, 'Der wirtschaftliche Urzustand'; Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie*; Höck, 'Der gegenwärtige Stand'; Buschan, *Vorgeschichtliche Botanik*; Hahn, 'Über das Ursprungsgebiet und die Entstehungsweise.'

8. For parallels to this, see Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2d ed., 1: 458.

9. The broad meaning of the word *zbižžja* in Ukrainian proves, in my opinion, that it is not a loanword from Polish, as Budilovich (*Pervobytnye slaviane*, 1: 95) thought.

* [The language Hrushevsky refers to as 'North Germanic' here is Old Icelandic. His linguistic terminology has been retained.—Eds.]

10. As *triticum* 'wheat' from *terere* 'to grind.'

the few terms associated with grain that date to Proto-Indo-European times (Skt *pis-* ‘to break’). With it we have the ancient Proto-European **piro* (Gk *πυρός*, Lith *purāi* ‘wheat’), which is not stable in meaning¹¹ but interesting precisely because of that instability, which may reflect its archaic origin. The term for ‘barley’ is Ukr *jačmin*, OSlav **ječьmy* (unclear term). There are two words for ‘millet’: *proso* (unclear term) and another Proto-Slavic name, **bъrъ*. One of the oldest varieties of grain and highly valued in ancient agriculture (both among the Indo-Europeans and the Turkic peoples), millet was apparently equally important in the Slavic economy, for in addition to the above two names, there was also a Proto-Slavic term for ‘pearl millet’—**pъšeno*. And, finally, Ukr *oves* [PSlav] **ovьsъ* ‘oats’ (Lith *avižà*; L *avēna*, the connection is not quite clear) was, like rye, a cereal crop indigenous to northern Europe.¹²

All these crops were grown for grain (Ukr *zerno*)—*zъrьno* in Old Slavic (a PE term; L *granum*, Goth *kaur̃n*). Industrial crops included *lenъ* (Ukr *l'on*) ‘flax’ (a PE term; Gk *λίνον*, L *linum*, Irish *lín*, Goth *lein*, Lith *linai*); *konopja* (Ukr *konoplja*) ‘hemp’ (a CE term, believed to be of Scythian origin, because Herodotus saw wild hemp growing in Scythia); and *ploskonъ* (Ukr *ploskin*) ‘fimble hemp,’ a term widespread in the Slavic languages (though not a CSLav term), which may also belong to the Proto-Slavic period (believed to be linked with the Ger *Flachs* ‘flax’).¹³ Words associated with the cultivation of land include: *orati* (Ukr *oraty*) ‘to plow’ (PE, cf. [Gk] *ἀρόω*, [L] *aro*), *ratajъ* (Ukr *rataj*) ‘plowman’ (CSlav; it also appears in Old Rus’ documents), *niva* (Ukr *nyva*) ‘sown field,’ Gk *νειός*, and *orlъja* (Ukr *rillja*) ‘plowed field’ (an Old Rus’ term, also WSlav). The terms for uncultivated land—**lęda* (Ukr *ljada*), *čěli(z)na* (Ukr *cilyna*), *ugorъ* (East and West Slavic, *ugar* in South Slavic, as well as Ukrainian *perelih* and West Slavic forms going back to *perlogъ* ‘fallow land’)—are all Common Slavic terms that probably date back to the period before Slavic expansion. Along with *lęxa* (Ukr *lixa* ‘garden patch’) of Common European origin, there is a second common term, *borzda* (Ukr *borozna*) ‘furrow’ (OSlav *brazda*).¹⁴

In the beginning the ancient Slavs plowed with a primitive pointed stick, holding it by one end and using the pointed end to make a furrow. This implement was called a *soxa*. In some Slavic languages the word designates a tool for plowing, while in others it means ‘pitchfork,’ ‘pole,’ ‘forked post,’ or all of these things, and is derived from the concept of ‘a stick for breaking up the soil.’¹⁵ But the primitive pointed stick was soon replaced in Proto-Slavic farming by the improved *plugъ* (Ukr *pluh*) ‘plow’ ([OHG]* *pfluog*, Lith *plūgas*),¹⁶ with a

11. It means *far*, *milium*, *Triticum repens*; in Ukrainian—*perij* ‘couch-grass.’ Hehn (*Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, pp. 452–53) discerned in the term evidence of the transformation of grass into wheat through cultivation. That view is rejected by Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2d ed., 1: 422.

12. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3d ed., 2: 189; idem, *Reallexikon*, s.v.

13. For conjectures regarding this borrowing, see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 484; Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 24; Hirt, ‘Zu den germanischen Lehnwörtern,’ p. 343; Brückner, *Cywilizacja i język*, p. 23.

14. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, pp. 455–56; Pedersen, ‘Das indogermanische *s* im Slavischen,’ pp. 72–73.

15. Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*; Budilovich, *Pervobytnye slaviane*, 1: 115; Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 455; Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3d ed., 2: 208–9; Pedersen, ‘Das indogermanische *s* im Slavischen,’ p. 49; Meringer ‘Wörter und Sachen,’ 17: 116. Cf. Goth *hoha* ‘plow’ (the link is uncertain). In addition to the writings on the plow listed below, in fn. 16, see also Zelenin, *Russkaia sokha*, and the observations of Serzhputovskii, ‘Zemledel’cheskie orudija belorusskogo Poles’ia.’

* [The original has ‘North Germanic,’ apparently a typographical error.—Eds.]

16. There is serious controversy over whether the Germanic term is merely related to the Slavic, or borrowed by the Slavs from the Germanic peoples, or borrowed by the Germanic peoples from the Slavs. The issue remains unclear (see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 457; Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung*

separate share, called a *lemešъ* (Ukr *lemiš*) from the term *lomiti* (Ukr *lomyty*) ‘to break.’ To till the land the Slavs also used the *ordlo* (Ukr *ralo* ‘hoe-plow’ ([an implement whose name is derived from the same root as *orati* ‘to plow’] i.e., PE: Gk ἄροτρον, Armenian *araur*, L *aratum*, Irish *arathar*) and the *borna* (Ukr *borona*) ‘harrow.’ The term *sějati* (Ukr *sijaty*) ‘to sow’ also belongs to the Proto-European group (L *sero*, Goth *saian*, Lith *sėti*), as does OSlav *sěmę* (Ukr *simja*) ‘seed’ (L *semen*, [O]HG *sāmo*, Lith *sėmenys*). The Ukrainian terms for fall and spring sowing—*ozym*, *ozymyna*; *jar*, *jaryna*—occur among the East, West, and some South Slavs (Serbs, Slovenes), indicating that the agricultural practice almost certainly existed in Proto-Slavic times.

A term corresponding to Ukr *žatva* is used by all branches of the Slavs to mean ‘harvesting’ or ‘reaping.’ Initially the crop was harvested with a Ukr *serp* ‘sickle’—a Proto-European term to designate a Proto-European implement (OSlav *srъpъ*, Gk ἄρπη, L *sarpere*), but both Ukr *kosa* ‘scythe’ and *klepač* ‘whetstone,’ an implement used to sharpen it, belong to the Common Slavic vocabulary, as do Ukr *hrabli* ‘rake’ and *snip* ‘sheaf.’ The word for ‘hay,’ *sino*, is also a Proto-Slavic term.

The Ukrainian term for ‘wheat,’ *pšenycja*, may echo back to the period when grain was prepared for consumption by pounding or crushing the kernels. Yet the Proto-Slavic population had advanced well beyond that stage of civilization. Grain that had been threshed (Ukr *molotyty* ‘to thresh, beat [grain]’ with the same meaning is widely found in Slavic languages and may have had that meaning in Proto-Slavic times) was milled either with a quern (Ukr *žorna*) or a mill. The Ukrainian word *moloty* ‘to mill, grind’ is of Proto-European origin and occurs in all groups of these languages (cf. Skt *mar* ‘to break’). Ukr *mlyn* ‘mill’ is Proto-Slavic (from L *molina*), as is *muka* ‘flour’ (related to *mjakyj* ‘soft’—OSlav *mękъkъ*). The tools for sifting flour, Ukr *syto* ‘sieve’ and *rešeto* ‘riddle,’ belong to the Common Slavic category.

In the sphere of horticulture, the names of such legumes as Ukr *bib* and OSlav **bobъ* ‘broad bean’ (L *faba*, Pruss *babo*) belong to the Proto-European category, whereas Ukr *horox* ‘peas’ and *sočevycja* ‘lentils’ are Common Slavic, although their meaning varies in the different languages (the first means ‘peas,’ ‘broad beans,’ or ‘kidney beans’; the second means ‘lentils,’ ‘legumes,’ or ‘vegetables in general’). In the onion family, the terms for ‘onion’ (*lukъ*) and ‘garlic’ (**česnъkъ*) are Common Slavic. The Slavic term for ‘onion’ (supplanted in Ukrainian by *cybulja*, borrowed from the German—or, more precisely, Yiddish—*Zwiebel*) derives from a widely occurring root in northern Europe ([O]HG *louh*). Some philologists regard the word *lukъ* as borrowed from the Germanic, but it is difficult to accept that view when we recall that Herodotus described the cultivation of onions and garlic among the Alazones.

und Urgeschichte, 3d ed., 2: 210; Uhlenbeck, ‘Die germanischen Wörter im Altslavischen,’ p. 490; Hirt, ‘Zu den germanischen Lehnwörtern,’ p. 338; Brückner, *Cywilizacja i język*, p. 29; Meringer, ‘Wörter und Sachen,’ 17: 100ff., and 18: 244; Janko, ‘O stycích starých Slovanů,’ p. 180). Linguists derive the word from the root *plu* ‘flow’ (cf. Ukr *plysty* ‘to swim’) and from Ger *pflügen* ‘to cultivate.’ On some possible borrowings by the Germanic peoples from the Slavs in this sphere, see Schrader, ‘Über Bezeichnungen der Heiratsverwandschaft,’ p. 32. Pliny mentions the plow (18.48): ‘An invention was made not long ago in the Graubünden... [Rhaetia Galliae] which in the vernacular is called *plaumorati*’ (corrected by Beist to ‘ploum Raeti’). This is regarded as the first reference to the newer type of plow. On the development of this implement, see Braungart, *Die Ackerbaugeräte*; Peisker, *Zur Sozialgeschichte Böhmens*; Behlen, *Der Pflug und das Pflügen*; Bujak, ‘Studia nad osadnictwem Małopolski’; Hahn, *Die Entstehung der Pflugkultur*.

* [At times Hrushevsky uses ‘High German’ to mean ‘Old High German.’ At others he refers specifically to ‘Old High German.’ An [O] has been inserted where required.—Eds.]

The origin of the names of two other crops grown in Proto-Slavic times remains unclear: Ukr *xmil'* 'hops' (NL *humulus*, NGmc *humall*) and *ripa* 'turnip, rape' (Gk ῥάπυς, L *rapum*, Ger *Rübe*). Nor has the sequence of borrowing been established in the case of these terms. In any event, they date back to Proto-Slavic times (it is quite likely that the related terms in other languages were derived from the Slavic name for 'hops').¹⁷ Yet another Proto-European plant is the poppy, Ukr *mak* (Gk μήκων, [O]HG *mâgo*, Pruss *moke*).

Linguistic evidence with respect to gardening tools and techniques is very limited. Common Slavic terms include *motyka* 'hoe' and *lopata* 'shovel' 'spade,' as well as equivalents of Ukr *poloty* 'to weed,' while *plevelz* means both 'weeds' and 'chaff.'

Knowledge of fruit trees dates back to Proto-European times. However, these species were mainly wild, and neither linguistics nor any other indicators offer a means of determining with any certainty whether fruit trees were cultivated in Proto-Slavic times, or whether that art appeared among the Slavs after their dispersion as a result of contacts with the Black Sea lands. To be sure, authoritative cultural historians regard the Old Germanic expression for grafting trees as adopted from Slavic (Ulfila's *intrusgjan* from the OSlav **trēsnoṭi*, like Ukr *pryščepa* 'graft of shoots' from *čěpati*). If this were true, the art of grafting trees (originally introduced into Italy and spread from there throughout Europe) and, along with it, the cultivation of fruit trees would date to Proto-Slavic times. But it is much too risky to base such an important conclusion on a single, moreover hypothetical, linguistic observation.¹⁸ There is the Common Slavic term *sadz* 'orchard,' but its meaning is too broad. Ukr *ovoči*, OSlav *ovoštije* 'fruit,' like Ukr *jahoda* 'berry' (which in some languages, as in Ukrainian, has come to be restricted to one variety, e.g., 'strawberries'), are of Proto-Slavic stock (OSlav *agoda*, Lith *úoga*). But they do not necessarily indicate the existence of the cultivation of fruit trees. The individual fruits include Ukr *jablunja* 'apple tree,' Ukr *jabluko* (OSlav **jablъko*) 'apple' (Irish *aball*, English *apple*, Lith *obuolys*—the relationship of the words in this series is not clear and some surmise the words were borrowed, albeit very long ago). Some scholars believe that the Balto-Slavic equivalent of Ukr *hruša* 'pear tree' (OSlav **gruša* and **gruška*, Lith *kriáušėa*) was borrowed from the Iranians, from the Caucasus region. The Common Slavic equivalent of Ukr *čerešnja* 'sweet cherry,' OSlav **črěšnja*, is a loanword (Gk κεράσιον, [O]HG *kirsa*), although the fruit in its wild form was known in central Europe from the Neolithic Age. Both the name and the fruit of what Ukrainians call *vyšnja* 'sour cherry' is of a later date and is thought to be derived from the Late Greek, that is, Byzantine (Gk βύσσινος, HG *wihсила*).¹⁹ The Ukrainian terms *slyva* 'plum' ([O]HG *slēha*, Lith *slyvà*) and *deren* 'blackthorn' ([O]HG *thornpoum*) are northern European. Finally, Ukr *horix* 'nut' is Balto-Slavic (OSlav **orěxъ*, Lith *riėšutas*).

In view of the Slavs' rich cultural heritage as revealed by linguistic paleontology, we cannot help but be surprised by the descriptions of the Slavs that foreign authors wrote upon first encountering them. Like the Germanic people in Caesar's accounts, the Slavs in the works of such early Byzantine authors as Prokopios and Maurice are represented as a semi-nomadic people with a poorly developed agricultural civilization. In his classic description of the Slavs, Prokopios writes that they 'live in pitiful hovels which they set up far apart from one another, but, as a general thing, every man is constantly changing his place of abode,' and that 'they live

17. Brückner, *Cywilizacja i język*, p. 23; Schrader, 'Über Bezeichnungen der Heiratsverwandschaft,' p. 32.

18. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 430.

19. See Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, pp. 351–52; Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 133–34; Schrader, *Reallexikon*, pp. 582–86.

a hard life, giving no heed to bodily comforts, just as the Massagetae do.²⁰ Maurice and Leo VI the Wise are unequivocal in the claim that the Slavs do not like to engage in agriculture and prefer to live in poverty and without responsibilities rather than to work and accumulate wealth. Such descriptions can be explained by the fact that the Slavic communities with which the Greeks came into contact were frontier settlements. Caught at the crossroads of migratory movements and in the midst of danger and unrest, they had abandoned their more civilized ways and reverted (for a time) to their earlier, semi-nomadic life. Similar conditions produced analogous phenomena elsewhere. But the accounts of foreign authors are also prone to exaggeration, as evidenced by the fact that in their descriptions of the Avar war with the 'Sclaveni' in the sixth century, Greek authors mention the cultivated fields of the Slavs and the like.²¹ Sources evincing familiarity with the Slavs as they lived in normal conditions in their permanent settlements describe them as having a developed agriculture that profoundly marked the entire Slavic way of life. To be sure, these sources date to a significantly later time—the ninth, tenth, and even eleventh centuries—but the highly developed level of agriculture in the ninth and tenth centuries indicates that this was not something new, but rather a very old aspect of their civilization.

In its description of the harvest ritual among the Slavs, an Arabic source from either the middle or the first half of the tenth century conveys the information that cereal grains were the principal staple of the Slavic diet (a particular favorite was millet, a fact confirmed by Maurice and Leo).²² Grain and meat were the customary offerings of the Slavic Rus' in sacrifices, according to Constantine Porphyrogenetos. That signifies that these were their principal foods, dating, moreover, back to the remote past, since offerings usually consisted of traditional items, sanctified by centuries of use. The tenth-century Jewish traveler Ibrahim b. Ya'qub wrote that the Slavic lands were very rich in various kinds of food and that the Slavs were very good farmers. His account even contains a rather explicit reference to the cultivation of fruit trees.²³

Local historical sources contain somewhat more detailed information. They reveal that farming was a customary occupation in the tenth century, even in the most backward regions such as the Derevlianian and Viatichian lands. In speaking to the Derevlians, Olha said: 'All your fortified towns...are working their fields and land.' The Viatichians paid tribute 'per plow.'²⁴ Bread was a common dietary staple of the Old Rus' population. Iron sickles dating to the period before the dispersion of the Slavs have been found lying next to human remains in funerary fields in the Kyiv region. The pagan burials of the Siverianians and Derevlians have also yielded sickles and remnants of several varieties of grain (rye, oats, and barley or wheat).²⁵ Such eleventh-century sources as the Chronicle, the earlier parts of the *Rus' Law*, and

20. [Prokopios 4.14.24–28.]

21. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 99. Cf. the reports in Maurice, *Strategicon* 11.5 [11.4], and Leo VI the Wise, *Tactica Leonis* 18, that the principal food of the Slavs was millet.

22. The hypothetical al-Jarmi (see pp. 178, fn. 246). See Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, pp. 30–31, and Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 123.

23. Ibrahim b. Ya'qub's report of travels in Slavic countries in Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' pp. 54–55; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chaps. 30–31.

24. *Hyp.*, pp. 37, 54. On grain, see *ibid.*, pp. 86, 88, 110; *Instruction to the Wergild Collector in the Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 42; cf. Karamzin Manuscript § 7, 108).

25. Khvoiko, 'Polia pogrebenii,' p. 173; Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' pp. 188, 191, 193 (Chorna Mohyla [Black Barrow] and Hulbyshche); Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, p. 15; Gamchenko, *Zhitomirskii mogil'nik*, p. 66 (contains a drawing of a sickle); *idem*, 'Drevnii poselok.'

Nestor's *Life of St. Feodosii* name all the more important cereal and other crops: wheat, oats, rye, barley (more precisely, barley malt), millet, peas, poppy, flax (linseeds pressed for oil).²⁶ The general term used for cereal grains was [CS] *žito*.²⁷ The agricultural implements mentioned in Ukrainian sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries include the wooden plow (*ralo*), plow (*plugъ*), harrow (*borona*), hoe (*motyka*), spade (*ryskalъ*), the implement called *rogaliya*,* and flail (*ceпъ*).²⁸ Of various farming jobs there is mention of plowing (*orati* 'to plow'), sowing, reaping (*snopy* 'sheafs'), threshing, and winnowing.²⁹ Both horses and oxen were used to pull the plow.³⁰ The harvested grain was carted into the barn and threshed *na toku* 'on the threshing floor,' and the grain was stored in granaries (*klětъ*)³¹ and, probably, in pits. The grain was milled (our sources speak only of hand-operated querns) and then sifted; mention is made of flour and husks, and a distinction is made between coarse and more finely ground flour. The flour was stored in bins (*susěkъ*).³² References to crushed millet indicate that grains were also consumed in crushed form.³³ The earliest redactions of the *Rus' Law* contain references to hay.³⁴

There are clear references to gardening in Ukrainian sources from the eleventh century. The *Life of St. Feodosii* describes how the monks 'would dig in the garden in order to grow vegetables,' and in Vyshhorod, in addition to gardeners, there was a head gardener (*starěj ogorodъnikъmъ*), who was probably in the service of the prince. In any event, gardening must have been highly developed there. In a description of the defense of Kyiv from the middle of the twelfth century, there is mention of 'gardens over a large area' around the city.³⁵ References to the cultivation of fruit trees are very scant. We find them only in the account in the *Kyivan Caves Patericon* (*Pateryk*, thirteenth century) about monks who at the end of the eleventh century had gardens outside their cells containing 'fruitful trees.'³⁶ Just as *horod* is used today, the term *gorodъ* (*ogorodъ*, *ogradъcъ*, *gradъ*, meaning a fenced-in area in general) was used to signify both garden and orchard, and the cited references about the large Kyivan or Vyshhorod *gorody* may have applied to orchards as well.

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26. *Hyp.*, p. 88 (oats, wheat); Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 9^v (rye bread), fol. 21^v (poppy seed), fol. 21^v (press the oil from linseeds); *Instruction to the Wergild Collector*: barley malt, millet, peas; cf. *Paterik*, pp. 86, 100 (variants).

27. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 9^v (cf. *Hyp.*, p. 123).

* [*Rogaliya* is derived from the Greek ἐργαλείον 'implement.' We thank Ihor Ševčenko of Harvard University for this information.—Eds.]

28. *Hyp.*, pp. 42, 54 (*ralo* and *plugъ* among the Viaticians), p. 138 (*ryskalъ* and *motyka*), p. 147 (*rogaliya-rukaliya*), p. 224 (*borona*); *Rus' Law* (Karamzin Manuscript § 71, *plugъ* and *borona*); *Slovo o p"lku Ihorevi*, sec. 12.

29. *Hyp.*, p. 183; *Slovo o p"lku Ihorevi*, sec. 12.

30. *Hyp.*, p. 183, refers to horses; a reference to oxen occurs on p. 7 (if they were used to pull carts, they would certainly have been used to plow).

31. *Hyp.*, p. 224; *Rus' Law* (Karamzin Manuscript § 40); *Slovo o p"lku Ihorevi*, sec. 12.

32. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 9^v (cf. *Paterik*, p. 168, quern), fols. 11, 22 (flour, husks, corn bins), fols. 20, 21 ('loaves of the finest kind'); *Hyp.*, p. 88 (flour, husks).

33. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 20; *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 33).

34. *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 39).

35. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 9^v; *Skazaniia o sviatykh Borise i Glebe*, pp. 73, 77; *Hyp.*, p. 296.

36. *Paterik*, pp. 100, 137. The *Kyivan Caves Patericon*'s references to material culture have also been collected (rather mechanically) by Abramovich, *Issledovanie o Kievo-Pecherskom Paterike*.

One of the principal occupations of the Proto-Indo-European population was stock raising. In contrast to the very faint traces of land cultivation in the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary, common terms connected with the raising of livestock are quite numerous. The extraordinary importance of stock raising in the Proto-Indo-European economy becomes very obvious when we take into consideration that linguistic evidence and other indicators of the way of life of peoples of older cultures (Greeks, Indians) show that the raising of domestic animals displaced hunting wild beasts for food and that fishing disappeared as if it had never been known (at least, it left no traces in the language).

Traces of the great importance of livestock at the time when ownership of it constituted a man's wealth have also survived in the Slavic vocabulary: the Old Rus' term *skotъ* for 'livestock' means 'wealth,' 'property,' and 'money' (cf. Goth *skatts* 'treasure'), while *skotъnicja* means 'treasury'; Ukr *dobutok*, OSlav **dobyтъкъ*, means either 'property' or 'cattle' in the different Slavic languages.³⁷

Despite the widespread development of land cultivation, stock raising retained its preeminence in the Proto-Slavic economy. This is reflected in the large vocabulary, including Proto-Slavic doublets and special terms, in the sphere of animal husbandry.

In addition to the general Proto-Indo-European term equivalent to Old Slavic *govęždъ* for 'bulls' and 'cows' together (i.e., cattle: Skt *gāuṣ*, Zend *gāuš*, Gk βούς, [O]HG *kuo*)³⁸ and a second Proto-Aryan term, *turъ* (Zend *staora*, Gk ταῦρος, L *taurus*), which in Common Slavic became associated only with the wild bull, Proto-Slavic also contains the terms *byкъ* 'bull,' *volъ* 'ox,' *korva* 'cow,' *telę* 'calf.' Along with *ovъca* for 'sheep,' which is of Proto-Indo-European origin (Skt *avikā*, Gk ὄϊς, OHG *ou*), there is the Proto-European 'lamb,' OSlav *agne*, **jagne* (Gk ἀμνός, L *agnus*) for the young animal. The term *baran* 'ram' (common in OSlav, ESlav, and WSlav) probably belongs to the Proto-Slavic category. In addition to a term for the domesticated goat, *koza*, Proto-Slavic has a term for the wild goat, Ukr *serna*, OSlav **srъna*. Along with the term *svynja*, OSlav *svinija* 'pig' of PIE origin (Skt *sūkārās*, Gk ὕς, [O]HG *sū*), there is also *vepr*, OSlav *veprъ* of PIE origin as well (L *aper*, [O]HG *ebur*), and a separate Proto-European term for the young of the species, Ukr *porosja*, OSlav **prase* 'piglet' (L *porcus*, Irish *orc*, [O]HG *farah*). Proto-Slavic terms for 'horse' include *konъ* 'horse,' *kobyла* 'mare,' and OSlav *žrěbę*, the last term meaning a young animal in general. It should be added that the domestication of the dog dates to Proto-Indo-European times, when dogs were used to guard herds. In contrast, the domestication of the cat occurred much later in European civilization (Ukr *kit* from L *catus*), and tame cats were probably not known in Proto-Slavic society.³⁹

The Ukrainian terms *pasty* 'to pasture, tend pasturing stock' and *pastux* (OSlav *pastuxъ* and *pastyrъ* 'shepherd') are Common Slavic. As already described, hay was gathered for livestock. Cattle were kept both for meat and to produce milk. The Proto-Indo-European vocabulary includes terms for sour milk (something resembling cheese), which indicates that sweet milk and butter were also used. The Common Slavic term for 'milk' (Ukr *moloko*) is regarded as a loanword from

37. Budilovich, *Pervobytnye slaviane*, 1: 180–81. On the 'skot-skatts' relationship, see Schrader, 'Über Bezeichnungen der Heiratsverwandtschaft,' p. 33, and, more recently, the polemics surrounding Peisker's views.

38. For Indo-European parallels for the names of cattle, see Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2d ed., 2: 154. For recent polemics surrounding Peisker's *Die älteren Beziehungen* and Korsh's 'O nekotorykh bytovykh slovakh,' see, especially, Janko, 'O stycích starých Slovanů'; idem, 'Hlídka kritik o Peiskerově theorii'; Jagić, 'Mein Zusatz.'

39. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 374; Engelmann, 'Die Katzen im Altertum.'

the Germanic (OHG *miluh*).⁴⁰ If so, this borrowing is very old, and the term exists concurrently with a second word that is unquestionably part of the same Proto-European series: Ukr *molozyvo* ‘colostrum,’ Gk ἀμέλω, L *mulgeo*, OHG *melehan*, OSlav **mlъzъ*, **mlěsti* ‘to milk.’ The term *syr* ‘cheese’ is Balto-Slavic (Lith *sūris*) and is linked with the OHG *sār* ‘sour’ ([Ger] *sauer*). A second, less widespread term for cheese is *tvarogъ* (from it comes Ger *Quark*).⁴¹ The word *maslo* ‘butter’ (from *mazaty* ‘to grease, smear’) reveals that its initial use was not as food, but as a greasing agent (there are numerous parallels in other Indo-European languages).⁴²

The skins of livestock were also used (PSlav **runo* ‘fleece’), as was wool (OSlav *vlъna*, which is a Proto-Indo-European term: Skt *ūrṇā*, [Doric] Gk λῆνος, Goth *wulla*, Lith *vilna*).

The breeding of domestic fowl was unknown in ancient times.⁴³ Nor did it evolve to any significant degree in the Proto-Slavic economy, even though the development of agriculture and a sedentary culture made poultry farming possible. The Common Slavic vocabulary contains the terms for ‘goose’ (Ukr dialect *hus*), ‘duck’ (Ukr *kačka*), and ‘chicken’ (Ukr *kura*). The first two belong to the Proto-Indo-European category: ‘goose’—Skt *hamsās*, Gk χῆν, Ger *Gans*;⁴⁴ and ‘duck’—Skt *ātīṣ*, L *anas*, Ger *Ente*, OSlav **pty*. The designation for ‘chicken,’ the only species of fowl we know to have been domesticated, is borrowed from the Iranian (Persian *kurus*; OSlav *kurъ* ‘rooster,’ *kura* ‘hen’).⁴⁵

Judging by linguistic and historical evidence, beekeeping—unknown [among the Slavs] in the earliest period, although among other European peoples it was already an established industry—also emerged somewhat later in the original Slavic habitat, where it then became widespread. The Ukrainian terms *bdžola* ‘bee’ (in OSlav documents *bъčela* and *бъčela*, derived from [PSlav] **bъk* ‘to hum, buzz’), *truten* ‘drone,’ and *matka* ‘queen bee’ are Common Slavic, as is *ulij* ‘hive,’ while *med*, meaning both ‘mead’ and ‘honey,’ is of Proto-Indo-European origin (Skt *mādhu*, Gk μέθυ ‘wine,’ [O]HG *metu*, OSlav *medъ*), and *visk* ‘wax’ (OSlav *voskъ*, Lith *vāškas*, [O]HG *wahs*) is common to the northern European languages.⁴⁶

Foremost among the available archaeological material are the remains of food discovered at the sites of the dwellings containing painted pottery. Even if the Slavs were not part of this culture, it evolved in such close proximity to them that it can, in some measure, serve as an indication of their material culture as well. Very many of these sites have yielded the bones of domesticated animals (bulls, sheep, goats, pigs).⁴⁷ In the funerary fields of the Kyiv region the

40. This is discussed in Peisker, *Die älteren Beziehungen*, pp. 74–78, and Janko, ‘O stycích starých Slovanů,’ pp. 141–71.

41. On the basis of his belief that the term *tvarogъ* was borrowed by the Slavs from the Turks, and that the terms for ‘milk’ [*melko*], ‘livestock’ (*skotъ*), ‘cattle’ (*nuta*), and ‘plow’ (*plugъ*) were loanwords from Germanic, Peisker, in *Die älteren Beziehungen*, put forward the bold theory that in the Proto-Slavic period, before their dispersion, the Slavs were so subjugated by the Ural-Altaic nomads—who did not permit them to own cattle—that they were completely unfamiliar with milk and other milk products. He argued that only after they had come under the rule of the Germanic people, following Turkic domination, did they resume using milk, raising cattle, and so forth. The theory made a strong impression and found support, even though it is based on very weak and unreliable premises. For more about it, see my article ‘Novi konstruktsii,’ where I also provide a bibliography of works that Peisker’s book provoked.

42. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 121.

43. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, pp. 390–91.

44. For a rejection of the theory that *hus* was a borrowing from Germanic, see Brückner’s review of Schrader, p. 626.

45. Cf. Budilovich, *Pervobytnye slaviane*, 1: 372. For a refutation of the suggestion that the Slavic term was borrowed from Iranian, see Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 323.

46. It is also regarded as a loanword from Germanic (Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 86), but this is dubious.

47. In addition to the works cited above, see Duré, ‘Untersuchungen über neolithische Knochenreste’ (from the Koshylivtsi excavations).

animal bones most frequently found lying next to the human remains have been those of rams, together with pigs and even chickens.⁴⁸ Siverianian and Volhynian burials have yielded the remains of horses and sheep, poultry bones, and the shells of chicken eggs.⁴⁹ Among the offerings at a Rus' funeral described by Ibn Fadlan were bulls, horses, a dog, a rooster, and a chicken, and, in another instance, a sheep. Byzantine authors wrote of the Rus' sacrificing domestic birds, in particular, chickens.⁵⁰

An Arabic source of the ninth century reports that the Slavs raised livestock, especially pigs, in large numbers ('They raise pigs as others do sheep').⁵¹ Local sources mention bulls, horses, sheep, pigs, goats, and even donkeys.⁵² The prince's estate included large herds, and early documents speak of *konjuxy* 'horse herdsmen' and *ovčjuxy* 'shepherds.'⁵³ The fact that meat was a common dietary staple indicates that stock raising was very widespread. Most commonplace were beef and mutton, but horsemeat was also eaten.⁵⁴ In addition to meat, the Slavs consumed milk and cheese and used oxen and horses both for riding and as beasts of burden. Cattle were kept in locked sheds.⁵⁵

In light of such clear evidence of the widespread use of domesticated animals in the Rus' economy, the claim of Constantine Porphyrogenetos that the Rus' had no oxen, horses, or sheep of their own and had to buy them from the Pechenegs⁵⁶ must be viewed as the result of some misunderstanding. His statement may be true in the sense that the Rus' often bought livestock from their steppe neighbors, whose sole livelihood was stock raising.

Local sources (from the eleventh century) provide very clear and unequivocal evidence of the large-scale breeding of domestic birds. The Derevljanians kept doves in dovecotes in their yards. Chickens are named on the menu of Iaroslav's wergild collector as a daily staple of the more prosperous, along with bread and grain porridge (Ukr *kaša*).⁵⁷ In addition to chickens and pigeons, the earlier redaction of the *Rus' Law* names ducks, geese, cranes, and swans as less common domestic birds.⁵⁸

There are also many references to beekeeping in historical sources (archaeology tells us nothing about this). A ninth-century Arabic source speaks of the wide distribution of apiculture.⁵⁹ 'Honey and skins' (skins and furs), 'skins, slaves, and wax,' and 'skins, wax, honey, and slaves' were the principal Ukrainian products in the tenth century, the goods that constituted wealth and served as commodities of trade. They were given as tribute, sent as gifts, and sold to other peoples.⁶⁰ Honey was also widely used locally, especially in the form of mead, which was drunk by everyone, rich and poor alike. On Volodymyr's orders, three

48. Khvoiko, 'Polia pogrebenii,' p. 186.

49. Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' pp. 188, 191; Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan,' p. 495.

50. Ibn Fadlan in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 95, 98–99; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 9; Leo the Deacon 9.6.

51. Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 29; Gardizi in Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 123; Tumanskii, 'Novootkrytyi persidskii geograf,' p. 135.

52. *Hyp.*, pp. 7, 134, 135, cf. 119; *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 26, 40, 42).

53. *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 21); *Hyp.*, p. 170; *Lavr.*, p. 242 (Monomakh's *Testament*).

54. *Instruction to the Wergild Collector*; *Hyp.*, p. 41.

55. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 22'. Cf. *Rus' Law* (Karamzin Manuscript § 72).

56. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 2.

57. *Instruction to the Wergild Collector*; *Hyp.*, p. 38.

58. *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 35–36).

59. Ibn Fadlan in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*.

60. *Hyp.*, pp. 34, 37, 40, 44.

hundred vats of mead were prepared for the Feast of the Transfiguration.⁶¹ Arabic authors (in the same ninth-century source as above) provide detailed descriptions of Slavic beehives as made of wood and resembling pitchers in which the bees stored their honey. There is no reason to dispute this account of beekeeping, especially in the steppe regions. A local source, the *Rus' Law*, refers frequently to forest beekeeping in the northern forest zone. Bees were kept in a special hollow, called a *bortъ*, which was cut quite high in the trunk of a forest tree. The honey was removed by climbing up the trunk, Ukr *lazyty* (a technical term). The word *bortъ* (East and West Slavic **bъrtъ*) means an artificially hollowed tree (L *forare*, Ger *bohren*, Ukr *burav* 'drill'). Old Rus' sources contain a second term, *svepetъ*, for 'wild honey.'⁶² The expanded redaction of the *Rus' Law* includes many provisions concerning the destruction of a beekeeper's marks of ownership on hollowed tree trunks, or the 'tree hive boundary,' the theft of honey from a tree hive, or the destroying of the hive itself.⁶³ This alone suggests how important and popular apiculture was.

The original Slavic habitat, so abundant in forests and wildlife, was particularly well suited to hunting, and the pursuit of wild game was a widespread occupation, especially in earlier periods. The language offers only scant evidence of this, however. The equivalents of the Ukrainian terms *lovyty* 'to hunt, catch' and *lovy* 'the hunt' came to apply specifically to hunting wild animals as early as the Proto-Slavic age. Besides the Common Slavic term *sěť* (Ukr *sitka*) 'net,' there are the widely used terms Ukr *sylo*, *teneto* 'trap, snare' (OSlav, ESlav, and WSlav **sidlo*, **teneto*). Archaeology, too, offers very little evidence in this sphere. On the other hand, historical sources provide a great deal of information. According to the chronicler, hunting was an ancient, age-old occupation of his countrymen, the Polianians. Of the legendary brothers who founded Kyiv, he says that 'they used to hunt wild animals [game]' in the vast forests surrounding Kyiv.⁶⁴ According to Arabic sources, from the ninth century onward, animal pelts were the principal export from Rus' and the East Slavic lands as a whole: beaver, sable, fox, squirrel, and others.⁶⁵ However, these sources could be interpreted to mean that the Slavs collected or bought the skins from the neighboring northern tribes. This lends greater importance to local sources, which describe tribute levied in the form of animal pelts on the tribes inhabiting Ukrainian territory. Thus, the Polianians, Siverianians, and the Viaticians at one time paid 'one white squirrel per hearth,' while the Derevljanians paid the Kyivan princes tribute in martens ('one black marten each').⁶⁶ The *Rus' Law* (expanded redaction) contains a number of regulations that apply to hunting: penalties for destroying a hunting net, for stealing a falcon or hawk from a net, for the theft of a beaver, or for hunting any game belonging to someone else.⁶⁷ Other sources describe the various methods of hunting: chasing prey on horseback, killing it by hand, trapping it with nets placed in suitable locations (*perevěsy* 'huge nets hung between trees in the forest to snare game,' and *perevěsišča* 'sites containing such nets'), or with the help of other animals: dogs, falcons, and hawks.⁶⁸ The Rus' princes were especially fond

61. *Hyp.*, p. 86; Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 22.

62. For its etymology, see Mikkola, 'Zur slavischen Etymologie,' p. 126.

63. *Rus' Law* (Karamzin Manuscript § 82–87).

64. *Hyp.*, p. 5.

65. See below.

66. *Hyp.*, pp. 11, 13; cf. the passage in which the Derevljanians try to mend their relations with Olha by offering to pay tribute in 'honey and furs.'

67. *Rus' Law* (Karamzin Manuscript § 82–87).

68. *Lavr.*, pp. 238–42; *Hyp.*, pp. 35, 38, 49, 150; and elsewhere.

of hunting, and there are frequent references to this in our sources. Hunting was their favorite sport and they indulged in it frequently, almost as part of their official duties. In his *Testament* Volodymyr Monomakh wrote that after attending the Liturgy the prince should either devote himself to state affairs, go hunting (*lovy dějati*), go riding, or sleep. Waging war, hunting, and traveling (*puti*) were what a prince did, according to Monomakh.⁶⁹ Hunting gear, falcons, and hawks comprised a separate branch of the prince's husbandry. There were special royal 'hunting grounds' (*lovišča*) and *perevěsišča* in various locations throughout the land. Not content with hunting in areas near at hand, the princes often set out to hunt in remote, uninhabited regions on the frontier.

There were many more species of wildlife than there are now. The following is Volodymyr Monomakh's recollection of his hunting exploits:⁷⁰ '[While residing] in Chernihiv, I captured [bridled—M.H.] in the wilderness 120 live horses,⁷¹ and, besides that, while riding along the Ros River, I caught wild horses with my bare hands. Two aurochs once tossed me and my horse on their horns, a stag gored me, one elk stamped upon me while another gored me, a boar once tore my sword from my belt, a bear tore off a piece of my saddle from under my knee, and a ferocious beast [pard?—M.H.] jumped on me and threw my horse with me,' etc. In addition to modern species of wild animals and those enumerated here, there must also have been many beavers.

The Proto-Slavic territory was also very well suited to the development of fishing. While there are almost no Common European terms for fish (except for equivalents of Ukr *uhor* 'eel,' but even here the similarity between words is uncertain),⁷² there are several Ukrainian forms derived from Common Slavic terms, although their number, too, is small. These include: *losos*' 'salmon' (a northern European term, [O]HG *lahs*), *lyn*' 'tench' (a Balto-Slavic or perhaps also Balto-Slavo-Germanic term), *ščuka* 'pike,' *oseter* 'sturgeon,' *uhor* 'eel,' *pstruh* 'trout,' *okun*' 'perch.' To the Common Slavic category belong the Ukrainian terms *vudka* 'fishing rod,' *mereža* 'fishing net,' *nevid* 'drag-net.' The only information provided by our historical sources is that fish was a common dietary staple.⁷³ Apart from other remains of food, the Siverianian burials yielded fish bones.⁷⁴

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There were various methods of processing raw materials. One of the oldest industries in the history of technology, dating back to the Proto-Indo-European era, was the preparation of animal skins and hair. Even at the most primitive stages of civilization European peoples wore clothing made of animal skins, usually of domestic species and above all those of sheep. In some regions of Ukraine sheepskin garments have survived to the present and are worn almost year round. Despite this, relatively few terms for the processing of animal skins have survived in both the Common Indo-European and the Common Slavic vocabularies. This can probably be explained

69. *Lavr*, pp. 238–42; the writings of Monomakh cited below are from this edition.

70. *Lavr*, p. 242.

71. The number of horses is corrupted; it appears as '10 and 20' (*Lavr*, p. 242) and should probably be read as '120.'

72. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3d ed., 2: 147, 248. Hirt, 'Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde,' p. 65ff, tried to prove that some partial terms belong to the Proto-Indo-European period.

73. *Hyp.*, p. 86; Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fols. 18, 20.

74. Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' p. 188.

by the fact that the techniques used to dress skins were very primitive and involved only rudimentary, unspecialized methods. Undressed skins were denoted by the Common Slavic terms corresponding to Ukr *škira* (OSlav **skora*) and *koža*, while dressed leather was called *usma* or *usnije*. The words for ‘tanner’—*usmar*, *usnar*—occur in various Slavic languages (OSlav, ESLav, WSlav) and may well belong to the Proto-Slavic vocabulary. There are Common Slavic terms for leather footwear: the OSlav *čřevij*, modern Ukrainian *čerevyk* ‘shoe’ and *kožux* for a garment made of sheepskin. This category includes *mix*, *mišok*, which originally denoted something sewn of leather or a leather bag (in the different Slavic languages equivalents of *mix* mean either ‘fur’ or ‘sack’), and perhaps also Ukr *rukavyci* ‘gloves,’ from a Common Slavic term initially applied to a primitive type of leather mittens.

The simplest method of processing animal hair is by braiding or plaiting, Ukr *pletennja* (a PIE term; Skt *praśnas* ‘something braided,’ Gk *πλέκω*, [O]HG *flehtan*), and by beating it into felt, *povst’* (OSlav **plъstъ*, Ger *Filz*). Plaiting gradually evolved into weaving and spinning. At a very early stage, bast and other plant fibers (flax, hemp, and others) were added to animal hair as materials that lent themselves to weaving. Early terminology reveals the organic link between weaving and more primitive processes. For example, the Slavic *viti*, Ukr *vyty*, *zvyvaty* ‘to wind, twist, plait’ are linked with the Skt *váyati* ‘he weaves.’⁷⁵ The large number of Common Indo-European terms for weaving and, in part, for spinning indicates that this higher technology evolved at a very early stage. There is evidence that it was already quite widespread in the Neolithic Age. The Common Indo-European terms include equivalents of *tkaty* ‘to weave’ (L *texo* is linked with Skt *tákṣ-*; its original meaning is indicated by the OSlav *tъknъti* ‘to stick in’), *krosno* ‘weaver’s frame’ (Gk *κρέκω* ‘to weave’), *navij* ‘warp beam.’ The root **sta*, which occurs in Indo-European terms associated with the loom (Skt *sthavi* ‘weaver,’ Gk *ιστός*, and others), may have survived in *postav*, which in some Slavic languages means ‘loom’ and in others ‘a piece of woven cloth.’ As regards spinning, one Indo-European root, **snēi-* ‘to spin,’ survives in [CSlav] *nitъ* (Ukr *nytkа*) ‘thread,’ and another in the term for a woven piece, OSlav *opona* (CE; Gk *πηνίον* ‘spool,’ Goth *spinnan*). It is perhaps not accidental that the Slavic equivalents of Ukr *vereteno* ‘spindle’ (OSlav **vrěteno*, from *vrětěti* ‘to rotate’) bear a similarity to terms in other languages (Skt *vartanam* ‘rotation,’ OHG [MHG] *wirtel* ‘ring on the spindle’). The Common Slavic vocabulary includes equivalents of Ukr *kudelja* ‘distaff,’ *prjasty* ‘to spin,’ and a number of terms for describing the woven product, such as *platъ*, Ukr *polotno* ‘linen, cloth’ (OSlav **platъno*), *portъ* ‘canvas,’ *rub* (*rъbъ*) ‘coarse cloth,’ *sukno* ‘woolen cloth,’ as well as the term for ‘weaver,’ *tkač*.

Siberianian, Derevlonian, and Volhynian burials have yielded remnants of woolen fabrics (of different kinds) and flax and hemp linen cloth, both coarse and fine, with woven patterns. Finds have also included round stone whorls (Ukr *prjasla*), which were probably attached to the end of the wooden spindle, enabling it to twist with greater momentum. Archaeologists have also found the remains of various styles of footwear made of both coarse and fine leather, leather belts, pouches, deposits of wool remnants from sheepskin coats and hats or, perhaps, thick blankets, shears for shearing wool, and the like.⁷⁶ Written sources contain few references

75. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 938, which also contains other parallels; also idem, *Linguistisch-historische Forschungen*, p. 172ff.

76. Samokvasov, ‘Severianskie kurgany,’ pp. 188, 191, 192, 193, 196; Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, pp. 14, 15, 16; Mel’nik, ‘Raskopki v zemle luchan,’ p. 492ff.; Mel’nik, ‘Raskopki kurganov,’ p. 701—the village of Nysakha.

to these industries. Descriptions in the Chronicle reveal that hides were tanned by hand, using tannic acid (*kvazъ usnijanъ*).⁷⁷ There were several terms for leather—*usnъje*, *čerevije*, *хъзъ*.⁷⁸ Leather products will be discussed in the section on clothing. There are references to spinning wool, manufacturing linen cloth (*platъno*), weaving various articles by hand, and so forth.⁷⁹ In the famous legend of Oleh's campaign against Constantinople,⁸⁰ the Slavs contrast costly Greek silks (*pavoloky* and *kropiny*) with their domestic *тълъstina* 'coarse canvas' (used for sails). But this in itself does not warrant the conclusion that finer varieties of cloth were not manufactured in Rus'.

The modeling of clay vessels by hand without a potter's wheel dates back to the Proto-Indo-European culture.⁸¹ But earthenware is not well suited to nomadic life,⁸² and so pottery making developed during periods of sedentary life and declined during periods of migration. That explains the very few traces of this industry in both the Indo-European and the Common Slavic vocabulary, despite the fact that the art of fashioning pottery was highly advanced on Ukrainian territory as early as the Neolithic Age. In addition, wooden vessels (Ukr *posudyna*, CSLav **sъrdъ* 'vessel') were widespread in the original Slavic home and competed with earthenware. The Common Slavic term equivalent to Ukr *hornec*' (OSlav **grъnъcъ* 'pot') applied exclusively to clay utensils, and the Ukrainian term *hončar*, *hornčar* 'potter,' too, may be considered as coming from Common Slavic—it probably dates back to Proto-Slavic times.⁸³

Archaeology provides ample evidence of the use of pottery—both during the earliest cultural stages on Ukrainian territory and by the Ukrainian tribes after the dispersion of the Slavs. The variety of shapes indicates that the potter's wheel was in use by then (or, perhaps, its simpler form, the potter's board) and that clay was no longer modeled by hand alone.⁸⁴ Historical sources contain only general references to earthenware, with the exception of the Ukr *korčaha*, a large clay vessel in the form of a low amphora with a narrow neck in which food or wine was stored.⁸⁵

Conditions in the Proto-Slavic homeland were such that carpentry must have been widely practiced from the earliest times. The Ukrainian word *tesaty* 'to cut, hew' is Proto-Indo-European (Skt *tákṣā* 'carpenter'); *tesla* 'axe' is Balto-Slavic ([O]HG *dehsala*). The Common Slavic vocabulary includes the names of such carpentry tools as those from which the Ukrainian *doloto* 'chisel,' *sverdel* 'bore,' *struh* 'plane,' *klišči* 'tongs,' *pyla* 'saw' were derived. One of the ancient products of woodworkers (*drevoděli*) was the wagon or cart (*vozъ*)—both its name (from the CIE root **végh*, Skt *vāhānam*, Gk ὄχος, [O]HG *wagan*) and the names of its parts belong to the Common Indo-European fund, including *kola* 'wheels,' *osъ* 'axle,' *igo* 'yoke.' Another very ancient product was the boat, which was usually made from a single tree trunk hollowed

77. *Lavr.*, p. 7; *Hyp.*, p. 84.

78. *Hyp.*, pp. 84, 108.

79. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fols. 9', 16', 19'.

80. *Hyp.*, p. 19.

81. For evidence of pottery making in language, see Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 277.

82. For some sound observations about this, see Florinskii, *Pervobytnye slaviane*, 2: 192–93.

83. See Budilovich, *Pervobytnye slaviane*, 2: 35. The word has fallen out of use among the South Slavs.

84. Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, p. 13; cf. Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' p. 191; Gamchenko, 'Gorodishche i mogil'niki,' p. 135; Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan,' p. 493; Mel'nik, 'Raskopki kurganov,' p. 695—the village of Nytsakha.

85. *Hyp.*, p. 88; Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 20 (the word corresponds to the Greek κεράμιον: see Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlia slovaria*, s.v.).

out with tools or by using fire. Such vessels were known as early as during the Indo-European period, and they survived long into historical times. However, the Common Slavic vocabulary contains only the names of smaller craft: Ukr *čoven* (OSlav *člъnъ), OSlav *ladiji*. This category also includes terms associated with the building of houses and the making of various household utensils, which in the thickly forested Proto-Slavic homeland entailed much ‘wood-working.’ The numerous Common Slavic terms for wooden containers indicate how widespread such items were. They include the Ukrainian terms *bočka* ‘barrel,’ *bodnja* ‘cask,’ *diža* ‘kneading trough,’ *vidro* ‘bucket, pail,’ *zban* ‘pitcher,’ *koryto* ‘trough,’ and, perhaps, *čaša* ‘drinking cup.’

Burials contain large quantities of remnants of wooden coffins and wooden vessels. Especially abundant are wooden buckets with iron hoops and handles.⁸⁶ For obvious reasons, there are not many other remains of wooden articles in the tombs. Historical records offer more information in this sphere. The Slavs were famous for their woodworking from ancient times. The Avars set their subject Slavs to this occupation, especially the building of boats.⁸⁷ In his classic account, Constantine Porphyrogenetos described the woodworking industry of the Slavs. The Slavs of Kyivan Rus' spent the winter cutting trees and fashioning the trunks into boats. In the spring these boats were floated down the Dnipro to Kyiv and sold to merchants, who outfitted them with various equipment taken from older vessels. These fleets then sailed to Constantinople.⁸⁸ In later periods the Dnipro continued to serve as a route for exporting timber to the southern lands, just as it does today. There were special transport agents (*izvoznici*) in Kyiv who transported the timber from the harbor to the city.⁸⁹

Woodworking was a separate profession in Kyivan Rus', and there were even separate organizations of woodworkers. One account from the eleventh century states that a prince planning to build a church summoned the ‘senior woodworker.’⁹⁰ There are frequent references to wooden structures, walls, and bridges. Building with stone was introduced in Rus' from foreign countries and was quite rare. There were special merchants who sold coffins in Kyiv in the eleventh century.⁹¹ Various wooden containers—buckets, barrels, *kadi* ‘vats,’ *ladky* ‘plates,’ *lukna* ‘vessels made of bast’ or ‘honey containers’⁹²—must have been widespread, as were all kinds of home furnishings.

The use of metals, so important in the cultural history of mankind, had also advanced significantly before the Slavs dissolved into individual branches. The general term for metal was *ruda*, which was the Common Indo-European term for copper (Skt *lohá*, Pahlavi *rôd*, L *raudus*, ONorse *rauðr* ‘red’)—the first metal known to the Indo-Europeans and the only metal known in the common ancient culture. Ukr *krušec* (from *kruxyj* ‘brittle, crumbly’) is another term from Common Slavic for metal. The names of individual metals include the Common Slavic term for copper, Ukr *mid* (OSlav *mědъ*), which is usually linked with the Germanic *smīda* ‘metal’ (which semantically corresponds to the OSlav **kuznъ*), thereby suggesting that copper was the

86. Samokvasov, ‘Severianskie kurgany,’ pp. 191, 195ff.; Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, pp. 8, 14, and his ‘Raskopki kurganov v zapadnoi Volyni,’ pp. 137–38; Mel'nik, ‘Raskopki v zemle luchan,’ p. 493; Gamchenko, *Zhitomirskii mogil'nik*, table 47.

87. Theophylaktos Simokattes, p. 226.

88. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 9.

89. *Paterik*, pp. 100, 169–70.

90. *Skazaniia o sviatykh Borise i Glebe*, p. 32.

91. *Lavr.*, p. 208.

92. *Hyp.*, pp. 84, 88.

first metal known.⁹³ There are also Common Slavic terms for gold, Ukr *zoloto* (OSlav *zlato*, related to the Germanic, Goth *gulþ* and to Ukr *žovtyj* ‘yellow’), silver, Ukr *sriblo* (OSlav *sъrebro*, Goth *silubr*, Pruss *siraplis*), and iron, Ukr *zalizo* (OSlav *želězo*, Pruss *gelso*, Lith *geležis*, origin unclear).⁹⁴ Familiarity with these four metals dates to Proto-Slavic times. On the other hand, the Common Slavic corresponding to Ukr *olovo* fluctuates in meaning in the various Slavic tongues, meaning ‘lead’ (*plumbum*) in some and ‘tin’ (*stannum*) in others. Obviously these two metals were little known in Proto-Slavic times, just as they were little known among other peoples in this period.⁹⁵ Terms associated with metalworking include the Common Slavic word represented by Ukr *kuvaty* ‘to forge, hammer’ (*ku-* ‘to beat,’ L *cadere*, [O]HG *houwan*), *kovač* ‘smith,’ *molot* ‘hammer’ (L *martulus*; also in this category is Ukr *molotyty* ‘to thresh’). Some of the woodworking and agricultural implements named above also belong to the category of terms for metal products: Ukr *tesla* ‘axe,’ *doloto* ‘chisel,’ *pyla* ‘saw,’ *ryskal* ‘spade,’ etc., as well as such items as *hvozdi* ‘nails,’ *šyla* ‘awls,’ various weapons, and ornaments. In Proto-Slavic times all these articles were manufactured at least in part from metals, although the use of bone and stone in some may have continued for a long time, especially in remote areas.

The familiarity of the Ukrainian tribes with metallurgy is especially evident among the remains uncovered by archaeologists in Derevlianian burials. Numerous pieces of charred iron (in hearths), large hammers, and various articles made of iron testify to the popularity and availability of the metal. Large, albeit shapeless, iron nails, anvils, and firestones are encountered frequently in burials.⁹⁶ Clearly, the iron implements were made locally. In all likelihood, the iron was mined locally as well, because the Derevlianian land was rich in iron ore (slough ore), which was easy to smelt. In general, metal articles made of iron, bronze or copper, silver, and, more rarely, gold occur frequently in burials. Most iron artifacts are implements (axes, chisels, knives) and various articles for home or personal use (firestones, keys, pincers, lock staples). Weapons are encountered less frequently—swords, knives, spears, axes, shirts-of-mail, helmets, forged shields (Polianian and Siverianian burials). The famous Black Barrow (*Chorna mohyla*) in the Chernihiv region, dated by its contents of ninth-century Byzantine coins, contained two drinking horns bound with silver: low relief silver binding, technically quite refined, with a stylized plant ornament and animal and human figures, considered to be of local manufacture.⁹⁷ One barrow in the Horyn River region contained a small iron anvil and hammer, two scales with numerous weights, and a small box bound in iron—the tools of some local jeweler.⁹⁸

It is quite likely that at least some of the advanced examples of metal utensils and jewelry found in pagan burials on Ukrainian territory, undoubtedly of local manufacture in the Christian era, had also been made locally in earlier periods. This indicates that local metallurgy had attained a fairly sophisticated level well before historical times.

93. Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 182; Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 726.

94. It is usually linked with the Greek *χαλκός*. This derivation is rejected by Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte*, p. 187ff.

95. See Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3d ed., 2: 91; idem, *Reallexikon*, p. 96.

96. Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, p. 8; cf. Mel'nik, ‘Raskopki v zemle luchan,’ p. 510; Samokvasov, ‘Severianskie kurgany,’ p. 195.

97. Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, 5: 14ff.; Kondakov, *Russkie klady*, pp. 14–20.

98. Mel'nik, ‘Raskopki v zemle luchan,’ p. 507.

In comparison with the abundance of archaeological evidence, the scant written references to metal products used by the Ukrainian tribes are of little significance. Mention should be made of Ibn Khurradadhbih's report that the Rus' sold swords to Byzantium and al-Jayhani's mention of tin (or lead—it is impossible to determine which metal he meant) among the Slavic wares. In local sources, the reference to a blacksmith in the *Life of St. Feodosii* is noteworthy.⁹⁹

* * *

Let us now examine the way of life in a narrower sense of the term. We will begin our investigation with food.

In light of the diverse economy of Proto-Slavic society, it is safe to assume that the diet of the Slavs was also fairly diverse. The use of the general term corresponding to Ukr *žyto* for all the cereal grains discussed at the beginning of this chapter indicates that these agricultural products were a principal ingredient of the Slavic diet. They were ground into flour, which was then used to make bread: Ukr *tisto* 'dough' and *xlib* 'bread' are both derived from Common Slavic. The term *xlib* is part of an interesting series—L *libum*, Goth *hlaifs*, Oslav *xlěbъ*, Lith *kliēpas*—but linguists have not yet solved all the questions surrounding it.¹⁰⁰ The Ukrainian term *pekty* 'to bake' is Proto-Indo-European (Skt *pācati* 'he bakes,' Gk πέσσω 'I cook'). It is an established fact that fire was used to prepare food in the Proto-Indo-European period. It seems that some sort of flatbreads were reportedly often found at Neolithic sites of the pre-Mycenaean culture in the middle Dnipro region, but no detailed analysis of the cakes was ever made.

Even before grain was milled into flour, it was used in the form of hulled whole grains (Ukr *krupa*). After flour had replaced such grains in breadmaking, the latter remained in use for cooking. The Ukrainian terms *varyty* 'to boil, cook' and *prjažyty* 'to fry' are from Common Slavic, as is *kaša* 'porridge,' which may date back to Proto-Slavic times.

The Ukrainian word *mjaso* 'meat' (Skt *māṁsām*, Goth *mimz*, Oslav *męso*, Lith *mėsà*) is of Proto-Indo-European origin. The fact that there exists a second term, denoting meat in its raw, bloody state (Skt *kravís*, Gk κρέας, Oslav *krěvъ*, L *cruor* 'blood') has led linguists to conjecture that *mjaso* means prepared meat.¹⁰¹ The earliest method of preparing meat was by baking, but the Ukrainian term *juška* 'soup' (Skt *yūṣ*, *yūṣam*, L *jus*, [P]Slav **juxa*, Lith *jūšė*) dates to Proto-Aryan times. The use of sweet and sour milk has already been discussed. Food was flavored with salt, a practice common to European civilization.¹⁰²

Mead, an intoxicating, fermented sweet drink made of honey, water, and malt, originated in Proto-Indo-European times. Its consumption became widespread as beekeeping developed among the Slavs. Concurrently there existed a fermented grain beverage for which there is no Common Slavic term but only local names: Ukr *braha* 'malt mash' (ESlav and WSlav, linked with Celt

99. Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik*, French translation, p. 115, Arabic original, p. 154; al-Jayhani in Garkavi, 'Drevneishee arabskoe izvestie,' p. 347; Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 4.

100. At issue is whether the Slavic word *xlěbъ* is derived from the Gothic *hlaifs* or is an independent term. See Kozlovskij, 'Zur Geschichte des slavischen Consonantismus,' p. 386; Pedersen, 'Das indogermanische s im Slavischen,' p. 50; Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 111; Jagić, review of Brückner, *Cywilizacja i język*, p. 537; Peisker, *Die älteren Beziehungen*, p. 84.

101. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 250; Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 126.

102. Special studies include: Hehn, *Das Salz*; Schleiden, *Das Salz*; and Schrader, *Reallexikon*, pp. 700–701.

bracium, Welsh *brag* ‘malt’) and *olъ* ‘ale’ (OSlav, Russian, and WSlav, and NGmc *öl*). Subsequently, the term equivalent to Ukr *pyvo* ‘beer’ (originally meaning ‘beverage’) came to denote this kind of drink specifically.¹⁰³ The Ukrainian term *driždži* ‘leaven, yeast’ (OSlav *droždije*, NGmc *dregg*, Pruss *dragios*) is common to northern peoples. The Ukrainian term *vyno* ‘wine,’ Greco-Italian in origin, belongs to the Common Slavic category, but it is not known whether the Slavs knew it before their migration south—that is, whether this commodity, which was part of the Black Sea–Mediterranean trade, reached them when they still lived in their original habitat.

Archaeological evidence is of little help in establishing the Old Rus' diet. Remnants of funeral feasts or offerings found in Siverianian burials contained the bones of sheep, domestic birds, and fish, as well as grain and egg shells.¹⁰⁴ Written sources offer more information. The customary assortment of foods is described in an account in the Chronicle about Saint Volodymyr. It relates that he ordered his men to load carts with ‘bread, meat, fish, various kinds of *ovoščь* [probably vegetables—M.H.], barrels of mead and others of *kvas* [a sour, fermented drink made from bread—M.H.]’ and distribute these to the poor.¹⁰⁵ In the eleventh century a customary meal at the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves consisted of bread (usually made of rye), pulse (*sočivo*) or porridge, and cooked greens dressed with vegetable oil; on non-fast days the monks ate cheese, and on fast days, fish, but the last was regarded as something special and served ‘in small quantities.’ On holidays they were given bread baked from better quality flour or even pastries (‘loaves of the finest kind, some made with honey and others made with poppy’). Mead was served only on special occasions.¹⁰⁶ Dry rye bread, cooked vegetables without oil, and water made up the diet of an ascetic of the first order. Bread was regarded as more luxurious fare than pulse, while cooked vegetables were lowest on the list of preferred foods.¹⁰⁷ This spartan menu gives a good notion of the typical diet of the poorer classes. The diet of the wealthier classes is described in the ‘instruction’ to the royal officials known as wergild collectors (*virьniki*). Each day the wergild collector was to receive for himself and for his boy servant (*otrokъ*) bread, one bucket (*uborokъ*) of crushed millet and one of peas (another variant of the instruction has it that he was to be issued as much bread and crushed millet as he could eat), and two chickens. In addition, he was to receive each week one bullock or a flicht (*polotъ*) of meat, and each day a salt loaf (*golvažьnja*) and a bucket of malt for beer, as well as cheese on non-fast days and fish instead of meat on fast days.¹⁰⁸

This suggests that bread, porridge, and cooked vegetables (probably in the form of some kind of vegetable soup) were then, as they are now, the principal staples of the Rus' diet. Given the abundance of fauna and open pasture lands in those times, meat may have been more frequent fare than it is today. Bread was a true bread, very similar to its modern counterpart, rather than unleavened. Flour was mixed with warm water (*ukropъ*), kneaded and leavened with yeast (*kvasъ*), and baked in an oven similar to the present-day [country] baking oven rather than to

103. The German *Bier* ‘beer’ is regarded as borrowed from Slavic by E. Kuhn, as well as by Schrader in ‘Über Bezeichnungen der Heiratsverwandschaft.’

104. Samokvasov, ‘Severianskie kurgany,’ pp. 188, 191.

105. *Hyp.*, p. 86.

106. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fols. 18, 20, 21, 22.

107. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fols. 9, 20; cf. *Hyp.*, p. 132.

108. *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 42; Karamzin Manuscript § 7, cf. § 108–9). For variants, see Kalachov, *Predvaritel'nye iuridicheskie svedeniia*, pp. 187–89.

a hearth.¹⁰⁹ The loaves of bread must have been quite large, since one loaf was expected to last two men a whole day. But there were also smaller breads (*kovrižьkь, kovrižьka*).¹¹⁰ Of the other foods, the Chronicle gives a fairly detailed description of *kiselь* ‘fermented pudding,’ which was made by mixing flour with water (*cežьbь*), cooking the mixture, and then adding to it honey diluted with water (*syta*). Meat was usually boiled in a cauldron or pot. The Chronicle describes Sviatoslav’s practice of cooking his meat on coals rather than boiling it as something unusual. The same account reveals that the population ate both domestic animals (including horsemeat) and wild game.¹¹¹ As the above indicates, the Kyivan cuisine was far from primitive—an important indicator of the level of civilization. It is for that reason that I have dwelled on the subject.

Food was eaten with wooden spoons. Volodymyr’s capricious retinue demanded silver spoons, but the chronicler relates this as an unheard-of whim.¹¹²

The principal beverage was mead, loved by all, commoner and prince alike. In addition to mead there was beer, and it is likely that *kvas* was also drunk. Wine, in contrast, was quite rare, available only to the wealthy and powerful. Except for its liturgical use, there is no mention of wine in the *Life of St. Feodosii*.

Clothing (CSlav term *odežda* corresponding to Ukr *odity* ‘to clothe’) must have been quite primitive and simple. This is suggested by the fact that the names of various pieces of attire are usually specialized names for cloth in general.

Thus *svyta* (now a kind of caftan) means any woven or plaited cloth, *plaxta* (which in Ukrainian denotes a kind of peasant skirt made of coarse hempen cloth) in other Slavic languages means ‘kerchief’ (Ukr *xustka*), ‘coarse blanket’ (Ukr *vereta*); *opanča* (the Ukrainian term for a short woolen overcoat) is derived from *opona* (‘woven cloth’); Ukr *suknja* ‘dress, gown’ from *sukъно* ‘woolen cloth’; *portky* ‘trousers’ from *portъ* ‘canvas’ (like the Russian *rubaxa* ‘shirt’ from *рѣбъ* ‘coarse cloth’). Moreover, this specialization in the meaning of terms is different in each language or group of languages, indicating that it occurred at a later date.

Of interest are the numerous borrowed terms for attire, such as *košulja* ‘shirt’ from the Latin *casula*, and *soročьka* ‘shirt’ from the NL *sarca*. The words *županъ* ‘knee-length coat’ and *šuba* ‘loose fur cloak’ are linked with NL *jupa*, and *hunja* ‘coarse woolen coat’ with the NL *gunna*.¹¹³ Just as today, the borrowing of a word often meant borrowing only the style and not the article itself, and loanwords in the names of clothing occur very frequently in all languages.

The term for a sheepskin garment, Ukr *kožux*, and that for leather footwear, Ukr *čerevyky*, are Common Slavic, while Ukr *čobit* ‘boot’ is borrowed from the Persian. There are Common Slavic terms for trousers or breeches—barbarian clothing worn in the northern lands and unknown to southern peoples: Ukr *hači* and *nahavyci*. The Ukrainian words *pojas* ‘belt’ and *plašč* ‘coat’ are also from Common Slavic. The Ukrainian verb *šyty* ‘to sew’ (PIE **sjū* ‘to join,’

109. The appearance of the Rus’ oven is suggested by the Chronicle’s account of St. Isakii in *Hyp.*, p. 138: the stove was not efficient, the fire darted through the cracks, and Isakii had to climb on top of it and put the fire out with his feet.

110. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 11: ‘they poured out all the leaven set up for making the loaves of bread’; also fol. 21: ‘kneading the dough, they then poured in hot water.’ Cf. *Hyp.*, pp. 130, 138.

111. *Hyp.*, pp. 41, 86.

112. *Hyp.*, p. 87.

113. Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 175; also in etymological dictionaries, s.v.

L suo, Goth *siujan*, Lith *siūti*) must have applied to sewing leather garments and footwear as well as cloth, and the CSlav **ѣбѣць* means either 'shoemaker' or 'tailor' in the different Slavic languages.

Common Slavic terms for jewelry include Ukr *persten'* 'ring' (from *perst* 'finger') and *hryvna* 'neck ring, torque' (from *hryva* 'neck').

Archaeological excavations have yielded some articles of ancient attire.¹¹⁴ These include remnants of woolen and linen cloth, sometimes trimmed at the collar or elsewhere with a piece of velvet (Ukr *oksamyt*, Gk *ἐξάμιτος*) interwoven with gold or silver thread. Clasps consisted of a bead fitted into a leather loop or ring. Recent finds of remnants of clothing and buttons at Nytsakha have made it possible to reconstruct 'a shirt and some sort of outer garment made of silk with a high collar, trimmed with velvet ribbon, with an opening down the middle of the chest that was fastened half-way up with little buttons.'¹¹⁵ In the Chernihiv burials the wealthiest individuals were dressed entirely in velvet attire fastened with costly metal buttons, but it is difficult to distinguish local from recently adopted or imported goods in these graves. Belts were made either of leather, decorated with a little metal plate, or of woven cloth, sometimes costly fabrics with gold threads. Some belts had leather straps for attaching useful accessories or leather pouches. Some pouches were found with a full inventory: metal for striking fire, a small whetstone, pieces of brimstone, and a few sheep foot-bones (used for play). Flintstone, metal for striking fire, knives, and whetstones were customarily left alongside the deceased. Siverianian burials contain many combs made of bone, which also occur frequently in the funerary fields of the Kyiv region and Galicia. Jewelry includes necklaces of beads of glass, precious stones, and metal (mostly imported), earrings and rings of metal wire (bronze, silver, and even, at times, gold), and bracelets. Women wore caps or headbands of wool cloth, embellished with silver or glass ornaments, and temple pendants sown onto leather or strung on a leather string. Circlets were also worn in the hair; sometimes they were worn across the forehead and sometimes they hung from the temples to the chest, suggesting braids either arranged on the head or freely hanging.¹¹⁶ At the Nizhen sites all the women had their hair arranged in freely hanging braids, with bands of silk strings worn from the forehead down the back to simulate hair. These strings, like hair, were braided with circlets. Circlets were also worn in clusters at the temples.¹¹⁷ Footwear survived quite well in Derevlianian and Volhynian burials. It consists of low boots with sharply pointed toes made of double layers of fine morocco leather or lined with thicker leather and joined on the sole. One Chernihiv barrow yielded a pair of large boots, sewn with bronze wire, as an example of the later description of Prince Danylo's costume: 'boots of green leather, sewn with gold.'¹¹⁸

A very interesting description of the attire of a prosperous Rus' man is provided by Ibn Fadlan: wide trousers, hose,¹¹⁹ boots, jerkin, and over it a silk caftan with gold buttons; and on his head, a sable cap with a silk crown.¹²⁰ An Arabic source from the ninth century and later

114. Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany'; Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*; Gamchenko, 'Raskopki v basseine r. Sluchi'; Mel'nik, 'Raskopki kurganov.'

115. Mel'nik, 'Raskopki kurganov,' p. 701.

116. Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan,' pp. 498–99.

117. Anuchin, 'O cherepakh iz kurganov,' pp. 607–9.

118. *Hyp.*, p. 541.

119. In Ibn Fadlan's text the meaning of this word is not absolutely clear, but some form of hose was worn in Rus'.

120. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 98. Arguments that Ibn Fadlan's Rus' were not Slavs have not been serious enough to compel us to identify them as Finns, as some suggest, or as Varangians, as do others. But in

Arabic accounts also speak of jerkins and caftans, wide trousers, and boots worn by the Rus'.¹²¹

Local sources also contain a rather complete description of the attire worn in the tenth to twelfth centuries: shirt, caftan, and, perhaps only among the wealthier classes, a *korzno* ('cloak, mantle') as an overgarment. Footwear consisted of braided *kopyt'ca*, a kind of hose, and *sapohy* 'boots,' or, instead, moccasins called *prabošni* or *čerevii* (leather shoes); in some locations bast-shoes must have been worn. Headwear was a plaited or leather cap called a *klobukъ*. Prosperous individuals wore gold and silver chains around their necks, necklaces of thick or thin woven wire (*griv'nyu*), and women also wore earrings (*kolci*).¹²²

There are also several descriptions of Rus' princes. The famous miniature in Sviatoslav's *Miscellany* (*Izbornyk*) of 1073 (much ruined by time) portrays the prince, his wife, and their four sons—three grown men and one small boy. The men are dressed in long (below-the-knee) colored robes or caftans (that of the old prince is blue, those of his sons are crimson),¹²³ trimmed with gold on the collar and sleeves, with colored borders along the bottom. The sons wear gold belts with gold tassels. Over the caftan the old prince wears a dark blue robe with a gold border, fastened with a clasp on his right shoulder. The men wear caps with cloth crowns and (fur?) trim: those of the prince's sons are blue and high, whereas the cap of the prince himself has a low crown of a light color. All wear boots: those of the prince are blue, those of his sons are red. The princess is clad in a light red caftan, with a light-colored pattern (done in needlework) on the chest and skirt border; the garment has wide sleeves, cut diagonally, as in western attire, from which there emerge narrow sleeves of the same color, trimmed with gold at the cuffs. On her head she wears a tall cap, like that worn by the young princes, over a white wimple. She has (yellow?) boots on her feet, and there is a gold belt around her waist. The youngest prince is dressed in the same costume as his older brothers, except that he has gold loops on his caftan. Other illustrations of royal garments—those worn by Iaroslav's family in the fresco at the Cathedral of St. Sophia [in Kyiv] and by Iaropolk in the Trier [or Cividale] Psalter—are less interesting because they depict ceremonial Byzantine attire. They offer even less chance of establishing authentic details of contemporary clothing than does the miniature in Sviatoslav's *Miscellany*.¹²⁴

In light of the evidence from the ninth to tenth centuries that we have cited above, Prokopios's report about how poorly dressed the neighboring Slavs were in the sixth century should be taken with the same caution as his account about how poorly developed their

light of such suspicions I separate this report from others, just as I separate reports about the Slavs in which it is possible to identify the Rus' as Scandinavians from the Normanist standpoint. These accounts cannot be excluded or contrasted with reports about the Slavs because, in every case, the 'Rus' element in the ninth and tenth centuries portrayed in Byzantine and Arabic sources could not have been exclusively Norse. Such reports reflect the contemporary life of the East Slavs: first, because there unquestionably were Slavs among these Rus' and they intermingled under that name with the Varangians; second, because given the early and intensive expansion of the Varangians in eastern Europe, Varangian features must have had a strong impact on the life of the military and merchant strata of Slavic Rus'.

121. Al-Jayhani in Garkavi, 'Drevneishee arabskoe izvestie'; Ibn Rusta in Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 39; Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 193, 276.

122. *Hyp.*, pp. 56, 98 (cf. 248, 137, 170; Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fols. 4, 9; *Skazaniia o sviatykh Borise i Glebe*, p. 37.

123. Though I mention them here, the colors are problematic, having been affected by time. Moreover, they need not have been realistic to begin with.

124. See Kondakov, *Izobrazheniia russkoi kniazheskoi sem'i*; Ia. Smimov, 'Risunki Kieva 1651 g.'; and my comments in my review of Kondakov's *Izobrazheniia*.

agriculture was. Some of them, wrote Prokopios, have neither a shirt nor a coat and enter battle in short trousers. However, these may have been rag-tag frontier bands, or perhaps their dress reflected some military fashion (similar to the naked Cossack in the painting by Repin).

The construction of dwellings dates back to Proto-Indo-European times. The Slavic word for 'house, home'—*domъ*—is of Indo-European stock: Skt *dāma*, Gk δόμος. However humble that Proto-Indo-European dwelling may have been, it was nevertheless a real house, not a pile of branches, and it had a door (Zend locative *dvarəm*, Gk θύρα, OSlav *dvъrъ*), but no windows. The Common Slavic vocabulary contains a rather large store of terms connected with the house and its furnishings, which suggests that this aspect of the Slavs' material culture was at a relatively advanced stage.¹²⁵ Along with the Indo-European term for house, there are also Common Slavic names: OSlav *xramъ*, Ukr *xyža*,¹²⁶ perhaps also Ukr. *kuča* (from *kut* 'corner'). The house was covered by a roof (CSlav equivalent of Ukr *strixa*, **strěxa*, and of [Russian] *krov*, from *kryti* 'to cover'), which was supported by a beam (OSlav **slěmę*, Lith *šelmūō*, Gk σέλμα). The Slavic house also had windows (Ukr [sing.] *vikno*, from *oko* 'eye,' meaning a small opening for the eye, or an eyehole).¹²⁷ It was built of wood or plaited from wattle (cf. Ger *Wand* 'wall' from the notion 'to weave, plait'). Masonry came much later and is characterized by loanwords from the Greek and German. As indicated by the Common Slavic term for 'lime'—Ukr *vapno* (OSlav **vapъ* 'color, paint')—lime or colored clay was used from ancient times as daub and for decorating.

The terminology for house furnishings includes such Common Slavic terms as Ukr *pič* 'stove,' *lava* 'bench,' *stil* 'table.' These words are especially interesting in light of recent observations that Slavic and Indo-European life in general was initially conducted on the floor of the house and only slowly rose above this level to a new 'cultural horizon.' As a result, the word for 'table,' for example, is interchangeable with the term for 'board,' *doska*, which served as a platter for food (OSlav *dъska*, L *discus* 'dish' and [OL]G *disc* or [OH]G *tisc* 'table' and 'dish'), or the same word denotes both table and dish, which served as a table (the OSlav *misa* means 'dish' in some languages and 'table' in others, as does *bljudo*, Goth *biuþs*). The modern raised table, Ukr *stil*, placed almost permanently in a designated spot, is a rather late phenomenon. In the different Slavic languages the term means either 'table' or 'stool' (cf. Ger *Stuhl*). In Ukrainian this fluctuation is evident in the term for ascending the princely *stil* 'throne' (and in *stilec* 'chair'). Not only did the two pieces of furniture look alike, but the same piece obviously served both purposes.

Apart from terms for the house proper, there are ancient terms from which modern Ukrainian terms are derived for other structures that made up the homestead (CSlav **dvorъ* linked with *dvъrъ* 'door'); Ukr *klit* 'storeroom' (OSlav *klěтъ*, Irish *cliáth* 'wattle fence,' perhaps [Goth] *hleipra* 'roof'); *xliv* 'cattle shed, pigsty' and *košara* (from *kiš* 'basket') 'sheepfold'; *humno*

125. The history of the Slavic house and its furnishings has recently been the subject of a number of German studies, written primarily by scholars from Graz: Meringer, 'Das volkstümliche Haus'; idem, 'Die Stellung des bosnischen Hauses,' and a number of his articles entitled 'Wörter und Sachen'; Murko, 'Zur Geschichte des volkstümlichen Hauses'; Rhamm, *Ethnographische Beiträge*. These studies are especially valuable in that they utilize both linguistic and ethnological evidence. All are written from the standpoint of Proto-Slavic borrowing from German. Most other works about Slavic houses (mainly modern) are named in Murko, 'Zur Geschichte des volkstümlichen Hauses.'

126. Linguists believe this term to be derived from the Germanic *hūs*, like *xliv* 'pigsty' from the Gothic *hlaiw*, but the matter is not absolutely clear. See Peisker, *Die älteren Beziehungen*, pp. 68–71. On *klěтъ*, see Meringer, 'Wörter und Sachen,' 16: 117.

127. Thus in other languages as well; cf. Meringer, 'Wörter und Sachen,' 16: 125.

'barnyard' and *žytnycja* 'granary.' Grain was also stored in pits dug in the ground. This entire complex was encircled by a fence called a *tyn* (OLG *tân*) or *plit* (CSlav, from *plesty* 'to plait').

Historical records also contain several interesting details. A distinction was made between a room heated by a stove—it was called *istǔba*, *istobka*, *izba*—and unheated rooms, which were known by the names *sěni*, *odrina*, *klěť*, *věža*. The use of the form *istopka* in our written sources suggests that the term probably denoted a heated (*toplēna*) house (like *komnata* 'room' from L *caminata* 'heated by a fireplace'). But it is of foreign origin, derived by most linguists from the Germanic *stuba* (origin unknown), which meant a room with a stove, separated from the original space that contained a hearth.¹²⁸ In Ukrainian this original house or room without a stove is called *siny*. The *odrina* was apparently the bedroom, and the *věža*, the upper house.¹²⁹ The *klěť* was the storeroom, but it was also used as an extra room to live in.¹³⁰ The house was built tall—the *sěni* was on the second storey with only eaves supported by posts beneath it. In the lower portion of the house there were storerooms, called *klěti*, and various other storage spaces.¹³¹ Such were the houses of the prosperous classes, not of the common people, and they may have reflected foreign styles (Varangian, for example). The stove in the *istǔba* was more or less similar to its present counterpart and was covered on top. Of other house furnishings there is frequent mention of *odrǔ* 'bedding, bed,' which was quite high off the floor so that one could sit on it, unlike the original bed on the floor or bedding in a pit.¹³² Carpets, or *kovry*, were in wide use.¹³³

Outside the house there were storerooms (*klěti*), cellars (*pogreby*), pantries (*bretjanyci*), sheds and pens for livestock, and a barn for grain.¹³⁴ At the princely court, there were special baths called *movǔnici* and mead cellars called *meduši*. The wealthy probably had them as well. On top of some houses there were dovecotes.¹³⁵

The Rus' traveled by cart (*vozǔ*, *kola*, *telěga*), pulled by horses or oxen. The driver (*provozǔnikǔ*) rode on horseback.¹³⁶ Everyone rode on horseback, even the clergy.¹³⁷ There are references to such riding gear as the saddle and the saddle cloth (*podǔkladǔ*).¹³⁸ Burial mounds have yielded the metal parts of bridles and stirrups.¹³⁹ Sleds were in use in the winter, but this mode of transportation was then used much more widely and also had a ritual significance—for example, in funerals, as is still the custom in some regions of Ukraine. It attests the ancient origin of this equipage.¹⁴⁰

128. A recent study by Dachler, 'Zur Geschichte der Heizung,' gives a different genealogy for the term: Gk τῦφος 'smoke,' Scythian (and later ESlav) *istuba*, ML **stufa* 'bath,' hence Ger *Stube*.

129. An interesting derivation of *věža*, recently suggested by Meringer in his 'Wörter und Sachen,' 19: 427, is from *vezty* 'to transport,' as in a moveable, transportable house (Meringer discusses such houses, which have survived in Herzegovina). In Ukraine the word *věža* was, indeed, used to designate the carts with tent-like structures of the nomads.

130. *Hyp.*, pp. 38, 55, 138, 159; *Skazaniia o sviatykh Borise i Glebe*, p. 78.

131. *Hyp.*, p. 55; cf. p. 120.

132. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 8.

133. E.g., *Hyp.*, pp. 49, 170, 180.

134. *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 20, 38; Karamzin Manuscript § 40, 59); *Hyp.*, pp. 236, 237.

135. *Hyp.*, pp. 36, 37.

136. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fols. 14–15.

137. *Hyp.*, p. 147.

138. *Hyp.*, p. 41.

139. Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' p. 188; Antonovich, 'Raskopki kurganov v zapadnoi Volyni,' p. 137.

140. *Hyp.*, pp. 38, 128, 131, 144, and elsewhere. See also the special study by Vovk (Volkov), 'Le traîneau.'

In conclusion, two more categories of objects from the sphere of material culture require examination.

The first category consists of weapons, **orǫžije* (CSlav). As was the case among other Indo-Europeans, most weapons were offensive. The most important of these was in fact the oldest—the spear, the most primitive form of which was a sharpened wooden stake or charred pole, like the one Odysseus fashioned to use against Polyphemus. For lack of better weapons such spears were used in Ukraine as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during popular uprisings.¹⁴¹ Even in Proto-Slavic times the spears had iron points: there are two Common Slavic terms for them: *kopije* (from the same root as *kopyto* ‘hoof,’ *kopati* ‘to kick’) and *sulica* (from *sunuti* ‘to push’). There was also the Ukr *niž* ‘knife’ (*nožь*, from *nъziti*, *nizati* ‘to cut through’; the word is linked with Pruss *nagis* ‘flint,’ suggesting an echo of earlier flint knives, like the [OH]G *sahs* ‘sword,’ L *saxum* ‘stone,’ but the link poses certain linguistic difficulties).¹⁴² The Ukrainian term *meč* (Goth **mēkeis*) is thought to be borrowed from the Germanic, just as the other Proto-Slavic term, *korьda* (now forgotten among Ukrainians), is derived from the Persian *kārd*. It should be pointed out that the long sword was a later addition to the Indo-European armory than the shorter version, which resembled a knife. Other weapons included the axe, *sekyra* (L *securis*, related to the Ukrainian word *sikty*, OSlav *sěšti* ‘to chop’), as well as another Common Slavic but borrowed term, *toporь* ‘broadaxe’ (Persian *tābār*); *kyj* ‘club’ (from the root *kū* ‘to beat,’ as is *kovati*); *prašča* (from the same root as *prakъ*, *porokъ* ‘battering ram’). The *lukъ* ‘bow’ with its *tetiva* ‘string’ (Lith *temptýva*), *strěly* ‘arrows’ (common with the [OH]G *strāla*), and *tulъ* ‘quiver’ were also part of the Common Slavic and undoubtedly Proto-Slavic arsenal of weapons.

There are very few terms for weapons in the defensive category. There is the Common Slavic, or, more precisely, Common European term, Ukr *ščyt* ‘shield’ (L *scutum*, Celt *sciāth*).¹⁴³ The terms *bronja* ‘armor’ (OSlav *brъnja*, derived from the OHG *brunnî*, related to the Celt *bruinne* ‘chest’) and *šolom* (*šlēmъ*, derived from Germanic, the Goth *hilms*) are Common Slavic. And that ends the list.

The above evidence is largely confirmed by the oldest historical reports about Slavic weapons. According to Prokopios, the Slavs went into battle mostly on foot, carrying small shields and spears, and not wearing cuirasses. John of Ephesus wrote that it was only in the Balkans that the Slavs acquired more weapons and learned to wage war. He claimed that previously they had been simpletons, afraid to emerge from the forests, who had had no weapons except for two or three *λόγγαδια*, dart spears for throwing.¹⁴⁴ Maurice (and Leo, using the former as his source) related that Slav soldiers were each armed with two short spears (*ἀκόντιον*), which they used for striking and throwing, and that they shot small poisoned arrows from wooden bows. Some carried shields that were too large to be held comfortably (similar to the Greek *θυροί*—large, rectangular shields ‘resembling doors’). A similar description of

141. According to Ossovskii, ‘Opyt khronologicheskoi klassifikatsii,’ p. 55, such spears are still used in eastern Lithuania.

142. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 538; Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 152–53.

143. The derivation from the Germanic, the Goth *skildus*, is rejected by Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 154; Schrader, *Reallexikon*, pp. 720–21 (where the linguistic difficulties presented by a number of these terms are discussed).

144. Prokopios, *De bello Gothico* 3.14; John of Ephesus, 6.25 in German translation, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, p. 255; in English translation, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History*, p. 432.

Slavic weapons is found in a ninth-century Arabic source, which states that the Slavs were armed with pikes for throwing, shields, and spears, and that they carried no other weapons. But, even according to this source, the principal weapon of the Rus' retinue was the sword, while princes also wore hauberks.¹⁴⁵

Chernihiv barrows have yielded a large assortment of Varangian-Rus' boyar or even princely weapons from the tenth century. These finds include large swords and sabers, both short and long knives, iron pikes and shorter spears, battle-axes, iron arrows, helmets of iron, some faced with copper or other metals, hauberks, and copper plates from forged shields.¹⁴⁶

By the ninth and tenth centuries, the sword had become the principal weapon of the Rus'. In the Chronicle's legend about the tribute paid to the Khazars by the Polianians, the two-edged Polianian sword is contrasted with the curved, single-edged Khazar saber, a weapon used by all the Turkic peoples. When exchanging weapons with the Pecheneg leader, the voivode Pretych (from the Siverianian land) gave the Pecheneg prince a hauberk (*broni*), a shield, and a sword. In return, the Pecheneg gave him a horse, a saber, and arrows. These were the typical weapons used by the two sides at the time.¹⁴⁷ The Old Rus' sword (actually a late invention in the development of weapons) is well represented in one of the Chernihiv burials. The find included a broad, long sword measuring about a meter in length, outfitted with a massive hilt, skillfully wrought and probably silvered. The grave also contained several smaller swords. Judging by the archaeological evidence, at the time such large swords were commonplace along the entire route 'from the Varangians to the Greeks.'¹⁴⁸ Sabers were also used. According to the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, in the twelfth century the saber became more popular than the sword because its curved blade was better suited for slashing than the straight edge of the sword. Spears and knives remained important weapons (cf. the knives hidden in the legs of boots—*zasapožbnyky*—in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, like the haidamak's hidden 'friend' in the boot), as did battle-axes (*toporci*)¹⁴⁹ and bows. Among defensive weapons we know of 'vermilion' shields and helmets; hauberks are mentioned infrequently, and we do not know whether they were worn by the rank and file of the retinue. It is unlikely that commoners had all the weapons listed above. Burials usually contain spears, knives, arrows, and battle-axes,¹⁵⁰ and these were probably the weapons of ordinary soldiers who were not members of the princely retinue.

In light of the fact that metal technology was well developed in Rus', most of the weapons must have been of local manufacture. But the more prosperous prided themselves on their imported weapons. Ibn Fadlan was the first to report that the Rus' used 'Frankish' swords made

145. Ibn Rusta in Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, pp. 31–33; Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 123; Tumanskii, 'Novootkrytyi persidskii geograf,' p. 135.

146. Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' p. 188.

147. *Hyp.*, pp. 9, 43.

148. Similar swords have been found in Kyiv and in the Gnezdovo (Smolensk region) burials (one sword is very similar to the Chernihiv example). A fairly large collection (eight) of similar swords was found in Courland gubernia (near Alschwangen-Alsungu); one of them, very similar to the Chernihiv model, is now at the Moscow Museum, which also houses both the Gnezdovo and the Chernihiv collections. For drawings of the Kyivan swords, see *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vol. 5, table 1; and of the Chernihiv swords, see Anuchin, 'O nekotorykh formakh.'

149. *Hyp.*, p. 123.

150. For a collection of various weapons from the Kyiv region, see *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, vol. 5, tables 1–3. The Slavic provenance of all these weapons is not always certain, however.

in the West.¹⁵¹ The *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* refers to 'Latin helmets' and even Polish javelins (*sulicy*). The large Old Rus' swords described above were indeed similar in design to Germanic weapons (the so-called *spatha*, adopted by the Germanic people from the Celts), although they may have been manufactured in Rus'.¹⁵²

The second category of characteristic articles is comprised of musical instruments for playing music and accompanying dancing (CSlav **plęsati*). This group includes such Common Slavic terms as Ukr *sopilka* 'pipe' (OSlav **sopělъ*), *truba* 'trumpet,' *husli* 'psaltery,' and *buben* 'drum.' These instruments are mentioned in both local and foreign historical documents.¹⁵³ The ninth-century Arabic source described eight-string Slavic lutes, psalteries, and long pipes (Ukr *dudky*) measuring two cubits. Other articles used for entertainment included dice made of rams' foot-bones, found in various pre-Christian graves.¹⁵⁴

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In the preceding survey of the material culture of the East Slavs, we frequently encountered evidence of the use of foreign imported goods and borrowed foreign terms for these goods—all traces of relations with other lands, of barter and of commerce with other peoples. Reflected in the ancient Proto-Indo-European linguistic store, we can discern the beginnings of barter—the initial stage of trade. The Slavic *měna* 'exchange' (Skt *mēniṣ* 'repayment,' L *munus* 'gift') and *věno* 'price,' 'payment' (Skt *vasnām*, Gk *ὄνη* 'price,' L *venum* 'sale') belong to this primordial stock. The Slavic *pro-dati* 'to sell' has parallels in the Skt *prādā-* ('to exchange') and Lith *parduoti*.¹⁵⁵ However, the first traces of trade in our lands date back to the Neolithic Age. These include the foreign shells called *cyprea moneta*, Mediterranean shells found in the Neolithic and early metal culture burials, and articles made of foreign varieties of stone.¹⁵⁶ All bronze metallurgy depended on imports, because neither copper nor tin was mined on the territory that is now Ukraine or in the Proto-Slavic homeland. Nor was gold or silver mined locally. The iron culture, too, relied at least in part on barter with foreign lands, inasmuch as iron was available only in certain regions of the Ukrainian territory, and it is unlikely that local output was ever sufficient to meet the demand for this metal. Glass products, which were quite commonplace, were all imported. The dissemination of certain culture types and even rituals, such as the pottery-making techniques of pre-Mycenaean culture, its building styles, the ritual of sprinkling the corpse with ochre, etc., were all the result of intercourse with societies far beyond the region's boundaries.

We know with complete certainty the three principal directions in which barter and trade were conducted even before the period preceding Slavic expansion. With some changes, these same three routes—the southern, eastern, and western—were also used by the ancestors of the

151. Ibn Rusta's report that the Rus' use 'Suleiman's swords' is unclear.

152. Compare, for example, the drawings of Kyivan and Chernihiv swords with those of the Celtic-Germanic épée. In any event, there is no reason to regard them as peculiarly Scandinavian, as some scholars do—see Spitsyn, 'Obzrenie nekotorykh gubernii,' p. 268.

153. *Hyp.*, pp. 43, 136; cf. 120; see also the accounts of Ibn Rusta, Gardizi, Ibn Fadlan, and others. For discussion of these literary texts, see Ainalov, 'Ocherki i zametki.'

154. *Drevnosti Pridneprov'ia*, 5: 56–57; Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' p. 188; Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, p. 14; Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan,' p. 495.

155. Schrader, *Linguistisch-historische Forschungen*, especially chap. 2.

156. On the western European Neolithic, cf. Götze, 'Über neolitische Handel.'

Ukrainians in historical times. The southern route, which led from the Phoenician, Carian, and Greek factories on the coast of the Black Sea, was the most important from the standpoint of culture and civilization. Documentary evidence of this trade is encountered in the numerous finds of Greek vessels, jewelry, and coins in the middle Dnipro region.¹⁵⁷ Of particular interest is a pair of coins from Panticapaeum found in the Ryzhanivka Barrow in the southern Kyiv region that date the find.¹⁵⁸ Undoubtedly, the impact of this trade on the local culture was also felt much farther north.¹⁵⁹

In the Black Sea steppes the southern route intersected the eastern route, on which the Iranian tribes were go-betweens. Among the cultural imports into various spheres of life introduced over this route were such items and terms cited above as Ukr *kurka* 'chicken,' *topir* 'broadaxe,' *čobit* 'boot.' They alone suffice to indicate how diverse these borrowings were. There are, however, other records of these relations from the very earliest times and for various periods. In addition to the *cyprea moneta*, which were caught in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean but could have come from the Black Sea coast as well, and the elements of pre-Mycenaean culture, whose route has yet to be studied, there is the so-called Scythian style in metal (especially bronze) artifacts. This style, which ranged from the middle Dnipro region deep into southwestern Asia, attests to relations between the inhabitants of the territory that is now Ukraine and Asia, and to Asian cultural influences in our lands in the age before the dispersion of the Slavs. It was followed by the so-called Merovingian or Gothic style in jewelry, which also occurs in finds ranging from Iran to western Europe. This style indicates that there was intercourse with territories to the east just before the dispersion of the Slavs from their original habitat. For the period following the expansion there is written and numismatic evidence.¹⁶⁰

157. See above, pp. 40, 63–64, 77–78. On coin finds, see the archaeological maps of Kyiv and Volhynia gubernias in Antonovich, *Arkheologicheskaja karta Kievskoi gubernii*, and in idem, 'Arkheologicheskaja karta Volynskoi gubernii' (coin finds are listed by categories in the indices accompanying the maps); of Podilia gubernia, by Setsinskii, 'Arkheologicheskaja karta Podol'skoi gubernii'; of Kherson gubernia, in Iastrebov, 'Opyt topograficheskogo obozreniia'; of Kharkiv gubernia, in Bagalei, 'Predislovie k arkheologicheskoi karte.' See also Beliashevskii, *Monetnye klady Kievskoi gubernii*; Danilevich, 'Monetnye klady Kievskoi gubernii,' and idem, 'Karta monetnykh kladov'; Liaskoronskii, 'Nakhodki rimskikh monet'; Markov, *Topografiia kladov vostochnykh monet*; Samokvasov, *Istoriia russkogo prava*, 2: 170–79; idem, 'O proiskhozhenii russkikh i pol'skikh slavian'; Píč, *Zur rumänisch-ungarischen Streitfrage*, p. 276ff. For important individual finds, see also: *Imperatorskii Rossiiskii istoricheskii muzei*, pp. 598–600; N. Petrov, 'Izvestiia,' p. 585; *ALuR*, 1899, p. 54; *ibid.*, 1903, p. 60, and others. On finds of Greek coins along the Black Sea coast as well as Olbia, Bosphorus, Chersonese, the middle Dnipro, and the Don, see the archaeological map of the Kyiv region in Antonovich, *Arkheologicheskaja karta Kievskoi gubernii*, pp. 25, 66 (bis), and 72. Also see Danilevich, 'Karta monetnykh kladov'; idem, 'Monetnye klady Kievskoi gubernii'; Píč, *Zur rumänisch-ungarischen Streitfrage* (his sources, however, are not always reliable); Spitsyn, 'Obozrenie nekotorykh gubernii.'

158. Ossowski, 'Materiały do paleontologii,' pp. 24–25. How far the Pontic trade reached is demonstrated by the discovery of a Bosporan coin of King Ininthimeus (third century) in the Kama River basin—*Imperatorskii Rossiiskii istoricheskii muzei*, p. 46.

159. Finds of amber would reveal traces of Balto-Pontic trade were it not for the fact that, apart from the Baltic coast, amber is also found elsewhere on the eastern European mainland, including the vicinity of Kyiv and in Volhynia. On this, see Keppen, 'O nakhozhdenii iantaria'; Tutkovskii, 'Kievskii iantar,' in his *Jugo-zapadnyi kraj*, vol. 1. Pliny cites a report by Philemon that amber was mined at two sites in Scythia—white amber at one location and yellow at another (37.11.33). Consequently, finds of amber cannot all be associated automatically with the Baltic coast without closer analysis. Cf. Hedinger, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Bernsteinartefakte*.

160. See above, pp. 41–42. On Oriental influences in European art, see Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, vols. 2, 3, and 5, and Kondakov, *Russkie klady*.

Western cultural influences originated initially from the middle Danube lands, from Celtic and other cultural centers and, later, from the Romans. The rich culture of the middle Danube, and especially its bronze technology, radiated into the Slavic settlements on the northern slopes of the Carpathians. The Celtic culture of the final centuries B.C. (known in archaeology as the La Tène culture), which evolved under the influence of Mediterranean civilization, significantly outstripped Germanic culture and exerted an important influence on it. Through the Germanic people, as well as perhaps directly, its influence was felt in the Slavic world. The impact of Roman culture, after it had spread across the central European provinces during the first and second centuries A.D., was even stronger and more distinct. In addition to the numerous Latin terms in the Common Slavic linguistic stock discussed above (e.g., in the vocabulary for attire), Roman traces are also evident in archaeological finds. The Slavs may have been subject to these influences directly before their migration, and, in the southwest, during their dispersion, and they may also have absorbed them through the intermediacy of the Germanic tribes. The cultural significance of Slavo-Germanic contacts lies precisely in that the Germanic people were the intermediaries in transmitting Celtic and Roman culture to the east and north. The traces of this Germanic influence are especially abundant in the Slavic linguistic store—for example, in terms for food, home furnishings, and weaponry. Of course, these linguistic similarities may have occurred as a result of borrowing in both directions. Since both populations were at approximately the same stage of cultural development and had their own sources of cultural influences, some elements may have been transmitted to the Germanic people from the east or south through the Slavs.¹⁶¹ A detailed analysis of Western influences on the Slavs remains a task for the future, but the existence of these influences is not in dispute.

Roman coins serve as the principal archaeological evidence of Slavic trade with lands lying to the west (as well as to the south) in the period preceding the migration of the Slavs. These finds consist of mostly imperial, along with a few consular, silver coins dating from the end of the first century and the entire second and third centuries A.D. Particularly large finds of such coins have been made in the southern part of the region described above as the Proto-Slavic territory—the middle Dnipro region, as well as in Volhynia and the Dnister area. They also occur farther north. Coins have been found individually and in large hoards numbering several score or hundreds. Keeping in mind the archaeological maxim that before being buried, a coin, as a rule, would have been in circulation no longer than a century, the later Roman coins document the existence of trade in the period immediately preceding the great Slavic expansion and during the initial stages of this movement. That commerce may have introduced Roman currency both from the west, that is, the Germanic lands, and from the Roman provinces and Pontic colonies in the south.¹⁶² The turmoil of colonization during

161. E.g., the Goth *stikls* 'goblet' is probably derived from the Slavic **stǫklo*, Ukr *sklo* 'glass' (and not the other way around, as is often thought); cf. Uhlenbeck, 'Zur gotischen Etymologie,' p. 191; Jagić, review of Brückner, *Cywilizacja i język*, p. 536. The disputed status of Ukr *pluh* 'plow,' *xmil* 'hops,' and other terms was indicated above.

162. Samokvasov, 'O proiskhozhdenii russkikh i pol'skikh slavian,' explained the presence of these coin hoards as evidence of the currency being spread by the Slavs when they arrived here from the Danubian lands (he accepted the Chronicle's theory that the original home of the Slavs was the Danube region). Liaskoronskii ('Nakhodki rimskikh monet,' p. 464) believed that these coins were obtained not so much through trade as through wars and raids into Roman dominions. This second interpretation is partly justified. But the population of the middle and upper Dnipro almost certainly did not take part in raids on Roman territories, and thus Roman coins could have reached them only through trade.

the second and third centuries did not terminate commercial intercourse: it did not weaken until the fourth and fifth centuries. Coins from this later period are quite rare, though some have been found in large hoards.¹⁶³

From the age that followed the dispersion of the Slavs, there is detailed information about trade routes and relations from the ninth and tenth centuries onward. Obviously these relations evolved much earlier (some date back to Proto-Slavic times), and they cast light on earlier periods, namely, the seventh and eighth centuries.¹⁶⁴

The principal trade route of the period was 'the route from the Varangians to the Greeks'—in other words, the Dnipro River. A detailed description of Byzantine trade along the Dnipro is provided by Constantine Porphyrogenetos in chapter 9 of his treatise *De administrando imperio*, written in the middle of the tenth century.¹⁶⁵ Each spring, writes Constantine, bands of merchants from all the lands of the Rus' state prepared to travel to Constantinople. Throughout the winter, the inhabitants of lands in the forest zone, the Krivichians and others, harvested timber and built boats. These boats are called *monoxyla* (μονόξυλα) in the text—i.e., made of a single trunk—but this must not be read literally because these vessels, like the later Cossack *chaiky*, had to accommodate several score of passengers. As in the *chaiky*, the lower portion of these boats may have been constructed from a single tree trunk. In the spring these boats were sailed downriver to the various trade centers and sold to Rus' merchants.¹⁶⁶ Merchants from various towns on the Dnipro water system—Novgorod, Smolensk, Liubech, Chernihiv, Vyshhorod, and others—congregated in Kyiv. It is not difficult to visualize Kyiv as a great marketplace and commercial center a millennium ago, bustling with merchants settling accounts, buying supplies, selling goods from various lands, and so forth, while waiting for their boats to be outfitted with equipment and gear from older vessels and for all the merchants from the various cities to assemble. In June the flotillas set sail down the Dnipro. Near Vytychiv below Kyiv they waited for another two or three days for all the boats to arrive, and then started out on their long voyage. They had to sail in large flotillas because the Black Sea steppes were controlled by the Pechenegs, who ambushed the Rus' in certain

163. Among the most important finds are those near Makhnivka (Berdychiv district), near Ploske in the Skvyra district, near Chornobyl, Korsun, and Kryliv on the Dnipro (several hundred coins each); near Nizhen (more than a thousand coins from the first to third centuries found in 1873–80), in Stilne near Chernihiv, in Romen and nearby, in the village of Vovkivtsi, near Lunivka in the Oboianiv district, from the banks of the Merlia River in the Bohodukhiv district (200 gold coins from the fourth and fifth centuries), in Oleksandrivka in the Rivne district, in Valky, in the Dinets River basin, and others. The middle Dnipro region has yielded the largest number of such finds. Farther north we have the old find near Klimavichy in Mahilëu gubernia (nearly 2,000 coins).

164. Among earlier works on ancient East Slavic trade, see Rasmussen, *De Arabum Persarumque commercio*; Stüwe, *Die Handelszüge der Araber*; Savel'ev, *Mukhammedanskaia numizmatika*; Grigor'ev, 'O kuficheskikh monetakh'; Aristov, *Promyshlennost' drevnei Rusi*, chap. 4; Bestuzhev-Riumin, *Ruskaia istoriia*, p. 261ff.; Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*—a special section on the eastern trade appears on p. 158ff. Later works include: Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantenhandels*, p. 65ff. (the French translation by Raynaud, *Histoire du commerce*, was published with some additions); Zabelin, *Istoriia russkoi zhizni*, vol. 2, chap. 7; Babelon, *Du commerce des Arabes* (not much information); Kliuchevskii, *Boiarskaia дума*, and his articles in *Ruskaia mysl'* (1880); Píč, *Zur rumänisch-ungarischen Streitfrage*, p. 268ff.; Jacob, *Der nordisch-baltische Handel* and this work's later editions, *Welche Handelsartikel* and *Die Waren beim arabisch-nordischen Verkehr*; my own *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli*, p. 385; Golubovskii, 'Istoriia Severskoi zemli,' p. 31ff.; idem, *Istoriia Smolenskoi zemli*, p. 100ff.; Kuun, *Relationum Hungarorum cum oriente*; Labbé, *Sur les grandes routes*; Szelągowski, *Najstarsze drogi z Polski*.

165. Bury, 'The Treatise,' pp. 522–24, dates the writing of the treatise between the summer of 948 and 952.

166. Constantine speaks only of Kyiv, but certainly Kyiv was not the only city where these boats were in demand.

spots. Constantine reports that the Rus' took special precautions against Pecheneg attacks near the Nenasytets cataract, where the boats had to be carried overland for several miles, as well as at the Crarian ford, just below the rapids (modern Kychkas), and at the mouth of the Danube. The merchant flotillas crossed the rapids with great caution because they were very dangerous. In some places they had to portage along the banks, and in the most hazardous spots they had to carry not only all their goods, but also their boats. During these portages the merchants had to guard the slaves whom they were transporting for sale (slaves were put in chains to prevent them from fleeing) and, at the same time, defend themselves against attacks from the Pechenegs. Once they had arrived in the Dnipro Estuary, they rested on the island of St. Aitherios (Berezan)¹⁶⁷ and then proceeded along the coast of the Black Sea to Byzantium, the final destination of 'their voyage, fraught with such travail and terror, such difficulty and danger,' as Constantine described it.

This was the 'Greek route' (*Grečeskij putš*), as it was called in the twelfth century. The merchants who traveled it were called *hrechnyky* (*grečnici*)—or, simply, *hreky* (*greki*) 'Greeks'—and their trade groups, *hrechnyk* (*grečnikž*).¹⁶⁸ Originally, before the dispersion of the Slavs, Olbia had served as the center of Greek trade with the northern lands. Subsequently the role passed on to the Danubian cities (until they were destroyed by the Slavic-Bulgar storm in the seventh and eighth centuries) and, to an even greater degree, to the Crimean settlements. The chief of these was Korsun-Cherson, which left an important legacy in the cultural history of Rus'.¹⁶⁹ In time, however, the Rus' Slavs emerged from their initially passive role and, bypassing the Crimean cities, entered into direct trade with Byzantium. We do not know exactly when this happened,¹⁷⁰ but we can be certain that the Rus' campaigns on the Black Sea, documented at the beginning of the ninth century but perhaps begun earlier, must have affected these relations by laying the groundwork for them and obtaining advantageous terms for the Rus'. As a result, the Rus' dominated the Black Sea during the ninth and tenth centuries. Writing in the second half of the tenth century, the Arabic author al-Mas'udi reported that the Black Sea was in fact the Rus' Sea, since only the Rus' sailed it.¹⁷¹ The name 'Rus' Sea' for the Black Sea became popular and remained in use long after Rus' had lost its earlier access to this sea. 'The Dnipro flows from three mouths into the Pontus Sea, which sea is known as the Rus' Sea,'

167. [In the Primary Chronicle the island is called 'Eleutherios.'—*Eds.*] An interesting piece of evidence from the rest spot of the Rus'-Varangian merchants on Berezan has recently been uncovered: a stone grave marker with the runic inscription 'Grani raised this mound for his fellow Karl.' On the basis of its paleographic and linguistic features, scholars date the marker to a later time, to the eleventh-twelfth centuries (see Braun, 'Shvedskaia runicheskaia nadpis').

168. *Hyp.*, pp. 144 (see variants), 360, 361, 368.

169. Here is how the contemporary art historian Prof. Kondakov describes it: 'In Old Rus' the name "Chersonian" was applied to anything rare, artistic, and ancient, in contrast to "Byzantine," which symbolized the sophisticated and technically advanced. "Chersonian" meant only that an object was archaic' (Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, 5: 27). There were many 'Chersonian' articles in the Rus' state, though some of them were no more 'Chersonian' than the famous 'Chersonian' church doors in Novgorod, which were actually made in Magdeburg.

170. Píč (*Zur rumänisch-ungarischen Streiffrage*, p. 292) conjectured that the description in the Chronicle of Kyi's journey to Byzantium may be a reference to the attempts of the Rus' to enter into direct trade relations with Byzantium. Inasmuch as the expedition was no more than the chronicler's own invention, it is time to set that account aside.

171. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 130. This claim was recently disputed by Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung,' sec. 6, p. 237; cf. idem, 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov,' pp. 380–81. Westberg argues that the statement must be understood to mean the Rus' sailed the Baltic Sea and that the text is corrupt. But the passage is quite clear, and as long as the text is read as it now stands, it cannot be understood to mean anything other than the Black Sea.

states the Primary Chronicle; also, by tradition, Western authors of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries called it the Rus' Sea (*mare Rusciae, mare Rucenum*), even though by then Rus' had long since lost its significance on that sea.¹⁷²

The first written references to Rus' trade on the Black Sea date to the ninth century. The first description of this trade occurs in Ibn Khurradadhbih, who, as some claim, wrote in the first half of the ninth century: '[The Rus'] transport the furs of beavers and black foxes and swords from distant Slavic lands to the Roman Sea [his name for the Black Sea, with Rome meaning Byzantium—M.H.], and the ruler of Rome [Byzantium] tithes them.'¹⁷³ The report is not worded clearly, but its author probably meant that Rus' merchants sailed the Black Sea to Byzantine lands. There is no reason to think that he was referring only to the Greek cities in the Crimea. By the beginning of the tenth century, this overseas Rus'-Byzantine trade was very considerable. The scope, conditions, and benefits that the trade enjoyed as a result of the campaigns waged by the Rus' princes against Byzantium in the ninth and tenth centuries are outlined in greater detail in the treaties concluded by Oleh with Byzantium at the beginning of the tenth century, especially when these are supplemented by information from Ihor's treaty of 944 and from the accounts of Constantine Porphyrogenetos.

These reports reveal that large groups of Rus', numbering scores and even hundreds of merchants, together with their servants, visited Constantinople in the first half of the tenth century. They arrived with the caravans that came each summer in the manner described by Constantine, and they lived in a specially designated suburb of Byzantium known as St. Mamas (a port and suburb outside the walls of Constantinople, so called after the Church of St. Mamas). They remained there for several months at a time. It appears that the Rus' merchants wished to remain permanently, but the Byzantine authorities would not agree to such an arrangement. The Byzantines looked upon the large colony of warlike people with misgivings and distrust (undoubtedly, incidents warranting suspicion and fear of armed attacks had occurred). But even had there been no grounds for suspicion, it was customary economic policy in that age not to permit foreign merchants to establish roots in Byzantium. As a result, the merchants were subject to a number of restrictions imposed by the Byzantine authorities. The Rus' merchants had to prove their identity by bringing credentials from the Rus' prince, which allowed local authorities to distinguish between envoys or merchants and troublemaking adventurers. Envoys had to bring gold seals (from the prince, obviously), while merchants had to bring silver seals. Later, however, it was established that the Kyivan prince should send a letter with each group of traders specifying the number of boats involved: 'I have sent so-and-so

172. *Hyp.*, p. 4; Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica*, p. 216; Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum* 1.1. Other Western references to the Rus' Sea have been collected by Kunik, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 84–86. There have been attempts recently to downgrade the historical significance of the Dnipro route—a view put forward most bluntly by the Polish historian Szelągowski, in his study *Najstarsze drogi z Polski*. Combining the fact that finds of Arab coins have been made in the Baltic lands with some contemporary accounts, he has concluded that the earliest Rus' route from north to south was the Volga. Only much later, from the second half of the tenth century onward, was the Dnipro used for this purpose. Westberg has taken the same approach, supporting the Normanist theory by interpreting various reports of Rus' campaigns to the south as if they had proceeded from the north along the Volga. Both these explanations are partly artificial and partly possible. Yet no evidence has been found to dispute the importance of the Dnipro route even before it became the route 'from the Varangians,' and that was already the case in the ninth century.

173. Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik*, French translation, p. 115, Arabic original, p. 154. On the date of the writing of the report, see Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 390; Vestberg, 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov,' p. 375. Both these authors reject the work's earlier redaction, which dates from the first half of the ninth century.

many ships' (a very telling detail, because it reveals the degree to which foreign trade was dependent on and controlled by the Rus' rulers). Furthermore, the Rus' merchants could enter the city only in a group, through one gate, accompanied by a Byzantine official, and no more than fifty men were permitted to enter at a time. The duration of the Rus' merchants' stay in Constantinople, the Imperial City, was limited to six months, and later they were barred from wintering near the Church of St. Mamas. Thus the Rus' merchant colony was not a permanent one: the merchants, who arrived in the summer, all had to leave for home before the sailing season ended.¹⁷⁴

There is no detailed information about trade with foreign cities other than Byzantium. Constantine Porphyrogenetos wrote that from the Dnipro Estuary the Rus' traveled to Black Bulgaria (in the Caucasus), Khazaria, and Syria.¹⁷⁵ But the fact that Syria stands together with the Caucasus region suggests that Constantine meant Serir, i.e., modern Dagestan. There is a report from a later period (thirteenth century) that Rus' merchants traveled from cities in the Crimea to the southern coast of the Black Sea into Asia Minor.¹⁷⁶ The twelfth-century Jewish voyager Benjamin of Tudela makes mention of Rus' merchants in Alexandria.¹⁷⁷ We do not know whether Rus' ships actually ever sailed the Mediterranean, but individual merchants could easily have reached it by traveling through either Byzantine or Arab lands. However, in the ninth and tenth centuries maritime trade on the Mediterranean was generally in decline.

By intimidating Byzantium with their military campaigns, the Kyivan princes won significant concessions for Rus' trade. According to Ibn Khurradadhbih, in the first half of the ninth century, Rus' merchants paid the Byzantine throne a tenth of the income they received from selling their goods in Byzantium. However, according to the terms of the treaty described in the Chronicle under 907,¹⁷⁸ the Rus' carried on trade in Constantinople without any restrictions: 'as much as they need, without paying toll at all.' Furthermore, the Rus' merchants who came to the Imperial City were to receive a monthly ration for six months (initially perhaps for their entire stay, without restrictions) of all the food they required—'bread, wine, meat, and fish and fruit'—and they were to make as much use of the public baths 'as they wanted' (an amenity the Greeks viewed as a necessity). They were also to receive provisions for their return trip and all the equipment they needed for their ships: 'anchors and ropes and sails.' At that time, Rus' trade was probably not subject to any restrictions. It was only after Ihor's unsuccessful campaign of 941 that, among a number of other curbs placed on their commercial dealings with Byzantium, Rus' merchants were not permitted to buy brocades for more than fifty gold pieces each. These luxurious silk fabrics were the pride of Byzantine culture and the product that barbarians most admired and coveted.

By comparing several accounts from the ninth to eleventh centuries, we are able to determine with considerable accuracy the commodities that made up Rus'-Byzantine trade. In describing trade in Bulgaria, where goods from Byzantium and Rus' came together, Sviatoslav said that from the Greeks came brocades, gold, wine, and various fruits, and from the Rus' came 'furs

174. These regulations were very similar to those later applied in Novgorod to German merchants. We see here the same policy toward merchants.

175. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 42.

176. Ruysbroeck (William of Rubruquis), *Itinerarium anno 1253*, p. 215. Cf. the account of Ibn al-Athir in Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, p. 28.

177. In Margolin, *Tri evreiskie puteshestvenniki*, p. 138.

178. On this treaty, see chap. 7.

and wax, honey and slaves.' From his legendary march on the Imperial City, Oleh brought back 'gold and brocades and fruits and wines and all sorts of treasures.' Describing the exchange of gifts between Princess Olha and Emperor Constantine, the Chronicle tells us that Olha was to have sent the emperor 'many gifts—slaves, wax, and furs,' while Constantine gave her 'gold and silver, brocades and various vessels.' According to the legend of the Chronicle, Sviatoslav, too, received gold and brocades from the Greeks.¹⁷⁹ As we have seen, Ibn Khurradadhbih names such Rus' commodities as costly furs and swords. Describing the gifts taken by the Pechenegs from the Chersonites, Constantine lists silks and other fabrics, together with pepper and other condiments.¹⁸⁰

Thus Greek imports were manufactured goods, namely, brocades and other costly fabrics,¹⁸¹ articles made of gold, and, in general, the products of the Greeks' world-famous art of goldwork—'various vessels' and 'all sorts of treasures'—as well as assorted glass products. These are found in large numbers in Old Rus' burials and in other remains of Old Rus' life, and had to have been imported from both Byzantine and Arab lands. Finally, there were the products of southern climes: wine, fruits, and spices. The Rus' imported these goods from Byzantium for domestic use, as well as for resale in lands farther to the north, northwest, and northeast. We often find expensive articles of Byzantine manufacture on the territory of Ukraine, especially objects made of gold and precious stones, as well as filigree and enamel products. We also observe that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Byzantine art industry exercised a very marked influence on local craftsmanship, which adopted the Byzantine style, its forms and its techniques (but did not equal its prototypes in beauty and delicacy of execution). This also indicates the popularity of Byzantine articles and their widespread use by the higher and wealthier strata. Pieces of silk and brocade have been found in pagan burials. Ibn Fadlan's account of the funeral of a Rus' merchant contains numerous references to Byzantine brocade (*dibaj* of *Rum*): the bench on which the deceased was laid out was covered with Greek brocade, the corpse was surrounded by pillows made of the same fabric, and the deceased was attired in a caftan and cap made of brocade. Undoubtedly, this was the custom among the wealthy.¹⁸²

The principal Ukrainian exports were slaves, furs, wax, and honey. These commodities were sold not only to Byzantium, but everywhere the Rus' traded. Furs, wax, and honey were the most valuable goods produced by the Rus' state. Since time immemorial, the communities of eastern Europe had paid tribute in furs—'one white squirrel [each],' 'one black marten,' 'mead and furs.'¹⁸³ The memory of such tribute survived in Rus' for a very long time. As late as the sixteenth century we encounter references to various *kunyaci* (martens) or taxes paid by the peasants, for the most part now translated into monetary units.

179. *Hyp.*, pp. 19, 39–40, 44, 46.

180. Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 27; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 6. For a more recent commentary on this difficult passage, see Shestakov, *Ocherki po istorii Khersonesa*, p. 69.

181. Cf. the account of Oleh's campaign, in which Byzantine silks (*kropiny*) are compared to Slavic coarse canvas (*trǔstiny*)—*Hyp.*, p. 19.

182. Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian*, p. 15 (silk), p. 17 (glass); idem, 'Raskopki kurganov v zapadnoi Volyni,' p. 139 (brocade, string of beads); Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan,' p. 496 (silk); Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' pp. 188, 192 (brocades); Mel'nik, 'Raskopki kurganov' in Nytsakha (silk, brocade, glass). An interesting find of brocades was made in Kyiv (St. Michael's Monastery): *ALLuR* (1903), pp. 302–33. The most widespread glass articles were strings of beads and glass bracelets—great numbers of them have been found at the site of every Old Rus' settlement.

183. *Hyp.*, pp. 11, 13, 37.

A deplorable, large-scale trade in slaves existed everywhere at that time, and Rus' was no exception. The Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela wrote that the Jews called the Slavic lands Canaan because their people sold 'their sons and daughters to all nations, as did the inhabitants of Rus'.¹⁸⁴ As we shall see, the Jews themselves played an important role in exporting Slavic slaves, especially overland into western European lands. An eleventh-century account of the miracles performed by St. Nicholas in Constantinople mentions a special marketplace where 'Rus' merchants come and sell slaves.'¹⁸⁵ Slaves were also transported to the east. The frequent wars waged during the ninth and tenth centuries, the period of the formation of the Rus' state, supplied slaves in large numbers: 'Some [people] she [Olha] killed and others she gave as slaves [to her men]'.¹⁸⁶ Such was the customary outcome of wars in that age.

The wares that the Rus' exported were obtained in part on the territory of Rus' and in part through barter and purchase from the more remote northern tribes. The latter was especially true of costly furs. These were the goods that the Rus' merchants brought from all parts to Kyiv and shipped from there to Constantinople each summer.

After Rus' established direct commercial relations with Constantinople, trade with the Greek colonies in the Crimea and on the Danube must have been relegated to second place. But it, too, continued. As the remarks made by Sviatoslav cited above reveal, in the second half of the tenth century, Ukrainian, Byzantine, and middle Danubian trade intersected in the towns along the Danube.

The Crimean cities did not break off trading with Rus'. Apart from the sea routes, an overland route passed through here—in all likelihood, the same route as the one known in the twelfth century as the Salt Route. In the twelfth century the trade artery from Rus' to the south consisted of three separate routes. In addition to the 'Greek' Route that we described above, which lay along the Dnipro to its estuary, there were also the Salt (Solonyi) Route and the Zaloznyi Route.* The Chronicle does not provide a more detailed description of their locations. The Zaloznyi Route lay along the Dnipro and then turned away from the river at some point no higher than Kaniv, most probably in a southeasterly direction. The Salt Route is usually thought to have been the route along which salt was carried from the Crimea. The first reference to the export of salt from the Crimea to Asia Minor occurs in the seventh century. Subsequently, Constantine Porphyrogenetos wrote of the mining of salt in the Crimea.¹⁸⁷ There is, however, no mention of importing salt to Rus' as such until the thirteenth century (by William of Rubruquis), whereas the *Kyivan Caves Patericon* (thirteenth century) describes a shortage of salt in Kyiv at the end of the eleventh century in language that suggests that the salt delivered to Kyiv came exclusively from Galicia.¹⁸⁸ Yet, if Crimean salt was exported to other lands, it seems improbable that it was not exported to Rus' in that period as well, as it had been in earlier centuries, or, at least, when there was relative peace in the steppes. In addition to salt, there must have been trade in Greek goods and other southern products in exchange for Ukrainian wares in the Crimea, similar to the trade taking place in Constantinople, except that

184. Margolin, *Tri evreiskie puteshestvenniki*, p. 146.

185. *Life and Miracles of St. Nicholas*, p. 85.

186. *Hyp.*, p. 38.

* [Meaning literally 'the route behind the willows,' the Zaloznyi Route is translated as the Osier Thicket Route. It is also called the Vine Route.—Eds.]

187. Pope Martin I, *Epistola*, pp. 861–62; Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 42.

188. Ruysbroeck, *Itinerarium anno 1253*, p. 219; *Paterik*, p. 154.

the latter was probably on a larger scale. Later accounts of the Crimean trade (Rubruquis and Ibn al-Athir from the thirteenth century) report that furs and slaves were brought to the Crimea from Rus' and fabrics (silks and cottons) and various spices from Greece and Asia Minor.¹⁸⁹ All these accounts can be applied to earlier periods as well. We can also add here the report of Constantine Porphyrogenetos¹⁹⁰ that the Chersonites bought furs and wax from the Pechenegs. The Pechenegs had plenty of furs, but the wax almost certainly originated from the Slavic lands, because the Pechenegs had no apiculture.

At the height of Rus' trade with Byzantium, commercial relations with the Crimea were of secondary importance to Rus'. But as the Pecheneg hordes pushed the Rus' ever farther away from the sea, and as the Ukrainian population in the steppes decreased and Rus' maritime trade declined, indirect trade links through the Crimean and Danubian cities once again assumed a paramount role for Rus' and for eastern Europe as a whole. This became very evident in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the beginnings of the change must have occurred no later than the second half of the tenth century.

A survey of the southern trade of Rus' would not be complete without mention of commerce with the Black Sea nomads. Constantine related that the Rus' bought oxen, horses, and sheep from the Pechenegs.¹⁹¹ The *Canons (Pravylo)* of Metropolitan Ioan (eleventh century) accuses the Rus' merchants of going to the Cumans 'for property or love of *skotъ*' (*skotoljub'je*: the statement has a double meaning, because *skotъ* means both 'cattle' and 'money'), and there 'becoming defiled' (*skvernjat'sja*).

An important station in this trade was Oleshia, situated somewhere near the mouth of the Dnipro, where modern Oleshky (Aleshki) stands. We have records of it from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and we see that the 'traders with Greece,' *hrechnyky (grečniki)* or Greeks, stopped here and that various goods were transported from here. In all likelihood, it was the transit point meant by the provision in the Rus'-Byzantine treaty of 944 that prohibited the Rus' from wintering at the mouth of the Dnipro, in Biloberezhia ('White Banks,' as the banks of the Dnipro were called), or on the island of St. Aitherios (modern Berezan). The Byzantine court either did not want to see a trade center close to its Crimean cities or feared that it might pose a military threat.¹⁹²

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189. Ruysbroeck, *Itinerarium anno 1253*, p. 215; excerpts from Ibn al-Athir in Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, p. 26.

190. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 53.

191. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 2. We must mention the correction by Rozen of an unclear passage in al-Bakri. As corrected, the passage reads that all these peoples (Kipchaks, Khazars, Oghuz, and Slavs) were neighbors of the Pechenegs and exchanged goods amongst themselves (see Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 59).

192. A different conjecture concerning the site of Oleshia has been put forward by Burachkov in his 'Zametki po drevnei geografii,' and, later, in 'Zametka po istoricheskoi geografii.' He locates it at the site of a fortified settlement (*horodyshche*) near the village of Znamenka, below the rapids. Some other scholars share this view (e.g., Ilovaiskii, *Istoriia Rossii*, 1, pt. 2: 529), which seems to be confirmed by the text of *Novg. I*, in which Oleshia is represented as situated near the rapids. Other records suggest, however, that the site was near the sea. In addition, the existence of some sort of trading station near the Dnipro Estuary must be assumed a priori, and the only such location that we know of is Oleshia.

The Dnipro system, along which goods were collected from various regions to be exported to the south and Byzantium, also served as the route along which Byzantine and other southern goods were brought back and distributed in different directions—throughout the lands of the Rus' realm, as well as farther away. For the eleventh-century chronicler, the Dnipro route was primarily 'the route from the Varangians to the Greeks.' The route split into two: one led from the upper Dnipro over the rivers in the Daugava system (the chronicler omitted these in his account), along the Lovat River, thence into Lake Ilmen, along the Volkhov River into Lake Ladoga, and thence along the Neva into the Baltic Sea. The second route followed the Daugava from the upper Dnipro into the Baltic. The chronicler devoted most of his attention to the first route, which was longer and more hazardous, because it was controlled by Novgorod, the center of Rus' trade in the north, whereas we do not know whether the Daugava was ever controlled in its entirety by Rus'. But it is certain that the Varangian bands established this route 'from the Varangians' to Greece only after the formation of the Rus' state, because that state served them as a way station, from which the Varangian warriors sometimes also moved on to Byzantium. It is not likely that the Varangian merchants followed the route all the way to Byzantium (except for those Varangians who served in Rus' and conducted their own trade), especially in light of the fact that, as indicated by coin finds, Baltic trade at that time was predominantly directed toward the east—along the Volga to the Bulgars. It was the Rus' merchants who served as intermediaries in the trade between the northern lands and Greece, and in part also with the Arabs. Exports from Rus' to the Baltic lands consisted mainly of Byzantine and Arab goods. The goods flowing into Rus', in addition to the raw materials that the Rus' lands supplied for foreign trade, as well as some Baltic specialties (e.g., amber), even then (as was the case in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) included salt, metals, and western European manufactured products. These commodities passed through the hands of German and Slavic merchants. These were the beginnings of what we see later on a much larger scale (as industry developed in northern Europe) in Novgorod's northern trade.

The earliest reference to the transit trade in a westerly direction occurs in Ibn Khurradadhbih in the first half of the ninth century, but that source does not describe the routes in detail. Ibn Khurradadhbih writes of Jewish merchants who 'travel from the east to the west and from the west to the east, both overland and by way of the sea, and transport from the western lands [to the east] eunuchs, slave girls and boys, brocades, beaver, marten, and other furs, and swords,' and who 'speak Arabic, Persian, Roman, Frankish, Spanish, and Slavic.' In another passage, he lists the items exported from the Maghrib (North Africa), and indirectly from 'the lands of the Slavs and Avars': Slavic, Roman, Frankish, and Langobard slaves, Roman and Spanish girls, furs, perfumes (storax), and drugs (mastic).¹⁹³

Other accounts speak of a direct trade with the West by Rus' merchants. German customs regulations from ca. 904 refer to Slavic merchants who come to the cities on the middle Danube from Bohemia and Rugia,¹⁹⁴ and list wax, slaves, and horses among their wares.¹⁹⁵ Ibrahim b.

193. Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik*, French translation, pp. 114, 66–67, Arabic original, pp. 153–54, 92. The latter passage is interpreted on the basis of a paraphrase of the text by his close contemporary, Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani, *Compendium libri. Kitab al-Buldan*, pp. 83–84.

194. 'De Rugis vel de Boemanis.' The reference cannot apply to the Rugii (scholars have suggested Rügen or Moravia, the former Rugia, but it cannot be a reference to Rügen because that land is too small and too distant, whereas Moravia is named further in the text under its customary name, 'mercatum Moravorum'). The Rus', however, are called Rugii elsewhere, as well, for instance, in the *Continuator Reginoni Trevirensis*, in the description of Olha's baptism.

195. Schedule of Raffelstetten (customs regulations), chap. 6, p. 72.

Ya'qub, the Jewish traveler of the second half of the tenth century, reported that Rus' and Slavic merchants, Jews, and Turkic people came to Prague with various goods and 'Byzantine solidi.' From Prague they took home slaves, tin, and furs.¹⁹⁶ We also have a number of later reports—from the twelfth century—about trade between the cities along the Danube and Rus'. But these later references appear to speak only of the trade conducted by German merchants and of their travels to Rus' and make no mention of Rus' merchants, whereas Ibrahim b. Ya'qub writes clearly about a bustling Rus' trade and, by mentioning Cracow, reveals that this trade was conducted through modern Galicia.¹⁹⁷ The Polish chronicler Gallus Anonymus (twelfth century) speaks of a transit trade through Poland to Rus' and mentions travels in earlier times by Western merchants to Rus' through Poland.¹⁹⁸

As we can see from the accounts of Ibn Khurradadhbih and Ibrahim b. Ya'qub, in this trade, as in the Baltic trade, Rus' acted primarily as an intermediary for Byzantine and Arab goods. Raw materials, slaves, and some manufactured goods came to Rus' from the West (they may have included Italian goods, and Arab goods from Spain). These included the swords described above—we have seen several references to the use of Western weapons in Rus' (the Frankish swords of the Rus' in Ibn Fadlan, Latin helmets in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*). There are no specific references to the export of slaves to the West from Rus', but slaves were exported from central Europe and, especially, from the Slavic lands in large numbers, which means that some of them were probably exported from the East Slavic lands, despite the fact that these regions had their own markets for slaves in the south and east. An important role in this was played by the Jewish merchants of whom Ibn Khurradadhbih speaks: they castrated Slavic slaves. In describing where Slavic eunuchs came from, Ibn Hawqal (tenth century) related that the slave trade was conducted in two directions: eastward, to Khurasan (obviously, principally through Rus') and westward, through Spain to Egypt and the Maghrib (North Africa), and that slaves exported to the West were castrated by Jewish merchants.¹⁹⁹

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Coins found on the territory of Ukraine indicate that there was trade between Ukraine and the East from the seventh century onward. The oldest Arab coins uncovered in eastern Europe are from the sixth century (Sasanian dynasty).²⁰⁰ Jordanes, too, describes this trade in the sixth

196. The text in question has many variants and interpretations: instead of slaves, some read flour; instead of tin, beaver skins; instead of furs, lead. Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 49. Cf. Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel*, p. 9; Vestberg, *Kommentarii na zapisku*, sec. 14.

197. Szelągowski, *Najstarsze drogi z Polski*, tried to prove that no western route through Galicia to Cracow existed in the ninth and tenth centuries but appeared only later. He based his argument on the finds of Arab coins uncovered over the entire area stretching from the Baltic coast and along the basins of the lower Vistula, Warta, and the lower and middle Oder: he believed these to be traces of ancient routes from the Baltic coast to the Danube, while placing the oldest routes from Poland to Rus' and Greece in Mazovia. But it is dangerous to base an entire theory exclusively on coin finds, and Ibrahim's reference to Rus' merchants who came to Prague from Cracow (which itself lies beyond the territory of the Arab coin finds and the Baltic-Oder route) seems to point clearly to the existence of a Carpathian route.

198. *Galla Kronika*, p. 394.

199. Ibn Hawqal in de Goeje, *BGA*, 2: 75. For the slave trade, see Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel*, p. 6ff., which also contains these texts.

200. Cf. the more recent Kharkiv finds—Danilevich, 'Karta monetnykh kladov,' nos. 53, 64. The eastern European finds contain silver Arab dirhems from the period almost immediately after they began to be issued (during the final years of the seventh century, under Caliph Abd al-Malik), and Jacob (*Der nordisch-baltische Handel*, pp. 46–49)

century.²⁰¹ There was no interruption in this commercial intercourse, and as the larger Ukrainian trade centers emerged, they also joined in this trade. Writing in the first half of the ninth century, Ibn Khurradadhbih described what was already a thriving Rus' trade. According to his account, Rus' merchants sailed the Caspian Sea and traded with cities along its coast, sometimes transporting their goods from the southern Caspian ports by camel to Baghdad.²⁰² But well before Ukrainian trade had reached this stage of development, both it and the trade of eastern Europe as a whole must have relied on the Khazar city of Itil [Atil] at the mouth of the Volga to act as an intermediary in commercial intercourse with the East, and, eventually, also on Bulghar, situated on the middle Volga. Even in the tenth century, when Rus' had established direct relations with the Arab lands, both these cities remained important trade centers. The work ascribed to Abu Zayd al-Balkhi (first half of the tenth century) describes the principal routes of Rus' trade thus: 'Those Rus' carry on trade with Khazar, Rome [i.e., Byzantium], and Great Bulghar.'²⁰³ Ibn Hawqal states that before Sviatoslav's campaigns in this region, the Rus' traded in Bulghar and Khazran (in Itil).²⁰⁴

Bulghar was northern Europe's principal trading center with the East. Most Arab merchants came here in caravans by camel from Central Asia, but some also sailed up the Volga from Itil.²⁰⁵ The report of the later Khwarizmian author, Shaikh 'Ala' al-Din b. Nu'man, that they did not travel farther north than Bulghar is quite credible.²⁰⁶ Trade with the Finnic lands was controlled by the Bulgars and the Rus', and the Rus' were the chief intermediaries in the trade between the Arabs and the Baltic lands. This trade was very lively and left many traces in coin finds—mostly of Arab coins, some consisting of as many as several thousand dirhems. These finds were made in the Volga-Baltic regions and along the coast of the Baltic Sea. The Volga served as the principal artery for trade; its upper reaches were a short distance away from the upper Dnipro and the Baltic coast by way of the Daugava and the headwaters of the Dnipro, or by way of the rivers flowing into Lake Ladoga. The Volga was linked to the southwest—that is, the middle Dnipro region—by the Oka system, which was easily reached from the Dnipro by way of the Desna. There was also an overland route, which led from Kyiv in a northeasterly direction to Kursk; most likely it also led to the Volga region.²⁰⁷ The Kama, which flows into the Volga just below Bulghar, served as a route to the Ural lands. Bulghar was probably the principal marketplace for the fur trade of all eastern Europe, perhaps of the whole world. It was situated nearest to this export commodity's place of origin. Arabic sources write that the Bulgars

correctly noted that this fact clearly indicates that there was trade with the Arabs even before the dirhem appeared on eastern European territory. Copper and gold Arab coins were in use even earlier, but it is the silver dirhems (the Arabic form of the term 'drachma') that comprise the European finds, almost exclusively. The reason is that the usual currency in Turkestan [Central Asia] was silver. For the find of copper coins (dating from the seventh century and later) in Kyiv, see Beliashevskii, *Monetnye klady Kievskoi gubernii*, p. 11; that find, however, was very unusual in content.

201. Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 5.

202. Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik*, French translation, p. 116, Arabic original, pp. 153–54.

203. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 277. Concerning trade with Khazaria, cf. al-Jayhani in Garkavi, 'Drevneishee arabskoe izvestie.'

204. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 219.

205. Maçoudi [al-Mas'udi], *Les prairies d'or*, 2: 15ff.; idem, 'Kitab at-Tanbih' in de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2: 17ff (in Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel*, p. 33); Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 165.

206. Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 190. Wüstenfeld, *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. 'Itil,' contains the information that Arab merchants travel to the land of the Wisu, interpreted to mean the 'Ves' [Vepsians]—that is, to the upper Volga. But this reference stands alone and is not very reliable.

207. For the route from Kyiv to Kursk, see Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 5.

traded in costly furs with the northern Finnic peoples—of them, the Arabs knew the Wisu (Ves', Vepsians) and the Yuru (Yugrians).²⁰⁸ Ibn Hawqal wrote that the Rus' brought expensive furs to Bulghar, which they had bought from heathen peoples (he refers to them by their biblical names of Gog and Magog; the Arabic forms are Ya'juj and Ma'juj). Describing the 'dumb' barter in luxurious furs for iron articles in which the Rus' merchants engaged with the Yugrians beyond the Ural Mountains, the Chronicle states: 'they point to iron and wave their hand asking for iron. And when someone gives them iron, or a knife, or an axe, they give a fur in return.'²⁰⁹

While Bulghar served as the principal marketplace for the northern regions of eastern Europe, Itil played a similar role in trade with the East for lands in the south. Ibn Hawqal writes that 'Rus' trade was centered in Khazran [one of the districts of Itil—M.H.].... There were found the majority of merchants [from other lands—M.H.], Muslims, and goods.'²¹⁰ Traders from the east came to Itil by way of the Caspian Sea, while wares from Bulghar and lands in the north were transported down the Volga. Goods from the west were shipped along the Don and then portaged to the Volga (at modern Tsaritsyn [Volgograd]). There was an overland route from the middle Dnipro region to the Don; quite possibly this was the Zaloznyi Route mentioned earlier.²¹¹ There was also a river route—along the Desna and the Seim with a short portage to the Sosna or Oskil.²¹² Ukrainian merchants who wanted to trade directly with the eastern lands journeyed along the Volga through Itil to the Caspian Sea. The Rus' merchants, related Ibn Khurradadhbih, traveled along the Tanais (Don), the Slavic River (Volga), and through the Khazar capital Kamlidzh (Itil) to reach the Jurjan Sea (the Caspian Sea, especially its southern portion, bore this name). But the Rus' also carried on a large trade in Itil itself. Al-Mas'udi relates that half the residents of Itil were Slavs and Rus'; that there were Muslim, Jewish, and Christian communities there, each of which had two judges; and that there was also a judge for the heathens.²¹³ The Khazar kagan collected a tenth part of the value of the goods that were transported through Itil (according to Ibn Khurradadhbih), which means that he must have also taken a share of the profits from the goods that were sold in Itil itself.

Ibn Fadlan described the Rus' traders whom he saw in Itil or in Bulghar at the beginning of the tenth century. According to him, they arrived in boats, moored their vessels, and built large wooden cabins for themselves on shore, in which some ten or twenty of them would congregate. Clearly, these were associations of merchants who lived and conducted their business jointly. They brought mainly slaves and furs.

How far into this region did the traders from eastern lands come with their goods? We saw

208. [The Yugrians were the ancestors of the Khanty-Ostiaks and the Mansy-Voguls.—Eds.] Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, pp. 188–90. For another interpretation of the name *Ves'*, see Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung,' sec. 2, pp. 221–23.

209. *Hyp.*, p. 164.

210. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 219. For Ibn Fadlan's description of the transport of goods from Bulghar to Itil, see Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 162.

211. *Hyp.*, p. 368, cf. p. 429: the merchant caravan travels 'from the Cumans (*Polovtsy*)' to the Khorol River and on to Pereiaslav.

212. Some scholars assume that there existed yet another water route: from the Dnipro's Samara into the Mius or the Kalmius and from there to the Sea of Azov. But such a route is hypothetical. See Brun, *Chernomor'e*, 1: 98ff.; Maikov, 'Zametki po russkoi istoricheskoi geografii,' p. 257; N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 21; Burachkov, 'Zametka po istoricheskoi geografii,' p. 667ff.

213. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 129. The Christian eparchy in Itil ('Αστῆλ) is included in the notitia of eparchies in the eighth century published by de Boor, 'Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatum.'

earlier than Arab merchants most probably did not travel farther north than Bulghar. But they visited Kyiv, very possibly Novgorod, and points farther west. Al-Mas'udi relates that 'Muslim merchants, bringing various kinds of wares' come to the capital of '[al-]Dir,' who we must assume was the Kyivan prince by that name [Dyr]. The writings of the Arabic authors al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, and the presumed Abu Zayd al-Balkhi, all of whom speak of Kyiv, also suggest that Kyiv was visited by Arab (and, in general, foreign) merchants.²¹⁴ According to Ibrahim b. Ya'qub, Muslim and Turkic merchants traveled to Prague through Cracow—in other words, into central Europe. Their route probably led through Kyiv and Galicia. We have no reason to dispute such unambiguous reports, especially not that of Ibrahim b. Ya'qub. We can therefore accept that at the height of the Eastern trade, namely, in the first half of the tenth century, merchants from the East did indeed journey to Kyiv and thence accompanied Rus' merchants farther west. However, most likely there were no permanent Arab colonies in Kyiv. In any event, the most important way station of Arab merchants in eastern Europe was undoubtedly Itil.

The items that Arab merchants bought in eastern Europe are listed quite exhaustively by al-Muqaddasi (end of the tenth century): 'From Khwarizm they bring sables, squirrels, ermine, *fanak*,²¹⁵ marten, fox, beaver skins, spotted rabbits, goats, wax, arrows, beech bark,²¹⁶ caps, fish glue, fish teeth, beaver musk, amber, tanned hides, honey, walnuts, hawks,²¹⁷ swords, armor, *khalanj*,²¹⁸ Slavic slaves, sheep, and bulls—all of which [comes] from Bulghar.'²¹⁹ Accounts in other Eastern sources add almost nothing to this list (except for mentions of lead or tin, but these references are not precise and do not indicate whether they refer to internal trade or to exports).²²⁰ The catalogue of goods is probably identical to the list of eastern European exports to the East in general. Enumerating the wares that were exported to the East through the ports of Khazaria, Ibn Fadlan named the same principal items: slaves, honey, wax, and furs.²²¹ These are the same commodities (excepting some secondary goods) as those sold to Byzantium: furs, honey, wax, and slaves.

214. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 137; Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 49. This text contains certain difficulties. Al-Jayhani, the earliest author (from the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century) to mention three principal Rus' cities, states: 'Men travel on matters of trade to Kyiv (*Kuyaba*), but no one has yet related that some foreigner had gone there to live, because every foreigner who travels there is immediately killed.' Garkavi, 'Drevneishee arabskoe izvestie,' p. 347; Hrushevs'kyi, *Vyimky z zherel*, p. 35. All other authors whose works contain the passage—al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, Abu Zayd al-Balkhi (the anonymous geographer discovered by Tumanskii), and al-Idrisi—apply the information about barring foreigners to Arta alone, from which it would appear that foreign merchants traveled to Kyiv, but did not visit Arta: merchants traveled to Kuyaba, but no one visited Arta because the local inhabitants would kill any foreigner who entered their land (al-Istakhri in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 193; see also pp. 220, 276). Very likely this is the more correct variant, corrupted by al-Jayhani's copyists. Other authors clearly state that foreign merchants, especially from the East, visited Kyiv. That meaning, emerging from the texts of al-Istakhri and others, must therefore be applied to the content, irrespective of which text is more authoritative.

215. It is not clear to what animal the word refers. Jacob believed it to be *Canis corsak*, while Khvol'son translated it as 'marten.'

216. Khvol'son: 'large fish.'

217. Khvol'son: 'leopards' or 'greyhounds.'

218. A type of wood often mentioned by Arabic sources in accounts of eastern Europe. Frähn and Khvol'son read it as 'beech'; Jacob, as 'maple.'

219. Al-Muqaddasi, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, pp. 324–25; commentary in Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel* (I have used his translation in the text), and Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*.

220. In al-Jayhani, al-Istakhri, and Ibn Hawqal.

221. Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 162; see also al-Istakhri in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 193.

Al-Mas'udi provides interesting information about the export of furs. He writes that boats sailing down the Volga from the land of the Burtas (most scholars take this to be a reference to the Mordva) bring black fox pelts, the most costly and valuable of all furs. In addition they bring red, white, and black-and-white fox pelts, of which the black are the most expensive. These are transported to the lands of Bab al-Abwab (Derbend), to Barda'a [Partaw] (in Armenia) and to Khurasan, as well as to the lands of the Franks and to Spain. These skins, black and red, are then exported to the Maghrib (North Africa). One Burtas skin—at least, that of the black fox—costs 100 or more gold coins; red skins are less expensive. Arab and Persian kings wear black fox, and they boast to one another of this luxury. They have them fashioned into caps, caftans, and coats, and there is probably not a single king who does not own a caftan or a cloak lined with the black Burtas fox. Al-Mas'udi also relates that Caliph al-Mahdi (775–85) had proved that black fox was the warmest fur of all by wrapping bottles filled with warm water in different furs and exposing them to freezing temperatures. This interesting anecdote reveals that the popularity of northern furs among the Arabs dated back to a relatively early age.²²²

Slaves from eastern Europe were another important commercial commodity. Very likely the first Slavs whom the Arabs encountered were slaves, as evidenced by the eighth-century Damascene poet al-Akhtal in his poem about the 'fair *Saqaliba*.'²²³ Eastern European, especially Slavic, female slaves were famed for their beauty and were in great demand. Persian poets eulogized their beauty in flowery terms. 'All my troubles,' complained Nasir-i Khusraw, 'come from the Bulgars; they constantly bring mistresses from Bulghar to tempt a man; they are as beautiful as the moon; their lips and teeth should not be so beautiful, because the passion for their lips and little teeth is so great that it makes a man bite his own lips.'²²⁴ Listing the main routes of the white [i.e., Slavic] slave trade, Ibn Hawqal indicates one through Spain and a second through Khurasan. A large number of Slavic and Khazar slaves and those from other neighboring lands, as well as Turkish slaves, were brought to Khwarizm. The latter group must also have included many Slavs, sold by the Pechenegs. The *Kyivan Caves Patericon* makes mention of a similar trade in slaves by the Cumans in the Crimea at a later date.²²⁵

Of the other items noted in this trade, 'fish teeth' were probably mammoth and walrus tusks. Abu Hamid al-Gharnati, known as al-Andalusi, who visited Bulghar in the twelfth century, wrote of mammoth tusks. According to him, teeth similar to elephant tusks, white as snow, were found in the ground and no one knew from what animal they had come. These teeth were brought to Khwarizm, where they were sold at a high price and made into combs, boxes, and other items like those made of elephant tusks, only this bone was stronger than that of elephants and never broke.²²⁶ But the term 'fish teeth' was used by the northern Slavs to designate walrus tusks, and it is very likely that both varieties of tusks were exported under the same name. They were a specialty of the northern regions. In the twelfth century, the prince of Smolensk made a gift of furs and 'fish teeth' to the prince of Chernihiv: 'sables and ermines, black martens, polar foxes and white wolves, and fish teeth.'²²⁷

222. Texts (translated) in Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel*, pp. 23–24.

223. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 2.

224. In Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel*, p. 12.

225. *Paterik*, pp. 93–95.

226. Al-Qazwini, *Kosmographie*, 2: 413; also in Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel*, p. 18.

227. *Hyp.*, pp. 345–46.

Accounts about the export of swords are somewhat ambiguous. As we have seen, according to Arabic authors, Rus' merchants exported swords to Byzantium and also sold them to Khwarizm, which lay in a different direction. Among the Rus' themselves, the Arabs saw swords of 'Frankish manufacture,' but, as we shall see below, the Rus' also imported swords from the Arabs. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that the Rus' used swords of foreign manufacture, but they also had good swords made locally and sold both their own and those they had imported to foreign countries.

While Arabic sources give detailed accounts of the goods that the Arabs imported from eastern Europe, they contain very scant information about what they themselves exported. We can therefore only guess the nature of the 'various goods' that the Arab merchants carried from Khwarizm to Europe (according to al-Mas'udi). The Arabic writers name only two articles: beads and swords. Ibn Fadlan writes that the favorite adornment of Rus' women were green necklaces of clay (i.e., some kind of porcelain). There was a very great demand for them in Rus'—beads were bought at a dirhem each and then fashioned into jewelry for women. As it stands, the report is not necessarily accurate,²²⁸ but jewelry and other glass items could indeed have come from the Arabs. The information about swords is also not very precise. Abu Hamid al-Gharnati reports that unpolished swords with well-tempered edges were imported to Bulghar from Azerbaijan (northern Persia), where four such swords cost one dinar (one gold coin). These swords were then exchanged for beaver pelts among the Isu (presumably the Vepsians), who obtained sabres from their northern neighbors (a variant copy of the text names the *Yuru*, i.e., Yugrians). In Abu Hamid al-Gharnati's account there follows a description of how these swords were used to catch large fish in the sea.²²⁹ This led some scholars to conclude that the author was referring to harpoons rather than to swords. Although it is quite possible that Abu Hamid al-Gharnati had misunderstood the description of the method used to catch large fish, which he would have heard by way of several intermediary sources, he would not have confused swords with harpoons when writing that swords were exported from Azerbaijan. Clearly, Azerbaijan was a source for swords for eastern Europe.

Among other items traded by the Arabs, we can safely list silk fabrics, metal and particularly gold articles, southern fruits, and spices. Archaeological finds contain evidence of metal articles. By comparing the objects found in eastern European excavations with those found in lands within the sphere of Arab culture, such as Bulghar and the Trans-Volga region as a whole, as well as finds that contained both Arab artifacts and coins, it is possible—with at least some degree of reliability—to distinguish a group of styles in jewelry that evolved under the influence of Arab art: filigree objects, granulated objects, small metal plates of a characteristic shape (the most characteristic collection was found in Gnezdovo in the Smolensk region).²³⁰ That fabrics and spices were bought from the Arabs can be assumed by analogy with accounts of the trade with Byzantium and the Crimea.

228. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 94. Spitsyn, 'O stepeni dostovernosti,' p. 164, stresses the incompleteness of this and certain other accounts.

229. Al-Qazwini, *Kosmographie*, 2: 418; variant in Jacob, *Die Waren beim arabisch-nordischen Verkehr*, p. 28; interpretation in Jacob and in Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 190.

230. These are now at the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg and at the Moscow Historical Museum—see Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, 5: 61–64, and, in particular, Sizov, *Kurgany Smolenskoi gubernii*, vol. 1. On the technique of making this jewelry, see Sizov, 'O proiskhozhdenii i kharaktere.' Excavations are continuing.

The Volga Bulgars and the Khazars played the role of intermediaries in this Eastern trade, and the Jews had a similar role. But for the most part this trade was controlled by Rus' merchants. The Rus' traders shipped in the large quantities of various goods that the princes and their retinues received as tribute or took as booty; they bought these up and bartered them in their own lands and among their neighbors; and they controlled the foreign trade that passed through eastern Europe. The Arabs regarded the Rus' as a people made up solely of warriors and merchants: 'They have neither immovables, nor villages, nor arable lands,' wrote an Arabic source from the middle of the ninth century. 'They have but one industry—trading in sables, squirrels, and other furs.' 'They live only from what they take from the Slavs,' states the same source in another passage: 'They conduct raids [on them]..., enslave them, and transport them to Khazran and Bulghar to be sold.'²³¹ As we have seen, Ibn Hawqal wrote that the best furs available in Bulghar were those offered by the Rus' merchants, some of which were from their own lands, while the best had been obtained through barter from the heathen peoples.²³² The Rus' merchants described by Ibn Fadlan brought slaves (especially female ones), sables, and other goods for sale (in Bulghar or Itil). We get an idea of the large scale of this trade from Ibn Fadlan, who tells us that the wives of the merchants wore gold and silver chains on their necks. If a merchant had 10,000 dirhems, he bought his wife a chain; if he had 20,000 dirhems, he bought her two chains, and then added another for every 10,000, 'so that some wear many chains around their necks.'²³³ Leaving aside the number of chains worn, what is of interest is that the Rus' merchants were represented as possessing tens of thousands of dirhems.

Of the Eastern coins found in northern and eastern Europe, most date from the first half of the tenth century. Considering that the principal centers of the Eastern trade, Itil and Bulghar, were destroyed by Sviatoslav in the 960s—a circumstance that must have had a very severe impact on that trade—we can safely assume that these cities were at their height in the first half of the tenth century. On the other hand, it is important to note that most of the coins—some two-thirds of them—originate from cities in what is now Central Asia. They were minted in Samarkand, Bukhara, Shash (modern Tashkent), Balkh, and others cities under the Samanids, a Persian dynasty that ruled from the final quarter of the ninth century to the end of the tenth century in Transoxania (Mawarannahr) and Khurasan. This indicates that trade with the northern regions emanated primarily from here, from Central Asia, through Itil and, to an even greater degree, through Bulghar. According to al-Mas'udi, endless caravans made their way to Bulghar from Central Asia, especially from Khwarizm (modern Khiva), the principal center of the trade.²³⁴ Enumerating in his classic work the northern wares brought to the Arab lands from Khwarizm, al-Muqaddasi reports that these products were brought here from Bulghar. This was a trade conducted by caravans traveling overland.

Itil, on the other hand, was the center of the Caspian Sea trade. Khwarizm traded with Itil,²³⁵ but most likely an even larger volume of commercial intercourse was conducted with other cities along the Caspian coast. From the southern Caspian ports, caravans traveled south

231. Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, pp. 35–36; Gardizi in Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 123.

232. Ibn Hawqal in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 219.

233. Ibn Fadlan in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 93.

234. Maçoudi [al-Mas'udi], *Les prairies d'or*, 2: 15ff.; similarly, Ibn Hawqal in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 219.

235. Al-Istakhri in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 193.

to the Caliphate and farther to the west, as they did from Khwarizm. Eastern European coin finds include a large number of coins from the southern Caspian shore and from the Baghdad Caliphate. The presence of many [North] African coins indicates that indirect trade relations also existed with more remote lands. It is possible that the volume of the Caspian Sea trade was even greater than that conducted overland by caravans. The sea routes were safer, because the Turkic hordes posed as great a danger to the caravans from Khwarizm traveling on the overland routes to Bulghar as they did to the Rus' merchants making their way to Greece or Khazaria.²³⁶ Samandar, the southern Khazar port at the mouth of the Terek River, was quite probably a very important station along this route.

In the 940s, the Rus' waged a campaign against the Caspian cities and trade suffered. The campaign was a harbinger of even greater calamities. In the 960s, Prince Sviatoslav destroyed Bulghar, Itil, Samandar, and laid waste to the land of the Burtas. Ibn Hawqal, who wrote some ten years after this devastation, reports that no trace of these cities was left and that their inhabitants had scattered.²³⁷

Itil never revived. Its place was later taken by Saqsin, a city situated somewhere in the same location,²³⁸ but its significance as a trade center, especially in the Rus' trade, never matched that of Itil. Turkic pressure made the normal development of commercial relations impossible. 'They suffer greatly from the Kipchak hordes,' wrote a twelfth-century author about these Khazar cities.

Secure from the Turkic hordes, Bulghar revived very quickly. By the 980s there are once again accounts of the wealth of the Bulgars. But the fall of the Samanid dynasty at the end of the tenth century was a serious blow to that trade. Central Asia was occupied by Turkic hordes and the region was swept by unrest. There are later mentions of trade caravans from Khwarizm to Bulghar, but these represent weak echoes of the bustling commerce conducted there in the tenth century.

* * *

Foreign trade served as an important impetus to internal trade in Rus'. Merchants traveled across the land, buying up the goods needed for export and in exchange distributing their own wares, both foreign and local. For the most part, foreign goods were in demand only by the rich and powerful, but some imports, such as various glass ornaments, beads, and silver, were widely bought by the general population across the land.

Salt and metals must have been especially important in domestic trade, inasmuch as local products and artifacts met the demand for other necessities. As already noted, salt was brought in from foreign lands from the Crimea and over the Baltic Sea to Novgorod. Though reports of this trade date to a later period—the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—there is every reason to believe that they applied to earlier centuries as well. Local salt came from Galician and probably also Transylvanian mines, for salt was mined in Transylvania from prehistoric times. We have an account about the shipment of salt to Kyiv from Galicia in a report about events

236. Maçoudi [al-Mas'udi], *Les prairies d'or*, 2: 15.

237. Ibn Hawqal in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 218, 220.

238. Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung,' sec. 12, pp. 288–92, makes a persuasive argument that Saqsin was the new name of Itil. His theory that the 'Saqsin' mentioned in thirteenth-century chronicles were the remnants of Khazars who had remained in the vicinity of their ancient capital is quite plausible.

at the end of the eleventh century. At the time, Kyiv experienced a shortage of salt because merchants were not permitted to leave Halych and Peremyshl owing to the war between the Kyivan and Galician Principalities, 'and there was no salt in the whole of Rus'.²³⁹

As far as metals are concerned, only the mining of bog iron ore in the Derevlianian land can be documented. Our sources contain reports about a trade in lead (or tin): al-Bakri states that this lead (or both lead and tin) was brought in from western Europe. Al-Jayhani claims that it was transported to various places from the principal Rus' towns. Later accounts (thirteenth century) report that German merchants supplied iron, copper, lead, and tin to Novgorod.²⁴⁰ Undoubtedly, these metals were also imported from abroad to the Ukrainian lands in the south from very early times.

The wide distribution of silver and bronze ornaments (rings, pins, necklaces, earrings, and other articles) and of ornaments made of porcelain and glass (necklaces and bracelets) even among the common people is confirmed by archaeological finds. These items must also have been widely sold domestically.

The center of both domestic and foreign trade was Kyiv, located on a principal trade route—the Dnipro River. Situated below the mouths of the Dnipro's main tributaries—the Prypiat and Desna—Kyiv was the place where everything that moved along the entire Dnipro system came together. This system, in turn, gathered goods from neighboring systems that were linked to it by short portages. The Prypiat links the Dnipro with the Buh and Vistula system, the Seim with the Don, the Desna with the Oka; the upper Dnipro is linked with the Daugava, the Volga, and the system of northern lakes.

Important overland routes intersected the water artery in Kyiv: the route from Volhynia and 'from the Poles,' which lay through Peresopnytsia, Dorohobuzh, Korchesk, Zvyzhden, and Bilhorod; the southern route, which led from the Czechs and Hungarians through Galicia to Volodariv, Zvenyhorod, and Vasyliv;²⁴¹ the route to the northeast, to Kursk, and to the southeast, to Pereiaslav; and the three classic routes to the south—the Greek, Salt, and Zaloznyi Routes.²⁴² Kyiv was the center where goods brought in over all these routes were traded—a bustling hub of commerce that availed itself of the political organization of the Rus' state and, in turn, exerted an influence on that structure. This was the heart of all East Slavdom and of the great East European Plain. Small wonder that the name *Rus'*, which was the name of the Kyiv region, was applied by foreign authors (Constantine Porphyrogenetos, Ibn Rusta) to the merchant-retinue stratum that controlled the eastern European trade.

One interesting detail stands out, however. Although written accounts attest that the principal role in trade during the ninth and tenth centuries was played by southern Rus', particularly the Kyiv region, a much larger number of coin hoards has been found in the northern lands—along the Volga, in Novgorod, and on the Baltic coast. Moreover, much larger quantities (sometimes large treasures) of Arab coins than of Byzantine coins have been found in all regions: most of the latter have been individual finds. It is difficult to interpret this fact as mere coincidence, but,

239. *Paterik*, p. 154.

240. On the Novgorodian trade (these facts are of a later date, but they provide an insight into earlier relations, as well), see Berezhkov, *O torgovle Rusi*; idem, 'O torgovle russkikh'; Tikhomirov, 'Torgovye snosheniia Polotska'; Nikitskii, *Istoriia ekonomicheskogo byta*, p. 24ff.; Buck, *Der deutsche Handel*.

241. The direction of the route leading to Volhynia can be discerned by comparing passages in *Hyp.*, pp. 121, 170, 276, 284; the route to Galicia—*Hyp.*, pp. 278–79, 300, 342–43.

242. See above, p. 220.

at the same time, we cannot regard the bare statistics of coin finds as a reflection of actual commercial relations. We must keep in mind other factors, as well. The northern lands sold their products mainly for cash, while the southern regions used many imported manufactured goods. From this we can draw the conclusion that life in the south was more civilized, and artifacts and exotic goods from foreign countries were in greater demand there.

Secondly, of the three sources of imports, the volume of imported Greek goods was largest in proportion to Rus' exports, while the volume of Arab imports was the smallest. In other words, of all the civilized nations that traded with eastern Europe, the Arabs brought in the smallest number of imports compared to the quantity that they bought. That is the reason why Arab currency predominates to such a degree in the coin finds from the eighth to tenth centuries, and why the largest hoards of this money were left in the less civilized, northern lands, where there was a smaller demand for foreign wares. They bought less than they sold—that is one explanation for the coin finds.²⁴³

There is another possible explanation: commercial transactions in Ukraine did not involve large sums of cash because there existed a well-developed system of credit.

Kyivan legal documents from the twelfth century reveal a highly evolved system of credit, closely supervised by the authorities and the law. This system must have emerged in earlier centuries. We shall deal with Kyivan law in these matters elsewhere.²⁴⁴ Here, we shall cite only such facts as, for instance, that merchants often traded on credit or with borrowed money and that the law facilitated the use of credit. Even large commercial transactions were conducted on credit. The laws on bankruptcy provide for instances of bankruptcy involving money belonging to foreign merchants, local inhabitants, and even the prince (the last is an interesting indication of the part played by the princes in commercial operations). The established order in which funds were distributed after a bankruptcy was as follows: the prince had the first claim, followed by foreigners, and then local inhabitants. Clearly, the law was aimed at protecting the growth of foreign credits. Making credit transactions simpler was the goal of another law on bankruptcy, which distinguished between willful and involuntary bankruptcy; the latter occurred as the result of an accident (the sinking of a boat; the destruction of goods in war or by fire). In such cases, the creditors were not permitted to sell off the assets of the bankrupt merchant, and the debtor was given the opportunity to pay off his debts over a period of time.²⁴⁵

243. However, we should also take into account the fact that coins were disseminated in the form of booty.

244. Vol. 3, chap. 4.

245. *Rus' Law* (Karamzin Manuscript § 44–45, 47–48, 66–68).

VI

The People and Their Way of Life*

We now leave the material sphere in the life of the early Ukrainians and turn to their physical and spiritual characteristics.

The first description of the physical appearance of our ancestors occurs in Prokopios's account of the Sclaveni and the Antae. There he clearly states that these two peoples do not differ in appearance: 'For they are all exceptionally tall and stalwart men, while their bodies and hair are neither very fair nor blond, nor indeed do they incline entirely to the dark type, but they are all slightly ruddy in color.'¹ Arabic sources give a similar description of the Rus' and the Slavs. To these darker-complexioned inhabitants of southern lands, the light skin and fair hair of the Slavs appeared unusual, and they sometimes called their own fair-haired countrymen 'Slavs.' 'The Slavs are a ruddy people with blond hair,' wrote Abu Mansur, and al-Qazwini added that they were 'strong-bodied.' The authors described the Rus' in particular as 'large-bodied, fair-haired, and handsome people.'²

These descriptions correspond to those of several Rus' princes. Although we cannot be certain that the princes were not members of a foreign dynasty, it is nevertheless interesting that their outward appearance is described in terms identical to the physical characteristics of the Slavs and the Rus' in general. Leo the Deacon described Sviatoslav thus: 'He looked something

* [In this chapter Hrushevsky frequently discusses the meaning of terms and words. To ensure clarity, the International Scholarly (Linguistic) System of Transliteration has been applied in his discussion of early Slavic and Old Rus' terms. At times, Hrushevsky gives a word both in the form that appears in the sources and in the modern Ukrainian form; at others, he employs only the modern Ukrainian form. When both forms are given in the original, they have been included here, with the modern Ukrainian usually given first. In some instances, the form in the sources has been supplied. Modern Ukrainian forms have been transliterated according to the Library of Congress Transliteration System.—Eds.]

1. Εὐμήκεις τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλκιμοι διαφερόντως εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας οὔτε λευκοὶ ἐσάγαν ἢ ξανθοὶ εἰσὶν οὔτε πη ἐς τὸ μέλαν αὐτοῖς παντελῶς τέτραπται, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθροὶ εἰσὶν ἅπαντες—Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14.

2. The earliest description of blond (or reddish-haired) Slavs occurs in the writings of the seventh-century Arab [Persian in the original.—Eds.] poet al-Akhtal. Later references to the hair and ruddy (red) skin of the Slavs are found in al-Mas'udi and al-Qazwini (thirteenth century), and in Abu 'Amr and Abu Mansur, who are quoted in Wüstenfeld, *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*. Similar descriptions of the Rus' are found in Ibn Rusta and Ibn Fadlan. The Arabic terms used to describe their hair mean both 'reddish-haired' or 'red' and 'blond' or 'fair.' Thus, even though Ibn Fadlan's words have been translated as 'reddish-haired,' he probably meant 'blond.' For these accounts, see Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 2, 93, 138, 269, 279. For an explanation, see *ibid.*, pp. 5–6; Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel*, pp. 14–15; Niederle, *O původu Slovanů*, p. 38ff.

To the Arabs, the Slavs' blond hair appeared unusual, and that probably explains why they reported that the Rus' dyed their hair. Al-Jayhani was the first to write of this (he observed that when an ill person dies, some Rus' shave their heads or dye their beards). Later Ibn Hawqal wrote: 'Some Rus' shave their beards, others coil them like a horse's mane and dye them yellow [or black—M.H.].' Al-Idrisi and Dimashqi reported the same phenomenon. See Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 121, 232; and *idem*, 'Drevneishee arabskoe izvestie,' p. 347. On the other hand, the terms *Saqlab* and *Saqaliba*, used in Oriental sources to refer to Slavs, became synonyms for the white race in general, and other fair-skinned peoples from northern Europe were included in the Slavic name (evidence of this has been collected in Vestberg, 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov,' sec. 1).

like this: Of moderate height, neither too tall nor too short. Bushy-browed, blue-eyed, snub-nosed, clean-shaven, except for his upper lip sporting thick and long drooping moustaches. His head, too, was shaven,³ except for a lock of hair hanging down on one side,⁴ indicating his noble birth. Strong-necked, broad-chested, and otherwise extremely well built.' In citing this interesting portrait (which also describes the hair style favored by the Rus'), I draw attention at this point only to the reference to Sviatoslav's light-colored eyes. I also cite two descriptions from our chronicles—the first is of Mstyslav Volodymyrovych* and the second is of Volodymyr Vasylykovich (thirteenth century): 'Mstyslav was heavy-set, with a ruddy face and big eyes'; 'This true-believing prince Volodymyr was tall, had broad shoulders, and a handsome face; his hair was yellow and curly, his beard was cropped, and he had beautiful hands and feet.' Here, again, we find reference to blond hair, ruddy coloring, and strong bodies.⁵ The ruddy-skinned and blond (perhaps reddish-haired) type is also clearly evident in the depiction of Iaropolk Iziaslavych in the miniature contained in the Trier (Cividale) Psalter.⁶

All the written accounts of the Rus' and Slavs describe a blond-haired, ruddy-skinned, and tall people.⁷ In some respects the description is confirmed by other data, whereas in other respects ambiguities remain. As far as height is concerned, the population of present-day Ukraine is also fairly tall (taller than average), taller than the Russians, and, in some locations, very tall (i.e., the inhabitants of the Kuban region and the Hutsuls).⁸ The same trait is revealed by measurements of bones from burials from the ninth to eleventh centuries. Skeletons found in western Volhynian graves measure an average of 171 centimeters in height for males and 155 centimeters for females; those from burials in the Horyn River area measure 169 centimeters for males and 158 centimeters for females; those from the Teteriv River basin average 167 centimeters in height. Complexion color cannot be ascertained with the same precision, for archaeological materials yield no information on the subject. The modern Ukrainian population does not consist of a single type, just as the entire modern Slavic world is made up of two distinct types, the fair and the dark. The dark type predominates in the west and the south, and the fair in the northeast. Ukraine lies in the transitional zone of this Slavic territory, and on it the fair type predominates in the north and the northeast, while the dark type predominates in the west (in the mountain zone) and the south. The variations are so considerable that it has not yet been possible to determine which is the dominant type among Ukrainians (so far very little material has been collected). In view of the historical accounts cited above, it would appear that initially the dominant Ukrainian-Rus' type was fair-skinned, especially since it prevails in the

3. Ἐψιλωμένος τὸν πώγωνα, τὴν κεφάλην πάνυ ἐψίλωτο—Leo the Deacon 9.11: literally, 'with a naked chin and head.' The phrase πάνυ ἐψίλωτο can be read either as 'clean-shaven' or 'cropped,' but the more likely meaning is 'clean-shaven.'

4. παρὰ δὲ θάτερον μέρος αὐτῆς βόστρυχος ἀπηώρητο—Leo the Deacon 9.11. It is unclear whether the lock hung to both sides of his head or only to one side, but the latter reading is more in line with customary phraseology.

* [The original has 'Iaroslavovich,' a misprint.—Eds.]

5. *Hyp.*, pp. 105, 605.

6. A color reproduction is contained in Kondakov, *Izobrazheniia russkoi kniazheskoi sem'i*.

7. As we see, insofar as these characteristics are concerned, the Slavs and the 'Rus' are described in identical terms. Therefore, the characteristics of blondness, tall stature, etc. cannot serve as evidence of the Norse origin of the Rus' or of the Rus' ruling dynasty. Such conclusions can still be found in modern scholarly literature, but they are groundless. Prokopios was certainly not describing the Northmen, yet his description is in complete agreement with the descriptions of the Rus' of the ninth and tenth centuries.

8. For some characteristics of the modern Ukrainian anthropological type and published works on archaeology and anthropology, see Note 8.

oldest, most conservative and unchanged parts of the Ukrainian territory—its northern regions. But even in that period, one can speak only of the type's prevalence; the Ukrainian population of that time did not consist exclusively of the fair type.

The question of the craniological type of the Ukrainian people, and of the Slavic type as a whole, is of great interest, but is not at all clear. The predominant type among today's population of Ukraine is brachycephalic, at least as revealed by the materials collected thus far (such material has been collected only in some localities). Excavations of old Ukrainian burials of the tenth to twelfth centuries in Volhynia and in the lands of the Derevlians and the Siverianians indicate that the dolichocephalic type prevailed among the ancient population of Ukraine. Burials in western Volhynia contained 14 dolichocephalic and subdolichocephalic, but only four mesaticephalic and two subbrachycephalic skulls (there were no brachycephalic skulls at all). The much larger finds in the Horyn River valley contained 74 long-headed (dolicho- and subdolichocephalic) and 11 medium and 26 short-headed (subbrachycephalic and brachycephalic) skulls. In the burials along the Sluch River, archaeologists found four long-headed (dolicho- and subdolichocephalic) and two medium-headed skulls.⁹ Excavations in the vicinity of the Teteriv River also yielded very few distinctly brachycephalic skulls.¹⁰ Of the 65 Siverianian skulls, only six were brachycephalic. Of 33 skulls from the Donets area, 26 were long-headed, three were medium-headed, and four were short-headed.¹¹ It would be premature to draw any conclusions about the evolution of the anthropological type indigenous to this territory on the basis of such findings. The question of whether the original Slavic type was brachycephalic or dolichocephalic is currently being debated passionately by scholars, but so far it has not been possible to provide a definitive answer. Until the facts in this realm are established, it is not possible to speak of the evolution of the skull type of Ukrainians. I have therefore confined myself to enumerating the above facts. In contrast to the dolichocephalism of the ancient Ukrainian population of the forest zone, so far we know of only two centers of brachycephalism and the dark-skinned type—the western, Carpathian zone, and along the steppe route from Asia, where the short-headed type first appeared during the Iron Age. If the changes in skull type were attributable solely to the effects of mestization, this region could be regarded as the cradle of the short-skulled, dark-skinned type. But we can no more speak of a uniform, ancient Ukrainian anthropological type—that is, of a 'race'—in the eighth through tenth centuries than we can speak of one today. We can only speculate that that type was less complex, less mixed, and more homogeneous than the one of today.

That is all that can be said about the Ukrainian anthropological type without resorting to hypotheses and conjectures. In addition, some information is available about hair and beard

9. Antonovich, 'Raskopki kurganov v zapadnoi Volyni,' pp. 136–37; Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan,' p. 490; Gamchenko, 'Raskopki v baseine r. Sluchi,' p. 392.

10. There is some confusion in the measurements of these skulls. There is a significant difference between the measurements made by Antonovych (*Raskopki v strane drevlian*, p. 11) and those by Talko-Hryncewicz ('Charakterystyka fizyczna ludu ukraińskiego,' pp. 17–19). Antonovych reported a majority of brachycephalic skulls (43 of 66, but with an average cephalic index of only 80.7, i.e., almost medium-headed), while Talko-Hryncewicz did not report a single skull with an index higher than 78. The number of skulls measured by Antonovych was greater, but since neither he nor Talko-Hryncewicz provided detailed information about the skeletons, there are no grounds on which to explain this inconsistency. Hamchenko published information on seven long-headed, three medium-headed, and one short-headed skull (Gamchenko, *Zhitomirskii mogil'nik*, p. 111; idem, 'Gorodishche i mogil'niki, p. 133).

11. Bogdanov, 'Kurgannye cherepa,' p. 183; idem, 'Kurgannye zhiteli,' p. 350; M. Popov, 'Anatomicheskoe issledovanie kostei,' p. 43.

styles in the tenth century, at least as worn by the prince's retinue: large moustaches, no beards or very closely cropped ones, the head shaved except for a lock of hair. A later prince—Volodymyr, of the thirteenth century—is also portrayed with a cropped beard. The representations of princes on coins clearly show them sporting large moustaches. As far as beards are concerned, some gold and silver coins bearing the name of Volodymyr distinctly portray the prince without a beard, while on others it is difficult to discern whether he has a short or closely cropped beard.¹² The prince depicted on the so-called coins of Sviatopolk has no beard. In the ancient fresco in the Cathedral of St. Sophia, Prince Iaroslav has a short beard. In the brush drawing in his *Miscellany* of 1073, Sviatoslav Iaroslavych has a closely cropped beard, as does Iaropolk Sviatoslavych.* This suggests that it was the fashion among the Rus' princes, as well as perhaps among the higher ranking members of their retinues, to wear a moustache and a cropped beard.¹³ But this fashion was hardly universal. Arabic authors report that some Rus' men wore beards and others shaved them. Among a variety of crimes, the *Rus' Law* includes tearing off someone's moustache or beard. Judging by the mocking shouts of the Poles when facing Danylo's army—'we shall rush against the long beards'—it is safe to assume that the rank-and-file retinue and the common folk of the thirteenth century wore longer beards.¹⁴ As to hair style, the men of Sviatoslav's family, as well as Iaropolk, are depicted with short hair, though not closely cropped, for it is visible from under their caps.

Another aspect of the appearance of the Rus' that bears mentioning is personal hygiene. On that score there are some rather uncomplimentary accounts of our ancestors. Prokopios wrote that the Sclaveni and the Antae were very dirty. In describing the Rus' merchants, Ibn Fadlan called them 'the dirtiest of God's creatures' and compared them to wild asses, illustrating the charge with the observation that the Rus' merchants all washed together in the same tub, without changing the water and often blowing their noses and spitting into it. To some extent, these accounts may be true: devotion to cleanliness is a habit acquired through civilization, and the cleanliness that characterizes the majority of our population today may be a custom that developed later. These old accounts should not be accepted without reservation, however. The Slavs described by Prokopios were the semi-nomadic, less civilized, frontier settlers, while Ibn Fadlan based his description on the fact that the Slavs, unlike the Muslims, did not practice ritual washing; in light of this, he may have exaggerated somewhat.¹⁵ Another Arab traveler described the Germans of his time (probably the tenth century) in similar terms: 'There is nothing dirtier in the world than they are; they wash once or twice a year in cold water.'¹⁶

Prokopios said about our ancestors that 'they lead a hard life, giving no heed to bodily comforts...they are continually and at all times covered with filth; however, they are in no

12. On this basis, Lebedintsev argued that on his coins Volodymyr was portrayed with a short beard. Beautiful copies of these royal portraits on coins are to be found in the numismatic publications of Count Tolstoi. We cannot, however, rely on the authenticity of representations on the old coins.

* [The original has 'Iziaslavych,' which is an error.—Eds.]

13. Either fashions varied or different styles prevailed in the south and north. In a fresco in the Neredicha church dating from the end of the twelfth century, Prince Iaroslav Vladimirovich of Novgorod (the grandson of Mstyslav of Kyiv) is shown wearing a long beard and long hair (Prokhorov, *Materialy po istorii*, pp. 36–37, tables 2 and 3; Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, 6: 126ff.).

14. *Hyp.*, p. 535. The Arabic texts are cited above, p. 233, fn. 2. *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 7).

15. Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14; Ibn Fadlan in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 94.

16. Jacob, *Ein arabischer Berichterstatter*, p. 12.

respect base or evildoers, but they preserve the Hunnic character in all its simplicity [sincerity—M.H.].¹⁷ Pseudo-Maurice praised them: ‘They are kind and hospitable to travelers [guests—M.H.] in their country and conduct them safely from one place to another, wherever they wish. If the stranger should suffer some harm because of his host’s negligence, the one who first commended him will wage war against that host, regarding vengeance for the stranger as a religious duty. They do not keep those who are in captivity among them in perpetual slavery, as do other nations. But they set a definite period of time [of service—M.H.] for them and then give them the choice, either—if they so desire—to return to their own homes with a small recompense, or to remain there as free men and friends (ἐλεύθεροι καὶ φίλοι)... Their women are more honorable than any others in the world. When, for example, their husbands die, many look upon it as their own death and freely smother themselves, not wanting to continue their lives as widows.’ Maurice also lauded their love of freedom (‘absolutely refusing to be enslaved or governed’) and their endurance of every discomfort—heat, cold and rain, lack of clothing and food. But he criticized them for exhibiting a lack of unity (μισᾶλληλα) and for being stubborn and unwilling to submit their views to the opinion of the majority, which led to bloody clashes among them. He also accused them of not abiding by agreements and of being generally unreliable, stating that they were more easily controlled by fear or gifts than by agreements.¹⁸

These descriptions are valuable in that they apply to both the Sclaveni and the Antae and very aptly summarize those traits of the Slavic character that struck foreigners most. Until very recently Slavic hospitality was legendary. Western writers, the Germans in particular, drew special attention to that trait: ‘There is no people more hospitable than they,’ noted Adam of Bremen about the Baltic coastal West Slavs [Pomeranian Slavs].¹⁹ An Arabic source of the ninth century related about the Rus’ that they respected and treated kindly foreigners who placed themselves under their protection or who visited their land often, and protected them from various misadventures.²⁰ Our earliest code of ethics, Volodymyr Monomakh’s *Testament*, instructs: ‘show even more respect to your guest.’²¹ The loyalty and faithfulness of Slavic wives were also the subject of universal admiration (the descriptions themselves are not very significant, however, because they are based on the custom of ritual suicide by widows). The Germans had the best opportunity to appreciate the Slav love of freedom, as the Slavs fought them for their freedom. At the same time, however, all were struck by the serious lack of solidarity among the Slavs. We have already cited the description of Pseudo-Maurice. Ibrahim b. Ya’qub noted that the Slavs were a brave and warlike people whom no one would be able to match in strength were it not for their division into numerous separate tribes.²² Underlying

17. Διαιταν δὲ σκληρὰν τε καὶ ἀπημελημένην, ὡσπερ οἱ Μασσαγέται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι, καὶ ῥύπου ἤπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνδελεχέστατα γέμουσι πονηροὶ μέντοι ἢ κακοῦργοι ὡς ἤκιστα τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ κὰν τῷ ἀφελεῖ διασώζουσι τὸ Οὐννικὸν ἦθος—Prokopios, *De bellis libri V–VIII*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Haury, 2: 358.

18. Maurice, *Strategicon* 11.5 [11.4]. Maurice’s description is largely confirmed by Leo VI the Wise, *Tactica Leonis*.

19. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae* 2.19 (p. 312). For other accounts, see Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 357–58; and Kotliarevskii, *O pogrebal’nykh obychaiakh*, in idem, *Sochineniia*, 3: 442.

20. Khvol’son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, pp. 36–37.

21. ‘And show even more respect to your guest, wherever he may come from—be he a commoner, a notable, or an envoy’—*Lavr.*, p. 237. Nor did the pragmatic author fail to point out the practical side of the national virtue: ‘...because they will in passing praise you throughout all the lands.’

22. Rozen, ‘Izvestiia al-Bekri,’ p. 53.

this were both the reasons for and the consequences of their weak political organization: an unwillingness to submit to authority, and the custom of subordinating all authority to the decisions of the popular assembly.

The humanity, kindness, and sincerity described above by Prokopios were accompanied by a poetic, gay, and fun-loving nature. I have already cited accounts about the use of various musical instruments by the Slavs. The Ukrainians' love of singing, and that of the Slavs in general, must date back to remote antiquity. Singing and the playing of musical instruments were part of every important event in the life of the Slavs. Even after adopting Christianity, the Rus' celebrated pagan weddings 'with dancing, singing, and hand-clapping.'²³ In the Rus' funeral described by Ibn Fadlan, the Rus' widow bids farewell to life with 'long songs' before killing herself. The 'games between villages' that included 'dancing' and 'all sorts of demonic songs' described in the Primary Chronicle as an age-old custom of the Siverianians and certain other tribes must have been a general phenomenon, both during heathen times and later. Music was the customary entertainment of the prince. During one visit to Sviatoslav, Feodosii of the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves saw 'many musicians in front of the prince; some were performing with psalteries, others were playing on pipes, and others were accompanying on zamrs, and thus all of them were playing and making merry, as is the custom before a prince.' That various games, theatricals put on by wandering actors, music, and songs were much loved by the populace is evident from the condemnation of such activities by later Christian sermonizers.²⁴ Describing Sviatoslav's Bulgarian campaign, the Byzantine author John Skylitzes related that Sviatoslav's troops showed little concern for security and spent their nights drinking, getting drunk, and entertaining themselves with music and dances.²⁵ 'Games, singing, and music making' and 'demonic songs and sinful theatricals' (probably obscene songs and jokes) were a common form of entertainment at feasts and during any sort of merrymaking.²⁶

There is no denying the fact that during all these activities the Slavs also loved to drink. It is not surprising that their sweet, intoxicating beverage made of honey originated as early as the Proto-Indo-European age. The Slavs had time to acquire a taste for this drink in their ancestral homeland. Ibn Fadlan was the first to note the proclivity of the Rus' for imbibing. In describing Rus' merchants, he wrote: 'They are very keen on wine [he was probably referring to mead rather than to wine—M.H.]; they drink it in the daytime and at night, so that sometimes they even die with a cup in their hands.' The eleventh-century chronicler attributed to Volodymyr the well-known maxim that the Rus' cannot live without drink: 'It is

23. Ioan II, *Canons*, § 30 (RIB, 6: 18).

24. Nestor, *Zhitie Feodosiia*, fol. 26; *Hyp.*, p. 120 (it is doubtful whether this sermon was directed at the Rus', but that it was cited in Rus' against merrymaking indicates that such activities were widespread there); Kyryl of Turiv, in Sukhomlinov, *Rukopisi grafa A. S. Uvarova*, 2: 112; Heorhii of Zarub's sermon in Sreznevskii, 'Svedeniia i zametki,' p. 56; Tikhonravov, *Letopisi russkoi literatury*, 4: 90, 92, 110, and the new collection edited by Vladimirov, *Poucheniia protiv drevnerusskogo iazychestva*: Compare the Chronicle's account of festival games (*Hyp.*, p. 8) with the description of feasts among the heathen Baltic coastal West Slavs: 'erat enim nescio quis festus dies paganorum, quem lusu cantuque gens vesana celebrans, vociferatione alta nos reddidit attonitos' ('There was some pagan feast day that the people celebrated madly with games and songs that stunned us with their high clamor')—*Vita auctore Herbordo* 2.13; cf. Ebbo, *Vita Ottonis* 3.1.

25. Αὐλοῖς καὶ κυμβάλοις 'pipes and kettle drums'—Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 385. To be sure, according to Skylitzes, Sviatoslav was then accompanied by the Bulgars, Pechenegs, and Hungarians, but the account cited above applies at least as much—if not more—to the Rus' as to their allies.

26. Ioan II, *Canons*, § 16 and 24 (RIB 6: 8–9, 13–14).

the joy of the Rus' to drink; we cannot be without it.' This view is confirmed by Volodymyr's merry feasts, at which the principal ingredient was mead, which was consumed in great quantities. That this cannot be applied exclusively to the Varangian retinue is evidenced by other details from Volodymyr's reign. Mead was such an important staple during Volodymyr's reign that, in addition to food and other provisions, 'barrels of mead' were distributed to the city's poor and crippled.²⁷ An Arabic source says of the 'Slavs' (East Slavs) that they had a lot of wine and mead and that one man often had a hundred 'pitchers of wine and mead.'²⁸ Pagan holidays were never celebrated without drink. According to sources both local (Olha's revenge on the Derevlionians) and foreign (Ibn Rusta and others about the Slavs), the dead were commemorated with funeral feasts and drinking. 'A year after the death of a man,' related Arabic authors, 'they take some twenty pitchers of mead—give or take a few—and carry them to the grave. There the family of the deceased gathers; they eat, drink, and then depart.' The custom was later carried over to Christian feast days, beginning with those celebrated by Volodymyr. During his reign 300 vats (*perevary*) of mead were prepared for a celebration in Vasyliv. In his invaluable *Canons*, Metropolitan Ioan (eleventh century) condemned the widespread custom of laymen holding feasts in monasteries, in which they tried to outdo one another in lavishness. At these festivities the guests became inebriated. Church celebrations were also accompanied by drinking under the guise of various rituals, and so forth.²⁹

Interestingly, our early literature euphemistically described someone who had drunk too much as 'merry.'³⁰ This may suggest that people drank not so much to become inebriated as to become elevated in mood. It was customary to become animated in this way, when some stimulant was available.³¹ But it goes without saying that things did not end with innocent animation. Suffice it to recall the popular invective against drunkenness—'drunkenness is the devil at large, drunkenness is the devil's daughter, drunkenness is reason's death, for the one who has lost his reason is worse than a beast'—in response to the popular view that drunkenness was not bad in itself—'we do no harm when drunk.' This tolerance of drunkenness, which Christian clerics were obliged to combat, was very typical of the early Ukrainian character.

In general, the characteristics described above indicate an affable, kindhearted, straightforward, lively, and poetic nature. In addition, we should point out that Rus' customary law was not characterized by harshness, did not contain cruel physical punishments, and, though allowing for blood vengeance, did not contain the death penalty. The highest penalty was 'exile and confiscation of property.' From this standpoint, the description of the Polianians given by the Primary Chronicle, 'for the Polianians have their fathers' gentle and peaceful customs,'³² is probably largely true. But this 'gentleness' should not be unduly idealized. The 'gentle and peaceful' Rus' could at times exhibit a very different side.

The Slavic nature was not lacking in energy. I have already cited Ibrahim b. Ya'qub's view of them: 'The Slavs are brave and warlike people, and if they had a sense of solidarity, they

27. *Hyp.*, pp. 56, 86.

28. Gardizi in Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 123.

29. *Hyp.*, p. 86; Ioan II, *Canons*, § 29 (*RIB* 6: 16–17). See also vol. 3, chap. 4, of this *History*.

30. *Hyp.*, p. 325, about Viacheslav: 'This night he made merry with his retinue.' *Voskr.* in *PSRL*, 7: 61–62, on the other hand, has: '[he] had drunk.'

31. *Hyp.*, pp. 288, 336, etc.

32. *Hyp.*, p. 7.

could overcome anyone.³³ The Slavic raids on Byzantium in the sixth and seventh centuries, or the war of the Baltic Slavs against the Germans from the eighth century onward, are replete with examples of Slavic courage and bellicosity. What they lacked was political organization and solidarity. Beginning with the ninth century, their neighbors complained about the Rus', in particular, that theirs was a warlike, harsh, and brutal nature. 'The Rus' are a nation, as everyone knows, that is extremely wild and fierce and lacks any trace of humanity. They are like animals, inhuman in their actions, their love of killing evident in their very appearance,' a Greek rhetor from the first half of the ninth century writes about them. An Arabic source from the same period describes the Rus': 'They are bold and courageous. When they attack another people, they do not retreat until they destroy them completely, and when they have conquered them, they oppress them like slaves.'³⁴ Details from the Rus' campaigns—for example, those led by Prince Ihor against Byzantium and on the Caspian Sea, or by Sviatoslav against Bulgaria—confirm these descriptions. To be sure, from the Normanist standpoint, all this is attributed to the Northmen, but the armies of Ihor and Sviatoslav were composed predominantly of Slavs, not Northmen. Moreover, the internecine strife and wars in Rus' during the eleventh and twelfth centuries indicate clearly that there is no basis for laying the responsibility for cruelty and harshness on the Northmen. Of course, *à la guerre comme à la guerre*—nowhere are human psychology and conduct in war typified by humanity, and the Rus' were no exception to this. I raise this point only to counter the tendency among the early Slavophiles to describe the Slavs as a peaceable and idyllically placid people, in contrast to the German aggressors, or as a passive ethnic mass, devoid of any political initiative.³⁵ Both assessments are equally exaggerated.

At the heart of the religious beliefs of the Slavs in pre-Christian times lay nature worship. Although it supplanted and diluted the ancient ancestor worship, the cult of nature did not progress beyond primitive and poorly developed forms. Rus'-Slavic mythology is generally quite impoverished and ambiguous—a fact owing not only to the meager nature of our records, but also to the weakly developed state of Slavic beliefs. Judging by all available information, the Slavic tribes were not especially inclined toward religious creativity.³⁶

33. [Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 53.]

34. See the *Life of St. George of Amastris*, chap. 43, pp. 41–42, in Vasil'evskii, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia*; Ibn Rusta in Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, pp. 38–39. Compare the descriptions given by Photios, Moses Kaghankatuatsi, and others: see my *Vyimky z zherel*, pp. 28, 53.

35. For a survey of such theories and harsh criticism of them, see Sobestianskii, *Ucheniia o natsional'nykh osobennostiakh*. See also the wide-ranging criticism in Bagalei, 'K istorii uchenii.' The theory of age-old Slavic passivity has been resurrected by Peisker; see my 'Novi konstruktii.'

36. A good guide to the older literature on this subject is available in Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 378ff. Of this literature, let me mention: Jagić, 'Mythologische Skizzen'; Brückner, 'Mythologische Studien'; Famintsyn, *Bozhestva drevnikh slavian*; Kirpichnikov, 'Chto my znaem'; Syrku, 'Slaviansko-rumynskie otryvki'; Shepping, 'Nashi pis'mennye istochniki'; Mochul'skii, 'O mnimom dualizme'; Sumtsov, *Kul'turnye perezhivaniia*; Máchal, *Nákres slóvanského bájesloví*, and his new (popular) version, *Bájesloví slovanské*; M. K., *O religii pogańskich Slavian*; Bogdanovich, *Perezhitki drevnego mirosozertsaniia*; Vladimirov, *Vvedenie v istoriiu russkoi slovesnosti*, chaps. 2 and 3; idem, *Poucheniia protiv drevne-russkogo iazychestva*; Azbukin, 'Ocherk literaturnoi bor'by,' especially p. 221ff.; Léger—a number of articles entitled *Études de mythologie slave* (published from 1896 on in *Revue d'histoire des religions*, some appeared individually—three issues), which were edited and published together as *La mythologie slave* (see my review of this book); Lefèvre, 'Mythologie des Slaves,' a popular account based to a large degree on Léger; Iavorskii, 'Domovik'; idem, 'Galitsko-russkie poveriia'; idem, 'Iz galitsko-russkikh narodnykh skazanii'; Černý, *Mythiske bytosće tužiskich Serbow*; Miloradovich, 'Zametki o malorusskoi demonologii'; Galkovskii,

In this realm, too, Prokopios serves as the classical source. He reported that the Sclaveni and the Antae had identical religious beliefs: 'They believe that one god, the maker of lightning,³⁷ alone is lord of all things, and they sacrifice to him cattle and all other victims; but as for fate, they neither know it nor do they in any wise admit that it has any power among men, but whenever death stands close before them, when either stricken with illness or beginning a war, they make a promise that, if they escape, they will straightaway make a sacrifice to their god in return for their life; and if they escape, they sacrifice just what they have promised, and consider that their safety has been bought with this same sacrifice. They revere, however, both rivers and nymphs, and some other spirits (δαίμόνια), and they sacrifice to them also, and they make their divination in connection with these sacrifices.'

This important account contains two key elements of Slavic religious belief: the belief in a single god, a single lord of the world, with whom various meteorological phenomena (such as lightning) are associated, and, at the same time, the belief in numerous lesser deities and supernatural beings (using modern terminology) of secondary importance.

Prokopios's account is corroborated by other testimony about the Slavs in general and about the Rus' in particular. Thus, when describing the beliefs of the Baltic Slavs, Helmold (twelfth century) related that, in addition to numerous minor idols, they worshipped one great, universal god, who was simultaneously the god of the heavens.³⁸ Reports that apply to the Rus' specifically name the god of thunder and lightning as the principal deity in their culture.

In tenth- and eleventh-century Rus' that deity was called Perun (Lithuanian *Perkūnas*), the god of thunder, as indicated by his name (*περατι* 'to strike').³⁹ There is, however, no clear evidence that a deity known by this name was worshipped by any group of Slavs other than the East Slavs. Even though the name occurs among other Slavs and is frequently encountered in curses and in various names, it may merely have meant thunder from the heavens. Perun as the god of thunder was very likely a relatively late name applied to certain natural manifestations of the power of that principal Slavic deity whom Prokopios described. The name probably came to be associated with this particular deity in the same way as the names of the deities symbolizing the sun and fire, phenomena that are closely related to 'heavenly fire,' that is, lightning. At an earlier stage, this principal deity was probably known by another name.

Under the year 1114, the *Chronicle** includes a mythological excerpt from the Greek *Chronography* of John Malalas about Hephaestus and his son Helios. There it gives the explanation that Hephaestus and Svaroh were one and the same, and that Helios was 'Svaroh's son, i.e., Dazhboh.' Later diatribes against pagan beliefs (known in several variants from the fourteenth century, but undoubtedly based on much earlier materials) berate the people because they 'pray to fire, calling it Svarozhych.'⁴⁰ Svarozhych was also well known among the Baltic

'Mifologicheskii élement'; Roźniecki, 'Perun und Thor'; I. Ivanov, 'Kul't Peruna'; Dikarev, 'Uryvky z hreko-slavians'koi mitol'ogii'; Petr, 'Ob étimologicheskoi znachenii'; Vetukhov, *Zagovory, zaklinaniia, oberegi*; Mansikka, *Über russische Zauberformeln*; Zaborowski, 'Origines de la mythologie'; Krauss, *Slawische Volksforschungen* (the survivals of ancient beliefs among the southern Slavs); Korsh, 'Vladimirovy bogi'; Borchling, 'Aus der slavischen Mythologie'; A. Pogodin, 'Lingvisticheskie i istoricheskie zametki.'

37. ἀστραπῆς δημιουργόν—Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14.

38. Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 83. For some skeptical commentaries on his account, see Nehring, 'Der Name Bēlbog.'

39. Some doubts have been cast on this customary etymology. For example, Korsh believes the Slavic name to be an etymologization of a foreign (Illyrian) one.

* [The original has 'Chronicle of Kyiv.'—Eds.]

40. *Hyp.*, p. 200; 'Slova i poucheniia napravlennye protiv iazycheskikh verovanií,' in Tikhonravov, *Letopisi russkoi*

Slavs.⁴¹ The name Svaroh is believed to mean that he was the god of the heavens and the earth; it is associated with the Sanskrit *svar*, meaning 'sky, sun, the world of the sun.'⁴²

It is quite likely that Svaroh was that ancient principal 'one god' representing the creative force of nature as a whole of whom Prokopios wrote. Later, as the various and most remarkable natural phenomena ascribed to this deity were separated in the minds of the individual Slavic peoples and identified by different names, they were personified as new idols and these supplanted and replaced the concept of a single deity. As a result, in the tenth century, on the eve of the Christianization of Rus', Svaroh was no longer named among the idols worshipped. Instead, the Rus' deities included Perun, the god of thunder and lightning; Khors-Dazhboh, the god of the sun and the source of all earthly wealth; Svarozhych, the god of fire; and others.⁴³

Regardless of how the name came into being, there is no doubt that the evolution of mythological concepts progressed from the 'one' god of the heavens and earth, common to all Indo-European peoples, to individual deities representing various natural phenomena, such as Perun, Dazhboh-Khors, Svarozhych, and others.⁴⁴ It is quite clear that the differentiation of deities is a process that took place for the most part only after the East Slavs became a separate group. The different Slavic branches evolved independently of one another in this respect.

There is no doubt that Perun was the principal deity in the Rus' pantheon in the tenth century. The names of deities are enumerated several times in the Chronicle, and, more

literatury, 4: 89, 92; also Vladimirov, *Poucheniia protiv drevne-russkogo iazychestva*.

41. Thietmar, *Chronicon* 6.17; St. Bruno, 'List Św. Brunona,' p. 226.

42. The suffix *og = ga* is interpreted as meaning the sky in its movements and meteorological changes.

43. The view that Svaroh was the original, highest deity among the Slavs has been strongly disputed in recent years. Jagić ('Mythologische Skizzen') has firmly rejected the theory, and his arguments have had considerable influence. Famintsyn (*Bozhestva drevnikh slavian*, p. 143), Máchal (*Bájesloví slovenské*, p. 21), and Léger (*La mythologie slave*, p. 235) are skeptical about his existence. Krek defends Svaroh (*Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 379ff.). I believe that he and Svaroh's other defenders are right and that those disputing the theory have gone too far. For a broader analysis, see the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume.

44. Compare the survey of the evolution of religious beliefs among the Indo-Europeans in Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 669. Rejecting Svaroh, the investigators of Slavic mythology either leave the question about the name of the highest deity unanswered, or propose one of the other gods for this role, or assume that he was known simply as 'god.' The last view, which was put forward earlier, was supported by Famintsyn (*Bozhestva drevnikh slavian*, p. 141); Léger (*La mythologie slave*, pp. 50–51) is inclined to agree with it. However, the theory is very weak. I do not regard as significant folkloric references to a 'highest god' or a 'supergod,' because in themselves they represent nothing extraordinary. Aside from such folkloric references, scholars cite the texts of the treaties between the Rus' and the Greeks: 'may he be cursed by God and by Perun' (*Hyp.*, p. 33), and 'by the god in whom we believe—Perun and Volos, the god of cattle' (*Hyp.*, p. 48). But the first passage clearly refers to the Christian God, since Rus' had already adopted Christianity, whereas in the second instance, the word 'god' can be treated as a general concept, and Perun and Volos as individuations of this same concept of divinity. With respect to the other deities that have been put forward as being the principal deity, we should mention the theory of Roźniecki, in 'Perun und Thor,' who argued that while the cult of Perun evolved under Norse influence, the primary native Slavic god was Volos-Veles. It is his belief that in the treaties concluded by Oleh (907) and by Sviatoslav (971), the Northmen took an oath to Thor, under the name of Perun, while the Rus'-Slavs invoked Veles. This substitution of Perun for Thor cannot, however, be sustained (cf. the commentary by Tiander in his critical review of Roźniecki), thereby negating the grounds supporting Veles in this role. Arguing in favor of a Thor cult in Rus', Roźniecki interprets the reference to the 'Temple of Tur' in Kyiv in the Chronicle (*Hyp.*, p. 229) as to the 'Temple of Thor.' There is also another interpretation that regards the reference as being to the 'Church of Tur.' But it is quite unlikely that a Christian church would have been called the Temple of Thor or Tur (the cited analogies prove nothing, because Christian counterparts for Thor or Tur do not exist, as does, for example, the counterpart of Veles under the name of St. Blasios [Vlas]). Shakhmatov ('Kak nazyvalsia') has suggested a new interpretation of this text, using as his basis a variant of the synaxary *Life of St. Volodymyr*: 'the Holy Church of the Martyr Tur.' He believes Tur to have been the name of a Varangian martyr.

important, in the texts of the treaties with the Greeks, and in each case Perun is named first.⁴⁵ In the treaty of 944, the Christian Rus' take an oath before God in the Church of St. Elias, who had taken the place of Perun in the eyes of the Rus', while the pagan Rus' take an oath before Perun. In Sviatoslav's agreement, those who violate the treaty shall be accursed 'by the god in whom we believe—Perun and Volos, the god of cattle.' The Chronicle lists the idols that Volodymyr raised in Kyiv in the following order: 'Perun and Khors and Dazhboh⁴⁶ and Stryboh and Simarhl and Mokosh.' When the pagan idols were being destroyed, the greatest indignities were heaped on Perun—a clear indication that he had been the principal pagan idol.⁴⁷ This confirms Prokopios's account that lightning (accompanied by thunder, of course) held first place among the natural manifestations of divinity. Apart from his name, Perun's role as the god of thunder and lightning is also indicated by the fact that the term means thunder among the West Slavs, as well as by the name's analogy to the Lithuanian Perkúnas. Perun was the god of the sky, the lord of the heavens—a dangerous but, at the same time, creative force that vitalized and revived nature with his rain and by his thunderbolts dispersed such life-threatening phenomena as drought, heat, and death. Perun's powers were later attributed in part to St. Elias, whom the Slavs and Greeks associated with the old cult of a sky-god,⁴⁸ and he assumed the functions of Perun as the lord of thunder and lightning.

In most manuscripts of the Chronicle, Khors and Dazhboh appear as two separate deities, or, more precisely, as two different idols. It is difficult to determine whether the author followed ancient tradition and believed the two names of the same idol to be two separate deities, or whether by then the sun god existed in pagan Rus' under two names. The latter is also very probable. That both Dazhboh and Khors were sun gods is clear when we compare the above-cited gloss from the Chronicle* about Sun-Dazhboh with 'the great Khors' in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, who denotes the sun⁴⁹ and in Slavic translations sometimes replaces the Greek Apollo.⁵⁰ Neither of these names is known in the mythology of other Slavic groups. The name of Khors is probably related to the Iranian name of the sun (Avestan *Khorshêti*); the name of Dazhboh is derived from *daty (dati)* 'to give' and *boh (bogъ)* 'prosperity, wealth,' and therefore means 'the giver of prosperity.'⁵¹

45. Roźniecki put forward a rather credible theory that the evolution of the Perun cult among court and retinue circles in tenth-century Rus', in which the Varangians played such an important role, was prompted by Perun's likeness to the Scandinavian god Thor. I regard this as probable, even though Roźniecki's evidence for the existence of a cult of Thor in Kyiv, be it under the name of Perun or independently, is weak.

46. Thus in the Southern and Novgorodian versions (*Novg. I*). While the Suzdalian versions, the Academy (Troitskii) and Pereiaslavl Manuscripts, read 'Khors and Dazhboh,' in the Laurentian and Radziwiłł (Königsberg) Manuscripts the conjunction 'i' [and] is omitted. It is difficult to decide which is correct, because the latter is *lectio difficilior*.

47. *Hyp.*, pp. 33–34, 48, 52, 80.

48. The substitution of Elias for Helios and Zeus the Highest was first pointed out by Polítos (*Ὁ Ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις μύθους*), a source relied on by A. Veselovskii, 'Razyskaniia v oblasti russkogo dukhovnogo stikha,' essay 7, and Léger, in his 'Peroun et saint Élie.' Unfortunately, despite such parallels between New Greek and Slavic folklore, it obviously remains unclear what the Slavs borrowed from ancient Greek tradition and what should be viewed as borrowed by the Greeks (as well as by the Romanians and Albanians) from the Slavs. The need to resolve these questions is particularly important with respect to pagan festivals.

* [The original has 'Chronicle of Kyiv.'—Eds.]

49. 'Vseslav...at night prowled like a wolf. From Kyiv, prowling, he reached, before the cocks [crowed], Tmutorokan. The path of the Great Khors, as a wolf, prowling, he crossed.' *Slovo o p"lku Ihorevi*, sec. 11.

50. Shepping, 'Apolin,' p. 1.

51. 'Dans divitias, Spender des Wohlstandes' ('the giver of prosperity') as Miklosich and Krek interpret it. On the

One possible assumption is that while Khors symbolized the sun as the light in the heavens, Dazhboh was the protector of life on earth and of the human race, and for that reason the bard of Ihor's campaign called the Rus' the grandsons of Dazhboh.⁵²

This aspect of the sun cult is closely related to another important idol, Veles or Volos, 'the god of cattle.' The origin of his name is not clear, and the tradition among other Slavic groups is weak.⁵³ He is omitted in the catalogue of idols in the Chronicle, but he is included in the account of the oath under the year 907 and in Sviatoslav's treaty, where he is listed together with Perun.⁵⁴ Numerous place-names associated with this idol and references to him in later tradition indicate that he was very popular. In the Chronicle his function is explained as being the god of cattle, which is confirmed by the fact that his Christian counterpart, St. Blasios (Vlas), took over his role as the protector of cattle. Thus he was the god of prosperity and wealth (cattle and money were synonyms among the early Slavs), the protector of property, and thus closely related to Dazhboh. He is usually regarded as also having been the sun god, and scholars draw an analogy to Apollo and Mars in the same dual role of both sun gods and protectors of cattle. That is quite plausible, for if we have one double for the sun, we can have another. But another interpretation is also possible—that we have here a lower 'demon' raised to the level of a deity of the first rank. In the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, the bard Boian is called 'the grandson of Veles,' which suggests an association between Veles and singing and poetry. The analogy with Apollo is so close that it raises the suspicion of a simple borrowing from the Greek, the adaptation by the poet of the Apollo myth to Slavic mythological traditions.⁵⁵

References among the East Slavs to Svarozhych, Fire, only begin to occur in later religious literature. But the existence of a parallel tradition among the Baltic Slavs indicates that the emergence of this deity dates back to the pre-Christian era.

other hand, Jagić ('Mythologische Skizzen') interprets it as 'deus dans, der gebende Gott' ('the god who is giving'). Another etymology (Sreznevskii, *Rozhentsy u slavian*; Buslaev, *Istoricheskaia grammatika*, p. 175; and Afanas'ev, *Poëticheskie vozzreniia slavian*) is from the root *dagh*, [Old] Indian *dah*, *dahati* 'to burn', thus the god of fire; some more recent investigators also support this view (Máchal, A. Pogodin). Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, disputed this by citing the form 'Dazhd' bog' (p. 391), but the influence of folk etymology is possible here. Another circumstance is more relevant—that in these *composita*, *boh* cannot mean a deity, but only carries the initial meaning of 'prosperity' or 'wealth' (*bohatstvo*).

52. *Slovo o p"lku Ihorevi*, sections 6 and 7.

53. He is found only among the Czechs, where references to him appear late and are rather insignificant. See Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 454. Some scholars have argued for removing Veles from among the Slavic deities altogether, on the grounds that he and the Christian St. Blasios [Vlas] were one and the same—along the same lines as regarding Sviatovyt as a paganized version of St. Vitus. Krek (*Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 446–73) defends Veles in a comprehensive and detailed discussion. More recently, A. Pogodin tried to differentiate the East Slavic Volos from Veles, claiming that they were two separate entities.

54. *Hyp.*, pp. 18, 48. The phrase 'by the god of cattle' (*boha skot'ba*) in this treaty may be a later gloss, but one that dates back to an early period, because it appears in various versions of the Chronicle.

55. Other candidates for the role of the Slavic sun god include Tur (reminiscent of the Greek Priapus): see the special study by Golubovskii, 'Neskol'ko soobrazhenii.' The evidence cited by Golubovskii is quite weak and insufficient. Another such uncertain sun god is Iarylo. Like Tur, he is viewed as the symbol of the summer flowering of nature's creative force under the sun's influence. Iarylo, however, is backed by a strong folk tradition, especially among the Russians (see, however, Afanas'ev, *Poëticheskie vozzreniia slavian*, 3: 727). He corresponds to such symbols of the summer sun as Kostrub and Kupalo. As in their case, there is no mention of him in the Old Rus' written tradition. Given the weak individualization of the Rus'-Slavic deities, it is very difficult to draw a clear boundary between these 'periods in the progress of the summer sun' and genuine deities, as some try to do (e.g., Máchal, *Bájesloví slovanské*, p. 200ff.). Inasmuch as we are dealing here with late (seventeenth- to nineteenth-century) folk images, which, as I have already stated, are not known in ancient sources, it is wiser not to try to make room for them by force among ancient mythological entities.

The figures of Perun, Khors-Dazhboh, Veles, and Svarozhych are 'gods' in the true sense of the term. The primary meaning of the term *boh* [*bogъ*] (Sanskrit *bhāga* 'he who has wealth' and 'the giver of wealth'; Zend [Avestan] *baga* 'god';⁵⁶ the Phrygian Ζεύς Βαγαῖος) is 'wealth' (hence, *bahaty* 'wealthy,' *bahatstvo* 'wealth,' *zbizhzhia* 'crops,' etc., and, in the negative sense, *ubohyi* 'poor'). Its second connotation is that of a benevolent force and giver of wealth. Thus the gods are good forces, benevolent towards human life and happiness. Were there corresponding dark forces in the religious beliefs of our ancestors, forces hostile to 'the life of Dazhboh's grandson' that were personified by individual deities? We can find no signs of a developed dualism in Slavic religious beliefs. Although among the lesser deities we encounter entities that are dangerous to humans, they are only dangerous and not evil per se. Thus it is not possible to point with complete certainty to any representatives of the dark and evil principle on the Slavic Olympus.⁵⁷ To some extent such a role might be ascribed to Stryboh, whose name is derived from *stryty* (*striiti*) 'to destroy'—the destroyer of wealth, the god of bad weather. In the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, the winds are called 'the grandsons of Stryboh.' But here, too, it is not clear whether Stryboh was a thoroughly hostile force, the symbol of evil, or merely the personification of certain natural phenomena.

These were the principal higher gods of our ancestors, about whom we can speak with some certainty. Other names remain quite unclear or uncertain.⁵⁸

To some degree, these principal deities were anthropomorphized. This is indicated by the existence of such abstract names as Dazhboh and Stryboh, the existence of idols, and the possibility of creating such poetic images in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* as 'the grandson of Dazhboh,' 'the grandson of Veles,' and others. There thus existed certain elements of theomorphism. The description of the statue of Perun in the Chronicle, as well as in the account by Ibn Fadlan, suggests the beginnings of anthropomorphism. The Chronicle relates that a wooden statue of Perun, with a silver head and a golden moustache, was erected in Kyiv during Volodymyr's reign. Ibn Fadlan writes that the Rus' merchants prayed to an idol in the form of a wooden log with a carved face resembling that of a man.⁵⁹ But these reflect only the weak initial stages of anthropomorphism; generally speaking, the individuality of the Slavic gods was very poorly developed. For instance, there is no clear evidence of any genealogy of the Slavic deities. The gloss in the Chronicle of Kyiv that refers to Sun-Dazhboh as the son of Svaroh was probably suggested by the text of Malalas's *Chronography*, where Helios is identified as the son

56. This Slavic-Iranian parallel has suggested the theory that the Slavic term was borrowed from the Iranians through the Scythians—see Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. But the roots of this cult probably lie deeper. See Schroeder, 'Über die Glauben.'

57. See the special study by Mochul'skii, 'O mnimom dualizme'; also Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 404; Máchal, *Bájesloví slovanské*, pp. 36–38; Brückner, 'Mythologische Studien,' study 3, p. 163; Nehring, 'Der Name Bělbog.'

58. For example, Simarhl of the Chronicle is usually thought to be the biblical idols Nergal ('Εργελ) and Ashima ('Ασιμαθ) (2 Kings [Slavonic Bible 4 Kings] 17:30). Gedeonov ('Otryvki iz issledovanií) saw in him the Egyptian Shem-Heracles (Σημ-Ηρακλής). More recent mythologists regard these derivations as uncertain and do not see a possible Slavic deity here. On the other hand, Wirth (*Geschichte Asiens und Osteuropas*, p. 182ff.) saw in this the influence of Babylon on Rus'! 'Mokosh' remains a puzzle; in ecclesiastical literature this term is used to translate the Greek μαλακία 'iže jest roučnyj bloudъ' ('that is masturbation'). See Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 465–66; Jagić, 'Mythologische Skizzen,' pp. 6–7. Aside from appearing in the Chronicle, these names are mentioned in the later diatribes we have cited (Tikhonravov, *Letopisi russkoj literatury*, and Vladimirov, *Vvedenie v istoriiu russkoj slovesnosti*).

59. *Hyp.*, p. 52; Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 95.

of Hephaestus. In using such expressions as ‘the grandson of Dazhboh’ or ‘the grandchildren of Stryboh,’ the author of the *Tale of Ihor’s Campaign* does not mean that they were such literally. He does not base them on any kind of genealogy, but rather uses them as metaphors and poetic images to suggest the likeness to man of various deities, their popularity, and so forth. Another important fact from this point of view is the absence of female deities in Slavic mythology. Not a single example can be cited with any reliability.⁶⁰ Obviously, the Rus'-Slavic gods were very poorly personified and retained their initial quality of being symbols of natural forces, meteorological phenomena, and the elements of nature.

Apart from the principal ‘gods,’ the ancient Slavs and the Rus’ in particular believed their surroundings to be populated by a multitude of lesser beings. It is possible that they were known by the general term *bisy* (*běsy*) ‘demons,’ an old Slavic word that was used in translations to render the Greek δαίμων, δαίμονια (*daimōn*, *daimonia*), and later, under the influence of Christianity, began to mean ‘evil spirits.’ Whatever name they may have been known by, we do know for certain that Slavic mythology included such deities of a lower order, who were part of the supernatural world. In the passage cited above, Prokopios reported that the Slavs worshiped ‘nymphs and some other spirits.’ Such nymphs included the South Slavic *vily* (wood nymphs, sing. *vila*) and the Ukrainian *rusalky* (water nymphs, sing. *rusalka*), or, rather, only a single category of *rusalky*, because this term later included not only water nymphs, but also drowned women and children who had died unbaptized (*mavky* [sing. *mavka*], *navky* [*navka*], from *navъ* ‘the dead’). The term *rusalka* is of a later date; it is derived from the Latin *rosalia* (as is now believed) and replaced the original term. But belief in water and wood nymphs dates back to Proto-Slavic times.⁶¹

Mysterious beings lived in marshes, forests, mountains, and fields. Documents from the eleventh century contain references to the veneration of wells, marshes, and groves, that is, the veneration of the deities that inhabited these places. Metropolitan Ioan wrote of those who ‘make sacrifices to demons and marshes and wells.’ The list of offenses in Volodymyr’s *Church Statute* includes those ‘who worship near a shed, or in wood groves, or near the water.’⁶² Belief in the *vodianyk*, the water deity, and the *lisovyk* or *polisun*, a deity inhabiting the forests, and various other demons (*did’ky*) that live in houses, marshes, and woods has survived to our own time. Whatever later forms these assumed, all these beings originate in the pre-Christian period. Modern devils (*chorty*), or *did’ky*, who inhabit large tree hollows, old abandoned buildings, mills, and so forth, have replaced the ancient pre-Christian demons (*bisy*). In some regions wells are venerated even today.⁶³

60. All the references to Vesna, Lada, Morana, and others are based in part on misunderstandings and in part on very unreliable accounts. Even Zhiva, though based on the words of Helmold, is quite uncertain. See Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 403, and, especially, Brückner, ‘Mythologische Studien,’ study 3, p. 164ff.

61. In the past, the term *rusalka* was derived from *rus-lo* ‘source, spring’ or from *rus-yj* ‘fair-haired,’ but Miklosich, ‘Die Rusalien,’ and, later, Tomaschek, ‘Über Brumalia und Rosalia,’ and A. Veselovskii, ‘Razyskaniia v oblasti russkogo dukhovnogo stikha,’ essay 5, drew attention to the Roman spring festival called *rosalia* (New Greek ρουσαλία), which coincided with the Slavic festival in honor of the water nymphs. As happened in the case of the *calendae*, this name, too, could easily have been incorporated into the Slavic calendar and later applied to the water nymphs themselves. See Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 407; Máchal, *Bájesloví slovanské*, p. 123.

62. Ioan II, *Canons*, § 15 (*RIB* 6: 7–8); Volodymyr’s *Church Statute*, in Sobolevskii, ‘Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,’ p. 66 (thirteenth century). Also in Tikhonravov, *Letopisi russkoi literatury*, and Vladimirov, *Poucheniia protiv drevnerusskogo iazychestva*. I set aside the description of the Polianians in the Novgorod I Chronicle (‘they were pagans who made offerings to lakes and wells and groves, like other pagans’) because it appears to be a literary stereotype.

63. On the modern cult of the well in Ukraine, see Litvinova, ‘Krinitsa—boginia,’ and the paper by Iashchurzinskii,

Various groups of human beings were also believed to possess certain supernatural qualities. These included werewolves (*vovkulaky*), humans who could turn into wolves, and vampires (*upyri*, sing. *upyr*), who rose from their graves to drink the blood of the living. In part, this category also included the sorcerer-magicians (*volkhvy*) and the more recent witches (*vid'my*, sing. *vid'ma*) and warlocks (*vid'maky*, sing. *vid'mak*; from *vidaty* 'to know'—synonymous with 'soothsayer' *znakhar, znavets*)—in other words, people who knew the mysteries of magic, knew how to affect natural phenomena, and understood the supernatural. All these beliefs date back to the pre-Christian era.

As in other societies, the Rus' sought favor with both the lesser and higher deities through prayer, vows, and sacrifices. This was a natural consequence of the personification of natural forces and phenomena, and these forms of worship originated in Proto-Indo-European times.⁶⁴ As related by Prokopios in the passage cited earlier in this chapter, the Sclaveni and Antae made sacrifices of various kinds of livestock, both to the highest deity and to 'demons' of the lower order, and believed that by promising to make such sacrifices they could save themselves from the worst of calamities. Constantine Porphyrogenetos described the sacrifices made by traveling Rus' on the Island of St. George on the Dnipro (Khortytsia). There, under a huge oak that was the object of special veneration, they sacrificed birds, bread, meat, and whatever else each had. In the case of birds, they cast dies to decide whether the birds would be slaughtered or set free. Ibn Fadlan wrote the following account of worship by the Rus' merchants. Upon his arrival in a city, the merchant made sacrifices of various kinds of food—bread, meat, milk, onions, and beverages—and prayed to the principal deity to grant him success in his commercial ventures. If business proved slow, he brought fresh offerings to the deity and sought the aid of lesser deities by making sacrifices to them and bowing before them. If he sold his wares quickly, he believed it his duty to thank the gods. To this end, he killed several head of cattle, gave a portion of the meat to the poor, and offered the rest to the gods, placing the heads of the sacrificed cattle on stakes arranged in a circle. Early Arabic sources (Ibn Rusta and others) cite an interesting 'Slavic' (Rus') prayer: during the harvest, the Rus' placed millet in sacks and raising these sacks to heaven, chanted: 'O Lord, you have given us this food, now grant us more in abundance!...' ⁶⁵

As indicated above, Constantine related that the Rus' prayed and made sacrifices under an oak tree held in special veneration. The veneration of trees as sacred places where gods lived was widespread among the Indo-European peoples. There was nothing unusual in the fact that trees took the place of temples and sacred images among the Slavs as well. The places they chose for praying, bringing sacrifices, and performing their religious rituals in general were usually sites in which human beings were especially aware of the forces of nature, of the presence of that mysterious power of nature that was the actual subject of worship, in other words, places where men thought it possible to draw nearer to this mysterious natural force. In the scene described by Ibn Rusta, a Slav prays to the heavens in the fields. In the passages cited above from Metropolitan Ioan's *Canons* and Volodymyr's *Church Statute*, Slavs are described as bringing offerings to the mysterious forces of nature near wells and marshes and as praying in the forests or near bodies of water.

'Pochitanie kliuche i kolodtsev,' p. 99.

64. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3d ed., 2: 446ff., and idem, *Reallexikon*, p. 597.

65. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 9; Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 95; Ibn Rusta in Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, pp. 30–31; also Gardizi in Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 386.

Apart from such natural sacred sites, there were also man-made objects of devotion. To be sure, the Slavs had no temples, except among the Baltic Slavs (where they were a later phenomenon), but there are references to idols representing the different gods. The earliest record of such idols pertaining to the Rus' occurs in the Chronicle under the year 945. There Ihor and his retinue are described as taking an oath in the presence of Greek envoys: 'he came to the hills where Perun stood.'⁶⁶ In a later passage, the Chronicle reports that Volodymyr raised statues of Perun, Dazhboh, Stryboh, and other deities on a hill in Kyiv near the princely residence. Dobrynia, sent by Volodymyr to Novgorod to serve as his lieutenant, erected an idol to Perun on the banks of the Volkhov River. Ilarion and the '*Old Life of St. Volodymyr*,' in describing the prince's services to Christianity, also mention the pagan idols and places of sacrifice in Rus'. Iakiv [the purported author of the latter] even mentions 'temples to idols,' but this single reference is probably only a rhetorical phrase.⁶⁷ Much has recently been made of the report that the remains of a pagan temple were found in Kyiv near the ancient princely residence, under the Church of the Tithe. But it is not certain whether this pile of stones (excavated and later covered again by soil)⁶⁸ was in fact a structure, nor could its ritualistic purpose be determined from anything found at the site.

The passages in the Chronicle describing Volodymyr's erection of idols suggested to some scholars that such idols were something new in Rus' and that they were introduced during Volodymyr's time under foreign influence (Baltic coastal West Slav* or Varangian). But this view is groundless. The purpose of the story about Volodymyr in the Chronicle is to contrast his earlier pagan godlessness with his later Christian piety, and for that reason it places special emphasis on his pagan fervor. In discussing Volodymyr, other writings from the eleventh century make no mention of any special undertakings by Volodymyr on behalf of paganism. Moreover, the statue of Perun was already standing in Ihor's time. Ibn Fadlan also mentions Rus' idols. These may indeed have been only the beginnings of this stage of pagan worship—the veneration of deities in the form of anthropomorphic images. Perhaps the idols stood only in the larger population centers of the time, while the general populace continued to worship and make sacrifices under trees and near wells. Some may even discern a certain measure of Norse influence in the existence of idols. But these idols were certainly not something introduced to Rus' only a few years before the adoption of Christianity.

In describing the various evils of godlessness in Rus' before Volodymyr's baptism, the Chronicle reports that human sacrifices were brought to the idols in Kyiv. The report is vague and of little value: 'And they sacrificed to them [Volodymyr's idols—M.H.], calling them gods. And they would bring their sons and daughters, and they defiled the land with their sacrifices. And the land of Rus' and this hill were defiled with blood.' From the passage it would seem that the Kyivans sacrificed their children to their gods (they 'brought' them to be sacrificed). But the entire text is taken from the Bible [Ps. 106:37] and can be viewed as rhetorical, rather than as one that should be read literally.⁶⁹ Similar statements made by Ilarion are equally

66. [Hyp., pp. 33–34.]

67. Hyp., pp. 33–34, 52–53. Ilarion, *Sermon*, in Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 55; cf. pp. 52–53, and the *Life of St. Volodymyr*, in *ibid.*, pp. 15, 20, 21. For an interesting analysis of the Chronicle texts on pagan cults, see Rożniecki, 'Perun und Thor,' p. 503ff. The original text of the Chronicle and the additions made to it are of equal value in this respect, because they date to approximately the same time.

68. There is a model at the Kyiv City Museum, but I do not know how accurate it is.

* [The original has *Pomors'kyi*, which can also mean 'White Sea.'—Eds.]

69. Hyp., p. 25; cf. pp. 61–62. The account's relationship to the original text of the Chronicle is unclear.

unreliable.⁷⁰ Specific facts would be of greater value. The Chronicle contains the following account. Upon returning from a successful campaign against the Yatvingians, Volodymyr and his retinue 'made a sacrifice.' But the 'elders and boyars' decided to cast lots for a boy and a girl to be sacrificed to the gods. The lot fell on the son of a Varangian Christian, who refused to give up his son and insulted the pagan deities. Learning of this, the pagans of Kyiv tore down his house and killed him and his son.⁷¹ The account was based on local tradition and can therefore be regarded as reliable, but the story of the sacrifice may not have been recounted accurately. It is possible that originally there was only the recollection of a Varangian being killed for insulting the pagan gods and that the story of the sacrifice was added later, during the literary reworking of the Chronicle, under the influence of literary models.

Apart from the Chronicle, accounts of human sacrifices appear in an Arabic source and in Leo the Deacon. Ibn Rusta wrote that there were soothsayers among the Rus' who exercised considerable influence over the prince. Whatever they told him to sacrifice to a god he was obliged to sacrifice. 'A soothsayer takes a man or an animal, throws a noose around its neck, hangs the victim on a wooden beam and waits until it expires. Then he says: "This is a sacrifice to the god."' ⁷² The problem with this interesting detail is that it greatly resembles Ibn Fadlan's account about the Bulgars.⁷³ The question thus arises whether the practice was not ascribed to the Rus' in error. Leo the Deacon writes that when cremating their dead, the Rus' in Dorostolon [Drstei] 'completing this bloody sacrifice on behalf of the dead, drowned infants and roosters, having submerged them in the waters of the Danube.'⁷⁴ Inasmuch as there are no other references to sacrifices for the deceased elsewhere, could Leo have been mistaken in his report of children sacrificed for the dead? Ultimately, the existence in Rus' during the ninth and tenth centuries of the custom of human sacrifice even on certain important occasions does not seem certain to me, even though in earlier Indo-European history there must have been human sacrifice.⁷⁵

None of the accounts in the Chronicle of oaths taken before Perun, sacrifices to the gods, and so on, makes any mention of a special class of priests. There is no mention of them at all in Rus', or among the Slavs as a whole (except for the later Baltic Slavs, with their significantly more developed pagan worship). We can therefore conclude that there were no priests in Rus', something quite normal in the absence of a well-developed form of religion and worship. Public sacrifices, on behalf of the state or the people, were made by the prince or such representatives of the community as the boyars and elders, according to the account in the Chronicle cited above. Private offerings and prayers were made by individuals on their own behalf or that of their family, as in the account by Ibn Fadlan about the Rus' merchants. The role of the head of the family as the intermediary before the gods is revealed by modern

70. 'No longer do we slay one another as offerings for demons, for now Christ is ever slain for us'—Ilarion, *Sermon*, in Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 52. This passage paints a universal image of the conversion of the world from paganism to Christianity, and thus the individual details it contains need not apply to Ukrainians per se.

71. *Hyp.*, pp. 54–55.

72. Ibn Rusta in Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 38; also in Gardizi in Bartol'd, 'Otchet.'

73. 'When they see a resourceful and quick man, they say: "This man should serve God." And so they catch him, cast a noose around his neck, and hang him on a tree until he putrefies.' Ibn Fadlan in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 91.

74. [Leo the Deacon 9.6.]

75. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, s.v. 'Opfer,' p. 596ff.; cf. also Roźniecki, 'Perun und Thor,' p. 503ff.

Christian rituals—for instance, at the Christmas Eve supper, when the father or another elder prays and conducts all kinds of religious ceremonies with the pious, passive assistance of the other members of the household.

Despite the absence of a special class of priests, there were individuals who regarded themselves and were regarded by the populace as specialists and advisors in various religious matters. These were the sorcerer-magicians (*volkhvy*), or soothsayers (*znakhari*), found among all the Indo-European peoples as far back as the Indo-European era. The Rus' sources give us detailed information about the 'sorcerer-wizards' (*volkhvy-kudesnyky*). Tradition has it that Oleh the Seer asked the sorcerers how he would die, and they prophesied that his horse would be the cause of his death. Oleh took care not to ride the horse, but, according to the Chronicle, after the horse had died, Oleh stepped on the dead animal's skull and a snake crept out of it and bit him, which caused his death. After Rus' had already adopted Christianity, the mother of the famous Vseslav asked the advice of the sorcerers in the Polatsk region about her son, who had been born with a caul on his head, and they advised her that he should wear the caul his entire life. 'For this reason he is without mercy about shedding blood,' relates the Chronicle. In the second half of the eleventh century, a sorcerer appeared in Kyiv who related that five gods had appeared to him and told him of great changes coming in the world.⁷⁶

The sorcerers, who were the precursors of the later soothsayers-sorcerers and witches, supposedly possessed supernatural knowledge of the unknown and hidden and were therefore regarded as 'seers' (or *věduščije*). They obviously understood things that no one else understood—how to control the mysterious forces of nature, gain their favor and assistance, and prevent calamities. But their magical powers were limited. The earlier belief in the all-powerful might of magic was supplanted by the later notion of inevitable divine 'judgment.' Nor could the sorcerers reverse the inexorable, invincible will of the gods. The people called Oleh 'the Seer,' but the sorcerers foretold his death from his horse, which did happen. The vatic Vseslav, although a magician, 'often suffered calamities.'

We read in the account by Prokopios cited above that the Sclaveni and the Antae did not believe in fate. Prokopios obviously based that conclusion on his observation that the Sclaveni and the Antae believed it possible to avert calamity or death by sacrifice and worship, which he interpreted to mean that they did not acknowledge the inevitability of destiny and, instead, believed it to be subject to divine will. Divine will, however, was omnipotent. The vatic Boian, who was still thoroughly steeped in pagan belief, expressed this in the aphorism:

Neither the guileful nor the skillful
nor the skillful bird
can escape God's judgment.⁷⁷

He represented God's will according to popular belief in the form of a judgment (*sud*), a decree: 'to face judgment' meant to die, to be subject to the final decree. We encounter a reflection of the same concept in vernacular speech: a girl marries the man decreed her by fate or God (*sudzhenyi*). Among Ukrainians and Russians, as well as among the South and West Slavs, there are spirits with names like *sudyl'nytsi*, *sudinushki*, *sudzhenytsi*, and *sudychky*, who control human destiny. Scholars link these with *Rod* and *Rozhanytsia** [spirits with names related to

76. *Hyp.*, pp. 23, 109, 127.

77. *Slovo o p"lku Ihorevi*, sec. 11.

* [Hrushevsky uses the forms *Rozhanytsia*, *Rozhdenytsia*, and *Rozhenytsia*. In this translation the name has been rendered as

clan or birth] that appear in East Slavic literature of the twelfth century. Thus, the Novgorodian canonical writings of Kirik state that people 'cut the breads, cheeses, and honeycombs' for *Rod* and *Rozhanytsia* (*Rožjanicja*) and drink in honor of the latter.⁷⁸ Judging by the names themselves, these terms can be regarded to mean the fate with which one is born, in contrast to the concept of chance, 'fortune' (*sreća*), among the South Slavs. Each individual has his own destiny, personified in a special being, and these destinies are determined by God or some other higher power (the 'Usud' of Serbian fables).⁷⁹

Misfortune and Poverty are also ideas that are personified. We see the beginnings of this in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* in the images of Wrong and Misery, but those images have not assumed the flesh and bones, as it were, of concrete beings. Also, *Rod* and *Rozhanytsia*, linking together the concept of destiny with the notion of the guardians and protectors of the clan, are related to the worship of clan ancestors.

* * *

The Slavs, and the Rus' in particular, believed that a person's life did not end with his death. Written sources contain direct evidence, and an even larger body of indirect evidence of this. When the Rus' swore to abide by their agreement with the Greeks in 944, one of the oaths they took was that should any of them violate the treaty, 'may he be a slave in this world and in the world to come.'⁸⁰ Although in the treaty the oath was taken by the Christian Rus', its wording was undoubtedly meant to reflect the beliefs of the pagan Rus'. The beliefs of the Rus' were discussed in greater detail by Leo the Deacon. He related that the Rus' never allowed themselves to be taken prisoner and that they killed themselves rather than be captured, because they believed that those who were killed by the enemy in battle became the slaves of their killers in the next world. Fearing such enslavement, they took their own lives rather than become the slaves of their killers.⁸¹ The important point in this account is the information that the Slavs believed in an afterlife, though it should be added that Leo the Deacon confused the facts somewhat: the Rus' obviously believed that those who were slaves in this life would also be slaves in the next, and for that reason they preferred death to capture. In Ibn Fadlan's account of the funeral of a Rus' merchant, one eyewitness expressed the belief that the deceased went directly to paradise after his remains had been cremated, while a young girl, falling into an ecstatic trance during the funeral ceremony, saw her deceased relatives and her dead master 'in a beautiful green garden' (paradise) and heard him calling her to join him.⁸²

Belief in an afterlife is also attested by the custom of burying the deceased with the things he had needed while alive and would need in his life in the next world,⁸³ as well as by

Rozhanytsia.—Eds.]

78. Kirik of Novgorod, *Voproskanie*, sec. 33, *RIB* 6: 31; Tikhonravov, *Letopisi russkoi literatury*, 1: 89–90, 92, 94, and elsewhere.

79. Literature: Sreznevskii, *Rozhenitsy u slavian*; Valjavec, 'O Rodjenicah ili Sudjenicah'; Afanas'ev, *Poëticheskie vozzreniia slavian*, vol. 3, chap. 25; Potebnia, 'O Dole'; Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 408–9; Krauss, *Sreća, Glück und Schicksal*; A. Veselovskii, 'Razyskaniiia v oblasti russkogo dukovnogo stikha,' essay 5; Máchal, *Bájesloví slovanské*, chap. 5; Galkovskii, 'Mifologicheskii élement,' pt. 2 ('Srecha i Usud'); Sonni, 'Gore i Dolia.' For texts about the *Rozhenitsia*, see Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlia slovaria*, 3: 141.

80. *Hyp.*, p. 33.

81. Leo the Deacon 9.8.

82. Ibn Fadlan in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 99.

83. Apart from such considerations, the custom may also have stemmed from the ancient belief that magical power

worship of the spirits of ancestors and the belief that the dead can sometimes appear among the living, or that the human spirit can in certain circumstances be reincarnated in a plant or an animal. These beliefs have survived in our oral literature to the present day.

Because burial rites are an excellent illustration of these beliefs, we shall cite accounts about the funerary rituals of the Rus'. In contrast to other aspects of the cultural history of this region, such rites are attested in a number of written documents, and there is archaeological evidence as well.⁸⁴

Ibn Fadlan's account is especially noteworthy for the detailed information it contains.⁸⁵ The author was present at the burial of a wealthy Rus' merchant in one of the cities on the Volga (Itil or Bulghar) in 922, and he described the ceremony as follows. Laying the deceased temporarily in a grave, his attendants placed drink (probably mead), fruit, and a psaltery (or some other stringed instrument) near his body and began to prepare his burial attire and other necessary items. The process took ten days. As was customary, the dead man's property was divided into three parts: a third was given to his family, a third was used to pay for the clothing in which he would be buried, and the remaining third was spent on the drink that would be consumed on the day of the funeral. The dead man's female slaves were asked which one of them wanted to be buried with her master. One girl volunteered and from then on she was carefully guarded. Through all the days before the funeral that remained, she drank and made merry.

On the day of the funeral, a boat was pulled out of the water onto dry land, propped up on supports, and surrounded with idols in the shape of human beings. A bench was placed in the boat, covered with kilims and Greek silk, and silk pillows were placed on it. Above the bench, a tent was erected. All this was done by the old woman who was in charge of all the preparations and who would kill the slave girl. The old woman was called the 'angel of death.' The body of the deceased was luxuriously attired: he was dressed in a silk caftan with gold buttons, and a sable cap topped with gold was placed on his head. He was then seated on the bench in the tent, supported by pillows. Next to him were placed drink, fruit and aromatic plants, and also his weapons. A dog was hacked into pieces and these were placed next to the

could be gained over a person by taking over some part of his body or some object closely associated with him. Any individual who took possession of the deceased's most essential belongings could thereby gain magical power over him. Hence, loyalty to the deceased required the destruction or removal from use of the objects he prized most in order to avert such a terrible threat.

84. Kotliarevskii's *O pogrebal'nykh obychaiakh*, first published more than forty years ago (1868) and subsequently republished, remains the principal work in this field. Because of the distinguished nature of the study and the abundance of factual material it contains, after its publication the Slavic burial ritual did not attract much attention among scholarly researchers. Kotliarevskii's work, however, needs to be updated with more recent archaeological data (very few archaeological materials were available when he wrote it). The most important publications on burials are listed above, on p. 187, fns. 2 and 3. See also Iarotskii, 'Kratkii otchet,' his 'Mogil'niki po srednemu techeniiu r. Uborti,' and his short report on excavations in the basin of the Usha and Ubort Rivers in idem, 'Raskopki kurganov,' p. 329; Eremenko, 'Raskopki kurganov'; Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany'; Bobrinskii, *Kurgany*, 2: 179; Speranskii, 'Raskopki kurganov'; Antonovich, 'Dnevniki raskopok.' For studies dealing with Drehovichian territory, see A. Grushevskii, 'Ocherk istorii,' p. 4ff. General descriptions (some of which are too arbitrary) are found in Spitsyn, 'Obozrenie nekotorykh gubernii,' and idem, 'Razselenie drevne-russkikh plemen.' On the survivals of the ancient burial ritual in contemporary life, see Iashchurzhinskii, 'Ostatki iazycheskikh obriadov.'

85. [Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, pp. 96–101.] I have already noted (pp. 206–7, fn. 120) the skepticism expressed by some regarding the attribution of this account to the Slavic Rus' (Stasov, 'Zametki o "Russakh" Ibn Fadlana,' and Spitsyn, 'O stepeni dostovernosti'). But, like other reports in Arabic sources about the Rus' in the ninth and tenth centuries, it cannot be excluded from the existing materials about the Slavic Rus'.

deceased. The same was done with two horses, which had first been made to gallop before the deceased, and with two cows, a rooster, and a chicken.

Finally it was the girl's turn. They lifted her three times over something that the Arabic author thought resembled a door frame, but may have been a well. In it she saw (in her state of ecstasy or, perhaps, inebriation) her dead parents and relatives and her late master. 'He is sitting in a garden, and the garden is beautiful and green. There are men and boys with him, and he is calling me. Take me to him,' said the girl, according to the Arabic author. They then led her to the deceased's boat, where she gave all her ornaments to the servants. Continuing to drink, she sang songs bidding farewell to the world. She was then taken into the tent, where the old woman presiding over the funerary ritual strangled her and then stabbed her with a knife.

While all these ceremonies were taking place, other attendants placed a large pile of wood under the boat. Now the oldest relative of the deceased set fire to the wood, and others followed him, throwing burning twigs into the fire. An hour later everything was gone, consumed by the fire. They then built a mound over the site and placed a willow stake in the center, on which they inscribed the name of the deceased and of the reigning Rus' prince. One of the Rus' participants in the funeral said to Ibn Fadlan: 'You Arabs are a stupid people because you take the one you love and honor most and throw him into the ground, where he is eaten by reptiles and worms. We, on the other hand, burn him in an instant, and he immediately enters paradise.'⁸⁶

The narrative contains interesting details about the life of the human spirit in paradise, 'in a beautiful green garden,' after the body had been destroyed. The belief in an afterlife is confirmed by all the accoutrements of the burial. The deceased passes into the next world with an entire inventory: a boat, horses, oxen, food and drink, and even a woman. The meaning of this last element in Ibn Fadlan's account is explained by al-Mas'udi: 'When a man dies, his wife is cremated alive with him; when a wife dies, her husband is not cremated; and if a man dies unmarried, he is wed after death.'⁸⁷

The funerary ritual described by Ibn Fadlan is confirmed by the excavated remains of graves in the Chernihiv region. These reveal the following local burial ritual. An earthen elevation (the so-called *tochok*, or platform) was erected, on which a large pile of kindling and wood was placed and nailed together with iron nails. The body of the deceased was put on the pile of wood and next to him were placed his weapons, various objects, coins, grain, and livestock. At some distance from this corpse, the corpse of a woman was placed. After everything was burned, the site was covered with earth.⁸⁸

These were burials of the wealthy, the aristocracy—mostly the Varangians who had come to Rus'. But the funerals of ordinary local people, described in an Arabic source, differed only in that they were more modest in scale and splendor. Ibn Rusta and Gardizi related that the Slavs cremated their dead. As a sign of grief, the women slashed their faces and hands with knives. Whenever a wife wished to die with her husband to show her love for him, she was hanged near the body of the deceased and also burned. The day after the cremation, the deceased's relatives and friends returned to the site, gathered the ashes into a special vessel, and placed it on the grave. On the first anniversary of the death, the family gathered at the grave. They brought some twenty containers of mead, feasted and drank at the grave, and then went

86. [Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 100.]

87. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 129.

88. Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' pp. 205–6.

their separate ways. The Primary Chronicle relates similar rituals among the Siverianians, Radimichians, Viaticians, and Krivichians: 'And if someone died, they made a funeral feast over him, and after this they would make a big pile, and they would lay him on the pile. They would burn the dead man and afterwards, gathering the bones, they would put them in a small vessel and place it on a pillar (*na stolpě*).'⁸⁹ Along with more splendidly appointed, aristocratic graves, the Siverianian region does indeed contain more ordinary burials such as these. They are mounds on which stand small vessels containing the cremated remains of the deceased and of small animals, cremated elsewhere and then placed in the vessel. These vessels were then covered with earth.⁹⁰ Similar burials have been found in Volhynia, and they are widespread in the Krivichian and other lands as well.

In the account by Ibn Fadlan cited above, a Rus' man mocks the Arabs for burying their dead in the ground. But the Rus' had a second type of burial, consisting of inhumation, which was also practiced by the Rus' *par excellence*—the Polianians, as well as the Derevlians, Drehovichians, and Siverianians. While admonishing others for practicing the indecent ritual of cremation, the Primary Chronicle fails to mention the existence of the same burial ritual among the Slavs on the right bank of the Dnipro—undoubtedly because the local custom of inhumation was closer to the later Christian form of burial. Studies conducted in recent decades have yielded rather detailed information about these burial customs. There are differences and variations, often within the same region and in burials at the same settlement site. There is even evidence indicating which of the different funerary rituals was more popular in a given region or even at a certain settlement site. In Right-Bank Ukraine, in the basins of the Teteriv, Sluch, and Horyn Rivers, the deceased were most frequently buried in pits, and less frequently laid on the surface of the ground or on a platform. Beyond the Prypiat, however, burials on the surface of the ground predominate.⁹¹ The remains of fire are encountered quite frequently: a fire was set on the site prepared for the burial (perhaps in a ritual cleansing of the grave by fire), and the corpse was placed on the remains of the bonfire or sprinkled with ashes.⁹² Sometimes the grave was sprinkled on the inside with ashes or some other compound (light-colored clay, etc.). The corpse was either laid directly on this compound and surrounded by logs, or a kind of wooden tomb was placed above the body, or the deceased was placed on a wooden platform, or the body was buried in a box. There were different kinds of boxes as well. Some consisted of a hollowed-out (or burned-out) log, or two logs, in which one served as the coffin and the other as the cover. In some instances, logs were hammered together with iron nails to resemble a coffin. And finally, there were boxes made of boards. These boxes gradually began to resemble the later coffins of the Christian era, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish

89. Kotliarevskii, *O pogrebal'nykh obychaiakh* (1891 ed.), pp. 124–26, interpreted this as derived from the Sanskrit *stūp* and read it to mean a hillock or a mound.

90. Samokvasov, 'Severianskie kurgany,' p. 206.

91. Antonovych ('Arkheologicheskaiia karta Volynskoi gubernii') found that of the 282 graves in the Teteriv basin, 164 were burials in pits, 70 were of the type in which the corpse had been laid on the surface of the ground, and in 88 the deceased had been laid on an earthen platform. Of the 252 graves found by Mel'nik ('Raskopki v zemle luchan') in the basins of the Horyn and Sluch Rivers, 164 were pit burials, 54 were on the surface of the ground, and 33 were on earthen elevations. Beyond the Prypiat, 70 percent of all burials were on the surface of the ground, and the farther away one moves from the Prypiat, the more prevalent that form of burial was. Underground burials predominate in the southern Siverianian region and above-ground burials in the northern parts of this territory.

92. On this ritual and its modern survivals (burning St. John's Eve grass at the funeral, etc.), see Zavitnevich, 'Formy pogrebal'nogo obriada,' p. 128.

between the two. The body was buried fully clothed and various household items were usually placed in the grave with it: knives, tinder irons, flint stones for starting fires, sickles, iron tools, wooden pails, and clay vessels, some holding the remains of food. Generally, the graves did not contain many objects and their furnishings were quite modest. As a rule, each grave contained only one body. The deceased's face was customarily turned toward the sun, his head toward the west. A small mound was raised above the body, no more than 1.5 to 2 meters in height.⁹³ Layers of ashes—the remains of fire—are often found in the mounds, and there is usually evidence that the mound was not built immediately after the burial, but in several stages, over a period of years. Most likely, funeral feasts in honor of the deceased were combined with the addition of more earth to the mound over the grave.

Ibn Rusta and other authors provide an interesting account. As we have seen, they reported that the 'Slavs' cremated their dead, while the Rus' buried theirs in the ground: 'When an important man dies, they build a tomb for him in the form of a house. They lay him inside and place next to him the clothing and the gold bracelets he wore. They also place there an abundance of food, vessels with drink, and coins. Finally, they place the deceased's favorite wife alive with him in the tomb. They then seal the entrance to the tomb, and the wife dies inside.'⁹⁴ It should be noted, however, that this narrative is somewhat suspect because of its similarity to al-Mas'udi's description of the burial rites of the Volga Bulgars. The Primary Chronicle speaks only of the pagan custom of raising a mound above the deceased and provides details about the funeral feast. Olha announced that she would hold a funeral feast on her husband's grave. 'When [the Derevlians] heard that, they brought together a very great quantity of mead.' Olha lamented for her husband and ordered a big mound to be built, and as soon as it had been built, 'she ordered the funeral feast to be held.' The Derevlians then sat down to drink until they became drunk.⁹⁵ This account closely resembles Ibn Rusta's description of the anniversary that was commemorated at the grave, at which food and drink were consumed. In the first layer of earth covering the cremated corpses in the Chernihiv graves, archaeologists found vessels containing the burned remains of rams, which had probably been sacrificed, as well as various weapons. These may have been the remains of the funeral feast at the grave, which were later covered with a fresh layer of earth.

But the funeral feast did not consist merely of holding a banquet at the grave. The word *tryzna* (*trizna*) means struggle or battle, and we can assume that some sort of tournaments and games were held in honor of the deceased—at least, when wealthier men were buried. The custom of holding a warlike ritual over the body or grave of the deceased is known to have existed among various peoples. The custom's original purpose was to frighten off unfriendly spirits and keep them away from the deceased, but this ritual gradually evolved into various military games held in the deceased's honor. It is these games that were called a *tryzna*. They were held before the burial, shortly after the death: 'And if someone died, they held a *tryzna* over him,' and then they burned the body. That is how the Primary Chronicle describes the pagan customs of the Siverianians and other tribes.⁹⁶ It was only later that the term *tryzna* was applied to the funeral feast that followed the burial.

93. The low mounds and rather scant inventory of these graves distinguish them from the barrows of the so-called Scythian period.

94. Ibn Rusta in Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, pp. 40, 127.

95. *Hyp.*, p. 36.

96. *Hyp.*, p. 7.

Since a person did not cease to exist when he died, the dead (*nav'je*) could come back to earth and appear among the living. In the second half of the eleventh century a rumor spread throughout Rus' that the dead, invisible to the living, were appearing in Polatsk at night. They could only be heard, and the imprints of horses' hooves could be seen. Those who left their houses wanting to see the ghosts perished.⁹⁷ Food for the deceased was left at the graves and in homes as part of the ritual commemorating the dead. There were two views regarding where the soul of the deceased went after death, as there were among other Slavic tribes and among other peoples. On the one hand, all Slavs shared the belief that their dead ancestors remained in the place where they had lived, transformed into house spirits. On the other hand, they believed that the soul lived in another world, in paradise. As noted above, Ibn Fadlan described the Rus' belief that the dead passed on to 'a beautiful green garden.' The term *rai* 'paradise' is of Proto-Slavic origin (the terms *yrii*, *vyrii*, denoting a land of warmth and sunshine to which birds migrate in winter, are regarded as related words), and it means a wonderful, happy place with beautiful vegetation.⁹⁸ But we do not know whether the term *rai* was used in pre-Christian times to designate the place where the dead lived. This specialized usage seems to be contradicted by the fact that the term continued to be used even later, after the adoption of Christianity, to mean any beautiful and happy place, and that princes applied the term *rai* to the residences they built for themselves outside the town.⁹⁹ This suggests that the term retained its meaning of a beautiful natural site, with glades and orchards, a place of relaxation. It is unlikely that it would have been used to designate such beautiful sites for the living if its technical meaning had been a place where the dead lived—especially because it did not connote the kind of blissful existence that the concept of Christian paradise does.

The concept of a blissful life after death emerged only with Christianity. We find no traces of the notion of a moral reward after death or of a distinction between the fate of the good and the fate of the evil in the Slavic worldview. The Slavs viewed life after death as a continuation of life on earth. As indicated above, in pagan belief those who ruled in this life would rule in the afterlife, and those who were slaves while alive would remain slaves after death. The concept of a reward or punishment after death was ushered in by Christianity. Although the term *peklo* 'hell' (from *pekti* 'to burn, bake'—a fiery place) is Proto-Slavic, it unquestionably took on its later meaning under the influence of Christianity.¹⁰⁰

Information about the cult of clan ancestors is very scanty. That cult paled and weakened in the face of the worship of natural celestial phenomena. In fact, there are only two indications of an ancestor cult to which we can point: first, the funeral feast that was held at a certain time following death and the posthumous commemorations of the deceased in general, and, second, the cult of home spirits. We shall discuss the commemoration of the deceased in greater detail below. With respect to the cult of home spirits, we must rely on the evidence found in modern ethnography. The cult of clan ancestors is reflected solely in the ancient worship of *Rod* and *Rozhanytsia*.¹⁰¹ There are only weak traces of the worship of clan ancestors in ethnographic

97. *Hyp.*, p. 150.

98. Berynda, *Leksikon" slavenorosskii*, still defined it so: *cvětnikъ ili sadъ* 'flower garden or orchard.'

99. *Hyp.*, pp. 336, 593 (cf. p. 549). We should also keep in mind the many places called *Raihorodok* ['Paradise garden'] and *Horodok* ['garden'] on our territory. [These terms may also mean 'Paradise burg' or 'burg.'—Eds.]

100. Miklosich, *Die christliche Terminologie*, p. 49; Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 422; Kotliarevskii, *O pogrebal'nykh obychaiakh* (1891 ed.), p. 204.

101. See Afanas'ev, *Poëticheskie vozzreniia slavian*, 2: 67ff. Máchal, *Bájeslovi slovanské*, chap. 6; A. Veselovskii,

materials. These traces are much weaker than among the neighboring Belarusians, where the spirits of the forefathers (*dziady*) have retained their direct link with the idea of the clan and are a distinct object of worship.¹⁰² However, we have very little ethnographic material from Ukrainian Polisia, the region that has undergone the fewest changes. It may yet offer us somewhat more colorful evidence of this cult. Old records from the Pynsk region contain a very interesting description of a feast for spirits held in a house with opened windows to allow the spirits to enter without anything barring their way.¹⁰³ Unfortunately, there is no confirmation of this in greater detail in later records.

In other parts of Ukraine the demons (*did'ky*) lost their association with the clan and merged with various local spirits. House demons, who once represented the spirits of clan ancestors, were reduced to the same rank as the demons inhabiting mills, rivers, marshes, and the like. They became more capricious, more evil, identical to the *bisy* and devils, and no longer the benevolent protector spirits of earlier times. (A similar evolution can be seen among other peoples as well. Apart from the role played in this by Christianity, which reduced all such beliefs to the common denominator of demon worship, this evolution resulted from the universal sense of suspicion and fear that the dead evoked in ancient man.) Thus, the worship of ancestors was generally confined to the ritualistic placing of food on the graves of the deceased on special days, formerly associated with pagan festivals and now associated with Christian holy days.

* * *

Like the religious beliefs of the age following the dispersion of the Slavs, the festivals of the East Slavs were associated with natural phenomena and were linked with the changing seasons and the annual revival and decline of vegetation. However, here, too, there is evidence of the beginnings of a personification of such phenomena and even an attempt to anthropomorphize them. Although many aspects of this personification evolved later, over a period of a thousand years, the beginnings of the process can unquestionably be traced to the pre-Christian era. We shall discuss some of the more important festivals, leaving aside materials that are unclear or unreliable and relying mainly on modern ethnography (inasmuch as we have only late and very meager literary accounts, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).

After the shortest day of the year, called *Korochun*, the winter cycle brought with it the celebration of the new astronomical solar year. This merged with the Christian Christmas, which was deliberately set (in the ancient world) during this time in order to Christianize the pagan festival celebrating the newly reborn sun. The name *Korochun* was thus transferred to Christmas.¹⁰⁴ Under the influence of Greco-Roman culture and its celebrations of the beginning of the new year, the ancient pagan festival and all the rituals associated with it came to be called the *koliada* (from the Roman *calendae*).¹⁰⁵ Many traces of these rituals are found

'Razyskaniia v oblasti russkogo dukhovnogo stikha,' pp. 173–240.

102. Shein, 'Materialy dlia izucheniia.' The classic ritual of feeding the soul was recorded somewhere on the Belarusian-Ukrainian borderland with Lithuania by Menecius, *De sacrificiis*, p. 391. The ritual phrases cited in this work clearly indicate that this was a Slavic population. Cf. Kotliarevskii, *O pogrebal'nykh obychaiakh*, p. 149.

103. Zienkiewicz, *O uroczyskach*, p. 31.

104. *Novg. I*, p. 134.

105. For parallels between the Slavic *koliada* [*kolęda*] and the Roman festivals of *brumalia*—*saturnalia*—*calendae*, see Tomaschek, 'Über Brumalia und Rosalia'; A. Veselovskii, 'Razyskaniia v oblasti russkogo dukhovnogo stikha,' essay 7.

in the modern celebrations of Christmas, the New Year, and the feast of the Epiphany. These vestiges clearly point to the agricultural nature of the festivities: supper amidst wheat sheaves and a large assortment of breads, the custom of wishing others well and foretelling a good harvest and an increase in livestock for the coming year, inviting the Frost to share in the dish of wheat and honey (*kutia*)—all these rituals are directly related to the agricultural work cycle.

The coming of spring is greeted with songs welcoming spring (*vesnianky*) and spring games, which continue until Pentecost, or the 'Green Festival' (*Zeleni sviata*), as it is called in Ukrainian. Several pagan festivals merged in these holidays. The first was the celebration of the blossoming of nature when spring meets summer. In some places, spring was personified as a young girl (*topolia* 'poplar'). The second was the week of the water nymphs (*rusalky*), of which there is frequent mention in the Kyiv Chronicle. During that week, the water nymphs emerged from the water and danced on the river banks. This festival of the water nymphs was combined with a ritual commemoration of the dead: the Thursday after Pentecost was simultaneously the 'Easter' of the Dead Ancestors (*navii*, or *mavky*) and of the Water Nymphs (*rusalky*). However, the day of the dead ancestors (*navs'kyi den'*) is dated variously: in addition to the Thursday after Pentecost (Green Thursday), it also falls on the first Monday of Lent or on 'Right Wednesday' (Mid-Pentecost).¹⁰⁶ What we probably have here is the echo of several feasts commemorating the dead and clan ancestors.

The summer season, the greatest flowering of nature and also the harbinger of its decay and death, is celebrated on the festival of Kupalo (*Kupailo*), which is associated with the Christian feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24, Old Style) and is personified in the couple of Kupalo and Marena. This is a night full of wonders, when the mysteries of nature are revealed to man, when the mythical fern blooms, when people hear the language of the beasts and can see hidden treasures. The Hustynia Chronicle of the seventeenth century provides us with a description of the Kupailo ritual: 'Ordinary young people of both sexes gather in the evening and plait wreaths from edible plants or roots; girded with the stalk of a plant, they make a fire, and elsewhere they place a green branch and, clasping their hands around the fire, they circle it, singing their songs and interspersing them with "Kupalo!" Then they jump over the fire, sacrificing themselves to that demon [Kupalo].'¹⁰⁷ Most of these rituals remain to this day.

The death of summer life is also personified in the image of Kostrub, who is buried during the summer seasonal cycle.¹⁰⁸

* * *

106. See references to the 'Week of the Water Nymphs' (*rusal'na nedilia*) in *Hyp.*, pp. 386, 458, 603. The origins of this festival are very difficult to establish because it contains elements of the Latin *rosalia*, which also merges the celebration of spring with the commemoration of the dead. For literature on the water nymphs, see above, p. 246, fn. 61.

107. *Hustynia Chronicle* in *PSRL*, 2: 257.

108. The more important works on folk festivals include: Snegirev, *Russkie prostonarodnye prazdniki*; Maksimovich, 'Dni i mesiatsy'; Hanuš, *Bajeslovný kalendář slovanský*; Afanas'ev, *Poëticheskie vozzreniia slavian*, vol. 3, chap. 28; N. Markevich, *Obychai, pover'ia, kukhnia*; Hal'ko, *Narodnyi zvychai i obriady*; Máchal, *Bájesloví slovanské*, chap. 14; Vladimirov, *Vvedenie v istoriiu russkoi slovesnosti*; M. K., *O religii pogařskich Słowian*; M. Zubryts'kyi, 'Narodnii kaliendar'; Dykarev, 'Narodnii kalendar.' On the folk calendars of other peoples, see 'Narodni kalendari,' *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniia, nauka i knizhnina* (Sofia), vols. 16–17; Gloger, *Rok polski*; Korinfskii, *Narodnaia Rus'*.

Just as funeral rituals are closely linked with religious beliefs, so wedding rites lead us into the sphere of family and social relations.

The classic passage in the Primary Chronicle contains the following description of marriage among the Rus' Slavs:¹⁰⁹

For the Polianians had¹¹⁰ their fathers' gentle and peaceful customs, and respect for their daughters-in-law, sisters and mothers;¹¹¹ and the daughters-in-law had great respect for their fathers-in-law and brothers-in-law. And they had a wedding custom: the groom¹¹² did not go to fetch the bride, but they brought¹¹³ her in the evening and the next morning they brought what they were giving for her. And the Derevlians lived in the manner of wild beasts. Living like beasts, they killed one another, ate everything unclean, and they had no weddings,¹¹⁴ but used to abduct maidens near the water. And the Radimichians and the Viatichians and the Siverianians had the same customs: they lived in the forest like any beasts, eating everything unclean, and speaking shamefully before their fathers and their daughters-in-law. And they did not have marriages among them, but festivals between villages. They would gather for festival games for dancing and all sorts of demonic songs, and there they would carry off women for themselves, with whomever anyone made an agreement. And they had two and three wives each.

Influenced by theories of primitive forms of social relations, some scholars interpreted this account as evidence that at the beginning of the historical era, relationships between men and women among the Rus' Slavs were unregulated—that they consisted of promiscuity and the abduction of women. But the passage cannot be interpreted in this way. The only custom that the chronicler, a monk, recognized as constituting marriage was the one in which the bride's relatives gave her away to the bridegroom-to-be. From that standpoint, he praised his native Polianian custom while denying that the Derevlian and Siverian practice of abduction was also a kind of marriage rite. Yet it is clear from his own account that the practice was the manner in which these men took wives, and that therefore marriage did exist among these tribes. The lack of 'shame' is exhibited solely in 'speaking shamefully,' and the worst thing that the chronicler attributes to the Siverianians and others is that they each had several wives—not that they had unregulated marital relations. To be sure, some scholars also cite the variant of the Primary Chronicle contained in the Chronicle of Pereiaslavl-Suzdalskii, which states that relations at the 'games' did not lead to lasting marriages: 'They took some, and abandoned others after disgracing them.' But the variants in this chronicle clearly exhibit signs of being later moralistic interpolations—the reflections of an ascetic—and therefore do not carry enough weight to contradict or supplement the account in the Primary Chronicle.¹¹⁵ The close bond

109. I quote the passage from *Hyp.*, p. 7, and provide variants found in the Laurentian Chronicle (*Lavr.*, pp. 12–13) and other manuscripts in the footnotes.

110. 'have'

111. 'and their parents'

112. 'son-in-law'

113. 'would bring'

114. 'marriage'

115. The Primary Chronicle contrasts the moral customs of the Polianians with the 'bestial' life of other tribes. The later author of the Chronicle of Pereiaslavl-Suzdalskii, who either failed to understand or deliberately distorted the facts to reflect his own bias, paints a different picture. In ancient times, the Slavic tribes led a moral life (a morality illustrated by the Primary Chronicle's account of the Polianians), but later the 'Latins' (signifying either the Catholics or western Europeans), having adopted immoral customs 'from the bad Romans, and not from the heroes,' transmitted them to the

between husband and wife, and their sense of responsibility and devotion to each other even after death, which are confirmed by various sources (the mandatory death of the wife at the grave of her husband, punishment for adultery, etc.), exclude the possibility of practices such as promiscuity, hetaerism, and so forth during this period. The account in the Primary Chronicle makes it quite clear that the abduction of women, where it was still practiced, was by then only a symbolic ritual: 'They would carry off women for themselves, with whomever anyone made an agreement.' Thus the girl gave her consent and only afterwards was the abduction (*umychka*) enacted—the South Slavs (among whom the custom survived in some regions until the nineteenth century) know this as the *otmica*. The modern Ukrainian wedding ritual retains only weak echoes of this: in the custom of the bride's clan 'defending' her from the clan of the groom, and in references in wedding songs to armed 'fights' between the two clans and to the mother and the bride's clan giving chase after the bride has been abducted by the groom's attendants. For example:

We will beat and fight, and not allow Mariiechka ['little Maria,' i.e., the bride] to be taken,

or:

Hold on to the table, Marysunia [a diminutive of Maria], hold on to the table,
the groomsmen have surrounded the house—
their horses are prancing, they're hacking the homestead,
they're waving their sabers, looking for Marysunia, etc.¹¹⁶

This ritual appears in much more realistic form in the Primary Chronicle's account of abductions in the eleventh century. But even then this was no more than a ritual. The context in which it is described (the festivals between villages, for which neighboring clans gathered) indicates that the abduction was no longer real, but had become part of certain games and religious ceremonies (similar to the Kupalo rites). This means that by then the rite had been evolving for many centuries.¹¹⁷

The practice of a husband buying himself a wife also survived only as an echo of the past. The term *vin* (*věno*) 'dowry' actually means 'price.' Initially, it was the payment that the bridegroom made for a wife to her clan, the price at which he literally purchased for himself

Slavs as well: 'And the Slavs turned away from them but some [of the Slavs] adhered to them somewhat' (*Letopisets Pereiaslavlia-Suzdal'skogo*, p. 3). There follows a description of the immoral customs in question, ranging from admonitions against various games to condemnation of the use of cosmetics ('the women began to rouge their faces before one another and to rub them with white stuff'). Taken as a whole, these moralistic attacks give the impression of being relatively late additions, reinforced by a monk's imagined horrors of worldly life.

116. Hal'ko, *Narodnyi zvychai i obriady*, supp. 61; Navrots'kyi, *Tvory*, 1: 46.

117. Kovalevskii tried to differentiate in the Primary Chronicle's account between the Siverianians, Radimichians, and Viatichians, among whom the abduction had become a mere ritual, and the Derevlianians, who allegedly practiced abduction quite seriously. But the differentiation is not possible. Such a great cultural difference between such closely related tribes as the Derevlianians and Siverianians, who only some four centuries earlier emerged from a common ancestral home, is, a priori, unlikely. A more careful analysis of the Chronicle passage reveals that its author does not draw such a distinction between these tribes. His statements about the Siverianians and others merely elaborate further on his short description of the Derevlianians. He writes 'odinъ obyčaj imjaxu,' which means 'they had the same customs' (as the Derevlianians). The only contrast the chronicler underscores is between the 'peaceful custom' of the Polianians and the fact that their neighbors 'lived in the manner of wild beasts.'

and his clan a wife and her issue from her clan. However, by the time of the period under consideration here, this outright payment had already been transformed among the East Slavs into the wedding gift given to the bride's family after the marriage had taken place. Thus, after his marriage to Anna, Volodymyr gave 'Cherson back to the Greeks as a bride-gift for the empress.' Upon giving his sister in marriage to the Polish prince Kazimierz, Iaroslav received from him eight hundred slaves as a bride-gift. Ibrahim b. Ya'qub (tenth century) also wrote that among the Slavs, the bridegroom gave the father of the bride a large gift.¹¹⁸

Today's marriage ritual retains a clear recollection of the sale of a wife by her clan. The bridegroom's family bargains for the bride with her mother and brother and buys her for money and gifts:

It is dark in the field and darker still in the courtyard,
where the groomsmen are holding the gates.
Come out, mother, and ask; if they're bargaining, sell—
ask for little black boots....

About the brother it is said:

Little brother, my little deputy, sit on the little stool,
ask for a gold piece from the groom,

or:

Whoever jingles a gold piece will take the maiden...

and the well-known song:

Like a Tatar, the brother, like a Tatar,
sold his sister for a taler,
her blond braid for a fiver,
her white face for naught.¹¹⁹

But this is the memory of a practice that dates back much earlier than the eleventh century. In the passage about the Polianians in the Primary Chronicle, we probably see the beginnings of the dowry. In all likelihood, that is how we should understand the phrase: 'they brought what they were giving for her.'¹²⁰ The dowry was a relatively late phenomenon, and a very important one for the wife's status in her husband's family.

Abducting and buying wives were the principal forms of marriage among the Indo-Europeans in general, and these forms were retained to a greater or lesser degree among various peoples in historical times, our ancestors among them (moreover, these forms were not exclusive to the

118. *Hyp.*, pp. 80, 108; Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 51.

119. Rokossowska, 'Wesele i pieśni,' p. 158; Roszkiewicz and I. Franko, 'Obrzędy i pieśni weselne,' p. 29; Golovatskii, *Narodnye pesni*, 2: 109.

120. This is frequently interpreted to mean bride-gift, payment for a wife. But the words 'for her' (*po nei*) suggest a dowry. [In this case, Hrushevsky cites from the Laurentian version rather than the Hypatian, which has *na nei*, the variant he uses in an earlier citation of this text. If the 'they' is understood as the bride's side, the contention that a dowry is meant is strengthened.—Eds.]

Indo-Europeans, but widely known throughout the world).¹²¹ The fact that by the beginning of the historical era we see these forms among the Ukrainian tribes as no more than ritualistic survivals indicates that among them marriage and family life were highly developed institutions. This is borne out by historical and linguistic evidence. An already evolved patriarchal family order and patriarchal clan relationships are evident as early as the Proto-Slavic period, well before the beginning of the historical life of the Ukrainian tribes. Linguistic evidence indicates that the patriarchal system was fully established even before the division of the Indo-European tribes. If we assume that the Indo-European tribes had in fact passed through such forms of marriage and family life as promiscuity and hetaerism, fraternal polyandry, and a matriarchal order, as one school of sociologists believes, we must also accept that these forms disappeared among the ancestors of the Indo-European tribes at some earlier stage, before their division, because the linguistic data indicates that the patriarchal order clearly prevailed in the period immediately prior to this division.

But it is not at all certain that the Indo-European tribes passed through such forms of marriage as hetaerism, fraternal polyandry, or matriarchy. The widely accepted theory of marriage advanced by the aforementioned group (Bachofen, L. Morgan, McLennan, and others) holds that patriarchal, monogamous unions between husband and wife are the final product of a long evolution of marriage that originated in unregulated, promiscuous relations between men and women and passed through hetaerism, polyandry of the fraternal type and other forms of polyandry characterized by a matriarchal order, and only then reached patriarchal forms.¹²² But this scheme is hypothetical and cannot be accepted as universal. In other words, we can speak of polyandry and matriarchal forms of family life only among those tribes or races where distinct evidence of such practices exists, because the evolution of marital and family relations did not necessarily have to pass through every one of these stages among all tribes.¹²³

So far, we lack unequivocal evidence of the existence of such forms among the Ukrainian tribes and the Slavic tribes in general. The traces and survivals of them that modern ethnology cites as proof of the existence of polyandric and matriarchal forms of marriage among these tribes are generally very unreliable. We need to keep in mind that marital relations are subject to the influence of various economic, cultural, and religious factors. These relations may move a step forward or a step backward, but the various manifestations of a weakening of the marriage union and of morality cannot be pronounced without further ceremony to be the survivals of an initial promiscuity. Thus, for example, it is quite risky to interpret the weakness of marital ties among the Cossacks as vestiges of an initial promiscuity, or the marten furs paid to the landowner for permission to marry as the right that the elder had to all the women in the clan, or the Russian custom of the father-in-law's intercourse with his daughter-in-law

121. See parallels to various countries and races in Westermarck, *Geschichte der menschlichen Ehe*, chap. 17; Hildebrand, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 9ff.; Derzhavin, 'Obychai "umykaniia" nevest.' On the forms of abduction and buying among the Indo-Europeans, see Schrader, *Realexikon*, s.v. 'Brautkauf,' pp. 109–11, and 'Raubehe,' pp. 652–53.

122. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*; idem, *Antiquarische Briefe*; L. Morgan, *Ancient Society*; McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*; Giraud-Teulon, *Les origines du mariage*; and others. These views were popularized in Ukrainian scholarship by Engels's book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, published in Ukrainian translation as *Pochatok rodyny, pryvatnoi vlasnosti i derzhavy*.

123. See criticism of this scheme in: Starcke, *Die primitive Familie*; Westermarck, *Geschichte der menschlichen Ehe*; Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie*. On the Indo-Europeans in particular, see Delbrück, *Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*; idem, 'Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen'; Schrader, 'Über Bezeichnungen der Heiratverwandtschaft'; idem, *Realexikon*, s.v. 'Polyandrie,' p. 634, and 'Mutterrecht,' pp. 564–66.

(*snokhachestvo*) as the survivals of this right. What if we did not know that the weakening of marital ties among certain Russian sectarians was the result of a later religious doctrine,¹²⁴ or, for example, that marriage by purchase of a wife among the Ukrainian settlers of Tavriia was a modern practice that evolved under Tatar influence, and we thought that these practices were survivals of earlier forms of marriage?

Among the various surviving elements that we have discussed, traces of earlier forms of marital and family relations are strongest in the Ukrainian wedding ritual. But these, too, should be approached *cum grano salis*. The wedding ceremony is not a rigid set of ritualistic forms passed down to us in its original form, but rather a poetic adaptation, an amalgam of various rituals, loosely supplemented by various details from daily life that have no bearing whatsoever on the marriage ritual—for example, the transposition of the marriage ceremony into a princely court setting, in which the bride and groom are referred to as the prince (*kniiaz*) and princess (*kniiahynia*), the groom's attendants as boyars (*boiary*), his retinue (*druzhyina*), etc.¹²⁵ Therefore, when some see vestiges of ancient hetaerism (group marriage) in the custom of the visit made by the bride's relatives to the house of the groom the morning after the wedding night (*perezva*—from *perezvaty*, literally 'to invite someone to come and live with one'), an echo of 'fratrogamy' (polyandry of the fraternal type) in the ceremony of feasting the bride's relatives at the home of the groom (*chastuvannia*), and a reflection of matriarchal relations in the important role of the bride's mother and brother (and not the father) in the opening ceremonies of the wedding ritual,¹²⁶ these interpretations must remain no more than interesting hypotheses until they can be confirmed by other facts and indications (as are the practices of abduction and purchase, clan relations, etc.).¹²⁷ In any event, even if we admit the existence of traces of such early forms of marriage, we must regard them as dating back much further than the Proto-Slavic period, and even further than the age of Indo-European dispersion.¹²⁸

124. Allow me to cite, for example, the weakened marital ties among the priestless Old Believers (*bezpopovtsy*), the custom of calling wives 'sisters' among some mystical sects, the promotion of hetaerism in order to weaken the institution of marriage, and the formal sexual orgies that some of these practices involve. What would we conclude from these customs if we did not know their origins and viewed them as survivals of earlier forms?

125. In addition to the general works listed above, see: Sumtsov, *O svadebnykh obriadakh*; idem, 'Religiozno-mificheskoe znachenie'; idem, 'K voprosu o vliianii'; Iashchurzhinskii, 'Svad'ba malorusskaia'; 'Svadebnyi obriad v Ugorskoj Rusi.' Material on Bukovynian weddings appears in Kaindl, 'Ruthenische Hochzeitsgebräuche.' Information on wedding rituals in Left-Bank Ukraine is given in: Hrysha, 'Vesillia u Hadiats'komu poviti'; Maksymovych, 'Soromits'ki vesil'ni pisni'; Litvinova-Bartosh, 'Vesil'ni obriady i zvychai.' On Galician wedding rituals, see: Kmit, 'Boikivs'ke vesilie'; Kuzelia, 'Boikivs'ke vesilie'; Levyns'kyi, 'Boikivs'ke vesilie'; Hnatiuk, 'Boikivs'ke vesilie.' Sources on the marriage ritual among Indo-European tribes appear in Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 3d ed., 2: 333.

126. See, especially: Okhrimovich, 'Znachenie malorusskikh svadebnykh obriadov'; Volkov, 'Rites et usages,' and 'Svadbarskite obredi.'

127. We can also distinguish with a considerable degree of probability certain other elements of the ancient marriage ritual in the modern Ukrainian wedding ceremony, as well as in that of other Slavs. These include the ritual leading of the bride from her home to the home of the bridegroom, the bride's farewell to her home and the house spirits inhabiting it and the offerings she makes to the spirits of the bridegroom's clan upon entering her new home, the ritual bread (*korovai*), the ritual tree (branch), and others.

128. If such were the case, traces of these early forms of marriage would have had to survive for several millennia in the wedding ritual—and well they might have. We see that the rituals of purchase and abduction, which were already only *rituals*—that is, vestiges of the past—a thousand years ago, have survived quite intact in the wedding rite to our own time, despite the accelerated pace of cultural evolution. Therefore, it is possible that echoes of forms from the pre-Indo-European age could also have survived.

* * *

As I have already stated, linguistic evidence clearly indicates the existence of patriarchal relations during the period preceding the division of the Indo-European tribes: the primacy of the father in the family and the greater importance of his clan compared to the clan of the mother.¹²⁹

There are several terms for 'father': Sanskrit *pitár-*, which has no corresponding Slavic form; Sanskrit *tatá-*, the Ukrainian *tato*, also the Greek *ἄττα*, Latin and Gothic *atta*, and Old Slavic *otъcъ*. The term for 'mother' is *mātar-* in Sanskrit, *mati* in Old Slavic, *mamma* in Latin, and *mama* in Ukrainian. The terms for 'son' (*syn*) are Sanskrit *sūnú-* and Old Slavic *synъ*; for 'daughter' (*dochka*), Sanskrit *duhitár-* and Old Slavic *dъšti*; for 'brother' (*brat*), Sanskrit *bhrátar-* and Old Slavic *bratъ*; for 'sister' (*sestra*), Sanskrit *svásar-* and Old Slavic *sestra*; for 'uncle, father's brother' (*stryi*), Sanskrit *pítŕvya-* and Old Iranian *tūrya*.¹³⁰ All these terms clearly belong to the common Indo-European linguistic stock.

There also exists a group of terms that define the wife's relationship to the members of her husband's family: for 'father-in-law' (husband's father; *svekor*) and 'mother-in-law' (husband's mother; *svekrukha*): Sanskrit *śvāsura-* and *śvaśrū-*, Greek *ἐκυρός* and *ἐκυρά*, Old Slavic **svekrъ* and *svekry*; for 'brother-in-law' (husband's brother; *diver*): Sanskrit *dēvár-*, Old Slavic **děverъ*; for 'sister-in-law' (husband's sister; *zovytsia*) there are parallels in European languages: Greek *γάλως*, Common Slavic **zъlъva*; for the 'wife of the husband's brother' (*iatrivka*): Sanskrit *yātar-*, Old Slavic **jetry*; for the 'daughter-in-law' (*nevistka*): Sanskrit *snuṣā*, Old Slavic and Old Rus' *snъxa*.

The terms for relatives on the wife's side are much less clearly defined in the Proto-Indo-European language fund, as are the terms for relatives on the mother's side.¹³¹ This fact is important because it clearly indicates that when a woman entered her husband's clan, she either broke off ties with her own clan completely, or, at best, these ties were significantly weakened. Kinship was recognized primarily within the father's clan; the mother's clan remained further removed. This confirms quite unambiguously the existence of a patriarchal order.

Later, partly in the sphere of the European group and partly in the Balto-Slavic group, some of the ancient general denotations of kinship were applied specifically to certain maternal relatives, such as the mother's brother, *uj* (Latin *avus* and *avunculus*), *netij* ('sister's son,' Sanskrit *nápat*, which means any descendant, son or grandson, just as the East Slavic *plemennik* 'nephew' came to mean the son of a brother or sister), and so forth. The phenomenon is interesting because it also indicates that the acknowledgement of such relationships emerged at a later stage (or, if we accept the existence of a matriarchal stage, it signifies a return to earlier traditions).

Also interesting is the ancient Sanskrit term for 'husband,' *pāti-*, meaning both husband and lord, Greek *πόσις*, Lithuanian *pàts*; and for 'wife,' Sanskrit *gnā-*, Greek *γυνή*, Old Slavic *žena*

129. See Delbrück, *Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*; Schrader, *Reallexikon*, s.v. 'Ehe,' pp. 154–56, 'Heirat,' pp. 353–62, and 'Familie,' pp. 213–28.

130. On this series, see Mikkola, 'Zur slavischen Etymologie,' p. 124.

131. Schrader ('Über Bezeichnungen der Heiratsverwandtschaft') goes even further than Delbrück in trying to prove that these terms do not exist in Indo-European at all. That view has been opposed by Hirt ('Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde'), who argues that the Ukrainian terms for 'mother's brother' (*vui*), 'son-in-law' (*ziat'*), 'brother-in-law' (*shvager*), and others also belong to the Indo-European stock.

from *gen—‘clan’ and ‘to give birth.’¹³² There was no general term for ‘parents,’ just as there is no such term in our language today (*bat’ko-matir* [father-mother]). This, too, reflects the real status of the relationship: in ancient marriage, the husband and wife were not equal—the husband was the master of the family, while the wife’s primary purpose was to reproduce and ensure the continuation of the clan.

The Old Slavic term for ‘marriage,’ *vesti* [literally, ‘to lead’] (*vodimaja*—a married woman), also dates back to the Proto-Indo-European era. It assumed different meanings associated with marriage in the various Indo-European languages: Sanskrit *vadhū-* (bride), Greek *ēdov* (wedding gift), Lithuanian *vedú* (‘to marry’ and ‘to buy’).^{*} This term may be associated with the ceremony of leading the wife from her father’s clan to her husband’s clan. The expression ‘to lead a wife’ has survived in many languages to denote marriage (the same meaning is contained in another Old Slavic term, **segati* ‘to lead,’ from which we also derive Ukrainian *posah* ‘dowry’).^{**} Earlier still it simply meant leading a woman away from her clan, which also meant separating her from her clan, a practice that is reflected in the linguistic examples we have cited and in the ritual of leading her into the house and clan of her husband. This custom has survived in many forms among the different Slavic tribes. At the same time, however, the term assumed another characteristic meaning, ‘to buy (a wife),’ which is documented quite clearly in various languages, as in the Lithuanian *vedú*, cited above, Old Slavic *věno* ‘dowry,’ *věniti* ‘to buy,’^{***} Old English *weotuma* ‘bride-price,’ etc.

The complete supremacy of the male and husband indicated by such expressions is confirmed by other evidence. We find this supremacy throughout the earliest historical records of the Indo-European tribes—often in very marked form. Among the Slavic tribes in general, and the Ukrainian ones in particular, the husband always ranked first in the earliest literary and legal documents. Although Christianity did not introduce the notion of the man’s supremacy, it reinforced it. Everything we have already said and everything we are about to say on this subject leaves absolutely no doubt that the coming of Christianity encountered a strong patriarchal family order on our territory and not a social system based on promiscuity. If anything, Christianity weakened rather than strengthened the absolute power the husband had over his wife and children in pagan times. The wedding ritual of the wife removing the shoes of her husband, documented in our earliest Chronicle, clearly indicates that she was regarded as her husband’s servant.¹³³ The custom that permitted the wife to be killed upon her husband’s death is evidence that she was viewed as her husband’s property, part of his inventory of possessions. This same notion lies at the heart of the polygamy that was widely practiced among the Ukrainian tribes during the pagan era, and the fact that there was absolutely no polyandry. It is also reflected in the high moral standards set for the wife, while showing great tolerance for the husband’s conduct or even allowing him complete freedom to do as he pleased, and so forth.

Initially, a wife who had been bought from her clan or abducted by force was as much her husband’s property as any of his other possessions. If he wanted to have more wives and could

132. This closeness between the terms for ‘wife’ and ‘clan’ is viewed by some as an indication of the existence of a matriarchy.

* [The meaning ‘to buy (from captivity)’ exists in the derivative *vaduoti*.—Eds.]

** [*Segati* means ‘to reach’; *posah* comes from **posagati* ‘to marry.’—Eds.]

*** [Actually, ‘to sell.’—Eds.]

133. *Hyp.*, p. 50.

afford to buy and support them, there was nothing to stop him. This resulted in unrestricted polygamy, but, on the other hand, it also meant that the practice was confined to the wealthy and prominent, while the population at large practiced monogamy from times immemorial. Such was the case under the patriarchal system in general, and such was the case among our ancestors. The Primary Chronicle criticizes the Siverianians, Radimichians, and Viatichians for having two or three wives, but that was also the practice among the Polianians. The history of the Rus' princely dynasty contains unambiguous examples of it. Iaropolk was married to a Greek, but wooed Rohnid. Volodymyr had five official wives (*vodimyja*) and numerous concubines. The Arabs, too, wrote of polygamy among the Rus' and the Slavs in general. Ibrahim b. Ya'qub related that the Slavic kings locked up their wives and that one man could have as many as twenty or more.¹³⁴ Under the influence of Christianity only one wife was recognized as the officially wedded spouse, while all others were regarded as secondary (*меньшца*) or concubines (*naložnica*), but even Christianity did not immediately put an end to polygamy or differentiate between children born in wedlock and out of it. As the *Canons* of Metropolitan Ioan indicate, even a hundred years after the adoption of Christianity by Volodymyr, it was not unusual for some 'to have two wives without shame or disgrace.' Sviatopolk did not draw a distinction between his legitimate son Iaroslav and the illegitimate Mstyslav; Iaroslav of Halych made his illegitimate son Oleh his heir, bypassing his legitimate son Volodymyr, and so forth. We learn from the *Canons* of Metropolitan Ioan that there was also divorce: 'he who leaves his spouse and takes another; the same about the women.'¹³⁵

Slavic women were reputed to be very faithful. That is how they were represented by the Byzantines, Germans, and Arabs (Maurice, Boniface,* al-Bakri).¹³⁶ That reputation undoubtedly owed a great deal to the custom of the wife killing herself upon the death of her husband. Nevertheless, the description did reflect reality. Thietmar of Merseburg described the harsh penalties meted out among the West Slavs to an adulteress and her partner. Writing of the East Slavs, Gardizi related that a man guilty of adultery with a married woman was killed 'with no excuses accepted.'¹³⁷ That the wife was executed goes without saying. Our sources do not cite a single incident of a wife's betrayal, and we can accept this as evidence that such occurrences were very rare. Nonetheless, adultery did occur, as attested by the provisions of Volodymyr's *Church Statute*. The fact that a wife was expected to conform to very high standards while the husband had complete freedom to keep concubines should not surprise us. As I have already stated, this double standard was a logical consequence of regarding the wife as her husband's property, which meant that she could not disobey him or leave him, whereas he was his own master.

This view gave rise to the long-lived custom of burning or killing the wife by other means following her husband's death. Because it was believed that a man needed various possessions in the next world, it was the practice to bury his most essential belongings with him, such as

134. *Hyp.*, pp. 50, 53; Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 54. Compare, also, the account of Ibn Rusta ('if the deceased had three wives...'). I leave aside Ibn Fadlan's account (Garkavi, *Skazaniia*, p. 101) about the Rus' king who reigned with his forty concubines, because it is unlikely that the narrative applies to the Rus' (it may apply to the Khazars).

135. Ioan II, *Canons*, § 6 and 21 (*RIB* 6: 4, 10); *Hyp.*, pp. 117, 442.

* [Hrushevsky is referring to the letter of the Apostle of Germany, Boniface (Wýnfreth-Bonifatius), to King Etelbald, ca. 745/746.—Eds.]

136. Maurice, *Strategicon* 11.5 [11.4]; Leo VI the Wise, *Tactica* 13.105; Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 58.

137. Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 123.

weapons and various tools, and to kill his horse. It was thus natural to do the same with his wife. Later, this cruel custom assumed a different meaning: it served as proof of a wife's praiseworthy love for her husband. There were other motivations as well, such as the hard lot of a widow and so on.¹³⁸ The custom existed among various Indo-European peoples and apparently continued among the Slavs throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. Ibn Fadlan witnessed an incident in which one of the female slaves of a Rus' merchant was persuaded to die with her master and was then cremated along with him.¹³⁹ In addition, there are a number of accounts of this custom, beginning with Maurice (sixth century) and ending with many descriptions dating from the tenth century: 'Their women are more honorable than any others in the world. When, for example, their husbands die, many look upon it as their own death and freely smother themselves, not wanting to continue their lives as widows,'¹⁴⁰ wrote Maurice, and his observation was repeated by Leo the Deacon. Boniface (eighth century) and Thietmar (tenth century) wrote the same of the West Slavs, while the ninth-century Arabic sources (Ibn Rusta and Gardizi), as well as al-Mas'udi, wrote this about the East Slavs.¹⁴¹ Surprisingly, although it describes various other dark aspects of heathen life, our Chronicle makes no mention of the custom. Perhaps the Christian ascetic did not deem this form of selflessness on the part of Slavic women as something to be condemned, or perhaps by the eleventh century the custom had become so completely extinct that no memory of it survived.

Al-Mas'udi wrote of the East Slavs and the Rus': 'When a man dies, his wife is cremated with him; when a wife dies, her husband is not cremated; and if a man dies unmarried, he is wed after his death. Wives want to be cremated so that they can enter paradise. This same custom is found among the Indians, but there a wife is cremated only if she herself desires that it be done.' The ritual described by Ibn Fadlan was probably an example of the posthumous marriage referred to by al-Mas'udi. It clearly embodies the same motives as those that had originally led to the practice of killing the wife upon the death of her husband. Inasmuch as a man needed a wife in the next world, an unmarried man had to be provided with a wife, be it even after death, so that he would possess one in the afterlife.¹⁴² The explanation that the wife had to die in order to enter paradise arose either as the result of a misunderstanding or was one of the later justifications for the aforementioned custom.

It would appear from al-Mas'udi's account that it was mandatory for the wife to die. That, however, was hardly the case. Al-Mas'udi himself wrote that wives chose to die of their own free will. Maurice's report suggests that not all wives asked to be killed, and Ibn Rusta described the wife's death as an act of love, clearly something that cannot be forced on anyone. If the deceased had several wives (Ibn Rusta reported that the man in question had three), only one was strangled—the one who claimed to have loved the deceased most.

Thus, over time, this cruel institution, like the entire sphere of marital relations, was invested with noble motives. Based on cruelly pragmatic considerations, these customs were gradually idealized, made to appear noble, endowed with increasingly more sympathetic elements,

138. Caesar went so far as to explain that the same custom among the Gauls was a means of ensuring that wives would have reason not to kill their husbands.

139. [See above, pp. 252–53.]

140. [Maurice, *Strategicon* 11.5 (11.4)]

141. Ibn Rusta in Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 30; Gardizi in Bartol'd, 'Otchet,' p. 123; and al-Mas'udi in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 129.

142. These motives and the custom itself are widespread throughout the Indo-European territory. See the special study devoted to the subject by Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*.

elements of equality and mutual obligation. An image of these new relations that emerged out of various vestiges of the past is provided in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, for example, in the couple of Prince Ihor and his wife, Princess Iaroslavna [the daughter of Iaroslav]. By the time of the consolidation of the Rus' state (and probably even earlier), the initial view of the wife as the property and slave of the husband had become anachronistic and remained only as an echo of the past. Old Rus' law recognized that a wife was the equal of her husband, and a man who killed his wife (without just cause) paid the same penalty as for killing anyone else.¹⁴³ We also see the beginnings of a wife's economic independence—the first indications of the concept of a wife's property as separate from her husband's. In any event, the property rights of family members were not regulated during the lifetime of the head of the family, the husband and father, because property was not regarded as belonging exclusively to the father, but to the whole family. That is the reason why the right to dispose of property during the lifetime of the father was confined strictly to the father. In fact, the law did not interfere in the internal affairs of the family while the head of the family was alive; it recognized the power of a husband over his wife and children to the fullest degree and intervened only in cases of extreme abuse.

When the father died, the mother took his place as head of the family. The organization of the clan placed the mother directly in line after the father. The children were provided with a guardian only in the event that the mother remarried. The image of the widowed mother as a wise, responsible, efficient, and at times even harsh head of the family and manager of its affairs, or even ruler, is drawn very clearly in ancient Ukrainian written documents. The very existence of the image suggests that the wife also played an important role in family affairs during her husband's lifetime, and there is indeed ample evidence of the wide range of interests and activities engaged in by women and their relative freedom.¹⁴⁴

* * *

Structured on the patriarchal principle, the family was part of broader family-based economic organizations.

Initially, and for a long period of time following the beginnings of their historical life, the various Indo-European tribes had a strongly developed patriarchal system. Families, bound by blood ties (on the father's side), and to an even greater extent by common sacral, religious ties,¹⁴⁵ formed groups that served as the basis of economic and sociopolitical relations. All the Slavic tribes, and especially the Ukrainian tribes, undoubtedly passed through this stage. The Ukrainian wedding ritual enumerates the 'clans' (*rody*) of the bridegroom and the bride, which are large and comprised of both close and more distant relatives:

Oh, clan, wealthy clan, make us a gift of cattle:
 You, father, give us oxen, and you, mother, a cow,
 and you, brothers, give us little rams, and you, sisters, give us ewes,
 You, distant relatives, give us gold pieces...

143. For a survey of the legal provisions, see vol. 3, chap. 4, of this *History*.

144. On family relations and the impact of Christianity on them in the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, see vol. 3, chap. 4, of this *History*.

145. Sociologists of more recent schools of thought argue persuasively that the clan organizations were not (or did not have to be) based on blood ties and that as a criterion of clan membership this element was introduced only later.

or:

Our clan is large, so that we have plenty to divide up,
Our clan is numerous; we can't give everyone his share....¹⁴⁶

Traces of a patriarchal order are evident in various aspects of Ukrainian life during historical times. For example, we have the concept of a patriarchal system with commonly owned property in the relationships within the Old Rus' ruling dynasty, or the exclusion of daughters from inheriting property in Old Rus' law, etc. We can still sense the closeness, as it were, of these clan relations. It is possible that this clan organization was still wholly intact during the Proto-Slavic age and during the period of Slavic expansion. But in the initial stages of the historical life of the Ukrainian tribes, we find only traces of its remnants and survivals in forms that have been weakened or adulterated by other ideas and principles.

It is true that the clan organization of the Slavic tribes, and especially the Ukrainian tribes, has been a controversial issue for a long time and still remains so. But much of the controversy is based on differences in the interpretation of various terms. Clearly, all the elements that go beyond the bounds of the immediate family (made up of a father, mother, and their children) do not necessarily comprise a clan. Nor does a group of relatives linked by ties other than those of a clan nature (for example, economic ties) constitute a clan group. If we define a clan as an organization in which related families are bound together by virtue of their being related by certain real ties, we must admit that we find only vestiges of this kind of system among the Ukrainian tribes in historical times.

The champions of the clan theory frequently cite the terminology of our earliest Chronicle.

Indeed, the Primary Chronicle does portray the *rid* (*rodъ*, pl. *rody*—clan, kin, family, people or stock)* as the foundation of Old Rus' life and that of the East Slavs in general: 'The Polianians were living by themselves and ruling their *rody* [...], and each one lived with his own *rodъ* and in his own place, each ruling his own *rodъ* [variant: own *rody*—M.H.].'¹⁴⁷ But

146. Roszkiewicz and I. Franko, 'Obrzedy i piesnie weselne,' p. 51; Kopernicki, 'Przyczynek do etnografii,' p. 137. Scholars (Okhrimovich, 'Znachenie malorusskikh svadebnykh obriadov') consider this clan to have been matriarchal in structure. Leaving aside the question of whether it was indeed ever matriarchal (the question relates to whether there ever existed a matriarchate among the Ukrainian tribes), I cite the ritual only as evidence of the existence of clans. Other evidence, dating to historical times, indicates the existence of a patriarchal order. Whether it evolved from a matriarchy or formed on its own is a separate issue. Nor do I intend to broach the question of the genetic relations between the clan and the family, because this is a controversial issue and lies completely outside the realm of our historical inquiry.

* [As Hrushevsky points out, the term has numerous meanings and is subject to varying interpretations. This translation gives the English word that is appropriate to Hrushevsky's interpretation in a given context, or, in his discussions of the word's meaning, a transliteration of the term in the original. 'Kin' and 'kins' have been used to translate the term when it means a unit smaller than a clan, often approximating the extended family that Hrushevsky describes, though at times equivalent to smaller family groupings.—Eds.]

147. This passage in the Chronicle about the 'Polianian clans' has served as the basis for the theory of the clan system as the foundation of the social organization of Old Rus'. It was put forward, under the influence of investigations in the history of German law, by Professor Gustav Ewers of Tartu University in his famous work, *Das älteste Recht*. Subsequently, the theory was skillfully developed and traced through the entire history of Old Rus' by Solov'ev, in his 'O rodovykh otnosheniakh,' his *Istoriia omoshenii*, and, finally, his *Istoriia Rossii* (especially in vol. 1, chap. 3, and in vol. 2, chap. 1). The second influential proponent of the theory was Kavelin (in his articles collected in 1859 in his *Sochineniia*, of which there is a new edition). We must also name Chicherin, *Opyty po istorii russkogo prava*; Nikitskii, 'Ocherk vnutrennei istorii Pskova'; and, in part, Zabelin, *Istoriia russkoi zhizni*. The theory of a clan organization was

before drawing any conclusions from this passage, it is necessary to examine the meaning of the term as it is used in the Primary Chronicle, and in chronicle writing as a whole. In fact, the meaning of the word is very general. In some instances, it is used to mean a whole people, as in 'we are of the Rus' stock,'¹⁴⁸ whereas elsewhere it is used in the sense of a dynasty or a generation: 'And after these brothers their *rodъ* began to hold the princely power among the Polianians.'¹⁴⁹ Sometimes the term *rid* [*rodъ*] means family: thus, Kyi wanted to settle on the Danube 'with his *rodъ*' (alone, without his brothers), but the local inhabitants would not allow him to do so.¹⁵⁰ In the Novgorod variant, Kyi settled 'with his *rodъ*' on one of the hills of Kyiv, while his brothers settled on other hills.¹⁵¹ Clearly, the term is used in the narrower sense of family in the classic passage from the Primary Chronicle about the Polianians cited above. Each lived with his family and ruled it (recall the Indo-European designation for the husband and father as the master and ruler). Except this family need not have been the immediate family in the modern sense, composed of a father and minor children, but could have been a kind of extended family.

Such extended families, made up of several smaller families, usually linked by blood ties in the masculine line, owning common property, and each ruled by its own elder who was usually (but not always) the oldest member of the family, have survived to our own time in Ukraine and in other East Slavic (Belarusian and Russian) lands, among the Slovaks, Bulgarians, and, to the greatest extent, among the western Serbs. There is increasing acceptance of the view—which is indeed very credible—that such economic ties based on kinship, which correspond to the greater Indian family (joint family, *Großfamilie*) and are known to have existed in various periods among almost all the Indo-European tribes, are survivals not only from Slavic, but also from Indo-European antiquity. Indeed, in certain economic contexts (for example, farming, which requires many working hands), such combinations of families are so practical and so logical that they evolve of their own accord.¹⁵² Because they were less complex and fragile institutions than the clan organization, such extended families were better suited to withstand various social and colonizational upheavals and could survive for indefinite periods of time as the remnants of a clan organization, or emerge independently of the latter.

As I have already indicated, among the Slavs the institution of the extended family has survived in its most clearly defined form among the western Serbs. Consequently, these social units attracted the attention of researchers and came to serve as a point of departure for further study. They are usually called *zadruga* (sing. *zadruga*) in scholarly literature, even though this name occurs only sporadically, and there is no universally accepted technical term for the extended family.¹⁵³ In any event, the name itself is not significant. It is used to denote the

opposed by the Slavophiles, who held that the principal form of the Rus' social organization was the commune (*hromada*, *obshchina*). The most important criticism of the clan theory (as put forward by Solov'ev) was offered by Aksakov (*Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 1). Later the commune theory became central to the works of this school, as in Leshkov, *Russkii narod i gosudarstvo*, and I. Beliaev, *Rasskazy*. As an intermediate view between these two theories there later emerged the theory of the *zadruga* or the clan-commune. This was a more credible theory, inasmuch as it was based on concrete facts—i.e., analogies to the Southwest Slavs.

148. *Hyp.*, p. 19.

149. *Hyp.*, p. 6.

150. *Hyp.*, p. 6.

151. *Novg. I*, p. 3.

152. Schrader, *Realexikon*, p. 218ff.; Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie*, chap. 9.

153. The first to take note of the social organization of the western Serbs and to base on it a reconstruction of the

extended family communes, composed of a number of nuclear families with blood ties in the masculine line encompassing three, four, and sometimes five generations. Unrelated individuals may join this extended family through marriage or by agreement, but this type of alien admixture is generally insignificant, and mixed *zadruga* are very rare—for the most part, they are groups of individuals linked through paternal blood relationship. The members of a *zadruga* own all property in common, manage a single farm, and live together in small houses clustered around the house of the head of the unit, called a *domaćin*. The average *zadruga* numbers fifteen to twenty people; the largest such communes are made up of fifty to sixty individuals, but these are the exception. It is usually ruled by the oldest kinsman—the father or the elder of the family—but this is not an invariable rule. In some cases, the position of the *domaćin* is held by a younger man who is especially suited for the role. The *domaćin* is chosen by the *zadruga*. If there are no available adult men, a woman can serve as the *domaćin* (especially a widowed mother), or even an unmarried girl. The *domaćin* represents the interests of the *zadruga* before the outside world and manages the farm. However, his authority is limited: he cannot decide the most important issues affecting the *zadruga*. Such matters are decided by the whole *zadruga* as a group. Each *zadruga* has its own surname, usually a patronymic that is added to the names of its members. As the *zadruga* grow large, they break up into smaller *zadruga* or into individual families. The property is divided in a variety of ways—per each member, or in accordance with some genealogical principle, or according to the share of work contributed into the common property by individual families. A *zadruga* never forms a whole village; it is always a component part of a village.

Extended families similar to the *zadruga* can still be found in the mountainous regions of

historical way of life of the Slavs as a whole was H. Jireček in *Slovanské právo*. His analogies were applied specifically to the Old Rus' organization by Leontovich in 'O znachenii vervi,' followed by his 'Zadruzhno-obshchinnii kharakter' (the latter study was never finished, and the author did not progress beyond general observations). Leontovich's view was accepted by Bestuzhev-Riumin in his *Russkaia istoriia*, vol. 1, chap. 1, sec. 4, and we later encounter it among other Russian scholars. The *zadruga* form was also regarded as the foundation of the social evolution of other Slavic peoples—for example, in the Czech territories by Vacek, 'Vývoj society,' for Poland by Balzer, 'Rewizja teorii,' and others. Meitzen also believed the *zadruga* organization to be the foundation of the economic life of the Slavs (*Siedlung und Agrarwesen*). Yet all these studies had their share of arbitrary interpretations that stretched the facts regarding the institution of the *zadruga*, which could not help but elicit protests. Such distortions by Leontovich provoked criticism from Jagić, Bogišić, Sobestianskii, and Samokvasov. In fact, the *zadruga* became a gold mine for various builders of social theories, and each of them found in it whatever he needed, supplementing whatever was lacking from his own imagination or by stretching the facts to fit his theory. The critical observations were therefore quite valid. However, some investigators took an extreme position at the opposite end of the spectrum and attempted to exclude the *zadruga* organization from the history of the ancient social organization by claiming that it was a later form. The first to put forward that view was the Serbian scholar Novaković, in the work *Selo*, who found in the *zadruga* system influences of the Byzantine and Turkish taxation system, i.e., later phenomena. His views were taken even further by Peisker in 'Slovo o zadrúze,' and in greater detail in German in 'Forschungen zur Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte.' Support for this view was also expressed by other investigators of the ancient Slavic social organization, such as Levec (review of Kadlec, *Rodinný nedíl*); Rhamm, 'Zum Streite'; Sergeevich, *Russkie iuridicheskie drevnosti*, vol. 3: *Drevnosti ruskogo prava*. However, despite providing some valuable cautionary observations and commentaries, this attempt to prove that the familial and social forms that survived in the *zadruga* organization, among others, were exclusively the result of later fiscal influences is, of course, a mistake. The critics who opposed this attempt—such as Balzer, 'O zadrudze słowiańskie'; I. Smirnov, 'Očerok kul'turnoi istorii,' vol. 67 (1900), nos. 5–6; Kadlec, 'K "Slovu o zadrúze"'; Marković, *Die serbische Hauskommunion*—stood on a firm foundation of facts. However, those who attempt to prove the existence of the *zadruga* often give the concept an overly broad meaning and impose it on phenomena that are not necessarily relevant.

Galician and Hungarian Ruthenia. Smaller in number, they never consist of more than twenty-five members. They own property in common and are headed by a *gazda* or *zavidka*, usually the oldest member of the family, who manages the farm and represents the family before outsiders. Similar extended families are found elsewhere in Ukraine as well, though they are quite rare; there were many more such family units in the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁴ In addition, we are very familiar with the forms of social units that evolved from this initial extended family.

Documents from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries contain mention of so-called *dvoryshcha* [sing. *dvoryshche*] 'extended households' in various regions of Ukraine—Galicia, Podilia, Volhynia, and Polisia. More detailed information about them appears in the sixteenth century, but by then the *dvoryshcha* themselves (*areae* in Latin documents) had disappeared. The *dvoryshcha*, smaller than the large *zadruga*, corresponded in size to the mountain-region extended families (*gazdivstva*, sing. *gazdivstvo*). Larger *dvoryshcha* (in one instance consisting of twenty-seven householders) were rare. They were usually based on blood ties (this is evidenced by their names, often patronymical, or derived from the names of their elders), but alien admixtures in them were more frequent. There were even *dvoryshcha* made up of two separate families with different surnames. Information concerning the manner in which the *dvoryshcha* were run is very scant. Undoubtedly, the fields, forests, etc., were common property. In the sixteenth century, arable land, though it was not actually divided throughout, was probably no longer owned in common. Each member had his own, even if only theoretical, plot of land, which conforms to the patrimonial system of dividing up land based on the genealogy of members rather than on the total number of members at any given time. Undoubtedly, at one time all land had belonged to the *dvoryshche* in common. The *dvoryshche* as a unit superseded all else, and all taxes and other duties were borne by the *dvoryshche* as a whole, and not by individual households.

A phenomenon similar to the *dvoryshche* was the institution of *posiabrnya*, or *sebrovstvo*, the cooperative ownership of an estate by several co-owners (*siabry*). These, too, were groups of households, usually linked by blood ties, which sometimes owned land in common and in other cases were granted the right, in theory, to own certain plots of the common lands and amenities. In Left-Bank Ukraine, where a new colonization and a great social revolution forced the population to reexperience, as it were, all the stages in the evolution of property forms anew, such *posiabrny* were in existence as late as the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁵

Another survival of a similar system were the villages of the petty nobility [*szlachta okoliczna*] in the Bar region in Podilia, where individual parts (*chasty*) of villages evolved from such *dvoryshcha* and even as late as the eighteenth century did not have clearly demarcated allotments of land.¹⁵⁶ The Left-Bank separate homestead (*khutir*) was initially analogous to the old *dvoryshche*.

154. About extended families on the territory of Ukraine, see O. Franko, 'Karpats'ki boiky'; Píč, 'Rodový byt na Slovensku'; Luchitskii, *Siabry i siabrinnoe zemlevladienie*, and its German version in 'Zur Geschichte der Grundeigentumsformen'; Efimenko, *Issledovaniia narodnoi zhizni*; Shcherbina, 'Dogovornye sem'i'; Samokvasov, 'Semeinaia obshchina v Kurskom uezde.' The principal material on the South Slavs is contained in the collection of Bogišić, *Zbornik sadašnjih pravnih obiçaja*. Studies include Bogišić, 'D'une forme particuliere'; Geshov, 'Zadrushneto vladenie i rabotenie'; Jovanović, *Istorijski razvitak srpske zadruga*; E. Miller, 'Die Hauskommunion der Südslaven'; Bobchev, 'Bälgarskata cheliadna zadruga'; Dopsch, 'Die südslavische Hauskommunionen.' On Slovaks and Poles, see the cited works by Píč and Balzer. A bibliography and materials on the extended family among the Slavs are contained in the book by Kadlec, *Rodinný nedíl*, and, more generally, in Cohn, 'Gemeinderschaft und Hausgenossenschaft.'

155. See *AluZR*, pt. 8, vol. 2, no. 96, pp. 190–93.

156. The literature includes: Vladimírskii-Budanov, 'Formy krest'ianskogo zemlevladieniia'; Efimenko, 'Dvorishchnoe zemlevladienie v iuzhnoi Rusi'; Liubavskii, *Oblastnoe delenie i mestnoe upravlenie*, pp. 453–54; my own 'Ekonomichnyi

Our information about the *dvoryshcha* and *posiabryny* comes from a time when they were already becoming extinct. In earlier times, we must assume, blood ties and common ownership played a more significant role in them. Thus, these forms lead back to the earlier extended families and together they correspond to the *rodъ* (kin) referred to in the Primary Chronicle. We can then define it as a group of people bound by family and economic ties, linked by patrilineal blood ties (less frequently, with an admixture of unrelated members), who own and work land jointly under the leadership of their 'elder,' who 'rules' the whole kin. The size of the Old Rus' kin is indicated by the provision in the *Rus' Law* about revenge: the right of revenge belongs to the father and sons, brothers, and sons of brothers and sisters.¹⁵⁷ This, therefore, would have been the usual composition of the more immediate kin.

Consciousness of kinship obviously extended beyond these narrow limits. But it was hardly always the case that these immediate family groups or extended families merged by virtue of their kinship, or the presence of shared traditions that simulated kinship, into larger organizations that could properly be called clans. We find this among the western Serbs, where such a clan organization, called 'brotherhood' (*bratstvo*) or 'tribe' (*pleme*), has survived to our own time. The brotherhoods encompass entire villages, or individual *zadruga* from different villages, who trace their lineage from a common ancestor and have the same surname. Sometimes such 'brothers' number several thousand, but they regard themselves as related and, until recently, did not intermarry within their own brotherhood.¹⁵⁸ Several brotherhoods form a tribe, or, as it increases, the brotherhood itself becomes a tribe.¹⁵⁹ Judging by various survivals, the Ukrainian tribes also passed through a stage in which the clan was made up not only of close relatives, but also of 'remote kin.' But in Old Rus' there were no longer any traces of any broader clan organizations, although it is very likely that there were many groups of 'kins' and villages that traced their origins to a common root and regarded themselves as related. In the earliest East Slavic materials, the *bratъčina* was an alliance of neighboring villages, bound by religious ties.¹⁶⁰ The existence of even broader clan organizations is suggested by the fact that among all Slavs the ancient names of tribes very often end with the patronymical suffix *-ьtji* (Ukrainian *-ychi*). The same form is used in names that derive from a territorial rather than a clan organization, such as our *Drehovychi* (Drehovichians). Later the form is applied even in the case of tribes that take their name from the name of a city: the *Pskovichi* (Pskovians), *Tverichi* (Tverians), etc. This phenomenon, which is also found among other Indo-European peoples (the suffix *-inga* among the Germanic peoples, for example), indicates that initially tribes were made up of groups of related individuals with common roots. That is how we should interpret the use of the term *rodъ* to mean a tribe or a people, as in 'we are of the Rus' *rodъ* (stock).'

By the ninth and tenth centuries, however, this was no more than a dim echo of the past. The ancient clan-tribal organizations had probably grown significantly weaker or disappeared

stan selian,' pp. 7–14 (about *dvoryshcha* in Galician Rus'); Luchitskii, *Siabry i siabrinnoe zemlevladienie*.

157. *Rus' Law* (Academy Manuscript § 1); variants in Kalachov, *Predvaritel'nye iuridicheskie svedeniia*, pp. 178–79.

158. Bogišić, *Zbornik sadašnjih pravnih običajja*, p. 511ff.; Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch*, chap. 3.

159. Here the term 'tribe' (*pleme*) means the extended clan. In Old Slavic writings, this term, like *rodъ*, means relatives, kin/clan, as well as a people and φύλη, *tribus* (in the Bible these words are translated as 'tribe'), and I use it in that latter meaning, as opposed to *rodъ* (*gens*, γένος).

160. For a discussion of this subject and the unresolved questions surrounding it, see vol. 6, chap. 5, pp. 500–502, of the Ukrainian original of this *History*.

altogether during the period of Slavic dispersion and later changes in colonization. The tribes that we encounter in the tenth and eleventh centuries are too large and too extensive to have retained the tradition of a common ancestry. Some tribal names may have been brought from the original homeland. The ancient clan-tribal organizations may even have served as the basis of the new tribal groups (especially on territories that were closer to the original habitat from which expansion had begun). However, tribal formation on the new territories was undoubtedly strongly influenced by geographic and settlement factors. And the farther from the ancestral homeland and closer to the periphery of colonization a tribe settled, the stronger the influence of these latter factors was.

* * *

As a more sedentary way of life evolved on the new territories, where colonization covered large areas, clan ties grew even weaker, and the sense of kinship beyond the extended family became increasingly confined to a certain psychological perception. The sense of kinship gave way to an awareness of territorial proximity, of neighborhood, of territorial and economic solidarity, and to the communal principle, on the one hand, and the individual principle, on the other. Our wedding ritual serves as an illustration of this. In it, the traditional clan is ultimately replaced by neighbors and other members of the village community who are not related in any way. The bride invites all the neighbors to the wedding, or even the whole village, and, by tradition, in the ritual songs these neighbors are referred to as her clan.

The transition from family and clan relations to relations between neighbors and other members of the community was made easier by the fact that these neighborly and community ties had evolved from family or clan relationships, or with the latter constituting a significant element in the new ties. Even at the initial stages of expansion, relatives very often or usually settled near one another in groups. As their numbers grew and they divided into extended families, new families linked by blood ties came into being on the originally settled territories and formed a community or neighborhood.

As it expanded, the extended family in its various forms (*zadruga*, *gazdivstvo*, *dvoryshche*) usually did not remain together long enough to form an entire village or a larger settlement. There are certain limits beyond which a farm as a joint enterprise is no longer practical or possible. It becomes impossible to expand it endlessly within the confines of an extended family. When the management of such farms becomes difficult, the extended family divides into several smaller units that settle separately from one another on the original land and begin to manage their own households. Under normal circumstances, these, too, expand and again split into smaller units. This tradition of settling separately on their own lands in families or *dvoryshcha*, somewhat removed from each other, was obviously an age-old custom common to all Slavs. The densely populated villages that we see today are the product of later economic and other factors. The old practice is evident in the Ukrainian separate homesteads (*khutory*) or in the villages that survived unchanged in the form in which they had evolved from individual separate *dvoryshcha*.¹⁶¹ We find such mountain villages in the Carpathians, in which individual houses stand surrounded by their lands, and the village sometimes extends over

161. I saw such villages belonging to the Ukrainian petty nobility in Podilia, for example.

several tens of square kilometers. It is this ancient custom of settling in separate families that is described by Prokopios in his classic passage about the life of the Antae and the Sclaveni, in which he reports that they live 'far apart from one another.'¹⁶²

Such groups of families-*dvoryshcha*, linked by neighborhood and by economic and sometimes blood ties, in time formed villages (*sela*) as we know them today (in Old Rus' the term *selo* ['seat'] did not have the meaning 'village'). Traces of old blood ties or the memory of such are often evident in the general name, patronymical in form, by which a whole group of *dvoryshcha* were known. The numerous patronymical names of settlements on Ukrainian territory that end in *-ychi*, *-vychi*, and *-vtsi* remain as vestiges of the old clan ties. The memory of belonging to the same clan must have survived for a long time among members of such groups, vitalizing the ties that emerged as a result of territorial proximity, neighborhood, and economic factors. Forests, meadows, and waters remained undivided for a long time and were used by all these families-*dvoryshcha* in common; only gradually (and even then not completely) did these resources come to be individually owned. As a result, villages, too, were often comprised of a group of people linked by family and economic ties, similarly to the *dvoryshcha*, except that in the case of villages these ties were much weaker than among the extended family or even within a *dvoryshche*. The admixture of people unrelated by blood was probably much greater in villages than in the *dvoryshcha*. Moreover, the principle on which villages were formed was different—it was no longer a clan, but a community. Even in an extended family, patriarchal relations were not maintained strictly and certain communal elements were mixed in (such as the possibility of electing the kin leader, the limiting of his powers by a council of kin members, the right of all the members to common property, and the right of these members to oust the head of the kin or demand that the property be divided should their interests be violated). Among the group of families forming a village, the kin element was completely secondary. This was a community composed of legally and economically independent farms, or households, that were independently run, managed their own affairs, and decided their rights at meetings of the elders of the individual households. By tradition, or because of its wealth, one family could rank first or wield greater influence than the others in such a community. The community could delegate the elder of this clan to represent it in certain instances, or it could charge him with performing certain functions on a permanent basis, but the power and administration of the community ultimately lay with the community itself. Common ownership was usually reserved for less desirable lands or lands that could not be divided, or it was of a temporary nature. In fact, community ownership never evolved among the Ukrainians and the Slavs in general, and the Russian agricultural community (*obshchina*) must be regarded as a product of later factors.

We can trace the evolution from the family to the community in historical times in the villages of the Ukrainian petty nobility, which were allowed to develop unhindered and left documents reflecting the history of their regions that sometimes span several centuries without interruption.¹⁶³ In all likelihood, the main features of this process can be transposed to the Old Rus' period: this process is fully supported by the existence of identical ancient forms among other Slavs and by what we know about the Old Rus' way of life.

The group of 'kins'-*dvoryshcha* making up a village corresponds rather closely to the

162. Prokopios, *De bello Gothico* 3.14.

163. Two collections of such documents have been published: one by Antonovych on the Ovruch regional petty nobility, *AluZR*, pt. 4, vol. 1; and my own about the Bar petty nobility, *AluZR*, pt. 8, vols. 1–2.

community designated by the term *verv* (*vernъ*) in the *Rus' Law*. On the one hand, this unit was small enough to take responsibility for its members and deal with offenses committed on its territory, and, on the other, it was a voluntary union whose members managed their own affairs and made individual arrangements among themselves. We know from the *Rus' Law* that the *verv* paid a 'wild wergild' when it refused to hand over a murderer or when the killing had been accidental. But it did so only if the murderer belonged to the union and only if he 'assumed his share in [the payment of] the wild wergild'; if he did not, he had to bear responsibility [for the entire payment] personally.¹⁶⁴

An understanding of the internal life of such communities, in the absence of direct information about them, can be gained from the known details of urban communal life in Old Rus'. Urban life was only the next stage in the evolution of rural life. If we set aside the later elements of princely administration and the retinue system, we will see that communal affairs in the town were managed by a council, the assembly of elders (thus the assembly in Bilhorod described in the entry for 997, the council of Kyiv elders under 983). The very fact that the latter were called elders indicates that they were the heads of families-*dvoryshcha* and mostly older men (among the Bulgarians the most prominent heads of households are still, in some places, called elders; there are usually from ten to twenty of them, and they manage the affairs of the village).¹⁶⁵ The same title is often used to refer to the leader of the community. We encounter such 'elders,' meaning the head *otaman* or bailiff (*viit*) of the community, in the western Rus' lands for a long time (as late as the sixteenth century). By then, they were appointed by the government, whereas originally they were elected or hereditary. As I have already stated, the office of elder in a community could have been linked to a greater or lesser degree with one clan. In addition, there were different variations: for example, in western Serbia the elders in some communities were elected, while in others, instead of being elected, the elder was always the leader of the same, most prominent *zadruga* (*kuća*). When this *zadruga* began to decline and another attained prominence, the representatives of the new *zadruga* became the elders (or *kneze*, as they are called here), and so forth.¹⁶⁶

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The territorial principle, which is at the heart of such local village organizations, is the foundation for the building of a social order. The basis of this broader social organization is the fortified town or burg, *horod* (*gorodъ, gradъ*).¹⁶⁷

164. *Rus' Law* (Karamzin Manuscript, § 4 and 6); variants in Kalachov, *Predvaritel'nye iuridicheskie svedeniia*, pp. 186–88. For more about the *verv*, see the discussion of the social organization of the Rus' state in vol. 8, chap. 4, of this *History*.

165. Bogišić, *Zbornik sadašnjih pravnih običaja*, p. 521.

166. Bogišić, *Zbornik sadašnjih pravnih običaja*, pp. 522–23.

167. [As Hrushevsky explains in this section, in the sources the term *horod* (*gorodъ, gradъ*) initially referred to the fortified settlements that became the nuclei of the towns and cities of Kyivan Rus'. In this section we have translated the term *horod* as 'burg,' the word used by specialists in medieval history to designate a fortress or a fortified or walled town. Subsequently, the term is translated as 'fortified town,' particularly in rendering citations from the source material. 'Burg' has been used on a few occasions when the text clearly means 'a fortress.' The reader should keep in mind that just as the term 'burg' has the meaning of 'fortress' per se as well as 'fortified or walled town,' so the term *horod* had a dual meaning in the Kyivan Rus' period.—Eds.]

On the *horod* and the *horod* system, see Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 1, chap. 3; Passek, 'Kniazheskaia i dokniazheskaia Rus', p. 69ff.; Samokvasov, *Drevnie goroda v Rossii*; Kliuchevskii, *Boiarskaia дума*, and more, briefly,

As the term indicates, the *horod* was an enclosed (*ohorodzhene*), secure site. The Ukrainian territory, especially its more densely settled, northern half, is dotted with numerous sites of remains of these fortified towns or burgs—*horodyshcha*, sing. *horodyshche* (*gorodišče*). The term appears on the very first pages of the Primary Chronicle: ‘gorodišče Kievčc’.¹⁶⁸ There are hundreds of such *horodyshcha* in Ukraine, for instance, more than four hundred (435) in present-day Kyiv gubernia, 348 in Volhynia, more than 250 in Podilia, around 150 in the Chernihiv region, and so on. A large number of them dates back to prehistoric or early historic times. Small wonder that the Scandinavians called the Slavic territory the land of burgs—*Garðaríki*. Scholars have attempted to classify the surviving *horodyshcha* chronologically. Indeed, it is possible to divide them into several categories. The later sites, rectangular in shape, were built to meet the requirements of artillery fire. Leaving aside the still unexplained ‘excavated barrows’ or ‘*horodyshcha*-squares’,¹⁶⁹ there were two other types: circular *horodyshcha*, often situated on level ground and encircled with low ramparts and sometimes also a trench, and *horodyshcha* built on high, steep hills, in corners between rivers and ravines, secured from the more accessible side by a system of concentric ramparts. The latter type is regarded as characteristic of the era of princes and retinues, while the former are dated to earlier times. This classification is justified, to the extent that the latter type undoubtedly required more advanced engineering skills,¹⁷⁰ whereas some of the round *horodyshcha* show traces of the stone culture. But it is premature to regard all circular fortified settlement sites as older based on this feature alone. In addition to ramparts, wooden fortifications in the form of walls were often erected to protect the burgs.¹⁷¹ When the burg’s castle proper was too small to contain all the settlers, the settlement surrounding it, called *peredhorodia* (*peredzgorodije*), was encircled by a wooden palisade, the so-called *ostroh* (*ostrogz*). There were almost no stone fortifications in Old Rus’. Even stone gates and towers are not mentioned in sources until later, and then only rarely and as something unusual.

The burgs were built for protection and defense, as places in which to protect property and people in times of danger. The conditions in which a tribe lived—the degree to which the given area was safe—dictated how dense the system of such fortifications in a region was. The population needed protection not only against foreign enemies; fierce battles raged between the small domains (*volosti*) and tribes as well, creating a need for such safe havens. A group of several neighboring villages needed a burg of its own, and in some cases, even smaller groups of population, such as individual villages, had to have their own burg. The urgency of this need was evident from the earliest entries in the Primary Chronicle, which, despite the legendary nature of much that they describe, reflect the real conditions of contemporary life. One entry tells us that Kyi came with his family to the Danube and there built a separate burg for himself. Obviously, the type of the burg depended on the group that built it. Along with sites of large

in the separate publication of the work, chap. 1; Pič, *Zur rumänisch-ungarischen Streiffrage*, p. 148ff. On the classification of the *horodyshcha*, see: Samokvasov, *Drevnie goroda v Rossii*, p. 118ff.; Antonovich, ‘O gorodishchakh,’ pp. 10–16; idem, ‘Popytka gruppirovki gorodishch,’ p. 104; Bagalei, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli*, p. 52ff.

168. *Hyp.*, p. 6.

169. On these, see Mel’nyk-Antonovych, ‘Maidanovi horodyshcha na Ukraïni,’ which contains a bibliography and surveys theories on the origins and purpose of this type of *horodyshcha*.

170. Examples of fortified settlements of this type include the Vyshhorod *horodyshche* near Kyiv, and, in Galicia, one *horodyshche* near Zvenyhorodka (Bibrka county), and another above the village of Pidhorodyshche, which stands on an unusually steep hill and is encircled by several rows of ramparts.

171. On this fortification technique, see vol. 3 of this *History*.

horodyshcha, covering several morgens of land,* we find very small ones, which would have been capable of holding no more than several families with their possessions.

The construction and maintenance of these burgs served to develop ties between those involved in these projects. In regions where the population was sparse or where the inhabitants were scattered over a large area, the construction of burgs for defensive purposes by neighboring 'kins' or *dvoryshcha* may have been the first step, or one of the first steps, taken to form a social unit corresponding to our idea of a rural community. In other cases, it united a larger group of settlements into a group of communities. In both cases, these were purely territorial ties that did not depend on whether the members of these communities regarded themselves as belonging to one clan or not. Apart from matters pertaining to the construction and maintenance of these burgs, there were other things that created ties: joint defense in times of war, collecting the necessary means to achieve a common goal, maintaining public order, punishing offenders and criminals. During the period of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, we find unions of neighboring village communities (*hromady*) within certain territorial boundaries that were completely independent of the central administration. These unions administered penal justice on their own territories at the special assemblies where householders of all these communities met; such gatherings were called *kopy* [sing. *kopa*].¹⁷² The origins of this institution, which died out in the sixteenth century, probably date to the associations of communities in the Old Rus' period.

The burgs that linked together a larger number of settlements were important to the further development of social relations. The larger the groups of settlements and the territory they occupied were, the more important the burg that served their needs. Thus the fate and role of these burgs differed widely. Built solely for protection, some burgs served no other purpose than to offer safe haven for small groups of neighboring households and villages in times of danger, and they stood empty in times of peace. Other burgs in time evolved into political and cultural centers not only for their immediate region, but also for neighboring burgs and their districts. Various factors played a role in this. In some cases, a burg may have gained importance at an earlier period in the life of the inhabitants of the region, so its significance was merely restored by the influx of new settlers, whereas in other cases, a burg's importance resulted from new circumstances. In regions where the clan element in the way of life was stronger, the burg of the oldest clan in a certain tribe may have become the center for other, smaller burgs. However, as I have already pointed out, we find no traces in Ukraine of a widely developed clan organization in historical times. Therefore, let us set aside this factor as merely a possibility and discuss other, territorial factors. One reason for a burg's importance may have been its more secure location or its special strategic significance, which would have prompted all the neighboring districts to defend it. Defense considerations, above all, must have played an important role. But trade was no less important. A burg situated on a trade route became a commercial center of a larger region. With time, merchants and artisans settled in such burgs, and the burgs had to be specially defended in times of war. Once a burg gained in importance, for whatever reason, it attracted ever-growing numbers of people, who settled permanently inside its ramparts. And when there was no more room inside the burg, new arrivals settled under its walls and ramparts, creating *ostrohy*—enclosed settlements around the burg, or

* [One old Crown morg(en) equals 0.6 hectares.—Eds.]

172. For a bibliography on the *kopy* and their history, see vol. 5, Note 1, p. 629, of the Ukrainian original of this *History*.

fortified town, proper. At the same time, such fortified towns became centers of larger districts. The communities of townsmen of such fortified towns wielded special influence in all affairs and made decisions on behalf of their entire districts. They led their regions and set the tone: 'What the town elders decide, the by-towns will agree to.'¹⁷³ The leading town also decided the affairs of its by-towns (*pryhorody*), that is, the dependent towns over which it exercised political influence and possessed hegemony. This principle of social organization in Old Rus' undoubtedly originated within the life of such small districts, or *volosti*, which then served as a model for larger districts. Sometimes the evolution of social relations was revealed in the fact that the population of a district that 'belonged' to such a central town assumed its name in place of the old tribal name. This explains the appearance of the Buzhanians and Chervenians on the territory of the Dulibians, or the Polochanians, Smolenians, and Pskovians on Krivichian territory, etc.

These hegemonical fortified town systems were an exceptionally creative element in the evolution of the Rus' social and political order. Their development was not identical throughout the whole territory, because it depended on the degree of intensity of cultural and political life and on the level of the development of the fortified town system. Whereas in some lands, such as those of the Siverianians, Dulibians, and Polianians, these fortified town organizations had supplanted the old tribal system by the beginning of the historical era, in other lands—those of the Derevlians, Radimichians, and Viaticians—such powerful fortified town centers did not develop. These latter lands retained their amorphous tribal organization for a long time, and their tribal names survived longer. This is especially true of the Viaticians, who were known by their tribal name as late as the twelfth century, retaining their amorphous nature and forming no important political centers.

The fortified town system, which was based on a purely territorial principle of organization, encountered the tribal divisions, and out of a combination of the two there emerged instead of the original tribal territories/lands a new system of lands/domains (*volosti*, sing. *volost'*—power and government, a subordinate territory, organization). The territories of tribes with weakly developed town life, among which no powerful fortified town centers had arisen, were annexed by the centers of other tribes—the Derevlians by Kyiv and the Viaticians by Chernihiv. On the other hand, the rise of fortified town centers resulted in the division of tribal territories into several domains (*volosti*)-principalities. Thus, the Siverianian region divided into the Chernihiv and Pereiaslav lands, and the Krivichian territory, into the Smolensk and Polatsk (and perhaps even Pskov) lands. We need to add here, however, that in all likelihood the strengthening of the ties between the town and its by-towns and the transformation of these ties into a formal dependence of the by-towns on the town were strongly influenced by the prince-and-retinue system. These relations, as we find them on Ukrainian territory, are already in the form they assumed during the evolution of the new political system. We cannot know whether, without it, the hegemony of the town over its by-towns would have gone beyond mere psychological dominance and influence. Perhaps the by-towns became dependent on the town with which they were associated in a real sense only after the town became the seat of a prince or his lieutenant, who had the military might to enforce his authority. The subsequent political role of the fortified town is part of the history of the new prince-and-retinue system, which we will discuss in the following chapters.

173. Lavr., p. 358.

VII

The Beginnings of the Rus' State

‘The Sclaveni and the Antae,’ reported Prokopios in his classic description, ‘are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything that involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people.’ Somewhat later, Pseudo-Maurice wrote: ‘Owing to their lack of government and their ill feeling toward one another...and since there are many kings (ῥῆγες) among them, always at odds with one another, it is not difficult to win over some of them by persuasion or by gifts, especially those in areas closer to the border, and then to attack the others, so that their common hostility will not make them united or bring them together under one ruler.’¹

These valuable accounts describe the political organization of our tribes at the time of their dispersion—the earliest period from which we are able to trace the evolution of their political life with some degree of confidence, given the current state of our scholarship.

In contrasting the political life of the East and South Slavic tribes with the highly centralized, monarchical political system of their own empire, both Byzantine authors stressed that the Slavic tribes did not have a similar centralized and monarchical form of government.²

That, of course, was true. A strong monarchical order and a powerful, stable military organization had not yet emerged among these and other Slavic tribes, either in the Proto-Slavic period or during their expansion. But then, among other Indo-European peoples, too, a strong and lasting monarchical government did not evolve until later—and, in some cases, very late. As I wrote in the preceding chapter, we can assume that during the age of Slavic expansion there still existed rather strong clan and tribal organizational structures among the Ukrainian tribes, and the Slavic tribes in general, and that the political organization of the Slavs must have been based on these. The existing accounts by classical authors about the Antae and their neighboring Slavic tribes obviously date to that stage in their clan and tribal history. These accounts, and what we know of the clan and tribal life of other Indo-European peoples, provide us with some idea of the principles underlying the political organization of the Ukrainian tribes at that stage of their social development.³

1. Τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη ταῦτα, Σκλαβηνοὶ τε καὶ Ἄνται, οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἑνός, ἀλλ’ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων αἰεὶ τὰ τε ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται.—Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14.22. Ἐναρχα δὲ καὶ μισάλληλα ὄντα οὐδὲ τάξιν γινώσκουσιν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν συσταδὴν μάχην ἐπιτηδεύουσι μάχεσθαι,...Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ῥηγῶν καὶ ἀσυμφόνως ἐχόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἄτοπον τινὰς αὐτῶν μεταχειρίζεσθαι ἢ λόγους ἢ δῶροις καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐγγυτέρω τῶν μεθορίων, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπέρχεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς πάντας ἐχθρα ἐνωσιν ἢ μοναρχίαν ποιήσῃ.—Maurice, *Strategicon* 11.5 [11.4].

2. Peisker (*Die älteren Beziehungen*, pp. 126–30) put forward the theory that this description did not apply to the Slavs, but to a hypothetical higher (*zhupan*) stratum of Ural-Altai nomads. But there is no evidence to confirm this, and his entire theory of the age-old enslavement of the Slavs, which supposedly distorted the Indo-European foundation on which Slavic life was organized, is quite groundless (see my article, ‘Novi rozvidky’).

3. For an overview of the Proto-Indo-European, or, more precisely, common Indo-European foundations of political organization, see Schrader, *Reallexikon*, s.v. ‘König,’ ‘Staat,’ ‘Volk,’ and ‘Volksversammlung.’ However, in his

Chronologically, we must begin with Jordanes' description of the war waged by the Ostrogoths, led by Vinitharius, against the Antae in the final quarter of the fourth century. At the beginning, Vinitharius suffered losses against the Antae, but then the tide was reversed in his favor and he took captive and crucified 'their king, named Boz, together with his sons and seventy nobles.'⁴ I have said elsewhere that this account of the conflict between the Goths and the Antae should be regarded as reliable, even though its literary and stylistic forms must not be accepted verbatim.⁵ Thus, the application of the title of king (*rex*) to Boz must be set aside. This title notwithstanding, we have here an important leader of the Antae who had a large force at his command, enabling him to overcome the Ostrogoths (a detail certainly not invented by the legend). In other words, he was the leader of some larger tribe of Antae or, more likely, of several tribes, and he had with him a large group of officers, probably the commanders or elders of the clans of the Antae.

We encountered another important leader of the Antae in the story of the war between the Antae and the Avars in the mid-sixth century. According to a Byzantine author, his name was Mezamer and he was 'the son of Idariz and brother of Kelagast.' After suffering defeat in battle, the Antae sent Mezamer as an envoy to the Avars to negotiate the ransom of captives. But, as an envoy, Mezamer, a loquacious and insolent man,⁶ conducted himself with excessive pride in his negotiations with the Avars. A Bulgar hostile to the Antae took advantage of his haughty behavior to persuade the Avars to kill Mezamer by telling them that he enjoyed great authority among his people and was likely to lead them against any enemy.⁷ Mezamer must have been of high birth, for he had a father and a brother famous and influential enough to be named by the Greek author. Clearly, Mezamer did not owe his prestige solely to his own abilities as a good speaker and gifted leader, but also to the fact that he came from an important family, which had enabled him to rise to prominence in the first place. His must have been a family or a dynasty at the tribal level, whose importance probably extended beyond its tribe to exercise even greater authority. The 'haughty words' spoken by a member of such a family suggest a man sure of his power and influence. Had he wanted to and had conditions been favorable, suggests the Greek author, Mezamer could have become another Boz, headed a large group of tribes of Antae with a large military force under his command.

This reveals the presence of tribal leaders who ruled their tribes by more or less permanent dynastic right, which was either hereditary or hereditary and elective combined (as was the case

reconstruction of Indo-European life Schrader (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*) did not go beyond the clan and tribal forms. The same is true of Hirt (*Die Indogermanen*). The attempts by Leist (in *Alt-arisches jus gentium*, and in *Alt-arisches jus civile*) to trace a concrete foundation of a common Indo-European law from surviving evidence of various Indo-European tribes were met with considerable scepticism by scholars. Given the presence of certain individual features characterizing the sociopolitical evolution of the Indo-European peoples, one must be careful when conjecturing a common Indo-European heritage in this sphere. Even when comparing the sociopolitical systems of such neighboring peoples as the Slavs, Balts, and Germanic tribes, we see significant differences among them. On the other hand, a comparison of common features in the Indo-European way of life with similar features among other peoples reveals the danger of assuming that these common Indo-European features were unique to the Indo-European group. See the ethnological material in: Letourneau, *La guerre*; Post, *Grundriß*; Hildebrand, *Recht und Sitte*; Frazer, *Lectures on the History of the Kingship*; Mumford, 'The Origin of Leadership.' Unfortunately, we lack studies investigating similarities in the transition from tribal organization to state system among the various Slavic peoples.

4. 'regemque eorum Boz nomine cum filiis suis et LXX primatibus'—Jordanes, *Getica*, chap. 48.

5. See p. 124; cf. p. 134.

6. στωμύλος τε ὄν καὶ ὑφαγόρας—Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 5.

7. Menander Protector in *HGM*, 2: 5–6 (ed. de Boor, p. 443).

among various peoples where the members of a certain dynasty became tribal leaders by popular election). At certain times, when larger groups of tribes acted in concert, one of these leaders was proclaimed or recognized by popular choice as the leader of the tribal confederation. We encounter such tribal leaders and principal leaders with quite clear designation of their powers among the Danubian Slavs, with whom the Greeks had the most frequent contacts and whose political system contemporary Greek authors fully identified with that of the Antae (a uniformity quite probable in the conditions of the time). There is mention, for example, of ‘the land of Ardagastos,’ who appears elsewhere as the commander of the army. Sources also name such individuals as ‘Peiragastos, who was the tribal leader (φύλαρχος) of the barbarian horde,’ ‘Musokios, who was called *rex* in the barbarian tongue,’ and so forth.⁸

Maurice clearly had just such tribal leaders in mind when he reported that the Sclaveni and Antae had many *rheges* (ῥήγες), who usually did not live in peace with one another and who joined together and chose a single leader only when confronted by a common threat or by war.

The term *rheges* (ῥήγες) that Maurice uses may be something more than a literary designation (Latin *reges*), like those applied by classical authors to various barbarian chiefs without regard for the actual titles they held among their own people. It may be his rendering of an existing Slavic title among the Antae and Danubian Slavs for such tribal leaders. This is suggested by the reference cited above (in Theophylaktos Simokattes, a contemporary of Emperor Maurice) to Musokios, ‘who was called *rex* (ῥήξ) in the barbarian [that is, Slavic—M.H.] tongue.’ As we can see, the reference is quite unambiguous, and even though the title was no longer used among the Slavs during historical times,⁹ it is quite possible that the word was used in this meaning during Proto-Slavic times. The term is, in fact, a common Indo-European word (Sanskrit *rāj*, *raja*; Latin *rex*, Old Celtic *rix*) that had evidently disappeared from use in the Germanic and Balto-Slavic family of languages but had been reintroduced into them owing to the influence of Celtic culture. The Germanic peoples adopted it from the Celts (from the Old Celtic *riqs*, Irish *râg*, Gothic *reiks*—‘leader’; Old Irish *râge*, [Old] High German *rihhi*—‘state,’ ‘Reich’). From the Germans, most probably from the Goths, the term was borrowed by the Baltic tribes and perhaps also by the Slavs. In Old Prussian, *rikis* means ‘master,’ and *riks* means ‘state’; the Rus'-Lithuanian *rykunĭja* means ‘mistress,’ which would allow for a Slavic form of the word as the title of the tribal leader.

Another such title, also adopted from the Germanic peoples (perhaps the Goths) during Proto-Slavic times or at the very beginning of the Slavic dispersion, is *кѣниазь* ‘king,’ from the [Old] High German *chuning* (actually *knjažič* ‘king’s son,’ from **kuni* ‘king,’ with the added patronymic suffix *-ing*), as well as the Old Prussian *konagis*, Finnish *kuningas* ‘king,’ Lithuanian *kūningas*—‘master,’ ‘priest,’ and so forth. It is difficult to establish in what sense the term was initially used by the Slavs—whether it meant the highest and most powerful leader, like the term *kral*, *korol* ‘king,’ adopted several centuries later (from the name Charlemagne [Karl der Grosse]), or whether it carried the broader meaning of rule in general. Later this word assumed widely divergent meanings. In some regions it served as a general honorific, as, for example,

8. τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρδάγαστον χώραν—Theophylaktos Simokattes 6.7 and 1.7; Πειράγαστος φύλαρχος δὲ οὗτος τῆς πληθοῦς ἐκείνης—idem, 7.4; Μουσώκιον τὸν λεγόμενον ῥήγα τῆ τῶν Βαρβάρων φωνῆ—idem, 6.9.

9. The ancient tradition may, however, be reflected in the following passages in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle: ‘*riks* Béla, called the Hungarian king,’ and ‘the Hungarian *riks*, that is, king’—*Hyp.*, pp. 507, 554. It is quite clear that the chronicler had in mind the title *rex*, but, rendering it in this form, might he not have been influenced by the recollection of an ancient Slavic title?

among the Poles, where it became *książę* (prince) and *książdz* (priest), like the Lithuanian *kūningas*. Among the East Slavs it meant 'ruler,' 'holder of power,' 'chief of a certain territorial region,' which could be large or small (thus, in the thirteenth century, the Bolokhiv *kniaz*i were the heads of very small urban districts). Among the South Slavs, *knez* was reduced to mean a village elder; it is used in this meaning now, and it is with that meaning that it entered into the vocabulary of the communities under Wallachian law, where *kniaz'* means a village elder (synonymous with *jude*, *judex*).¹⁰ In light of the wide range of meanings that the title has, we can only hypothesize about its significance in Proto-Slavic times.¹¹ Without delving much further into this subject, let me just note that foreign terms designating exercise of authority are very often adopted to indicate a higher degree of power than described by existing terms in the source language, and this may well have been true of *chuning* and *reiks*. These terms may have been borrowed to designate the highest tribal chiefs or leaders.

However, in a social organization based on the clan, whatever the leaders of tribes may have been called, they remained *primi inter pares*, that is, first among the other 'elders' who headed the tribe's clans, and their every important step had to be taken with the knowledge and approval of the other elders. This then constituted the beginnings of what Prokopios called Slavic 'democracy.' To be sure, such a form of political organization could be regarded as democracy only in contrast to Byzantino-Roman monarchy, since in reality it was more a patriarchal-aristocratic order in which only the elders of the constituent clans had a voice, just as in later historical times (eleventh and twelfth centuries), after the decline of the clan system, only the patriarchs of the families had a voice in decision making. Furthermore, all matters that went beyond internal tribal affairs required the consent and approval of the council of elders and the people from the affected tribes. Prokopios gives us a very brief but interesting description of one such large popular assembly of the Antae in the episode about Pseudo-Chilbudios. He relates that when news about this Pseudo-Chilbudios spread among the Antae, nearly all of them gathered together and decided to deal with the matter in a communal fashion, persuading themselves that they would benefit greatly from having the Greek general Chilbudios in their hands.¹² At their assembly, they used threats to force Pseudo-Chilbudios to play the role of the real Chilbudios, and they made plans to take some unspecified action against Byzantium and the Danubian Slavs, with whom they were on hostile terms. Evidently all matters that required unanimous action by the tribes or groups of clans, such as waging war, mobilizing military forces, electing a single leader from among the tribal elders, and the like, were decided by such general assemblies. 'Everything that involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people,' says Prokopios.

Such unanimity among a large group of tribes was difficult and transient. Prokopios and, even more so, Pseudo-Maurice pointed out that there were great differences between the leaders, and that the general masses were unwilling to show subordination. Maurice even claimed that this lack of discipline was reflected in the manner in which the Slavs waged war—that is, that they did not fight in close, regular ranks and disliked to wage battle on open and level ground, preferring to set ambushes and mount surprise attacks. Maurice wrote that their decisions were

10. See the interesting study by Bogdan, 'Über die rumänischen Knesen.'

11. Scholars have often put forward the theory that the term *kniaz'* was adopted as a result of Germanic, and particularly Gothic, rule over the Slavs. But this conjecture is quite arbitrary.

12. 'But when the report was carried about and reached the entire nation, practically all the Antae assembled to discuss the situation, and they demanded that the matter be made a public one.' Prokopios, *De bello Gotthico* 3.14.

changeable and seldom lasting, because they opposed one another out of envy and ambition and acted out of spite toward one another. As a result, he stated, their word and agreements were not to be trusted. They overcame their differences only in the face of an immediate common danger, when they subordinated their individual opinions to the authority of one man (μοναρχίαν ποιήση). But even in such cases, it is unlikely that such unity ever encompassed all the Antae tribes. In the account of Prokopios cited above, we cannot take literally his words that 'practically all the Antae' took part in the council. More than likely, he was referring to the Antae tribes living closer to the Byzantine borders, and not to all the Antae inhabiting the territory between the Dnister and the Don.

Such were the political relations between the Ukrainian tribes during the period of their dispersion. There is evidence that they joined into many small groups (probably tribal), headed by leaders. Judging by the number of such leaders, these tribes were smaller than those populating Ukrainian territory in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Nevertheless, they must have been larger than regular clans, even larger than clans in the broader sense. There was no permanent uniform political organization, but upon occasion unanimity was exhibited in responding to a common threat or when common interests were at stake. Apart from the dynasties of leaders, an important role was played by the popular assembly (*viche*). From time to time, such assemblies vested authority in military leaders elected from among the group of leaders, and these military leaders superseded the regular leaders and assembled large military forces.

* * *

After Maurice's account, another three centuries passed before fresh sources cast light on the political organization of the Ukrainian tribes. We have no specific dates in their history until the tenth century.

Over these centuries, the colonization process was consolidated, and only the reverse movement of population from the steppes, under pressure from the Turkic hordes, introduced some significant changes. The accounts from this period do not apply to the unstable, seminomadic periphery described by Prokopios and Maurice in their reports about the Antae, but to the more compactly and densely settled northern regions. By then, the clan structure had grown weaker and begun to decline. The tribal organization had also weakened and territorial relations, ushered in by urban life, prevailed. All these factors altered the political order, introducing changes into the political organization, which therefore differs significantly from the *Sturm und Drang* period of the Antae era.

We know how the tribes were grouped in this period. The Primary Chronicle is as clear as can be in reporting that each tribe was a separate ethnic entity. The tribes differed from one another in their ethnic characteristics. 'For they had their own customs, and the law and traditions of their fathers, each their own habits,' writes the chronicler, and then he attempts to describe the differences in customs, rituals, and way of life of the different tribes. These descriptions are not always positive, but they are important in that, writing at a time when the significance of the division into tribes had not been forgotten, the ancient author knew it to have been of an ethnic nature. Indeed, archaeology reveals certain differences in burial rituals and cultural furnishings among the various tribes. Perhaps, in time, dialectology will also reveal more clearly traces of tribal differences in the language, inasmuch as dialectal differences, like cultural differences, may have served as one of the distinguishing features between the tribes.

These differences between tribes may have existed in their ancestral homeland from the outset, or they may have emerged in their new places of settlement over a long period of time. There is no need to exaggerate them; sometimes even small distinctions are sufficient for the inhabitants of a certain locality to perceive themselves as separate and distinct from their neighbors. The view that the division into tribes in Old Rus' was politico-geographical in nature, because the differences in customs and level of civilization were too small to have produced such divisions, cannot be supported. The political grouping came later, and it was then that the names of regions, taken from the names of political centers, gradually replaced the older, tribal ethnic names. Thus, we have seen that the name of the Dulibians was replaced by the newer names of Buzhanians, Volhynians, Cherven towns, etc. This occurred very early, whereas among other tribes, such as the Derevlians and Viaticians, where no such political centers emerged, the tribal names survived much longer.¹³

Because of their size and dispersion over vast territories whose parts were often only tenuously linked, these tribes lent themselves badly to political organization. As a result, when later they did organize politically, they usually split into smaller entities. There is, however, some evidence of the endurance of the original tribal units, testifying to the survival of some internal, perhaps no more than psychological, ties within the ancient tribal entity. To be sure, the question of the continued vitality of ancient tribal divisions and its significance for subsequent political groupings is not a simple one. Scholarly literature contains opposing views on this, and there are very few concrete facts to help us illuminate the matter. Above all, we do not know the precise ethnic borders of old.¹⁴ Yet, certain facts bear clear witness that the ancient tribal relations played some role in the establishment of later relations. Such traces of their continued significance as the separation of the Kyivan Drehovichians in the twelfth century into a distinct principality, in some measure the protracted separate existence of the Viaticians under their own name, and the vivid recollection of territorial borders that surfaced in later accounts suggest that we need to regard the old ethnic groups as the vital basis on which later political organizations were built.

To be sure, the political entities that formed later did not conform exactly to the earlier ethnic groups. Not only did several groups sometimes emerge from a single tribe, or, vice versa, several tribes unite into one group (for example, the Chernihiv and Pereiaslav Principalities on Siverianian territory, or the Principality of Kyiv comprising Polianians and Derevlians), but some political centers annexed parts of foreign ethnic territory (as to this, we should keep in

13. The theory of the political nature of the Old Rus' tribal division was put forward by N. Barsov, in his *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, p. 80ff.: 'When explaining the significance of the so-called East Slavic tribes, we must put aside any notion of ethnic differences; each branch of East Slavdom was not an ethnic, but a political entity.' Later this view was developed, though not very felicitously, by Filevich, in his *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, pp. 221–23 and elsewhere in the work. Barsov's theory was opposed by Maikov in a review of Barsov's *Ocherki*, entitled 'Zametki po russkoi istoricheskoi geografii.'

14. The view that the division into tribes had an effect on the later political organization of Rus' was articulated clearly by Passek in 'Kniazheskaia i dokniazheskaia Rus'.' It was later developed further by Kostomarov ('Mysli o federativnom nachale'), who made it the basis of his well-known theory of the federative principle in the Rus' system. This view also formed the basis of the Kyiv series of monographs on the individual regions that were written according to the scheme laid out by Antonovych. On one side, opposition to this view came from those who believed the old tribal division to have been destroyed by the subsequent division into principalities. The first to express this idea was Solov'ev (*Istoriia Rossii*, 3: 691), and we also find it in Kliuchevskii (*Boiarskaia дума*, p. 25, and *Kurs russkoi istorii*, 1: 158–59). From the other side, the original theory was attacked by opponents of the ethnic interpretation of the tribal organization, such as Barsov and Filevich (see fn. 13 above).

mind that ethnic borders were often indistinct, that there were regions of mixed settlement, and so forth). This, however, did not prevent the tribes from serving in some degree as the foundation on which political structures arose. The example of the Kyiv region shows how much later, in the twelfth century, contemporaries distinguished the 'Rus' land' proper, i.e., the land of the Polianians, from the 'Kyivan domains,' that is, foreign tribal regions that were dependent on Kyiv.

The principal factor, however, that gave rise to political organizations and political relations in this period was the rise of fortified towns and the relations between them. The town, in combination with the tribal foundation, produced new domains or territories, called *volosti*, which were linked with certain towns that served as their political centers.¹⁵ These entities became the foundation for later political relations, and the evolution of these town-centered structures became the measure, so to speak, of the cultural development of each tribe. Where culture, trade relations, and urban life were more developed, there larger towns emerged and became the centers of larger territories; where no such cultural elements developed, no such town hegemonies evolved, and the tribal territory consisted of a large number of small urban communities.

Political relations within these variously sized town communities and relations between them—despite all the modifications introduced by the evolution of town life and despite the dominance of the territorial principle over that of the clan and tribe—were nevertheless similar to political relations in the times of the Antae. In place of the tribal groups of the Antae period, we now find towns and their domains headed by 'princes' and governed by the same kind of 'democracy' in their political life.

The Kyivan chronicler of the eleventh century imagined that before the rise of the Kyivan dynasty, the Derevlians, the Drehovichians, the Polianians, and the other tribes had their own princes. The dynasty of the three Kyivan brothers held 'princely power among the Polianians,' while 'the Derevlians had their own prince, and the Drehovichians had theirs, and the Slovenians theirs, in Novgorod and another one on the Polota [River].'¹⁶ Although this description is closely linked with the legend of the Kyivan brothers, it is quite probable on its own merit. We know the names of princes who did not belong to the Kyivan dynasty and who remained from the earlier social order, such as the Derevlian prince Mal, and perhaps also the Viatichian Khodota, who together with his son caused trouble for Vsevolod in the 1080s. Unfortunately, we know few details about these princes. With respect to Mal, the Primary Chronicle relates only that the Derevlians' revolt against Ihor took place after they had consulted 'with their prince Mal' and that they later tried to arrange a marriage between him and Ihor's widow.¹⁷ We know even less about Khodota. In the autobiography [*Testament*] of Volodymyr Monomakh, there is only a very short mention that he waged two campaigns ('two consecutive winters') against the 'Viatichians,' against 'Khodota and his son.'¹⁸

15. In the classic description of relations between towns in the Old Rus' period given by the Suzdal Chronicle (*Lavr.*, p. 358), the functional territorial units of older and smaller towns were called *volosti*, that is, political and administrative entities: 'From the very beginning, the Novgorodians and the Smolensians, and the Kyivans and the Polochanians, and all the *volosti* have gathered for debate in assembly: Whatsoever the older [towns] decide is accepted by the by-towns....' Cf. the analysis of the term *volost'* in Sergeevich, *Russkie iuridicheskie drevnosti*, 1: 3–5.

16. *Hyp.*, p. 6.

17. *Hyp.*, pp. 34–35; *Novg. I*, p. 9.

18. *Lavr.*, p. 239. He does not hold the title of prince in this entry, but that is not significant.

The chronicler's references to ancient principalities among the various tribes are not clear; we cannot determine whether the author had in mind that each tribe was ruled by a single prince or by more than one. Nor is it clear whether Prince Mal ruled the whole of the Derevlianian land or whether there were several princes there. The Chronicle refers to him simply as Mal, 'Derevlianian prince,' but quotes the Derevlians as calling him 'our prince,' which suggests that he was the prince of the whole Derevlianian land. But folk legend, recorded a century later, seldom offers such precision, and legends, as a rule, tend to generalize. In another passage, the legend or its editor attributes the following important phrase to Mal's envoys: '*our princes are good* and have made fruitful the Derevlianian land.'¹⁹ This is clear evidence of a larger number of contemporary Derevlianian princes (only by stretching the text can one conclude that the reference is to a dynasty of princes who succeeded one another). This also conforms to the Chronicle's assumption that the heirs of all three Kyivan brothers ruled in the Polianian land.²⁰ In real terms, it is difficult, even well-nigh impossible, to imagine a single prince ruling extensive tribal territories in the absence of a military and administrative structure and in view of the prince's rather secondary role vis-à-vis the popular assembly, as was the case with princes who had no retinues.

A very valuable and interesting illustration of the role of the popular assembly is provided by the account of the Derevlianian war. The prince or princes play a very secondary role in this story, while the entire affair is conducted by the Derevlians, the 'best men, who keep charge of the Derevlianian land.' The uprising takes place after the Derevlians have 'conferred with their prince, Mal.' But it is the 'best men' who make the decision to fight, and the chronicler, in continuing his account (or so the legend goes), ignores Mal and speaks only of the Derevlians. The decision to arrange a marriage between Mal and Ihor's widow is also made by the 'Derevlians,' and the envoys to Olha in the matter are sent by the 'Derevlianian land.' This fully corresponds to the old 'democratic' order of the Antae and most probably reflects what actually happened. Precisely because the role of the prince was so ambiguous and because there was no strong political organization encompassing the entire land or tribe, it is highly unlikely that a single prince could have ruled the whole land. In all likelihood, in the tribal lands, especially those with weak political structures, like that of the Derevlians, there were a number of princes in the domains of the towns, similar to the later princes of the small Bolokhiv communities in the same Derevlianian land. They wielded little power, and they played a secondary role to the community and its 'best men.' Apart from such principalities, there may also have been districts that had no princes and were administered solely by the 'best men' or 'elders' of the land. Thus, in the later movement against the system of administration by a prince and his retinue (in the mid-thirteenth century), we encounter, in addition to the Bolokhiv principalities, communities without princes in the Boh region.²¹

These observations cast light on one important feature that should be noted. There is no mention of princes in the Primary Chronicle's accounts of the different tribes before the emergence of the prince-and-retinue order. The Chronicle speaks only of the tribes: the Polianians, Ulychians, or Derevlians go to war, deliberate in council, or manifest their existence in other ways. The Kyivan princes wage war on different tribes, but nowhere in the Chronicle is there any mention of their mounting campaigns against Ulychian, Siverianian, or

19. *Novg. I.* Variant: 'They have already fattened (*rozpasli*) the Derevlianian land.'

20. 'And after these brothers their kin began to hold the princely power among the Polianians.'

21. See vol. 3, chap. 2, of this *History*.

Viatician princes. Undoubtedly, in the pre-retinue period, the role of the prince was so insignificant in comparison with the will and role of the land or domain and its popular assembly that, in the recollection of later generations, tradition took no account of the princes. The single instance in which a prince is named is the Derevlianian prince Mal. But there is an exceptional reason for this: the folk tradition turned on the mocking representation of the Derevlianians' unsuccessful attempt to arrange a marriage between the Derevlianian prince and the Kyivan princess. But here, too, as we see, the prince is soon relegated to an inferior role and is replaced by the 'Derevlianians.'

The role of princes in the northern Ukrainian domains in the ninth to tenth centuries was probably even less important than that of the chiefs of the southern Antae. In the seminomadic, warlike, and predatory life of the Black Sea population, the Antae chiefs must have headed military bands that comprised their retinues. These retinues, closely bound to their leaders, gave their chiefs support and enhanced their power in internal tribal affairs. In the settled, agricultural life of the northern domains, such conditions for the formation of retinues and, consequently, for the evolution of princely rule did not exist. Also, the joining of domains and princes into larger alliances and into joint undertakings, encompassing the whole tribe and headed by a single leader, must have progressed at a slower pace and have had to overcome greater passivity in the more secure, northern regions of the ninth and tenth centuries than in the chaotic, unsettled conditions of the sixth century. It was only after the appearance of the retinue in Kyiv that the role of the Kyivan prince grew and that he began absorbing the surrounding domains under his rule. Whether anything similar existed in other tribal centers before the rise of Kyiv remains unknown.

The only historical account that suggests some broader political organization elsewhere than Kyiv is the report we have already cited by al-Mas'udi about the realm of Valinana and its king, Majak.²² According to al-Mas'udi, the Valinana were one of the principal Slavic tribes. At one time, they ruled all the other tribes, whose kings were vassals of the king of the Valinana. Later, conflicts broke out, there was unrest, and the tribes separated and were governed by their own kings. This story clearly contains much exaggeration. Moreover, no realm of the size suggested by al-Mas'udi's account could have existed. In general, his information about the Slavic tribes is not very accurate; also, it is difficult to decipher because of considerable confusion and lack of reliability with respect to names. The same is true of this account. Apart from its being overly general, the name of the Valinana and their king can be read in so many ways that, thus far, no attempt has been made to establish the definitive form. It may be that it can be applied to the Ukrainian Volhynians with greater probability than to some other Slavic tribe or region,²³ but the leap from probability to reality is a long one, especially because the only facts we know that might confirm al-Mas'udi's claim are that the town of Volyn existed and the name of the Volhynians was a political rather than a tribal designation.

22. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 137. Variants: Makhak, Majal, Babak. For the account, see above, p. 158.

23. Westberg (*Kommentarii na zapisku*) argues against applying this reference to the Volhynians, on the grounds that, according to the Chronicle, the name appeared later. In fact, the Chronicle enables us to date Volyn's political significance to the end of the ninth century, or to that century's latter half, without any difficulty (see above, p. 158). However, for al-Mas'udi, who wrote this account in the 940s, what had happened at the end of the ninth century meant 'in earlier times,' as he wrote in reference to the realm of Valinana.

If al-Mas'udi's account is accurate, sometime in the ninth century (perhaps toward the end) Volyn would have had to have been the center of a political system that encompassed neighboring domains or tribes, though not on the broad scale that al-Mas'udi envisaged. In any event, that entity could not have been as large as al-Mas'udi represents.²⁴ Exaggerated information about it may have reached the Arabs along the trade route leading from western Europe to the East. But even judging by these accounts, that political entity did not endure long and clearly was not very powerful.

In light of the features of al-Mas'udi's account noted above, the information it contains can be applied to the Volhynians only very hypothetically. Thus, we cannot be certain whether there indeed existed powerful political organizations on Ukrainian territory before the emergence of Kyiv and its princes as the dominant political entity.

Let us therefore move on to Kyiv.

* * *

The history of the origins of the Kyivan state is one of the most difficult questions in world history—not so much because of a lack of information, as because of the existing tradition, which continues to perplex scholars. I have in mind the Chronicle of Kyiv and its account of the origins of the Kyivan state. As discussed in greater detail in the special excursus on the Primary Chronicle,²⁵ it was compiled in several stages in the latter half of the eleventh century for the express purpose of answering: 'where the Land of Rus' [i.e., the Kyivan Principality, because the Kyivan land meant Rus' in a narrower sense—M.H.] came from; who first began to rule in Kyiv as prince; and from whence the Land of Rus' came into being.' Even then the answer to the question was not known, and those who sought to explain these matters had to resort to conjecture and hypothesizing.

Various legends about the origins of the Kyivan state must have existed at the time. The Chronicle relates the legend of the three Polianian brothers, Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv, who together built the town of Kyiv and named it after the oldest brother, while their own names survived in the names of such landmarks as Shchekavytsia, Khoryvytsia, and the river Lybid (named after their sister). The Kyivan sages of the eleventh century traced the name of the Polianians and the Polianian tribe from these brothers.²⁶ Concurrently, in these and other explanations of the origins of Kyiv, the same three brothers were regarded as the ancestors of the Kyivan ruling dynasty. The account in the Primary Chronicle retains traces of that

24. See Note 4 on Marquart's hypothesis that the account reflects a recollection of the sixth-century state of the Antae (he believed that Majak and Mezamer were one and the same), that this state was actually made up of many Slavic tribes, and that, like the Bulgars, it controlled the steppe hordes. Al-Mas'udi's account was accepted without reservation in Russian scholarship by Kliuchevskii (*Kurs russkoi istorii*, 1: 124), who on its basis argued that the Dulibians, like the Rus' after them, ruled all the East Slavs and passed on to them their name (Volhynians). He dated this to the period of the Avar invasion.

25. See Excursus 1.

26. Compare: 'They were wise and keen-witted men. They were called Polianians, and from them there are Kyivans-Polianians to this day' (*Hyp.*, p. 5). The word 'Kyivans' is obviously a later gloss—cf. the Tolstoi Manuscript of the *Novg. I.*: 'from them there are Polianians to this day.' Initially, perhaps only the word *Кієвъ* was added, as in the Radziwiłł Manuscript (*Lavr.*, p. 9). Later, the text was amended with the following correction: 'for there were Polianians before these brothers'—a statement clearly contradicting the notion that the Polianians were descended from the three Kyivan brothers.

interpretation.²⁷ Jan Długosz's paraphrase contains what appears to be a trace of a rather old and authoritative compilation, in which the Kyivan dynasty, including Askold and Dyr, is represented as descended directly from Kyi and his brothers.²⁸ Of course, the legend of the Kyivan brothers was merely a so-called etymological myth: the names of localities were transformed into historical personages, the hero founders of the town. Parallel with this legend there existed a second tradition in which Kyi was a ferryman on the Dnipro, as a consequence of which the location where Kyiv later arose was called Kyi's ferry. This second myth may also have served to explain the origins of the Kyivan state, just as the legend of the founding of Rome by Romulus served the same purpose for millennia.

But the chronicler was not content with these and other, now forgotten legends. And so, he put forward another, highly contrived theory that traced the Rus' name and the origins of the Kyivan state and its ruling dynasty to the Varangians. The elements on which this theory of the 'Rus' state is based are not difficult to pinpoint. They include the tradition of a 'Varangian' conquest of the northern lands ('the Varangians from overseas were taking tribute from the Chud and the Slovenians...'); the presence in Kyiv in the tenth and eleventh centuries of large bands of Scandinavians, or Varangians, as they were called in Kyiv (the *Vaeringjar* of the Scandinavian sagas);²⁹ the fact that they played an important role at the court of the prince in Kyiv, particularly during the tenth century, at times giving it a decidedly Varangian quality; and, finally, the fact that as early as in the tenth century these Varangians adopted the name 'Rus' from the name of the state that they served, especially as the Rus' name was very closely linked with the Kyiv retinue. Varangians, calling themselves Rus', later moved on to other lands, as a result of which Byzantine documents from the second half of the eleventh century, for example, equate the Rus' with the Varangians: Βάραγγοι Ρῶς—Varangians-Rus'.³⁰

Such was the general background. But specific events may also have played a role. Take, for instance, an event that we know of: in 979 (by my count), Volodymyr took Kyiv with the help of Varangian troops. The Varangians regarded Kyiv as their booty and demanded tribute: 'This is our fortified town. We took it.' That is the legend recorded in the Chronicle.³¹ In relating it, the chronicler remembered that Volodymyr was not a Varangian *konung*, but a Kyivan *kniaz'*. Had a similar incident occurred a century earlier, however, it could easily have served as the basis for a legend that the Kyivan princes and their retinues were Varangians, that they took the Kyiv region by force, and that there had been no princes there before them! Similar events may have played a role in the theory put forward by the chronicler. That the theory was wholly—or to a very large extent—the product of the chronicler's *own* conjectures, rather than derived from an existing popular tradition regarding the Varangian origin of the Kyivan state, is indicated by the fact that, apart from the Chronicle, no other ancient written

27. In the Primary Chronicle: 'And after these brothers their kin began to hold the princely power among the Polianians' (the Novgorod variant does not contain this passage).

28. 'After the death of Kyg, Szczyek, and Korew, their sons and grandsons ruled among the Ruthenians in a direct line of succession for many years, and then the succession passed to two full brothers, namely, Oszkald and Dyr'—Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, 1: 63. Later compilations contain a version that regards Askold and Dyr as 'Kyi's nephews' (Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 140).

29. The term *Veringjar* is usually derived from the Old Norse *vár*, meaning 'faith,' 'oath,' hence, the retinue under oath. V. Tomsen, 'Nachalo,' lecture 3.

30. On this point—very important in explaining the genesis of the Chronicle legend—see, in particular, Vasil'evskii, 'Variago-russkaia i variago-angliiskaia družhina,' reprinted in *idem, Trudy*, vol. 1.

31. *Hyp.*, p. 53.

work, nor oral tradition, contains a clear allusion to any legend about the Varangian origin of the Rus' name and the Rus' state.³²

The Varangian theory is coupled with its Novgorodian variant. Overshadowed by the Varangian theory, which has drawn so much attention, the Novgorodian variant, which is linked with the former, has drawn much less notice. Yet it is articulated quite clearly and needs to be taken into account as well. The 'Varangianization' of the Novgorodians is represented as the result of the voluntary invitation they extended to the Varangian dynasty to rule them. The ancient tradition of Varangian occupation and rule of the Novgorod lands has been neutralized by the fact that the Novgorodians and company drove out their earlier Varangian invaders, and the later Varangian element among them had no connection with these earlier conquerors. Thus the honor of Novgorod is saved. Stressed instead is that Kyiv was captured and ruled on many occasions by Varangian dynasties from Novgorod—first by Askold and Dyr, later by Oleh and Ihor—just as in later centuries Kyiv was taken both by Volodymyr and by his son Iaroslav with the help of the Varangians and Novgorodians. Thus the idea that Novgorod was ever conquered is negated, inasmuch as it was never captured from Kyiv, and the concept of conquest is turned full force against Kyiv. The tribute that the Novgorodians paid to the Kyivan princes is not viewed as a contribution to the Kyivan treasury, but rather as payment to the Novgorodian Varangians in Kyiv, who are regarded as the Novgorodians' kin ('and the people of Novgorod are of Varangian stock'). They also imported their princes from Kyiv by choice (e.g., the story of the Novgorodians' asking Sviatoslav to send one of his sons to govern them).

On the one hand, this tendentious interpretation arises from Novgorod's efforts to win political autonomy (recall the negotiations under way at the time the Chronicle ends [the beginning of the twelfth century] between the princes and the Novgorodians to persuade them to accept the son of Sviatopolk instead of the son of Volodymyr Monomakh as their ruler). On the other hand, it is based on the old Novgorodian tradition that Novgorod was the most important princely town after Kyiv and the seat of the heir to the Kyivan throne. That was the position of Novgorod during Ihor's reign, and subsequent events, such as the taking of Kyiv by Volodymyr and Iaroslav, confirmed and bolstered Novgorod's role among the descendants of Iaroslav. In fact, the Novgorodian princes did indeed prove to be the future rulers of Kyiv, and Novgorod became the seedbed of Kyivan princes, the Rus' *vagina regum*.

Influenced by this political bias, the compilers of our Chronicle, quite prone to artificial conjectures in any event, ultimately put forward the following conclusions as the result of their collective effort, suppositions, and observations. The name *Rus'* was brought to Kyiv by the

32. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, pp. 309–319) stated that 'persistent tradition pointed to the Varangian origin of the Kyivan princely dynasty and that of the prince's retinue.' As evidence he cited the following passage from the 'Synaxary *Life of St. Volodymyr*': 'There was Sviatoslav's son of Varangian origin, Prince Volodymyr,' as well as the apostrophe from the sermon for the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee to the 'nobles' that had already been cited by Kliuchevskii: 'Do not brag about your ancestry, do not say my father was a boyar and Christ's martyrs are my brothers.' Kliuchevskii interpreted this as bragging about having a Varangian ancestry, that is, about being related to Kyiv's Varangian martyrs. But the first text must be viewed as a gloss in the 'Synaxary *Life*,' because we have texts without this passage (see Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 28), and the apostrophe cited by Kliuchevskii, even if we accept his interpretation, speaks of the fashion among the retinue to brag about their Varangian ancestry, but has no bearing on the origins of the ruling dynasty. Although Shakhmatov merely cites this as an example, I believe he was unable to find other, more specific examples, because he later confined himself to citing Iaroslav's family ties with the Varangian *konungs* to imply that 'they are of significance to the question of the Varangian origin of the Kyivan princely dynasty.' Outside the Chronicle, it is difficult to find traces of any kind of tradition, let alone a 'persistent' one, concerning the Kyivan dynasty's Varangian origin.

Varangians; it was the name of the Varangians who emigrated first to Novgorod and from there to Kyiv. The resettlement occurred as a result of the fact that the Novgorodians invited the Varangian dynasts of this tribe to become their princes. The Novgorodians, Krivichians, Meria, and Chud were conquered by the Varangians and paid them tribute. Eventually these peoples succeeded in driving the Varangians out 'beyond the sea.' But they were unable to establish order, and internal strife continued among them to such a degree that they turned once again to the Varangians and invited their princes to come and rule over them. Three brothers—Riuryk, Sineus, and Truvor—responded to the invitation and, arriving 'with their kin,' settled in the principal towns of the Novgorodians, Chud, and Krivichians. Of the three, only Riuryk survived. During the reign of Riuryk's son, Ihor, the Varangian Rus' state annexed the lands along the Dnipro, and Kyiv became its capital. The Varangians came to Kyiv in the middle of the ninth century, because during the second half of the ninth century the Byzantines already knew of Rus', and the author of the Primary Chronicle regarded Rus' as the Kyivan state.

The compilers of the Chronicle did not discard the legend of the three brothers Kyi, Shchek and Khoryv, but they interpreted it in such a way as to make it seem that the brothers' descendants had died out and that there were no princes in Kyiv in the ninth century (at the same time, they rejected outright the legend of Kyi the ferryman). The Kyivan princes Askold and Dyr, who did not belong to the later dynasty (tenth century), but who must have existed because their names survived in the names of Kyivan landmarks, were represented in the Chronicle as Varangians. Having obtained permission from the Novgorodian prince to leave Novgorod, they had captured Kyiv, which had no princes, but then had had to step aside for their prince, Ihor, when his guardian, Oleh, brought him to Kyiv.

It should be noted that yet another version, which was very widespread in later compilations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, went even further and transformed the three Kyivan brothers into natives of Novgorod. In these accounts, the brothers came to Kyiv after receiving permission to leave Novgorod from Prince Oleh; they founded Kyiv, and later were killed by Oleh. Moreover, in the new land Kyi became a condottiere, the leader of a retinue that he assembled, and was 'hired' by the Derevliaus.³³ These later versions are as worthless as the Chronicle's account of Askold and Dyr. The last version cited above reads very much like a fairy tale, while the existence of different variants of the story of Askold and Dyr and of Oleh also indicates how unreliable tradition was on this subject. Clearly, there was no firmly established popular tradition about the origins of the Kyivan ruling dynasty, and each chronicler offered his own theory (such as the legend of the three Kyivan brothers). In one version, Askold and Dyr were boyars serving Oleh, Ihor's guardian, who sent them to Greece. A second makes no mention of this, nor does it even regard Oleh as a prince; instead, it assigns to Ihor an active

33. See Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 69ff.; also, Zhdanov, *Russkii bylevoi épos*, p. 605, and Khalanskii, 'Ékskursy v oblast' drevnikh rukopisei,' pp. 412–13, 422. In the more expanded versions, the Kyivan brothers are represented as Novgorodian brigands, sentenced to death but then permitted to leave the land instead. With thirty other Novgorodians they came to the lands on the Dnipro and founded a town there. Interestingly, the shorter version of this account, which speaks only of the victory of Ihor (in others, of Oleh) over Kyi and his brothers (with no mention of Askold and Dyr), occurs in fairly early compilations (Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 72) and is repeated in a large number of collections. This suggests that it was not some later modification of the Chronicle account, but an independent version that only later was combined with that account. It would appear from this contamination that the Kyivan brothers released by Oleh were defeated by Askold and Dyr, Oleh's envoys, who were then defeated by Oleh (as in the variant 'Letopisets vkrattse,' in Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 70).

part in capturing Kyiv. In a third version, Ihor, or Oleh, takes Kyiv directly from its inhabitants.³⁴ It is quite likely that the earlier version linked the later Kyivan dynasty directly with Kyi, whereas the later conjectures concerning Askold, Dyr, and Oleh broke that link.³⁵

I have presented this episode in some detail because it reveals the conjectural nature of the labors of the Chronicle's compilers by showing us what materials they used. This allows us to discern the historical theory underlying the Primary Chronicle. But there is a good deal of other evidence that clearly points to the work's combinational character.³⁶ Thus the fact that the Varangians are reported to have arrived in the second half of the ninth century is obviously contingent on the account of the Rus' campaign against Byzantium in 860 contained in Byzantine sources. The story of Riuryk taking with him 'all the Rus'' when he set out for Novgorod bears the same clear signs of conjecture. The chronicler must have known that there were no Varangians-Rus' beyond the sea (which is why attempts by the proponents of the Normanist theory for more than a century and a half to find them there have produced no results). And so he prudently moved every last one of them to new settlements. Indeed, the Primary Chronicle's strong tendency to indulge in conjecture has now been acknowledged by scholars in both the Normanist and anti-Normanist camps, and the only subject on which disagreement is possible concerns the issue of the authenticity of the conjecture about the arrival of the Varangian dynasty to rule in Kyiv via Novgorod, or, if we accept the possibility that the chronicler relied on an existing legend or theory, whether this legend reflected what had really happened or was based on a mistaken assumption.

Generation upon generation of scholars has heatedly argued over this issue since the middle of the eighteenth century. Although the polemic has recently (in the last thirty years) subsided somewhat, the two conflicting views remain. We shall not examine the history of this argument in detail here,³⁷ but will present only its key aspects.

It was long taken for granted that a dynasty from overseas had indeed been invited to rule in Novgorod and that that dynasty later came to Kyiv. Scholars confined themselves to determining who these Varangians were and how to interpret the fact that a Varangian dynasty had been invited. In opposition to the so-called Normanists, who regarded the Varangians as Scandinavians, other scholars put forward the theory that a West Slav, Lithuanian, or other dynasty and its retinue had been invited to Rus' and that it had founded the Rus' state and its dynasty. As the polemic continued, however, it eventually became apparent that the Chronicle tradition itself was unreliable, that it was artificial and contained various contradictions and errors. As a result, this tradition was discredited, and historians attempted to set it aside when reconstructing the origins of the Rus' state.

In fact, the chronology of the Chronicle (dating the origin of the Rus' state to the middle of the ninth century) proved completely wrong. The Rus' state must have begun to take shape

34. The second version also appears in *Novg. I*, and the third in Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 139 (a chronicle compilation from the sixteenth century).

35. As I have already mentioned, the later compilations (Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 140) contain the version that Askold and Dyr were 'Kyi's cousins.' Taken one step further, Ihor would become Kyi's grandson. In the Novgorod variant of the Chronicle, Kyi is chronologically quite close to Ihor. That account gives the impression that the Varangians conquered the Novgorodians, and that the latter expelled them very shortly after the time of the three Kyivan brothers.

36. I have in mind the Primary Chronicle in its final redaction, but the theory in its embryonic state is already discernible in the initial redaction.

37. For a discussion of this question, see Excursus 2.

much earlier, because accounts of campaigns in the Black Sea by the Rus' and their princes date to as early as the beginning of the ninth century, and a Greek rhetorician of the first half of the ninth century speaks of the Rus' as a people notorious for their savage raids (the *Life of St. George of Amastris*). At that time, the Slavic Rus' were also well known in the remote East (Ibn Khurradadhbih). The Chronicle's theory that the name of the Rus' was brought from the north by the Varangian retinue is equally dubious. Clearly discernible in the Primary Chronicle itself,³⁸ despite the attempts of later editors to impose, as uniformly and categorically as possible, the notion that the name 'Rus' had been brought by the invited Varangian retinue, is the view of its first compiler (or compilers) that it was only when the Varangian retinues came to Kyiv that they began to be called Rus'. This is evidenced by the fact that in writing of the coming of the Varangians to Rus', this first compiler (compilers) did not say that they were the Rus', because he (they) regarded the name 'Rus' as part of the Kyivan tradition. On the one hand, historians are forced to reckon with the fact that no Norse Rus' have been found in the Scandinavian lands, and that, as a result, the accepted view among the Normanists that the Rus' name of the Varangians is derived from the name given them by the Finns requires considerable stretching of the facts.³⁹ On the other hand, historians must keep in mind that in local sources, the name 'Rus' is always applied specifically to the Polianian land, which clearly indicates that the name did not originate in the north, but rather in the south, and that it was indigenous to the Kyiv region.⁴⁰ Equally important is the *argumentum a silentio*. The northern sagas, which contain so much information about the Northmen who campaigned in Rus', do not even hint at a Scandinavian origin of the Rus' dynasty; for them, it is a foreign dynasty and Rus' is a foreign land. Nor do any Rus' sources other than the Primary Chronicle speak of the Varangian origin of the Rus'.

Nonetheless, historians have to deal with the facts that form the basis of the Varangian theory put forward by the Kyivan chroniclers, which is supported by their authority. They have to deal with the categorical tone in which the Chronicle is written and with the entire historical tradition founded on the views that it advances. These continue to influence the direction of historical thought. The theory advanced in the Chronicle has become the standard solution to the problem of determining the origins of the Rus' state. It is deeply ingrained in both domestic and western European scholarship, whereas the unscholarly Slavophile attacks on the Normanist theory as 'unpatriotic' have accustomed scholarly circles, especially those in the West, to view anti-Normanism as symptomatic of unscholarly thinking. This unquestionably paralyzes scholarly thought and keeps it on the well-trodden paths of tradition. The Varangian theory continues to obstruct investigations into the origins of the political life of the East Slavs. It is a 'stone of temptation' that historians are as hesitant to lay down as the sole foundation of the history of the Rus' state as they are to leap over it, fearing that they will trip over it like the epic hero Vasilius Buslaevich. In recent years, in particular, following decades of a more skeptical approach, we are witnessing a resurgence of respect for the Chronicle tradition (primarily under the influence of philological research). In conjunction with that has come a sense of uncertainty

38. I am referring to the well-known passage that has already been assessed by the Normanist Solov'ev (*Istoriia Rossii*, 1: 115): 'And he [Oleh] had Varangians and Slovenians and others with him. And they began to call themselves "Rus'."' This passage has been reconstructed by Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 542) to read: 'He [Oleh] had Varangians and thereafter they began to call themselves Rus'.' Cf. above, p. 146.

39. For a discussion of this, see Excursus 2.

40. See above, p. 144.

on the part of historians when confronted by the Varangian puzzle. Unable to make of it a cornerstone of the history of this era, they nevertheless refuse to allow a reconstruction of the period *without it*. Yet such reconstructions are inevitable.

Over nearly two centuries, the Normanists have amassed a large arsenal of evidence, including some genuinely important facts. But all they have managed to prove is that there were many Varangians in Rus' in princely service in the ninth and tenth centuries and that, owing to this, the Byzantines did not always distinguish the Varangian foreigners from the Rus'-Slavs. That is apparent from the most important historical sources—Liutprand and, especially, the *Annales Bertiniani*—as well as from philological evidence: the Norse names of the members of Oleh's and Ihor's retinues and the 'Rus' names of the Dnipro rapids in Constantine Porphyrogenetos, which are, at least in part, unquestionably Norse. But even without this evidence, we know that the Varangian element played an important role in court and state life during the ninth and tenth centuries. It was this that led the authors of the Chronicle to the Varangian theory. The problem lies elsewhere. Are their reports—that the princely dynasty of Kyiv, which built the Rus' state, was Norse; that it arrived from the north and conquered the south; and that by right of this conquest, with reliance on its own Varangian retinues, it built the sociopolitical system known as Rus'—accurate? Is it only a Varangian element that we need to take into account in the evolution of local life, or was this a Varangian state formed on a local Slavic foundation?

The theory of the Varangian state is based solely on the account of the Chronicle. Yet very few modern scholars, even those most favorably disposed towards the Normanist theory, are willing to accept the account in its entirety. These Normanists are especially skeptical about the Chronicle's account of the invitation of the Varangian *konungs* by the Novgorodians and their allies. Indeed, this theory is constructed so unreliably that even the most indulgent analysis makes it difficult to accept, beginning with the incredible claim that these northern politicians invited to rule over them the same conquerors whom they had just expelled on account of their cruelty, and ending with the strange federation of the Novgorodian Slovenians with the Finnic tribes—tribes that had undoubtedly been exploited economically and used as political pawns in Novgorod's political aspirations during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but that under no circumstances could ever have formed such a tribal alliance with the Novgorodians. Normanist scholars generally regard this story as a mistaken conjecture on the part of the Chronicle's authors and look for various political biases to explain it. Yet they want to regard other parts of the Chronicle as personifying genuine recollection and popular tradition, solely on the grounds that those parts appear more credible.

They also reject the Primary Chronicle's theory that the entire Varangian people resettled among the Slavs and congregated in various towns in large numbers, overshadowing the local Slavic or Finnic population.⁴¹ That is certainly buttressed by the fact that the Norse element left no significant traces either in the language or in the law or in the way of life, as might have been expected had there been such a mass migration. Therefore, to salvage the Varangian theory, it is necessary to admit that a dynasty arrived in Rus' with a small retinue, and that this group of Northmen was immediately, and almost without a trace, assimilated by the Slavic element.

41. 'The people of Novgorod are of Varangian stock, for previously they were Slovenians,' states the Primary Chronicle (*Lavr.*, p. 19).

Those theories that, in contrast to the Normanist theory, did not regard the Varangians of the Primary Chronicle as Scandinavians but also were based on the account of the invitation of the princes, were also unable to salvage the Chronicle's account. The most important of these was the Baltic theory: it regarded the Varangians of the Chronicle as Baltic Slavs, but that left it with all the same problems as the Normanist theory. Moreover, the Baltic theory is contradicted by the Primary Chronicle itself, because it unquestionably regards the Varangians as Northmen, and it is impossible to find any trace of a Baltic retinue in Rus', unlike in the case of the Northmen. The authors who put forward the Baltic theory were important only in that they polemicized with the Normanists, but the positive elements in their arguments were much too weak to be of any significance.

A second theory, which attracted some Normanists, was the Gothic theory, or, in its more recent guise, the Gothic-Herulian theory. So far, however, none of its representatives has put forward a complete construct of the origins of the Rus' state or done more than offer certain suggestions, which, as a rule, do not go beyond the origins of the name 'Rus'" itself.

No matter what corrections are made to the theory of the foreign origin of the Rus' and the Kyivan state, that foreign origin must be accepted on faith, from a rather late source, which, as we now know, was artificially constructed and contains a number of fundamental errors.

In view of this, scholarly prudence dictates that the Chronicle's Varangian theory cannot be regarded as the foundation on which to reconstruct Rus' history. Figuratively speaking, we can use it as decoration, but we cannot build anything on it, for that would be building on sand.

Thus we will attempt to examine the origins of the Rus' state, basing ourselves as little as possible on the theory of the Primary Chronicle, but, rather, making use of the data that the Chronicle provides independently of its bias, as well of data from other sources.

* * *

Our state is called Rus' in both local and foreign sources. That is the name by which it is known in the Primary Chronicle, in Arabic sources of the ninth and tenth centuries, and by Byzantine authors (Constantine Porphyrogenetos). These sources knew that Rus' was both the general name of this state and the name of its principal inhabitants, its ruling people. The name was extended to include the element that bound this state organization together, the retinue stratum, so that the name Rus' was also applied to the Varangians, who served this state. When they moved on, they continued to bear this name, even though it was not their original name. At the same time, the name Rus' is linked specifically with the land of the Polianians and with the Kyivan region: this is Rus', the Rus' land *par excellence*, as distinct from all others, just as a 'Rus' man' (a Kyivan) is distinct from persons from other lands.⁴² This association of the Rus' name with Kyiv and the Kyivans, on the one hand, and with the Kyivan state, on the other, is most easily explained by the fact that the name Rus', whatever its origin, was the particular name applied to the Kyivan region, to the Polianian land, when it was becoming the center of the larger Rus' state. Proceeding from Kyiv as its tribal center, the name encompassed ever larger territories.⁴³ That alone would suggest that this state organization must have emerged from Kyiv, given that the Rus' name, which later designated the whole state, derived from Kyiv.

42. See above, pp. 144–46.

43. For the derivation from the Finnish *Ruotsi*, especially in the newer version of this theory put forward by Shakhmatov, see Excursus 1.

It was quite natural for Kyiv to become the point from which a new state organization emerged. It was the largest center of trade and the wealthiest city on the entire territory of the later Rus' state. Its far-reaching commerce is documented by finds of Roman, Byzantine, and Arab coins on its territory.⁴⁴ Beginning with the ninth century, we also have written records about its wide-ranging trade relations. Trade and wealth always required defense, especially at a time when tribal warfare was the order of the day: the Polianians were 'abused by the Derevljanians and other surrounding peoples,' relates the Primary Chronicle. Kyiv, situated on the border of the Polianian land,⁴⁵ which extended in a narrow wedge between the lands of the Siverianians and the Derevljanians and was exposed to the attacks of various river pirates, had particular need for a strong, organized, and reliable defense to protect its trade and its merchant caravans. There is no doubt that the 'best men' who 'kept charge of' the Rus' land, the wealthy patrician families of Kyiv with a direct interest in this trade, had ensured such security at a very early date. Such a border town could have evolved into a center of trade only if its security were assured. The kind of broad network of commercial relations that we know Kyiv had by the ninth century would have been impossible without well-organized, battle-ready military retinues, and they must have appeared here very early on.

We cannot describe the exact circumstances under which these retinue troops appeared in Kyiv, and it is unlikely that we will ever be able to do so. Their appearance is not explained by the Primary Chronicle's theory that Kyiv was conquered by a Varangian dynasty that brought its own retinue, for, even setting aside the fact that the theory is completely unreliable, it is certain that Kyiv did not stand undefended, waiting for the arrival of the Varangians to provide it security, as the Chronicle would have us believe. According to its account, Askold and Dyr 'started out along the Dnipro, and, as they were going past, they saw a fortified town on a hill. And they asked, "Whose fortified town is this?" And they [the people there] said: "There were three brothers, Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv, who founded this fortified town, and they perished. And we, their kin, live here and pay tribute to the Khazars." And Askold and Dyr remained in this fortified town, and they collected many Varangians, and they began to rule the land of the Polianians.' Such an idyll is unimaginable on the Dnipro trade route among the Polianians, who had been 'abused by the surrounding peoples.' Nor do we find the answer in the legend about the three Kyivan brothers, because, as I have already stated, it is an etymological myth, inserted into the account to describe the times when Kyiv did not have a strong, organized political order and when the Polianians 'lived each with his own kin.'⁴⁶ Perhaps the most interesting detail in the tradition is the account in later chronicle compilations of Kyi as the condottiere, the leader of a retinue, but it is much too late to be of any use.

Even if we were to accept that the Kyivan dynasty in the tenth century was foreign, that is, Varangian (although, I repeat, this account comes from a very unreliable source), that would probably only mean that there was a change of dynasty, as represented in the earlier redaction of the Chronicle. A new Varangian dynasty may have replaced a local, Kyivan one. At most, the hereditary Varangian princes with their retinues replaced the earlier military organization,

44. For the history of the city of Kyiv, see vol. 2, chap. 4, of this *History*.

45. Across the Dnipro lay the land of the Siverianians, but, as we shall see further on (vol. 2), later Kyivan princes probably annexed a narrow strip of land on the left bank of the Dnipro to provide greater security for Kyiv.

46. In the Primary Chronicle, the Polianians lived at first 'each with his own kin' and then there appeared the three brothers (in another version, the progenitors of the Polianian tribe), who 'perished.' As a result, only the 'kin' remained, with no princes to rule them until the Varangians brought back princely rule (*Hyp.*, pp. 5-6, 7, 11-12).

without which it is impossible to imagine local life. Kyiv and a Varangian dynasty with a small group of Varangians who quickly merged with the Rus' element could only have accelerated the pace of the social evolution that had begun much earlier than depicted in the Primary Chronicle.

Deserving of note is one fact that may have been a vestige of the first steps toward a military organization at a time when Kyiv was not yet the only center of defense for the entire Polianian land. That fact was the presence in the Kyiv region of chiliarchs (*tysiats'ki*, sing. *tysiats'kyi*; heads of thousand-units), not only in Kyiv, but in Bilhorod and Vyshhorod as well. We encounter this form of military organization already in place during the earliest known period of the Rus' state (end of the tenth century). The land was divided into units of hundreds and tens; each *desiatnia* (a ten) was headed by a *desiats'kyi* (head of a ten), each *sotnia* (a hundred) by a *sots'kyi* (head of a hundred), and together they comprised the *tysiacha* (a thousand), headed by a chiliarch, or voivode, who was the highest military official of the land or the principality. The beginnings and evolution of this decimal organization, which existed among various Indo-European and other peoples (Peruvians, Mongols, etc.), are not well known, and its traces in historical times are quite weak.⁴⁷ After the rise of the retinue system, which assumed all responsibility for defense, the thousand organization lost its purely military nature: in Novgorod, for example, heads of a hundred and chiliarchs held judicial and administrative posts; in Volhynia in the thirteenth century, a hundred was an administrative and financial district. Later still, in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, in the places where this system survived, it became an organization of peasants directly dependent on the prince's castle.⁴⁸ In the military organization of the eleventh to twelfth centuries, little of the thousand organization remained, except that the chiliarch continued to be the principal voivode. The exceptional importance of the role of the chiliarch is evident from the fact that in the Kyiv region, events were dated not only with the name of the ruling prince, but also with the name of the chiliarch. Such facts suggest that this form of military organization was older than that of the prince and his retinue. For that reason, during the period of the greatest growth of the retinue system, that is, during the reign of Volodymyr, we find the thousand system, and the decimal system in general, in a state of decline and disintegration.

Traces of this organization are evident across the entire territory of the Old Rus' state, though, clearly, it was not indigenous to all localities. Given that the forms of government were imposed from Kyiv, it is likely that the decimal system of organization had not been introduced

47. Some, like Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 4: 177), Leist (*Alt-arisches jus civile*, 2: 224), and Brunner (*Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 1: 181), regarded the decimal organization as Proto-Indo-European. This is not certain and the widespread occurrence of this organization outside the Indo-Germanic world indicates that it could have emerged spontaneously and independently. This must be kept in mind in the face of conjectures about the borrowing of this system by the East Slavs from the Germanic peoples, especially the eastern Gothic group, where heads of thousand-units are also found in the period after dispersion (the word, too, is common—Goth *þúsundi*, Oslav *tysešta*, Lith *tūkstantis*). Moreover, our knowledge of the ancient German decimal organization is so vague, and its remnants in historical times so fragmentary and so uncertain in their significance, that it is difficult to form an opinion regarding what it was like in its original state and whether it could have served as the prototype for the East Slavic organization. Such contemporary scholars as Schwerin, 'Die altgermanische Hundertschaft,' and Rietschel, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte,' strongly oppose the theory of a military-territorial decimal system similar to ours, and argue that the hundred-unit was a colonizational-agrarian unit.

48. Charters of Vsevolod of Novgorod, e.g., in Vladimirskii-Budanov, *Khrestomatiia po istorii russkogo prava*, 1: 226ff.; *Hyp.*, p. 613; on the Galician hundreds, see vol. 5, chap. 3, pp. 147–48, of the Ukrainian original of this *History*.

by the princes into the Kyiv region from some other East Slavic land, but, rather, had existed there from ancient times, and subsequently some forms of it (such as administration by the chiliarchs, the heads of a hundred, and so forth) spread to other lands. It is quite possible that this was the ancient, local, pre-retinue organization of defense of the 'Rus' (Polianian) land. An interesting circumstance needs to be pointed out: whereas in other lands each principality had a single chiliarch,⁴⁹ the small territory of the old Polianian land had three such positions—in Kyiv, Vyshhorod, and Bilhorod. This was the case even though the latter two towns played a very modest role compared to Kyiv and very seldom served as princely seats. Moreover, these towns had chiliarchs even when they lacked princes and even before they had become separate princely domains.

The question therefore arises: does the presence of chiliarchs in these Kyivan 'by-towns' signify the remnants of an earlier independent organization in the towns of the Polianian land, dating to a period when this region had not yet become unified into a single military organization, before Kyiv had established full control over the by-towns, and when each larger town organized the military defense of the territory that was directly associated with it? Is it possible that, apart from Vyshhorod, which by the tenth century was an important trade center, and Bilhorod, which was situated on the border with the Derevljanians on an important trade route to the west, some other southern town, later destroyed, also served as the center of such a military administration (based on dividing the population or the town's domain into ten-units and hundred-units)? If such was the case, that military organization did not lose its significance until later, during the rise of the Kyivan retinue, when the leader of the retinue assumed control over these provincial centers and united the Polianian land into a single military and administrative unit. The fact that chiliarchs remained in Kyiv seems to indicate that the subsequent reforms were not introduced by the chiliarch as the commander of the military force of the land, but, rather, that someone else came to head the retinue and in time assumed control over the military. This may have been the Kyivan prince, who was dissatisfied with the military force of the land and formed his own separate retinue, directly answerable to him; or it may have been some local or newly arrived condottiere hired by the community along with his own retinue; or it may have been a usurper who had taken Kyiv by force.⁵⁰

49. Usually each prince had a chiliarch who was simultaneously the chiliarch of his principality, and he bore the name either of its capital or the prince, as we see in the twelfth century.

50. This interpretation of the decimal system as a pre-retinue institution was recently opposed by Presniakov, first in the article 'Kormilets, voevoda, tysiatskii,' and later in the book *Kniazhee pravo*. Citing the German critics already named, who are supposedly 'eliminating the myth of the organization of thousand-units and hundred-units as the foundation of both the old military system and settlement' in the history of the Germanic tribes, the author regards the hundred as a fiscal organization and believes it to have been formed by the princely administration. This leaves unanswered how the hundred organization culminated in the thousand organization, since in fact this form of organization proceeded from the thousand to the hundred, rather than vice versa. It is quite improbable that by simply combining ten hundreds there emerged the concept of a new whole, the thousand, and it would be wrong to assume that the thousand actually consisted exactly of ten or twelve hundreds (inasmuch as vacillation between ten and twelve is possible in the numerical system—cf. Schrader, *Reallexicon*, p. 969). Initially, the term *tysiacha* may have meant only a large force or mass, analogous to the notion of the *polk* as 'armed people,' *Volk* (like the Slavic *t'ma* 'countless multitudes,' and the Greek *μύριοι*), which came to be divided into *sotni* (hundreds) and *desiatni* (tens) only after the introduction of the decimal system. Similarly, the theory that the system of hundreds and thousands was devised by the princely organization does not explain what purpose the administration of the chiliarch-voivode served when the prince himself was the commander of the military forces. By its very nature, this form of administration would have competed with princely rule. It was ultimately assimilated into the princely administration, but was by no means a natural product

Only one thing is certain: the rise of Kyiv's military force, which could not have occurred without the formation of a special army, the retinue, began much earlier than described in the Primary Chronicle (i.e., in the second half of the ninth century). At the beginning of the ninth century (if not at the end of the eighth century), the Rus' (οἱ Ῥῶς) were already attacking the shores of the Black Sea in Asia Minor, and they were well known in Byzantium during the first half of that century as a warlike and savage people. Describing the attack of the Rus' on Amastris (today Amasra, near Sinope), the *Life of St. George of Amastris* (which was written in the first half of the ninth century, as has now been established) calls them 'a nation, as everyone knows [italics mine—M.H.]; that is extremely wild and fierce and lacks any trace of humanity.' The *Life of St. Stephen of Sougdaia* [Surozh] (which, unfortunately, has survived only in Slavic translation) mentions an attack by the Rus' prince Bravlin on Sougdaia (modern Sudak, on the southern coast of the Crimea), which supposedly took place at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.⁵¹ Also, Patriarch Photios, in his encyclical (from the 860s), calls the Rus' a people widely known for their 'inhumanity and lust for killing.'⁵²

The compilers of the Chronicle of Kyiv attributed the report of the campaign of 860 to Kyivan Rus'.⁵³ It is interesting that, in light of the Chronicle's theory on the origin of Rus', its authors did not think of attributing the raid to some other Rus' and, instead, inserted it as best they could between the account of the invitation to the Varangians and the arrival of Oleh in Kyiv. Clearly, the compilers did this unconsciously and in contradiction to their theory, following the general belief that Rus' was the Kyiv region. This detail carries the weight of a historical document. The Primary Chronicle's account corresponds to the information offered by other contemporary sources. In a homily, Patriarch Photios states that the attackers (the Rus') came from a land separated from the Greeks by many lands and tribes, seas and navigable rivers.⁵⁴ Writing of the voyages on the Black Sea of the 'so-called northern Scythians,' i.e., the Rus',⁵⁵ Emperor Leo, in his *Taktika* (written at the end of the ninth century), states that they used small, light, and fast boats because they sailed into the Black Sea from rivers and therefore could not use larger ships.⁵⁶ These descriptions indicate that the Rus' pirates of the ninth century could not have been inhabitants of the coastal regions—at least, not exclusively—and that the campaign of 860 was almost certainly not mounted from the coast, but from regions located farther inland. The account in the *Annales Bertiniani* under 839 about the envoys from the Rus' kagan to the Byzantine emperor also applies to a Rus' farther removed from the coast, probably Kyivan Rus', rather than to the Rus' on the Black Sea. The envoys sent

of it. On the thousand, see vol. 3, chap. 3, pp. 233–36, of the Ukrainian original of this *History*.

51. Ἐφοδος ἦν βαρβάρων τῶν Ῥῶς, ἔθνους, πάντες ἴσασιν. ὠμοτάτου καὶ ἀπηνοῦς καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιφερομένου φιλανθρωπίας λειψανόν—*Life of St. George of Amastris*, chap. 43, in Vasil'evskii, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia; Life of St. Stephen of Sougdaia*, in Vasil'evskii, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia*, pp. 100–101, miracle 3. About the miracle, see *ibid.*, p. CCLXXXIXff.; and Vestberg, 'O zhitii sv. Stefana Surozhskogo.' It bears no traces of later fabrication, except for the words 'from Novgorod': 'After the death of Saint Stephen, a few years passed, and a great Rus' army came from Novgorod, Prince Bravlin, [who was] very strong.'

52. τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς πολλακίς θρυλλούμενον καὶ εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ μιαφονίαν πάντας δευτέρους ταττόμενον—literally, 'a people of which there is such frequent mention and which surpasses all others in inhumanity and lust for killing'—Photios, *Epistolae*, p. 178.

53. They took the report from Byzantine sources and mistakenly dated it to 866.

54. 'The invaders were sundered off from us by so many lands and kingdoms, by navigable rivers and harborless seas.' Photios, *Homiliae et alia opuscula*, p. 208.

55. He calls the Moesian Slavs and Bulgars by their proper names.

56. Leo VI the Wise, *Tactica* 19.

by the 'their king [i.e., of the Rus'], who is called *chacanus* [kagan]' to the Byzantine emperor could not return home safely because their way from Constantinople was blocked by 'primitive tribes that were very fierce and savage' (probably the Hungarians or the Bulgars, and not the Pechenegs, as is sometimes thought, because the last did not appear in the region until the end of the century). Consequently, rather than sending them back by that route, the Byzantine emperor sent them to Emperor Louis the Pious, with a request that he help them make their way home.⁵⁷ It is difficult to interpret this account as applying to some Black Sea prince or the Khazar kagan; most probably the Rus' king in question was the prince of Kyiv. This suggests that there was a strong Rus' 'king' in Kyiv by the 830s.

Even without these reports, our knowledge of Rus' campaigns at the beginning of the tenth century would oblige us to reach the same conclusion. Clearly, if the campaigns on the Black Sea were conducted by the Kyivan prince, he must have had control over the lower reaches of the Dnipro and the Black Sea coast, or, at least, he must have exercised political influence over the population of these regions and had a large military force at his disposal. If these campaigns were waged by some unknown Black Sea princes, then they were called Rus' because they were dependent on the Kyivan prince, since, if we accept that the Rus' name was associated with Kyiv, coupled with dependence on Kyiv, there would have been no other explanation for their being called Rus'. In both instances, therefore, we must conclude that there existed a strong military organization in Kyiv at the beginning of the ninth century, whose influence reached far beyond Kyiv.

It must therefore be assumed that the Kyivan princes ceased being passive guardians of local life and of the security of Kyiv's trade routes no later than the eighth century. Maintaining as they did large military retinues that needed to wage wars if only to support themselves, these princes warred against neighboring tribes and mounted distant campaigns into the lands of the Byzantine Empire, and later, when the Khazar Empire weakened, also in the East.

Taking a different approach will bring us to the same conclusion. In Ihor's treaty with the Greeks, envoys are sent on behalf of twenty-four (or twenty-five) princes, headed by Ihor, the 'great prince of Rus'.' Some of these princes could have been members of Ihor's dynasty who had no domains, but some twenty were princes with principalities subordinate to the Kyivan prince,⁵⁸ or lieutenants with the title or powers of a prince—in other words, those who are described in Oleh's treaty as 'all the illustrious and great princes and great boyars who are under his [Oleh's—M.H.] sway' (*Lavr.*). Such a large state system could not have evolved over a period of a few decades, as suggested by the Primary Chronicle, which relates that the Rus' princes conquered the entire long 'route from the Varangians to the Greeks' in one fell swoop and represents that they subjugated the southern tribes over a period of three years. In reality, that would have required a long period of time, and the accomplishments lumped together at the beginning of Oleh's reign in the Primary Chronicle (in other words, as happening before recorded history) probably occurred over *a whole century or more*.

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57. *Annales Bertiniani*, p. 434. The bibliography on this important confirmation of the Normanist theory is included in Excursus 2.

58. Further on we shall see that this number of close to twenty remains quite stable in the mid-tenth century.

Based on the facts we have just discussed, the beginnings of the Kyivan state must be moved back well before the ninth century, and the organization of a powerful military force and princely rule in Kyiv (which must have preceded all the conquests of neighbors and the distant campaigns) must be dated back to the eighth century or even earlier. Moving backward in time, we thus approach the age during which the first *Sturm und Drang* period of Slavic colonization was followed by a more peaceful era in the middle Dnipro region—that is, sometime in the sixth and seventh centuries—when the growth of trade and more intensive economic development again became possible. It is during this period that the military decimal system may have emerged as one of the various methods of ensuring security, followed by the evolution of the prince-and-retinue system of rule. That probably occurred no later than the eighth century.

It should also be pointed out as a matter of chronology that the legend of Khazar suzerainty over Kyiv contained in the expanded redaction [of the Primary Chronicle under the year 862] speaks of a Kyivan community, the Polianians, but makes no mention of a prince. If the details of this legend are reliable, it suggests that during the period when the Khazars controlled Kyiv, there was no strong princely rule there. Khazar dominion over Kyiv was probably established in the latter half of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth, at the latest. But the particulars of the popular tradition are not trustworthy, especially regarding a detail such as the one under discussion.

There can be no doubt that the Polianians were for a time under the suzerainty or political influence of the Khazars. Aside from the popular tradition about the payment of tribute⁵⁹ related in the Primary Chronicle, there is the additional evidence that the Khazar title of kagan was applied to Kyivan and Rus' princes in general (in Ilarion's *Sermon* of the eleventh century, Volodymyr is called 'the great kagan'; the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* refers to 'kagan Oleh'; Ibn Rusta and others call the king of Rus' 'khaqan-Rus'). It appears that Rus' princes used the title even earlier: thus, the king of the Rus' called *chacanus* (i.e., kagan) who sent envoys to Emperor Theophilos in 839 was probably a Kyivan prince (the reference could not have been to the Khazar kagan, because Byzantium had close and fruitful ties with him through the Crimean provinces and would not have needed to send his envoys through the Western Roman Empire, as they did the Rus' envoys in 839). The author of the Primary Chronicle had no knowledge about the manner in which the Kyivans threw off Khazar overlordship (the legend of Khazar tribute survived as a story associated with the difference between a sword and a saber and heralds the later victory of Kyiv over the Khazars). That fact indicates that this occurred long before the writing of the Chronicle. In any event, at the beginning of the ninth century, when the system of rule by the prince and his retinue was already fairly well established, there could have been no Khazar control over Kyiv.

Many have tried to represent Khazar suzerainty as a turning point in the formation of the Rus' state: when the power of the Khazar state, which protected trade, began to decline, the trading centers were forced to see to their own security, which compelled them to organize military forces.⁶⁰ This appealing explanation would provide us with a chronological starting point, but, unfortunately, it is quite illusory. The Khazar state was hardly a modern police state and could do very little to influence the relations between the far-removed Slavic tribes on the

59. The tradition about tribute paid could have originated in the recollection of the trade tithes that the Khazars collected from Rus' merchants traveling the route to the East. Other data confirm it.

60. Kluichevskii, *Boiarskaia дума*, p. 23; idem, *Kurs russkoi istorii*, 1: 150ff.

Dnipro.⁶¹ The wealthier local trade centers had to protect their own interests and provide for their defense quite independently of Khazar rule, even if they were under Khazar suzerainty. And the largest trade center, Kyiv, had to think of protecting its local commerce and free movement along the trade routes even before Khazar power began to decline—as soon as this trade began to evolve. That, ultimately, must have led to the rise of a military force and the evolution of strong princely rule.

If we accept that trade was the moving force—since, in an economy comprised of small natural entities, trade was the sole way of accumulating means and capital in their contemporary forms and of providing the impetus for the formation of new forms of social order and of new sociopolitical relations—it is easy to imagine that the securing of trade relations and trade benefits would have led to the formation of a political system. The need to secure trade routes in itself must have led to the construction of fortresses (*horodky*) at the most dangerous spots or in the larger trade centers; there the Kyivan princes settled 'their men.' This also compelled them to suppress the most restless tribes. The payments and tribute collected from such tribes, as well as the conquest itself, which entailed taking slaves, provided a valuable supply of goods to the Kyiv merchant company. That must have encouraged the Kyivan princes to expand what was under their sway, as well as the *poliudiia* [sing. *poliudiiie*, *poljudie*]—expeditions to collect circuit tribute in territories already suppressed and pacified. At the same time, they waged ever more distant campaigns, by sea and by land. These, too, opened trade routes (we have seen, for example, that the campaigns into Byzantine lands resulted in various benefits for Rus' trade in Byzantium), but an even more important goal of these expeditions was to take booty and to enhance the prestige of the Kyivan princes by bolstering their power and influence. Thus, the safeguarding of Kyivan trade was closely linked with the rise of the state system, which served the interests of commerce and the ruling merchant-warrior stratum, on the one hand, and, on the other, became an end in itself for the prince and the armed retinue that administered the system and lived off its profits.

Such was the nature of the Kyivan state system in the tenth century, and this confirms the conclusion that the commercial interests and the needs and considerations of Kyiv's merchant patriciate were the motive power behind the political life of Kyiv and its system of government.⁶² But this evolution did not occur quite so uniformly or solely owing to the commercial factor, because this factor did not act in isolation. Serious upheavals were often caused by the military force on which commercial activity depended, because this force, entering as it did into the life of the Kyivan community from elsewhere, was not very dependent on trade.

61. Even less probable is the theory formulated by another eminent Russian scholar that the origins of the Rus' state organization were imposed by the Khazars: that they provided the model of a state system and a higher culture to the Rus' Slavs (Lamanskii, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla,' *ZhMNP* 347 [May 1903]: 150ff.; cf. 347 [June 1903]: 352). The cultural level of the Khazars compared with that of Kyivan Rus' is exaggerated here quite undeservedly. The primitive system of a seminomadic horde was quite unsuited to serve as a model for the organization of sedentary tribes. The organization of the state of Oleh or Ihor, though primitive, was at a higher level than the system of the Khazar state.

62. Rozhkov (*Obzor russkoi istorii*, p. 25) and Presniakov (*Kniazhee pravo*, p. 162) have spoken out against exaggerating the significance of trade in the history of the ancient way of life. They maintain that commerce did not exert an influence on the life of the population at large, and, to a large degree, they are right (cf. above, pp. 230–31). But the role of political ferment played by the centers in which a significant merchant stratum was evolving cannot be denied. These small but active, capable, energetic, and enterprising groups of urban merchants not only stood out against the background of the impoverished, inert life of the rural and suburban masses, but also produced major changes in this life.

Kyiv's need for a fighting force was met by the distant Scandinavian *vagina gentium*.

From the first half of the ninth century onward, Kyiv had the pick of the best retinue contingents from among the Varangians that arrived from Scandinavia. While some bands of Northmen headed for the shores of France and England, others went in search of money and booty to the 'eastern lands' (*Austrvegr*). The Chronicle relates that, for a time, the Varangians conquered the Novgorodian Slovenians, Krivichians, and neighboring Finnic peoples, and collected tribute from them. Other bands of Varangians headed south, seeking opportunities, military victories, and booty in independent military ventures or in the service of local rulers and communities. The Kyivan princes, or perhaps Kyiv's elders, as well as the elders of other, more important trading centers on the long Dnipro route, could hire Varangians to defend them or their caravans. These centers served as stages at which the Varangian adventurers gathered and from where they moved farther toward the sea or across the sea. Kyiv served them as a way station on the route to Byzantium, where they campaigned together with the Kyivan princes, and later (especially in the eleventh century) also entered into military service. So many of them later traveled this route that, by the first half of the tenth century, the Dnipro became known as the 'route from the Varangians to the Greeks.' It was then that Constantine recorded several Norse names for the Dnipro rapids that he had heard from arriving Northmen as being 'Rus'.⁶³ Kyiv was the Varangians' principal way station on this route, and they assumed various roles here and exercised an important influence. It was owing to the Varangians that the beginnings of the political organization that existed in Kyiv and its vicinity could develop and spread so quickly, encompass such a large area, and evolve into a relatively strong system. It cannot be established with any certainty whether the Varangian *konungs* occupied the Kyivan throne, since the Chronicle's accounts are not reliable, but even if they did not do so, the Varangian retinues, by playing a role in local relations, conflicts, and wars, undoubtedly controlled the administration on more than one occasion and decided the fate of Kyiv and its population. We need only recall such events as the coming of Volodymyr or Iaroslav to Kyiv with Varangian forces or the uprising of the Novgorodians against the Varangian retinue under Iaroslav, which ended in a bloody slaughter of the Novgorodians by Iaroslav.

Even if we reject altogether the Chronicle's theory about the Varangian origins of the Rus' state and its princely dynasty, we must admit a significant, even if secondary, role to the Varangian bands in the process of building that state in the ninth and tenth centuries. Varangians served as the prince's lieutenants among subject peoples; many of Ihor's princes bear Norse names (it is still in doubt whether some of these names are in fact Scandinavian). There were many Varangians in the higher and lower retinues, in the prince's most intimate circle. The Varangian influence at court was so strong that young princes in the tenth century were given Norse names, such as, for example, Ihor's *netii* (that is, nephew) who was called Iakun (the Rus' variant of the Scandinavian Hákon). This began in the first half of the ninth century: the envoys of the Rus' 'kagan' sent to Byzantium around 838–39 were probably Varangians. It lasted until the time of Volodymyr the Great, and even into the time of Iaroslav, who in his struggle against

63. It is often mistakenly assumed that the Varangians opened the route for themselves and began to settle in Rus' only later. This is easy to imagine in theory, but how does one go about crossing the entire area of eastern Europe without some stopovers, without any help from the inhabitants of the territories through which the route lies? It is interesting to read the descriptions of voyages by Scandinavian adventurers to Biarmia (see Tiander, 'Poezdki normanov v Beloe more') to see just how dangerous and heroic are the representations in them of the raids on Finnic settlements near the coast.

his brother Mstyslav hired a Varangian band under the command of Iakun (Hákon). Only in the first half of the eleventh century, when the fashion for Varangians in Rus' had passed, did the Varangians begin to wander farther south; in the first half of the eleventh century, they are frequently encountered in the service of Byzantium. Before that time, most of the Varangians known in Byzantium were in the service of the Rus' princes and were therefore called Rus' (compare the Rus' names of the Dnipro rapids). Small wonder that, under the circumstances, the author of the Primary Chronicle concocted the theory that not only was the Kyiv dynasty Norse, but that the Rus' themselves were Northmen or Varangians (it is interesting, however, that even though Kyiv teemed with Varangians, the members of the Kyiv dynasty bore Slavic names, such as Sviatoslav, Iaropolk, and Volodymyr, whereas the origins of the names Oleh, Ihor, and Olha are not quite certain, though quite probably they are derived from Norse names).

Apart from their military role, the Varangians must have served the Kyivan princes in the sphere we know least about—that of internal administration. Regardless of whether the Kyiv dynasty descended from local princes who were once subject to the will of the community or from some usurper, the foreign retinues of Northmen, which had no connection with the local population, must have played a very important role at the very heart of this land, since the princes relied on them in the ninth and tenth centuries. These retinues were very useful to the princes. At the end of the tenth century and in the eleventh century, the role of the Kyivan prince in his land had left far behind the 'democratic' order of Prokopios's Antae and the Derevlianian constitution: the popular assembly and 'the town elders' became secondary to the prince and his retinue, who took over both the courts and the administration.

By the end of the tenth century, this process had been completed, if we believe the Chronicle account of Volodymyr compiled some decades later. As an echo of the past, we find in his council, apart from the boyars from the retinue, also the 'town elders.' But the prince and his retinue ruled without them and without a popular assembly. The ninth and tenth centuries are the period during which princely power must have been consolidated, and it is the time in which the Varangian retinue played the most significant role in Kyiv and in the Rus' state as a whole. In these two facts we must recognize something more than mere chronological coincidence.

By the latter half of the eighth century, the Kyivan princes must have begun to conquer neighboring peoples and to mount distant land and sea campaigns. These campaigns and victories allowed them to maintain a much larger and more powerful retinue than would have been possible with the funds provided by the community of Kyiv. But in 'supplying with weapons and clothing' his retinue and increasing it, the prince derived power from it, inasmuch as it was dependent solely on him and not subject to interference from the general populace. The prince thus became free of any restrictions placed on him by the townspeople and the landed aristocracy, the 'best men,' and could expand his powers beyond the sphere of military defense. Ruling autocratically through his retinue in the subject lands, he could also gradually impose this order on the whole Rus' land. Thus the administration, courts, and finances could gradually pass from the various representatives of the people into the hands of the prince's lieutenants, stewards, and various other agents. Even the chiliarchs and heads of a hundred became officials in the service of the prince; the princes appointed members of their retinues to such posts (we know this to have been the case in the twelfth century, but the practice was no doubt older).

It was not until the prince's power weakened in the latter half of the eleventh century that the importance of the popular assembly rose. But it did not extend much beyond serving as a form of public supervision over the princely government, which continued to control all branches of the administration.

* * *

Following these general remarks about the origins of the Rus' state, let us examine the recorded information that we have on the subject. These accounts are scanty and few, which is even more reason to review all of them carefully.

The first accounts refer to Rus' campaigns into foreign lands. I have already mentioned them, but now I shall examine them for the whole of the ninth century.⁶⁴

At the beginning of the ninth century, the Rus' (οἱ Ῥῶς), 'murderous in deed and name,' under the command of some unnamed military leader (ἡγέμων), devastated the shores of Asia Minor from the Sea of Marmara to Sinope. We learn this from the *Life of St. George of Amastris*, which describes a miracle involving the Rus' in Amastris (near Sinope). This rhetorical work contains no further details about the Rus', apart from a reference to the Tauri, which may suggest that the northern coast of the Black Sea was the land of these Rus'.

The account of the devastation wrought by the 'Rus' attack' led by Prince Bravlin on the southern coast of the Crimea 'from Cherson [Korsun] to Kerch,' which is included in the *Life of St. Stephen of Sougdaia* (also in connection with a miracle), probably dates to the same period—the beginning of the ninth century, or perhaps as early as the end of the eighth century.⁶⁵ The explanation that Bravlin came from Novgorod must be regarded as a later interpolation; the rest of the account, though it survived only in a Slavic-Rus' translation, bears no traces of a later redaction.⁶⁶

Bearing in mind that we have information about both these attacks only because they are described in hagiographical works in connection with miracles associated with them, there is reason to believe that there must have been many more such attacks by the Rus' along the coast of the Black Sea. Earlier I cited the passage from the *Life of St. George of Amastris* (written in the first half of the ninth century) describing the Rus' as notorious for their murderous deeds:

64. On earlier mentions of Rus', see Note 9: 'Reports from the Seventh to Ninth Centuries That Are Questionable or Mistakenly Applied to the Rus'.'

* [The Rus' sources refer to Cherson as Korsun.—Eds.]

65. For both episodes, see above, p. 300. The literature includes Vasil'evskii, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia* (his comprehensive research on both *Lives* made earlier studies on this subject obsolete). More recently, Khalanskii ('K istorii poëticheskikh skazanii') considered the Sougdaia legend to be a Rus' reworking of the Amastris legend; Shakhmatov ('Korsunskaiia legenda,' p. 121) tried to restore the earlier view that the Sougdaia legend refers to Volodymyr's campaign against Cherson, but Shestakov rejected that notion. Thus, in a more recent publication of his conclusions (*Razyskaniia*), Shakhmatov no longer puts forward this theory. Westberg ('O zhitii sv. Stefana Surozhskogo') made some corrections to Vasil'evskii's study.

66. Not all scholars accept the name *Bravlin* (variants: Bravalin, Bravlenin, Branliv) as a proper name. Vostokov (*Opisanie slavianskikh rukopisei*, p. 689) suggested that the correct reading is *knjazь branlivъ* (i.e., 'warlike prince'). Golubinskii (*Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 59) supported this interpretation, but it has been successfully refuted with the argument that the variant is a correction made by later copiers and that the word *branliv* does not occur in ancient writings. A more recent explanation holds that 'Bravlin' is a distortion of 'Mravlin.' That view was put forward by A. Veselovskii in 'Melkie zametki k bylinam,' p. 22; cf. Karłowicz, 'Germanische Elemente.' Khalanskii ('K istorii poëticheskikh skazanii,' p. 313) developed this theory even further. Veselovskii regarded 'Mravlin' as the Slavic version of the Greek Μυροβλίν, whereas Khalanskii saw it as a contracted form of 'Morovlin-Murovlenin-Murmanin' and interpreted it to mean Oleh, the 'murman' (Norman) prince, whom he identified with Ilia Muromlianin-Muromets. However, both these theories are more intriguing than reliable. Khalanskii's interpretation is the simpler of the two, but it, too, relies on a chain of very questionable conjectures: the popular transformation of the folk form 'Morovlin' into the absurd 'Borovlin,' and its subsequent artificial archaization into 'Bravlin'; the omission of the name of the prince, despite the retention of the epithet applied to him; and so forth.

'The Rus', a nation, as everyone knows, that is extremely wild and fierce and lacks any trace of humanity.'

Thus the famous campaign of 860, when the Rus' took advantage of Emperor Michael's campaigning with his army in Asia Minor to make a surprise raid with two hundred ships into the Bosphorus and attack Constantinople itself, was not unusual. Perhaps the only thing that was new about this raid was that the Rus' dared to attack the capital itself, following, moreover, a long truce that had been negotiated by the Byzantine government in 840 in diplomatic relations with Rus'.⁶⁷ The attack took place during the summer of 860: a recently discovered Byzantine chronicle reports the date as June 18. The Rus' looted the vicinity of Constantinople, destroyed the suburb, and caused great fear in the city proper, which had no defenses. The homilies delivered by Patriarch Photios during that attack are available to us. Here and there, through his flamboyant Byzantine rhetoric, we get a real sense of the mood in the city. He vividly conveys the fear that suddenly swept the city when its unprepared inhabitants saw '...the barbarians' boats, wafting a breath of cruelty, savagery, and murder. The sea spread out its serene and unruffled surface, granting them gentle and agreeable sailing, while, waxing wild, it stirred up against us [Greeks—M.H.] the waves of war....' 'The boats went past the city showing their crews with swords raised, as if threatening the city with death by the sword, and all human hope ebbed away from men, and the city was moored only with recourse to the divine.... Do you remember that murky and terrible night when the orb of all our lives was setting with the orb of the sun, and the light of our life was sinking into the deep darkness of death? When quaking and darkness held our minds, and our ears heard nothing but "The barbarians have penetrated within the walls, and the city has been taken by the enemy"? Do you remember the turmoil, the tears and wails to which the whole city then descended in utter despair?'⁶⁸

The Rus' abruptly left off the siege and withdrew. The most probable reason was that upon receiving news of the Rus' attack, the emperor hastened back and the Rus' lost hope of capturing the city. One source even reports that the Rus' were defeated, but that account stands alone, and there is no mention of any Rus' losses in other sources. Later tenth-century chronicles relate that the Rus' withdrew because a storm was sent down upon them when a relic known as the Blessed Virgin's vestment was dipped into the sea. But Patriarch Photios himself, who was in the city during the attack, makes no mention of a miracle. The story of the miracle was transposed into the account from the legend about the Avar attack on Constantinople in 626.

During this time, the Black Sea was not the only region into which the Rus' ventured. Sometime after the famous attack on Constantinople, the Rus' mounted a campaign into the southern coastal areas of the Caspian Sea. From the later, but reliable, historian of Tabaristan (on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea), Ibn Isfandiyar (his history was written in 1216–17), we learn that in the reign of Hasan b. Zayd, the Rus' came to Abeskun (a famous port at the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea), but the armies of Hasan b. Zayd defeated the attackers. Hasan b. Zayd ruled Tabaristan from 862 to 884.⁶⁹

67. For the sources and literature on this campaign, see Note 10.

68. [Photios, 'Second Homily on the Attack of the Rus' (Homily 4.2.39).]

69. See text in Dorn, 'Kaspil,' pp. 5, 464. An attempt to establish the exact date of this campaign was made by Kunik, in *ibid.*, p. XLVIII, but he did not reach a reliable conclusion. Although he was inclined to think that it took place around 880, he based his opinion on the chronology of the Primary Chronicle, hence his conclusions have little value. Dorn (p. XLVII) offered support for the theory with a reference to coins of Hasan b. Zayd dating to 880–83, which suggest a victory over the heathens. He conjectured that the victory was over the Rus'. Yet he then cited a combined account by Zahir al-Din Mar'ashi (fifteenth century) and Ibn Isfandiyar about the victory of Hasan b. Zayd over the

As I have already stated, these accounts indicate, above all, that the military power of Rus' had grown significantly. Judging by the number of ships reported by Byzantine sources,⁷⁰ some 6,000 to 8,000 men took part in the campaign of 860. Nor could the expedition described in the *Life of St. George of Amastris* have been undertaken by a small band. Furthermore, as already indicated, the 'Rus' campaigns attest to the existence of a large state organization on the middle and lower Dnipro. Patriarch Photios's encyclical (from the 860s) contains a direct allusion to this: the Rus' attacked Byzantium, he states, 'after enslaving her neighbors and becoming arrogant because of that.'⁷¹

Facts indicating the existence of diplomatic relations between this Rus' and Constantinople also suggest that it was a large state with a developed political worldview. We have two such facts. The first is the arrival of envoys from 'their king [i.e., of the Rus']', who is called *chacanus* [kagan]' to the Byzantine emperor, Theophilos, in 839 to negotiate amicable relations.⁷² The second is the relations between Rus' and Constantinople following the campaign of 860. In all probability, these diplomatic relations were the consequence of the serious attacks waged by the Rus' against Byzantine territories, and the initiative for them originated with Byzantium. In the first instance, Byzantium endeavored to put an end to Rus' raids on Byzantine possessions during the first decades of the ninth century and managed to establish friendly relations, probably by showering the Rus' prince and his retinue with gifts and bribes, as it did later, in the 860s. On the second occasion, the Byzantine government hoped to protect itself against such dangerous surprises as the Rus' attack of 860, even more dangerous in light of the difficult war against the Arabs in which Byzantium was then involved. Describing the second talks, the biographer of Emperor Basil wrote that the emperor brought about an agreement with 'the bellicose and pagan Rus' by giving them attire of gold, silver, and silk, and, having established peace with them, persuaded them to accept baptism.' According to this author, the bishop who was sent to Rus' made a great impression on the Rus' population by his preaching and baptized many of them. Apparently, that impression was greatly enhanced by a miracle. To convince his Rus' audience, the preacher placed a Bible in a fire: the book was not harmed, which definitely heightened the effect of his sermon (the motif of such trials by fire is rather widespread in the legendary hagiographical literature).⁷³ Photios, in his encyclical, also speaks of the establishment of friendly relations with the Rus' and the appointment of a bishop to their land, but provides no additional details. Photios states that the Rus', generally known for their inhumanity and lust for killing, converted from their pagan faith to Christianity, accepted a bishop, and were transformed from an enemy into 'subject friends' of the empire—in

heathen Turks in 873–74.

70. According to the Chronicle, each ship in Oleh's expedition carried forty men (*Hyp.*, p. 17). The account of the campaign relies on legend, but this detail may be regarded as authentic.

71. τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν δουλωσάμενοι κακείθεν ὑπέρογκα φρονηματισθέντες—Photios, *Epistolae*, p. 178.

72. '...quos rex illorum chacanus vocabulo, ad se amicitiae, sicut asserebant, causa direxerat'—*Annales Bertiniani*, p. 434 (cf. above, pp. 300–301).

73. The biography of Emperor Basil is in Theophanes Continuatus, bk. 5. The account of the Rus' legation was repeated by various later Byzantine compilers—George Kedrenos, John Zonaras, Michael Glykas—and in such Russian compilations as the Nikonian Chronicle. Because Emperor Basil I the Macedonian bore the same name as Volodymyr's brother-in-law, Basil II Bulgaroktonos, in some Greek compilations the account is linked in a very characteristic manner with the baptism of Rus' in Volodymyr's time: see Banduri, *Narratio de Russorum*, no. 2, pp. XIX–XXXII, and the compilation of Makarios, Patriarch of Antioch. On Banduri's work, see the observations in Lamanskii, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla,' chap. 17.

other words, an ally that promised to provide military assistance.⁷⁴ Photios's account, which dates to before 866–67, suggests that relations were established not in the reign of Basil I (who in May of 866 became co-emperor with Michael and from 867 ruled alone), but earlier, following the Rus' campaign of 860.⁷⁵

The Byzantine sources do not name either the rulers of Rus' who conducted these negotiations with Constantinople or the leaders of the campaign of 860. The Primary Chronicle states that these were Askold and Dyr. That brings us to the list of Kyivan princes of the ninth century—an issue fraught with uncertainty and lack of reliable information.

The Primary Chronicle was obviously quite familiar with Volodymyr's father, Sviatoslav, and with his grandfather, Ihor. According to the theory it puts forward, Ihor had to be the son of the prince of Novgorod, the Varangian *konung* Riuryk, who had been invited by the Novgorodians to come from abroad and rule over them. For that reason, all the other Kyivan princes could not be members of this dynasty. Oleh was described as Ihor's voivode, or, in another version, as his guardian and distant relative. When Riuryk died, 'he gave his princely rule to Oleh, who was of his kin, entrusting into his hands his son Ihor, for he was very young.' Askold and Dyr were represented as Varangian boyars who, 'with their kin,' obtained permission from Riuryk to go toward Constantinople, but along the way took Kyiv, which had no prince. They began to rule the land of the Polianians, collected many Varangians, and campaigned with them against Constantinople, where they almost perished because of a miracle. Oleh, who set out for the southern regions immediately following the death of Riuryk, treacherously killed Askold and Dyr as usurpers.

In the longer version of the Primary Chronicle, Oleh rules in Ihor's name: in killing Askold and Dyr, he cites Ihor's right to the throne: "'You two are not princes, nor of princely kin, but I am of princely kin.'" And they carried Ihor out. "And this is the son of Riuryk."⁷⁶ This is a correction; the shorter version of the Chronicle does not regard Oleh as a member of the dynasty, but represents him merely as Ihor's voivode ('Ihor grew up, and he was brave and wise. And he had a voivode by the name of Oleh, a wise and brave man.'). In this version it is Ihor who orders Askold and Dyr to be killed, citing as justification his right to rule: '...but I am a prince and it is proper for me to rule.'⁷⁷ The editor of the longer version of the Primary Chronicle, who had before him Oleh's treaty with the Greeks, in which Oleh calls himself 'the

74. Photios, *Epistolae*, p. 178.

75. The biography of Basil I is clearly at variance with Photios's encyclical. The biography states that it was Patriarch Ignatios, installed after Photios's deposition in 867, who sent the bishop to Rus', whereas in his encyclical Photios wrote of the appointment of a bishop before he was deposed. In his work on St. Cyril, Lamanskii tried to prove that the Rus' established relations with Byzantium immediately after their unsuccessful campaign, because the [religious] processions they had witnessed in Constantinople had made a strong impression on them. But this is mere conjecture. It is possible in chronological terms, but there is no evidence to indicate that it occurred in 861. Moreover, Lamanskii suggested that St. Cyril was a member of the mission that Photios sent to Rus' and that his so-called Khazar mission, which resulted in the baptism of 'two hundred people (*chadii*),' was in fact a mission to Rus'. This theory, though interesting, leaves unanswered why our sources (Gaudericus and the Pannonian *Life of St. Cyril*) speak of the Khazars instead of Rus', which in all likelihood was no longer under Khazar overlordship. Perhaps, however, the mission to Rus' and diplomatic relations with Khazaria were part of the same diplomatic undertaking that the Byzantine throne began after the incident in 860, in order to protect itself from other such surprises, and for that reason were merged together.

* [The original has 'tenth,' a typographical error.—Eds.]

76. *Hyp.*, p. 13.

77. *Novg. I*, p. 5. This formulation of Ihor's words remains in the longer version as the best proof of compromise on the question of Oleh.

great prince of Rus', could not leave Oleh with the title of voivode, and therefore made him the guardian of Ihor, the regent of the Rus' state, and consequently also Ihor's relative.

That was quite a guardianship—it lasted thirty years, though Ihor must have reached adulthood many years before! The text of the treaty with Byzantium contradicts this explanation, inasmuch as in it Oleh makes no mention of some rightful ruler, i.e., Ihor: '...we...who are sent by Oleh, great prince of Rus', and by all the illustrious and great princes and his great boyars who are under his sway.' It is quite obvious that Oleh was neither Ihor's guardian nor his voivode, but Ihor's predecessor on the Kyivan throne and a prince equal in rank to him. Like the author of the Primary Chronicle, we do not know the dynastic ties between them. We can only be certain that Oleh was not Ihor's father: if that had been the case, the Kyivan chroniclers would not have described him as Ihor's voivode in order to salvage the dynastic principle. Something must have prevented them from including Oleh in the dynasty that followed, hence the artificial explanations of his role as ruler.⁷⁸

The identification of Askold and Dyr is equally suspicious. To begin with, let us recall the version in which Askold and Dyr are described as the descendants of Kyi. That version is clearly older than the one we find in the expanded Primary Chronicle and in the shorter (Novgorodian) version of it. The shorter version, which is written in the spirit of the same dynastic concept that resounds in the speech of Oleh (or Ihor) to Askold and Dyr, represents Askold and Dyr as newly arrived Varangians who 'called themselves princes' falsely and were impostors. The longer redaction elaborates on this: Askold and Dyr were not ordinary Varangians, but Riuryk's men, 'not of his kin, but boyars'—members of Riuryk's, and thus Ihor's, retinue. Even so, the story does not quite fit together. Having obtained permission from their 'prince,' Askold and Dyr set out for Constantinople. Along the way they take Kyiv, which never belonged to their prince. Nonetheless, they are killed as usurpers for doing so. How can their action be logically justified as usurpation? In killing Rohvolod, also a Varangian according to the Primary Chronicle, Volodymyr did not cite his dynastic right. That is quite natural, for the notion of a royal dynasty in the later form known to the chroniclers of the latter half of the eleventh century—that is, the notion of the exclusive right of Volodymyr's line to rule in the Rus' state—did not exist in the tenth century. The later annalists understood this and therefore interposed the explanation that Oleh had sent Askold and Dyr to bear gifts to Constantinople, but the two failed to carry out his mission, remained in Kyiv, and Oleh, angered by their insubordination, decided to take revenge.⁷⁹ This explanation is obviously quite worthless, but it is interesting in that it reveals an awareness of the inconsistencies in the Primary Chronicle's account. Equally questionable is the Chronicle's description of how Askold and Dyr captured Kyiv: 'And the two of them started out along the Dnipro, and, as they were going past, they saw a fortified town on a hill. And they asked, "Whose fortified town is this?" And they [the people there] said: "There were three brothers, Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv, who founded this fortified town, and they perished. And we, their kin, live here and pay tribute to the Khazars.'" And Askold and Dyr remained in this fortified town, and they collected many Varangians, and they began to rule the land of the Polianians.' The shorter (Novgorodian) version of the Primary Chronicle tells us nothing about how Askold and Dyr came to Kyiv. Thus the account cited

78. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 318) tried to prove that in the original redaction of the Chronicle, Oleh was identified as a prince. I believe this to be quite possible, even probable, but so far no one has been able to confirm that in later versions his role had indeed changed.

79. Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, pp. 70–72 (seventeenth-century manuscripts).

above from the longer redaction is obviously a later invention and very infelicitous in its idyllic nature to boot.

Another minor but very characteristic detail: Askold and Dyr are killed together by 'Thor's evildoers,' who carry their bodies 'up the hill' to be buried. However, the two tombs are then described as located in places lying very far apart: 'They buried Askold on the hill that is now called Uhorske [Ugorʹskoje], where Olma's residence now stands. On that tomb Olma placed the Church of St. Nicholas'—in other words, in modern Pechersk, on the bank of the Dnipro, well below the site where the Kyiv port was once located at the mouth of the Pochaina River. By contrast, 'Dyr's tomb is behind St. Irene's Church,' or somewhere near the site of the Cathedral of St. Sophia, about a half mile from Uhorske. Quite obviously, Askold and Dyr were not killed together. They did not die at the same time at all. In light of this, the traditional account of their death has no basis.⁸⁰

Moreover, in and of itself, the notion that two princes who were neither brothers nor father and son reigned in Kyiv simultaneously is highly improbable.

Askold was buried on Uhorske hill. He had clearly lived in the princely residence that stood there. Later Volodymyr the Great would live and be buried there (the traditional recollection of Askold's residency there suggested to the chronicler the detail that Oleh sailed up to the foot of Uhorske). This suggests that Askold was indeed a Kyivan prince. The fact that a church was later erected on his tomb brings us to the campaign of 860 and the episode in which, following the campaign, some of the Rus' were baptized. It is quite possible that Askold was the prince who led the campaign against Byzantium in 860, and that, after making peace with Byzantium, he adopted Christianity. That would account for the fact that the Primary Chronicle links the campaign of 860 with his name and that a church was built on Askold's tomb.

Dyr's name is mentioned by al-Mas'udi (who wrote in the 940s). First among the Slavic kings, wrote al-Mas'udi, was King al-Dir.⁸¹ He had large cities and numerous populated lands; Muslim merchants made their way with various goods to the capital of his state.⁸² It is not at all difficult to apply that description to the largest political center of eastern Slavdom, Kyiv, which engaged in large-scale trade with the East, except that al-Mas'udi speaks of Dyr as his contemporary, whereas his contemporary was Ihor.⁸³ But there may have been a misunderstanding, as a result of which al-Mas'udi, not knowing the name of the contemporary Rus' prince (he does not name him anywhere), took Dyr as a contemporary. Al-Mas'udi's reference is important because it indicates that Dyr was a prince (that he was indeed in Kyiv is attested by the tradition that his tomb is 'behind St. Irene's Church'). The fact that in our tradition Dyr is linked with Askold and the two always appear as a pair gives us grounds to think that they were princes who were chronologically close. We cannot put Dyr much further back, since al-Mas'udi believed him to be a contemporary (in tradition, too, he is always placed second, after Askold).⁸⁴ It is more probable, therefore, that Dyr came after Askold, and just before Oleh

80. The inconsistency was noted by Lambin in 'Istochnik letopisnogo skazaniia.' In attempting to salvage the traditional story, he discarded the report about Dyr's tomb from the text as a later addition.

81. Al (the Arabic article)-Dir (name). Variant: al-Din.

82. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskih pisatelei*, p. 137.

83. Westberg ('Beiträge zur Klärung,' sec. 9, p. 277) admits that the state of al-Dir corresponds to the Rus' state and therefore simply amends the name *al-Dir* to *Ihor*. Cf. his 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov,' p. 396.

84. 'Two Varangians came and called themselves princes. One was named Askold and the other Dyr' (*Novg. I*, p. 5).

'He [Riuryk] had two men: Askold and Dyr' (*Hyp.*, p. 11).

'Askold and Dyr went against the Greeks' (*Hyp.*, p. 12).

(though it cannot be ruled out that he reigned later, after Oleh). Dyr probably lived in the residence inside the old fortification, where the royal court stood in the middle of the tenth century, and he was therefore buried there.

The beginning of Oleh's reign can be moved a little further ahead because of the account of Dyr's war (in the Chronicle, it is Askold and Dyr's war) with the Pechenegs. There could hardly have been a conflict between the Kyivan princes and the Pechenegs earlier than at the end of the 880s. Moreover, a study of the chronology of the Chronicle reveals that in reporting events at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century, the Chronicle is probably late by three to four years.⁸⁵ Thus Dyr could have lived in the 880s.*

On the subject of tombs, yet another one should be mentioned—that of Oleh. It is not particularly surprising that the tomb of this 'prophetic' prince has been located in several different places ('they buried him on the hill called Shchekavytsia'; elsewhere, 'his tomb is in Ladoga').⁸⁶ But even in Kyiv itself, two sites are named as the place of Oleh's burial: one on Shchekavytsia Hill, and the second not far from the old 'Jewish Gate' (on the site of today's observatory, it is believed). This, in turn, raises the question of whether there were two princes called Oleh in Kyiv, one at the beginning of the tenth century and the second earlier, perhaps in the first half of the ninth century. That could, in part, explain why so many events in the Chronicle are associated with Oleh.⁸⁷

Finally, Bravlin, who led a campaign against Sougdaia, could have been a Kyivan prince, but he could also have been a prince somewhere in the south, subordinate to Kyiv, or a Kyivan voivode.⁸⁸

Following these lucubrations, the list of early Kyivan princes might look as follows:

Oleh ??

Bravlin ??

Askold—reigned between 860 to 867, and perhaps longer

Dyr—probably still reigned at the end of the 880s

Oleh—the only established date of his rule is 911 (his treaty with the Greeks); probably died four or five years later

Ihor—died after 944, but before 948–49

Olha—regent in the 940s and 950s.

Sviatoslav—died in 972.

* * *

Let us now return to the history of the Kyivan state.

As we noted above, ninth-century accounts of Rus' suggest that at that time there already existed a fairly large political organization centered on the 'Rus' (Polianian) land. Patriarch

*Askold and Dyr fought against the people of Polatsk' (*Nikon*. in *PSRL*, 9: 9).

*Askold and Dyr killed a multitude of Pechenegs' (*Nikon*. in *PSRL*, 9: 9).

'...and Oleh found out that Askold and Dyr were ruling as princes...and Askold and Dyr were killed' (*Hyp.*, p. 13).

85. See below and Excursus 1.

* [The original has '980s,' a typographical error.—*Eds.*]

86. *Hyp.*, p. 24; *Novg. I*, p. 7.

87. The theory of two Olehs was put forward by the late Antonovych in Antonovich and Armashevskii, *Publichnye lektsii*, p. 57; on Oleh's tomb in Kyiv and its location, see the separate study by Lebedintsev, 'Kakaia mestnost'.

88. On the variants of Bravlin's name, see above, p. 306, fn. 66.

Photios states clearly that before it waged a campaign against Byzantium in 860, Rus' had already 'enslaved its neighbors.' We undertake to examine the matter in greater detail.

Let us begin with the Primary Chronicle. It is clear its author had very scanty information about the manner in which the various lands had been brought together to form the Rus' state. He solved this difficulty by dating the history of the formation of Rus' to the reign of the semi-mythical Oleh. We do not know whether in doing so he followed popular tradition, which described the wars and conquests of Oleh (or of more than one Oleh), or whether the story of this grandiose occupation of lands was his own invention. As he tells it, Riuryk's state was made up of the Novgorodian Slovenians and the Krivichians of Polatsk and Izborsk (later Pskov) together with their Slavic colonies in the lands of the Chud, Vepsians, and the Meria. Moving south, Oleh then conquered the Krivichians of Smolensk, the middle Dnipro region (Liubech, which was then an important center of trade), and the Kyiv region: 'Oleh set out, taking many warriors—Varangians, Chud, Slovenians, Meria, Vepsians, Krivichians. And he took Smolensk and seated his man in it. From there he moved down [the Dnipro] and when he reached Liubech, took it, and seated his man there. And they came to the Kyivan hills....' Subsequently, in campaign after campaign, he conquered the Derevljanians, the Siverianians, and the Radimichians (in the Primary Chronicle these events are described under the years 883–85): 'And Oleh held the Derevljanians and the Polianians and the Radimichians, and he was at war with the Ulychians and Tivertsians.'** That completes the list of Oleh's acquisitions, but the participants in his campaign against Byzantium also include the Croats, Dulibians, and Tivertsians, who are represented as his allies ('who are *tolkoviny*'—helpers).⁸⁹ The Northern version of the Primary Chronicle adds the Viatichians to this list. The annexation of the Drehovichians should also be dated to this period, because there is no mention of this later in the text. Given the scope of Oleh's conquests, his successors were left with little to do among the East Slavic peoples. Ihor 'suppressed' the Ulychians and fought the Derevljanians; Sviatoslav reconquered the Viatichians; and Volodymyr once again annexed the people of Polatsk, as well as the Radimichians and the Viatichians, and retook the western lands.

Clearly, the information that the compilers of the Chronicle had about the campaigns of Volodymyr and Sviatoslav was more reliable than what they knew of the events that took place near the end of the ninth century. In the second half of the eleventh century, when the Primary Chronicle was compiled, the memory of the campaigns waged in the latter half of the tenth century was still relatively fresh. Thus, the Primary Chronicle's information about Sviatoslav's campaigns, for example, is largely confirmed by other sources (except for specific details, of course), whereas all the accounts of Ihor's campaigns rely solely on various legends, with the memory of these campaigns surviving only to the extent that a given legend survived. In the case of Oleh's campaigns, even this legendary base is lacking, except for his famous attack on Byzantium, and so the narrative in the Chronicle appears to be entirely the product of the chronicler's own conjectures. Even if we accept that the Primary Chronicle's record of Oleh's exploits is based on legend and popular tradition, the notion that he conquered the entire Siverianian land (the largest of all the ethnic territories!), the fiercely freedom-loving Derevljanians, and the Radimichians in only three campaigns is clearly absurd. No less

* [In Hrushevsky's original the third sentence of this quotation was inadvertently dropped.—Eds.]

** [In Hrushevsky's original 'Tivertsians' was inadvertently dropped.—Eds.]

89. *Hyp.*, pp. 13, 14, 17. That is how Grigorovich ('Chto znachit,' p. LIII) interpreted the term on the basis of items in a glossary: 'Aleksandr—a people's helper, that is, *tolkovnik*, Alexius—helper, *tolkovnik*.'

suspicious is the report of Oleh's march from Novgorod to Kyiv, during which he is described as occupying the towns along the way with no opposition, deposing his own boyars from the Kyivan throne as usurpers, and ordering the Novgorodians, who, in the words of the Chronicle, 'are of Varangian stock; for previously they were Slovenians,' to pay tribute to the Varangians. When we also take into account the inconsistencies in the story of Askold and Dyr and of their slaying, and the interesting fact that the chronological table included elsewhere in the Primary Chronicle makes no mention whatsoever of Riuryk or of Oleh's rule in Novgorod, and that it counts the years 'from the first year of Oleh' (with the later addition 'from the time he took up residence in Kyiv,' in order to ensure consistency with the Chronicle's theory), we are forced to reject Oleh's entire march from Novgorod to Kyiv as having any basis in fact, and to regard it as a very dubious invention.⁹⁰

We must, therefore, reject the Chronicle's version of the manner in which the lands of the Rus' state were assembled as an unreliable conjecture by a later author and find other means of establishing the historical facts. To begin with, we must accept the conclusion reached above that, in all probability, all the acquisitions of the Kyivan state of which there is no mention in the second half of the tenth century must have been made before the middle of that century—assuming that no other considerations contradict this supposition. That the Rus' state was already large and comprised of many lands and tribes, bound to Kyiv by diverse ties even before the middle of the tenth century, is also suggested by the fact that there were few subsequent territorial acquisitions and that there were very many subordinate princes during Ihor's reign. There are also some very reliable and direct indications that this was so.

It should be stressed that the ties that bound the individual regions and tribes to Kyiv at that time were not all identical. It is possible to determine, at least approximately, which lands lay within Kyiv's political sphere of influence at the beginning of the tenth century, but only in rare instances is it possible to establish a given region's exact relationship to Kyiv and the degree of its dependence on it. This relationship may have differed greatly from region to region. For example, the Primary Chronicle reports that some tribes were merely 'allies' [*tolkoviny*] of the Kyivan prince—in other words, they had come under his political influence voluntarily or involuntarily as a result of being 'suppressed' and sent their military units with him on campaigns, but did not pay tribute to him and had no other obligations toward him or constraints on their self-rule. Other tribes had been 'suppressed' into paying tribute to Kyiv, but retained their own princes and the right to govern themselves without interference. Such was the status of the Derevlians, for example, who long before (during Oleh's reign, according to the Primary Chronicle) had been compelled to pay tribute to the Kyivan prince. Until the mid-tenth century, they retained their own princes, who ruled them in their own traditional way (the Derevlians said of their rulers 'our princes are good,' in contrast to the rapacious princes of Kyiv), whereas the role of the Kyivan prince was confined to making periodic expeditions into their land to collect circuit tribute. Still other tribes or lands may have been ruled by a prince appointed by the great prince of Kyiv, but these local princes governed their territories independently, obliged only to give assistance, or, at most, pay tribute to the Kyivan prince. Finally (this was the highest degree of dependence), instead of a prince, the Kyivan ruler may have sent his 'men' as lieutenants and retained the administration of the region in his own hands.

90. See above, p. 291, and Excursus 1.

Returning now, following this explanation, to our main topic, let us first consider the fact that, except for the legendary account of Oleh's campaign (or, put another way, as the account in fact suggests), popular memory retained no recollection of how the towns along the great Baltic-Dnipro water route, 'the road from the Varangians to the Greeks,' came to be politically linked with Kyiv. This fact indicates that the link was forged long before and was therefore perceived as self-evident and inevitable. Keeping in mind that Kyiv was, above all, a center of trade and that in all likelihood the interests of trade served as the key factor in the organization of the state and were the overriding force in political life as a whole, it must be assumed that Kyiv's policies were aimed primarily at securing commerce and, as a consequence of this, at gaining control over its principal trade route. Moving north from Kyiv along the Dnipro, the most important stations were Vyshhorod in the Polianian land, Liubech on the middle Dnipro, and Smolensk on the upper Dnipro, from where this route continued along the Dvina, Volkhov, and upper Volga Rivers. Farther north lay Novgorod, on the northern route to the Bay of Finland, and Polatsk, on the western route along the Daugava. The Dnipro route south of Kyiv is much less well known, because that region was then in a period of decline, under pressure from the Pechenegs. The only known stations were Vytychiv just below Kyiv, Roden at the mouth of the Ros River, farther south, and the famous port of Oleshia on the lower Dnipro.

There is no doubt whatsoever that by the latter half of the ninth century this great trade route was controlled by the Kyivan princes and that the tribes and towns along it were either politically subordinated to Kyiv, had been conquered and were ruled by Kyiv's 'illustrious and great princes,' or were bound to Kyiv by alliances and were under its hegemony. The Primary Chronicle confirms that fact by describing the conquest of the trade centers and entire tribes along the Dnipro route as the accomplishment of the first prince of Kyiv.

The lower Dnipro was probably conquered even before the beginning of the ninth century, as evidenced by the Rus' campaigns on the Black Sea in the ninth century.

In the Chronicle tradition, the wars with the Ulychians, who lived south of the Polianians on the Dnipro, are associated with the earliest princes. The longer version of the Primary Chronicle reports that Oleh 'was at war' with the Ulychians and the Tivertsians; in the shorter, Novgorod version, Askold and Dyr fought with the Ulychians.⁹¹ We do not know whether this reflects an earlier memory of old wars over the Dnipro trade route, transposed to approximately a century later, or whether it is a historical reference to an actual conflict with the Ulychians at the end of the ninth century. If the latter is true, these wars were certainly not Kyiv's first attempt to control the region. The Kyivan princes may have waged new wars because the relations established earlier had been breached or to strengthen their influence and power over the lower Dnipro territories. In any event, the Ulychians had not yet been fully conquered at that time. Ihor waged a new war against the Ulychians, and it was this war that brought Kyiv complete victory over that tribe. Recollection of it survived fairly intact, owing to various events and legends associated with it. The battle was fierce, and the siege of the Ulychian town of Peresichen lasted three years before it finally fell. In the end, the Ulychians were subdued to the extent that they were compelled to pay tribute. Ihor handed over the administration of the new province—or, rather, the collection of tribute from it—to his voivode, Sveneld.⁹² It is in connection with this campaign that the chronicler reports that the Ulychians migrated from the Dnipro to lands between the Boh and the Dnister. The chronological relationship of the

91. *Novg. I*, p. 4; *Hyp.*, p. 14.

92. *Novg. I*, pp. 7–8.

migration to Ihor's campaign is not clear. If the campaign took place after the migration, as seems more likely,⁹³ it may suggest that the Ulychians' migration was the reason for Ihor's action against them—that is, that by migrating from the Dnipro region, the Ulychians wanted to break out from under the dependent status that the Kyivan princes had imposed on them, and that this led to the war, which ended with the Ulychians' capitulation.

Weakened by the migration of the Ulychians, the Dnipro region needed protection from the Pechenegs more than ever. The Pechenegs had penetrated into the Black Sea steppes during the 880s, and by the 890s they had reached the banks of the Danube. The first conflicts with them on the lower Dnipro are recorded in only one later chronicle compilation (the Nikonian Chronicle): 'Askold and Dyr killed a multitude of Pechenegs.'⁹⁴ There is no reason to reject that account, but in light of what has been said above, the episode should probably be associated with Prince Dyr alone. Further on, the Primary Chronicle contains a brief sentence under the year 920 stating that Ihor fought the Pechenegs. The Chronicle was able to relate more about the struggle with the Pechenegs only after the latter half of the tenth century, when the Pecheneg attacks began to infringe directly upon Kyivan lands. There must have been earlier wars, but we have no record of them. However, the fact that Rus' maintained its hold on the mouth of the Dnipro despite strong Pecheneg pressure in the middle of the tenth century is evident from Ihor's treaty with Byzantium in 944. In it, the Rus' agreed not to prevent the Chersonites from fishing at the mouth of the Dnipro and not to winter there themselves (the reference is, of course, primarily to Rus' fishermen and merchants).

It is significant that the Primary Chronicle describes the conquest of the upper Dnipro and generally of all the northern routes that led from Kyiv to the northern lands as among the first achievements of the Kyivan dynasty. At the very outset, the dynasty captured Novgorod, Polatsk, Smolensk, and Liubech. In the paraphrase of the treaty with the Greeks under the year 907, among the 'Rus' fortified towns' in which 'resided the great princes who were under Oleh,' we encounter Polatsk and Liubech.⁹⁵ Whoever held Liubech and Polatsk must, of course, have also held Smolensk. Indeed, in his account of Rus' in the 940s, Constantine Porphyrogenetos included the Krivichians among the subject peoples of Rus', and Miliniska, which could only be Smolensk, among the towns of 'provincial Rus'. Here, among the 'Rus' towns, we also find Novgorod (Νεμογάρδη), 'where Sviatoslav, the son of the Rus' prince Ihor, reigned,' as the final station on the Dnipro-Baltic route.

A second important trade artery, perhaps no less important than 'the route from the Varangians to the Greeks,' was the route leading eastward from Kyiv overland and along rivers to Bulghar, Itil, and through it farther into the Transcaspian lands. The Rus' merchants traveled this route as early as the ninth century (according to Ibn Khurradadhbih). Because this way led through the lands of the Siverianians and Viaticians, it drew the political attention of the Kyivan princes from the earliest times. Equally significant was the fact that the Siverianians held a considerable portion of the eastern bank of the Dnipro and were Kyiv's immediate neighbors.

93. See p. 155.

94. *Nikon*. in *PSRL*, 9: 9.

95. There is some doubt whether these towns were named in the treaty or were an interpolation by the chronicler, because further on, in the text of the fragment of the treaty, only the following are listed: 'first from the fortified town of Kyiv, and then from Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, and other fortified towns,' whereas the earlier passage in the Primary Chronicle reads: 'for Kyiv, and then for Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Polatsk, Rostov, Liubech, and other fortified towns.' It is possible that Polatsk, Rostov, and Liubech were the chronicler's own amplification. Even if that were the case, the view of the compiler that these towns belonged to Kyiv under the first princes is significant.

Like the Polianians, the Siverianians, Viaticians, and Radimichians had at one time been under the suzerainty of the Khazars. As soon as Kyiv itself became free of Khazar overlordship (and this must have happened no later than the eighth century), it must have immediately set about challenging Khazar influence on the left bank of the Dnipro, especially over the Siverianians and Radimichians. The liberation of these tribes from Khazar dependence must have proceeded in tandem with their political subjugation by Kyiv. This liberation had a positive aspect for the tribes, and it made Kyiv's policies easier to implement, on the grounds that this population needed protection from the Khazars. By the ninth century, the Khazar state was in decline, and battling it would not have posed a serious difficulty for Kyiv's princes.

The Primary Chronicle describes the Siverianian centers of Liubech, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav at the beginning of the tenth century as already the seats of Kyiv's lieutenants and garrisons (paraphrase of Oleh's treaty). Chernihiv (Τζερνιγῶγα) and probably Liubech (Τελιούτζα) are included among the Rus' towns by Constantine Porphyrogenetos.⁹⁶ In fact, this strip of Siverianian land along the Dnipro must have come under Kyiv's control much earlier, given that in the first half of the tenth century the Kyivan princes already had a firm hold on the mouth of the Don and had brought the Viaticians under their political sway.

The Primary Chronicle includes the Viaticians among those taking part in Oleh's campaign against Byzantium, though their name does not appear in all manuscript copies of the Primary Chronicle.⁹⁷ But the circumstance that, in the eleventh century, Rus' control over the lands on the Oka River was regarded as a fact predating Sviatoslav's campaigns, and was believed to date to the beginnings of the tenth century, is confirmed by the Chronicle's account that Murom, the center of Slavic colonization in the lands of the Finnic Muroma (on the middle Oka), northeastern neighbors of the Viaticians, had been part of Riuryk's realm.⁹⁸ However, Viatician dependence on Kyiv was then still quite superficial, inasmuch as Khazar domination in the region had not yet been overthrown. The Viaticians, though already under Kyivan hegemony, still paid tribute to the Khazars in the second half of the tenth century—'a shilling per plow,'⁹⁹ according to the Primary Chronicle. Not until after Sviatoslav's campaigns against the Khazars and the destruction of the Khazar state were the Viaticians wholly free of Khazar control.⁹⁹ This also strengthened Kyiv's influence in the basin of the middle and lower Oka, where a Kyivan domain is known to have existed in Murom during the reign of Volodymyr. That the Viaticians became more closely dependent on Kyiv relatively late is attested by the fact that they were still governed by their own princes at the end of the eleventh century (Khodota and his son) and that they retained their tribal name as late as the twelfth century, remaining on the sidelines of contemporary political life. Still, it is significant that the Kyivan

96. Τελιούτζα is, of course, not at all similar in form to Liubech, but this interpretation of the name (generally accepted) has more in its favor than appears at first glance. No other name that resembles Liubech more closely can be found on the middle Dnipro, whereas Constantine was obviously listing the most important towns on the Dnipro route, from north to south.

97. *Hyp.*, p. 11.

98. *Hyp.*, p. 42.

* [In the Hypatian text under 6472 (964). The Chronicle contains the phrase *po ščel'jagu*. Omeljan Pritsak asserts that it refers to the Anglo-Saxon shilling (*The Old Rus' Weights and Money Systems*, forthcoming).—Eds.]

99. The Viaticians are not mentioned in the manuscripts of the Southern version of the earliest Chronicle (*Hyp.* and others), nor in the Pereiaslavl-Suzdalskii compilation or the later Arkhangelgorod [Ustiug] compilation. Consequently, some scholars have regarded the inclusion of the Viaticians in this account as a later interpolation: Lambin, 'Deistvitel'no-li pokhod Olega'; Bagalei, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli*, p. 34.

chroniclers believed that the Viaticians, too, were under the political control of Kyiv in the first half of the tenth century. In view of this, the beginnings of Siverianian dependence in the Dnipro region on Kyiv must be moved back well before the beginning of the tenth century.

Of particular significance to the Rus' presence in the Don region were the eastern campaigns of the Rus'. The earliest references to them occur in the last quarter of the ninth century in connection with the Rus' expedition against Abeskun during the reign of Hasan b. Zayd. In 909–10, the Rus' attacked Abeskun once again. In 912–13, they waged another large-scale campaign and devastated the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, returning yet again in 944–45.¹⁰⁰ The Rus' usually sailed down the Don, portaged across a narrow strip of land, and continued down the Volga into the Caspian Sea. Although in his account of the campaign of 912–13, al-Mas'udi writes that the Khazar rulers allowed the Rus' to pass through into the Caspian Sea in exchange for their promise to hand over half their booty, these incursions could hardly have pleased the Khazars, and the fact that they did not block such incursions only indicates that they lacked the power to do so. Rus' campaigns attest to the complete decline of the Khazar state beginning from the end of the ninth century.

On the other hand, such forays into the Caspian Sea would not have been possible if the Rus' had not felt at home on the lower Don, just as the Rus' campaigns on the Black Sea attest to Rus' control over the lower Dnipro. Indeed, there are clear indications of Kyivan influence in the lands on the lower Don and along the coast of the Sea of Azov during the first half of the tenth century. In Ihor's treaty with Byzantium of 944, the Rus' prince agreed not to permit the Black Bulgars, who lived on the Caucasian shore of the Sea of Azov, to pass to the Crimean side: 'If the Black Bulgars come and raid in the country of Cherson, we order the prince of Rus' not to admit them, since they will harm this country.'¹⁰¹ The fact that the Kyivan prince had the power to allow or prevent the passage of the Bulgars from the Caucasus to the Crimea means that he controlled the Kerch Strait, either directly or through some subordinate. Ancient Phanagoria, which from the eighth century onward was known as Tamatarcha (Ταμάταρχα, τὰ Μάταρχα) in Greek sources,¹⁰² and as Tmutorokan in Rus' documents, first appears as a Rus' domain during the reign of Volodymyr, but the cited paragraph from Ihor's treaty with the Greeks shows that these lands belonged to the Kyivan prince as early as the first half of the tenth century. Another paragraph of the same treaty, in which the 'Rus' princes' agreed not to raid the Greek cities in the region of Cherson and not to lay any claims to them, in exchange for which Byzantium promised assistance to Rus'—in the Azov territories, clearly—suggests that the Rus' principality extended to the Crimean side of the strait and that the Rus' princes tried to expand this territory further by annexing Greek cities. Leo the Deacon's report¹⁰³ that after

100. On these campaigns and their chronology, see below.

101. Lambin, 'O Tmutarakan'skoi Rusi,' p. 66: 'they also harm his country.' Lambin believed this to be a reference to the Tmutorokan prince and that he ruled the lands on both sides of the Bosphorus. He dated the founding of this principality to the times of Oleh (*ibid.*, p. 70ff.). Vasil'evskii ('Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 7,' pp. 111–12) applied to this principality the Arab geographer's account about 'an island the perimeter of which was [the equivalent of] three days' journey, covered with forests and marshes, unhealthy and so boggy that when you step on the ground, it moves,' on which the Rus' lived, according to Ibn Rusta (Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 34); cf. Garkavi in 'Nekotorye dannye po istoricheskoi geografii,' p. 242. This account could just as easily—or even more easily—be applied to the Dnipro marshlands and the regions below the rapids (*Zaporizhia*).

102. List of eparchies published by de Boor, 'Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatumum' (Ταμάταρχα); Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 42.

103. Leo the Deacon 6.10.

his unsuccessful campaign against Byzantium, Ihor escaped home 'with only a tenth of his ships to the Cimmerian Bosphorus' (Kerch Strait) also belongs here.

When we take all these facts into account, we are left in no doubt that Rus' controlled the Sea of Azov, and with it the Don region, as early as the first half of the tenth century. Inasmuch as the period following the arrival of the Pechenegs was least conducive to making territorial acquisitions in this region, the consolidation of influence and power in the area by the Kyivan princes must be dated to the second half of the ninth century. Clearly, the expansion of Rus' influence in the Don region must have been linked with Kyiv's struggle against Khazar suzerainty on the left bank of the Dnipro and was a continuation of that struggle.

Kyiv's relations with its western neighbors were dictated less by commercial interests than by its need to safeguard peace and security. The western trade route, which became so important later, did not at this time rival the eastern and southern routes. However, the endless border clashes and raids by the Derevlians, who had 'abused' the Polianians since prehistoric times, must have led the Kyivan state to do battle with these neighbors from the very outset. The shorter version of the Primary Chronicle speaks of the war waged with the Derevlians by Askold and Dyr; the longer version states that after settling in Kyiv, Oleh immediately took military action against them, 'and having suppressed them, he levied on them the tribute of a black marten.'¹⁰⁴ Like the other reports about Oleh, this one means only that the chronicler believed that the Derevlians had been subdued long ago, before the tenth century, to the degree that they had to pay tribute to the Kyivan princes. The accuracy of the information that the Derevlians paid tribute to the Kyivan princes in the first half of the tenth century is confirmed by two sources, which corroborate each other: the legend about the death of Ihor relates that Ihor went to collect tribute from the Derevlians and lost his life there; also, Constantine Porphyrogenetos includes the Derevlians among the subject peoples of Kyiv from whom Kyivan princes collected tribute.¹⁰⁵

These tributary relationships were not established overnight. The Derevlians fiercely opposed Kyivan overlordship. The chroniclers knew that there had been an uprising under Ihor in the Derevlian land, and that, as a result of it, an even heavier tribute had been imposed on them than the one levied by Oleh, and that this was followed by another revolt, in which Ihor was killed. The beginnings of the conquest of the Derevlians thus reach further back than the tenth century and perhaps even earlier than the ninth century. In the mid-tenth century the Derevlians paid tribute, but were still ruled by their own princes. The uprising of the 940s probably ended with the abolition of Derevlian autonomy; Sviatoslav installed his son 'in Dereva,'¹⁰⁶ or probably one of his boyars, who ruled in the name of the young prince. In the first half of the eleventh century, the Derevlian land was fully annexed to the Polianian region and no longer had its own princes, not even princes who were members of the Kyivan dynasty.

At the same time that Kyiv was tightening its control over the Derevlians, it must have been extending its political influence over lands lying farther west and northwest. While Kyiv was subjugating the Krivichians (of Smolensk and Polatsk) and the Derevlians, the Drehovichians, who inhabited a wedge of territory between them, would not have been allowed

104. *Novg. I*, p. 4; *Hyp.*, p. 13.

105. Βερβιάνοι—Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 9 (it is difficult to read this as the Tivertsians, as some do); in another place, Δερβλενίνοι—*ibid.*, chap. 37.

106. *Hyp.*, p. 45.

to remain outside the sphere of Kyivan domination for any length of time. The Chronicle contains no record of Kyiv's wars with them, but that is probably because they were conquered early and without great difficulty.¹⁰⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenetos lists the Drehovichians among the tribes subject to Kyiv, and Volodymyr installed his son in Turiv as their ruler.

According to the Primary Chronicle, the western neighbors of the Derevljanians, the Dulibians, and their southern neighbors, the Tivertsians, were brought under Kyivan control by Oleh: all of them are reported as taking part in Oleh's campaign against Greece as 'helpers' (*tolkoviny*)—that is, autonomous tribes obligated to send troops to assist the Kyivan prince. The Primary Chronicle also reports that Oleh fought the Tivertsians, but that war clearly resulted in no harsher forms of dependence on Kyiv for that tribe than having to provide military assistance. The Luchanians (Λευζένιοι) appear among the subject peoples of Kyiv as early as the first half of the tenth century (in Constantine Porphyrogenetos). But the southwestern lands were of little interest to Kyiv after the Pecheneg inundation, which dispersed the local sedentary population. The western Ukrainian lands gained in importance in their stead. But here, on its western rim, the Kyivan state had to compete with the influence of other, equally new and aggressive political entities—the Polish, Czech, and Hungarian states—and this competition required Kyiv's concentrated attention. Unfortunately, the fate of these western neighbors interested the authors of the Primary Chronicle as little as the fate of the Rus' on the Black Sea and on the Don River. It is therefore difficult to state with any certainty whether Volodymyr's efforts to capture the western borderlands were a new phenomenon or an attempt to restore territories that had previously, in the ninth and tenth centuries, been under Kyiv's control.

I have left the discussion of Novgorod and the northern lands for last.

In contrast to the southern lands, which were directly linked with Kyiv, this was a different world and a different political system. In the south, we find no traces of the existence of a broad political system based on the same principles as Kyiv's. There, individual lands, tribes, and fortified town systems (first and foremost) were probably conquered by the Kyivan princes directly. The north, however, had a system similar to Kyiv's. Its political center and the seat of the princely retinue was Novgorod, the historical nucleus of the Varangian retinues, which expanded their political influence and tributary relations among the Finnic tribes along the Volga and the lake regions. Here we will not examine the obscure, little known, and poorly studied past of this system. We shall confine ourselves to pointing out the characteristic parallels between the historical tradition or conjectures with respect to the origins of Novgorod and those of Kyiv. Just as in the case of Kyiv the legend of the Kyivan brothers exists alongside the theory of a Varangian conquest, so in the case of Novgorod the Varangian conquest exists alongside the legend of Gostomysl and the local origins of the state.¹⁰⁸ This second legend was not a fabrication, but it was wholly rejected under the influence of the Varangian theory, because the latter was applied *ad maiorem gloriam* to Novgorod and its political aims vis-à-vis Kyiv.

I have written above about the impact of this Novgorodian bias on the Primary Chronicle's conjectures regarding the origins of the Rus' state (p. 291). The purpose of these tendentious

107. Some scholars have tried to explain the lack of information about the Drehovichians by theorizing that they belonged to Polatsk and came under Kyivan rule together with that domain (Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, p. 117; Zavitnevich, 'Oblast' dregovichei,' p. 586; etc.).

108. For the legend of Gostomysl, see the several rather cursory observations in Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 213, 308, 517.

constructs was to underscore Novgorod's age-old autonomy and hence to demonstrate its historical seniority, as it were, over Kyiv, which thus became Novgorod's acquisition rather than vice versa. They erased the recollection of the actual relationship between the two systems. A very significant moment in the history of the Rus' state—namely, the coming together and merging of these two political systems, which served as the basis for the large, unified political system that is revealed to us in the reports of events in the tenth century—has been lost to us, almost without a trace. It is clear that the chroniclers of the eleventh century regarded this as a prehistoric, as it were, moment. It preceded that history of the Rus' state about which they could tell us something. The point of departure for their account of history was the merging of the two systems on the Dnipro route. Novgorod's importance in the north at that time (regardless of any earlier centers or stages in the evolution of this northern system that may have existed) is reflected in the very direction of the historical 'route from the Varangians to the Greeks.' Pushing aside the closer and more direct route along the Daugava through old Polatsk, which becomes quite insignificant (perhaps the reason why it later became so separate), this principal artery follows a roundabout route to Novgorod, for it is Novgorod that provides access to the entire northern system of the Volga and the lakes. The status of Novgorod as the senior of Kyiv's domains and the seat of the successor to the Kyivan throne during Ihor's reign underscores its importance as the second seat of the new, large East Slavic system.

On the other hand, the accounts of Novgorodian tribute, which the Kyivan chroniclers allow to elude them, explain the real nature of the union of the two systems. As soon as Oleh ascended the Kyivan throne, he imposed a tribute on Novgorod: 'From Novgorod [tribute is to be given] at the rate of three hundred hryvnias per year, for the sake of peace.'¹⁰⁹ In other words, Novgorod's relationship to Kyiv as a tribute-paying entity also reaches back before historical time; this relationship was one of the historical attributes of the Rus' state of the tenth century. This is also confirmed by the report of Iaroslav's revolt against his father: 'When Iaroslav was in Novgorod, he paid two thousand hryvnias a year to Kyiv, as fixed, and also a thousand were distributed in Novgorod to the garrison men' (to which is added the explanation: 'And this is what all the Novgorod lieutenants gave').¹¹⁰ Novgorod paid tribute into Kyiv's princely coffers from time immemorial, from the moment that it was incorporated into the Kyivan political system 'up to the death of Iaroslav.' This stands the Chronicle's account about the relations of Novgorod with Kyiv on its head, and gives us to understand that, in reality, it was not Kyiv that was the acquisition of Novgorod, but the other way around. Thus, Smolensk was not a stage in the Novgorod prince's progress southward, but quite the reverse: it was Kyiv's key to the Novgorodian system and remained so for quite some time—a staging base for the Kyivan system en route to the lake territories and the Volga region.

As to chronology, it is significant that the chronicler believed the link between Novgorod and Kyiv to be older than the era of Ihor-Sviatoslav-Volodymyr; that it preceded this period. An allusion to Novgorod's dependence can also be found in the account by al-Jayhani (who wrote at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth) that Rus'—in other words, the Rus' state—was composed of three parts: the Kyivan (the capital *Kuyaba*, i.e., Kyiv), 'Slavia,' and Taniia (or Tabia).¹¹¹ Scholars believe that 'Slavia' probably signified the Novgorodian Slovenians.

109. *Lavr.*, p. 23. Cf. *Novg. I*, p. 6 (here Ihor replaces Oleh, for obvious reasons).

110. *Lavr.*, p. 127.

111. Garkavi, 'Drevneishee arabskoe izvestie,' p. 279; cf. above, pp. 148–49, fn. 121, and p. 226, fn. 214.

As we have seen, Ihor's son reigned in Novgorod during his father's lifetime. He was then still so young that he ruled only nominally. This suggests that the practice of sending one of the sons of the Kyivan prince, often the eldest son, to Novgorod as an important seat could have become established even before Ihor's time and that the young Sviatoslav was sent there in accordance with this custom.

Beyond this, not much more can be said.

* * *

Thus, throughout the ninth century and at the beginning of the tenth, Kyiv occupied almost the entire territory that later comprised the Rus' state. In one sense or another, all the East Slavic tribes, along with some Finnic neighbors in the north, were dependent on Kyiv by then. For the most part, however, this dependence was still quite weak. Many tribes were under Kyiv's hegemony, but they were not ruled by it. They were linked by alliances rather than being an integral part of the Kyivan realm. The towns named in the Primary Chronicle where, according to Oleh's treaty with Byzantium, 'great princes who were under Oleh'¹¹² reigned included Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Liubech, Polatsk, and Rostov. If we add Novgorod, where, as we know, Ihor's son reigned, and Smolensk, to which Oleh supposedly sent his 'man,' it becomes clear that in the first half of the tenth century, the Kyiv prince had his own men governing: (a) the Slavic domains along the principal trade routes, where, in addition to the princes acting as lieutenants, there must have been Kyivan garrisons that defended these routes and engaged in commerce with the local inhabitants; and (b) the Slavic colonies in the Finnic territories (in addition to Rostov, we should add to this list Beloozero, Murom, and perhaps Izborsk, where supposedly Riuryk himself had installed his own representative). The latter colonies also played an important role in trade and the economy, for they collected tribute, in particular 'pelts' (*skora*) from the surrounding communities. They might be compared to the later Muscovite stockaded towns in Siberia, whose primary purpose was to collect 'Siberian revenue (*kazna*),' which meant that they must have had a military force and represented some form of administrative authority. This organizational scheme is quite reliable, and we can accept the list of seats of Kyivan lieutenants and princes provided by the Primary Chronicle as authentic for the beginning of the tenth century.

Just as the beginnings of the Kyivan state must have been closely linked with the interests of Kyivan trade, so later state interests were also intertwined with trade, and the merchant stratum with the ruling stratum. This is most clearly reflected in Constantine Porphyrogenetos's account of the Rus' state, which was undoubtedly compiled on the basis of reliable local sources. According to his account, Rus' trade and administration, the prince's retinue, and the merchants are regarded as one entity. The princes, with all of Rus' (i.e., their retinue), spent the winter collecting tribute from subject Slavic lands in the south; then, in the spring, the Rus' gathered in Kyiv, equipped the trade fleet, and traveled to Constantinople (not only to that city, of course, but to various Greek trade centers), carrying goods with which to pay tribute and to engage in trade. This description is fully confirmed by surviving treaties between the Kyivan princes and Byzantium, in which trade benefits are the principal issue and content, the alpha and omega of diplomatic relations. The Rus' princes and boyars

112. This phrase should be regarded as a quotation from the treaty rather than the Chronicle's explanation. The Chronicle itself makes no mention of such great princes. On the other hand, the compiler of the Chronicle may also have added some towns.

were simultaneously rulers and merchants. Kyiv's state policies served trade, and trade, in turn, provided the economic foundation that supported the princes and the administration.

The system of fortified towns and trading factories along the trade routes, governed by Rus' princes and housing Rus' garrisons, made up the backbone, as it were, of the Kyivan state. We cannot know whether all the local princes were installed by Kyiv (though this is quite likely), but they certainly had been brought under the direct control of Kyiv. The retinue stratum, to which the name Rus' was applied specifically as the symbol of the state and affiliation with the Rus' center, served as the element that bound all these domains to Kyiv, the system's trade and administrative center. At the same time, the retinue stratum circulated like blood through the whole system of the state, giving it life and holding it together. Contemporary Byzantine and Arabic sources applied the name Rus' specifically to the retinue stratum that governed the Rus' state. As I have already noted, for Constantine Porphyrogenetos the name Rus' was synonymous with the retinue, and he distinguished this Rus' from its subject 'Slavs.' Among Arabic authors, the concept is most clearly expressed by Ibn Rusta: the Rus' are the military stratum, which possesses neither lands nor households; it lives off what it takes from the Slavs and sells to their neighbors. War is that stratum's trade. A newborn is given a sword and told: 'You will receive no inheritance from me; you will have only what you take by this sword.'¹¹³

The name 'Rus',' which was simultaneously the name of the political center and the ruling class of the state, was expanded to include the subject lands. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, too, distinguished the Kyivan domains from Kyiv by calling them 'provincial Rus' (ἡ ἔξω Ῥωσία). Al-Jayhani and later Eastern authors applied the Rus' name not only to the Kyiv region, but also to the lands under its control. The Primary Chronicle, of course, also holds the view that in the tenth century Rus' was the general name for the lands comprising the Kyivan state. In the paraphrase of the treaty of 907, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, and other towns are called 'Rus' towns.' They were ruled by the Rus'.

Ihor's treaty of 944 reveals just how expansive the system of domains linked directly with Kyiv was in the first half of the tenth century. The document names at least twenty princes. The list is of interest, and I shall therefore cite it. But let me preface it by observing that this state, composed of some twenty principalities, may be regarded as stable for the middle of the tenth century. When Olha visited Constantinople thirteen years later, she was accompanied by twenty or twenty-two envoys, who were clearly the representatives of contemporary Rus' princes.

The treaty of 944 contains the following names:

the great prince of Rus', Ihor, and his wife Olha	Arfast (Norse: Arnfastr)
his son, Sviatoslav (of Novgorod)	Sfirk
two nephews—Ihor and Iakun (Norse: Akun, Hákon)	Tudko (perhaps a diminutive of Tudor)
Predslav ¹¹⁴	Tudor
Sfandr, the wife of Ulib (probably the widow of a prince, who, like Olha, had her own domain, for there is no mention of Ulib himself)	Ievlisk (or Ierlisk, probably a corrupted name)
Turd (Norse: Þórðr)	Voik (probably corrupt)
	Iamind (Amend, Norse: Ámundr)
	Gunar (Norse: Gunnarr)
	Bern (Norse: Bjørn)
	Aldan

113. Khvol'son, *Izvestiia o khazarakh*, p. 35.

114. Not Predslava, because women were identified as such.

Ielek

Ieton (probably corrupt)

(one name must have been omitted, for only the name of the envoy is included)

Gud

Tulb or Tulob (var.: Tuad, Tuld)

Ut (adjectival Utin, Uspin).

It is interesting that this 'princely' roster of 944 does not include names that we know from the Primary Chronicle. Omitted are the voivode Sveneld, to whom Ihor entrusted the collection of tribute from the Derevlianian land, and the Derevlianian prince, Mal. We can rely on the Chronicle's information that Sveneld and Mal did indeed exist, because their names are associated with a memorable event—the slaying of Ihor by the Derevlians. Their absence from the roster cited above suggests that it did not include local and minor princes who continued to govern their regions under the overlordship of the Kyivan prince (this is quite understandable, because these princes were not directly a part of the state and retinue organization), nor those Kyivan boyars, members of the retinue, who did not spend all their time in the domains, but only went periodically to collect tribute from various domains that were subordinate to Kyiv but not directly subject to it. These boyars were attached to the Kyiv headquarters, as it were,¹¹⁵ and were sent out only to collect tribute, or had tribute allotted them from certain domains for the maintenance of their retinues.

The number of such lands, which retained their own local administration and princes and were visited only occasionally (usually once a year) by the prince (either the Kyivan ruler or a provincial prince), or by one of the boyars accompanied by a company of retinue members to help enforce his right to collect circuit tribute, must have been quite large in the first half of the tenth century. But there were entire tribes, bound to Kyiv only by their obligation to provide assistance, who never saw the Kyivan princes or their boyars on their territory, even briefly. Such, in all probability, was the status of all the western lands—those of the Tivertsians, Dulibians, and others living farther west, and the Viaticians in the extreme east—in other words, of all the lands lying on the outer edges of the realm. Their association with Kyiv was very weak—virtually nominal.

Indeed, the evolution of the Rus' state in the tenth and eleventh centuries consisted in strengthening these ties, in expanding the system of 'Rus' lieutenants and garrisons in all directions, into the core of the domains and moving gradually farther and farther afield. Constantine Porphyrogenetos listed the territories of the Novgorodian Slovenians, Derevlians, Drehovichians, Krivichians, Siverianians, and other Slavs as domains that the Rus' retinues and princes visited only during the winter to collect tribute. This description is quite accurate, except that not all the princes came from Kyiv, because there already existed an entire network of provincial centers, which were the seats of princes who ruled in the name of the 'great prince' of Kyiv. In such regions, communities governed themselves as they wished, their sole obligation being to pay the assigned tribute to the prince when the time for collection came, and to provide for the retinue of collectors during their stay in the region (Constantine was somewhat mistaken when he wrote that the Kyivan princes marched with 'all the Rus' into the 'Slavic' lands and wintered there). Only gradually were various administrative and judicial duties added to the collection of tribute. A later account in the Chronicle, under the year 1071, provides an excellent illustration of this: when Iań Vyshatych came to Beloozero to collect

115. The same was true of minor boyars from other provincial centers.

tribute in the name of Prince Sviatoslav, the local inhabitants complained to him of the violations [of princely law] committed by local 'sorcerers.' These violations were obviously being committed with the approval of the local authorities (whoever they were), and the complaint was in the nature of an appeal against them. Iań conducted an investigation and executed the perpetrators. Such occurrences in the second half of the eleventh century in the remote Finnic annexed lands had probably been customary in the tenth century in the Slavic domains as well. Even as late as the reign of Iaroslav the Wise, the prince's collector of wergild (*vira*)—a judicial or financial agent—visited the domain only periodically (*Instruction to the Wergild Collector in the Rus' Law*). Surely, the role of the central government in the administration and justice system of the domains must have been much smaller a century earlier! It was, of course, minimal, and was practically nonexistent beyond the boundaries of the town where the prince or his lieutenant resided.

In lands that were more closely linked with Kyiv, only smaller districts were self-governing; the more important centers of the land served as seats of princes or lieutenants, who served as judicial or administrative authorities, at least in more important affairs, or at least occasionally. Entire ethnic territories of other tribes, such as the Derevlіanians, Viatichians, and perhaps the Drehovichians, had no permanent representatives from the center in the first half of the tenth century, and the entire ancient administration of the region remained intact. For example, Ihor conquered the Derevlіanians and forced them to pay tribute, and then handed over this tribute to Sveneld to enable him to maintain his retinue. But neither Sveneld nor his agents lived among the Derevlіanians (no traces of their presence there can be found). Sveneld collected his tribute during the fall collection ('and autumn came'), but remained together with his troops with Ihor, performing various military duties. Meanwhile, the Derevlіanians were ruled as they had always been, by their 'good' Derevlіanian princes who 'have made fruitful the Derevlіanian land.' It was only following the great war against the Derevlіanians in the middle of the tenth century that this ancient administration came to an end. The same occurred in the case of the Viatichians: in the latter half of the tenth century, they were taxed by the Kyivan prince, yet at the end of the eleventh century they were still governed by local princes. Such territories were viewed in Kyiv primarily as sources of tribute, as is characteristically (though in exaggerated form) reflected in the account of Ihor's encounter with the Derevlіanians. Kyiv's policy toward these subordinate tribes consisted solely of attempts to extort as much as it could from them.

As in the case of modern military states, all policies revolved around maintaining the army, that is, the princely retinue. The expansion of subordinate territories and increasing tribute made it possible to maintain a larger army. By giving Sveneld the tribute from the Ulychians, and later from the Derevlіanians, Ihor assured the maintenance of a whole corps of retinue, which Sveneld was expected to support with this tribute. By deploying the retinue garrisons, which were maintained by collected tribute and goods in kind in their district, the prince had military cadres ready to be sent wherever necessary, leaving a minimum contingent in place. These garrisons also protected trade, which was an important source of income for the rulers, as well as for the retinue stratum itself. On the other hand, increasing the military force allowed the Kyivan prince to continue extending his political influence. It strengthened the prince's position and his supremacy over subordinate 'illustrious and great princes' and voivodes.

This was also a very important aspect in the evolution of the Rus' state. Great voivodes like Sveneld, who maintained entire corps of retinue, and the provincial princes sometimes grew much too strong and could rise above the Kyivan prince. He therefore had to maintain his own large retinue and balance the power of each of his subordinates with that of others. Sometimes

rivalries developed between the retinue of the great prince and the retinues of his subordinates and voivodes, and the Kyivan prince had to take care that serving with one of his voivodes did not seem more attractive than service with the prince himself. When Sveneld was given the tribute from the Derevlanians, Ihor's retinue became envious: 'You have given too much to one man. Sveneld's men have equipped themselves with weapons and clothing, while we are naked.'¹¹⁶ Consequently, the prince had to find additional income for his retinue, so that they would not complain nor think that Sveneld's retinue enjoyed better conditions than their own.

The subordinate 'illustrious princes' quite naturally tended to regard their principalities as hereditary and often attained complete, *de facto* independence. The story of Polatsk is an illustration of this. As we have seen, the Primary Chronicle includes the Polatsk domain among Riuryk's possessions, and he is reported as seating his boyars there. During Sviatoslav's reign, it was ruled by Prince Rohvolod, who 'had come from over the sea,' according to the Chronicle. We do not know whether or not he came from abroad, but we do know that he was awarded the Polatsk domain, then already a part of the Rus' state system, by the Kyivan prince—if not Rohvolod personally, then his father or grandfather. After Sviatoslav's death, Rohvolod assumed a status equal to that of Sviatoslav's sons, and the prince of the Kyivan dynasty had to bring him into line by force. Such episodes were probably not rare. The Kyivan prince had to exhibit physical superiority at all times if he hoped to retain his legal prerogative to rule as great prince and overlord.

In this endeavor, he benefited somewhat from the significance of Kyiv as the center of trade and culture for the whole state, the center of the retinue, which provided it with new cadres and to which they probably continued to remain loyal to some degree. But that factor had a limited role. The ties that bound the state together, even in such primitive form, were weak. They needed to be constantly revived and renewed through campaigns and by replacing lieutenants and subordinates, lest the state structure become too cumbersome and collapse.

The distant campaigns, especially into more culturally advanced lands in the south and east, must have played an important role. Only the head of the state, the Kyivan prince, could provide the initiative and muster the requisite large army. He mobilized forces, levied hosts from the subject tribes, imported Varangian condottieri, and so forth. If successful, the campaign yielded great profits: the Kyivan prince took the lion's share, yet, as the fragment added to the Primary Chronicle under the year 907 makes clear, he did not neglect his retinue, neither those taking part in the campaign, nor those left in the garrisons. Thus, such campaigns crowned the activity of the retinue organization of the time, bound the entire retinue stratum into a single body, even though it was scattered across the entire expanse of the state, and gave it the sense of being a single state organization. Hence the campaigns served a very useful purpose. Small wonder that they were waged frequently, until the state organization, having become more diverse and diffuse, grew cumbersome. Distant campaigns waged by the retinue ceased as the internal landed organization gained in importance, and the elements of the prince-and-retinue order were combined with the landed orders. That process became especially marked in the second half of the eleventh century. From that time on, no retinue campaigns took place.

116. [Hyp., p. 34.]

VIII

From Oleh to Sviatoslav

Following our general observations about the Rus' state in the tenth century in the preceding chapter, let us now explore the political history of tenth-century Rus' chronologically, by examining the reign of each prince.

The beginning of the tenth century is the period of Oleh the 'Seer,' a period of great triumphs for Kyiv's policies culminating in an exceptionally successful campaign against Byzantium, which yielded magnificent booty and excellent trade benefits for Rus'. Many stories were associated with this expedition. They described the unusual tactics to which Oleh resorted around Constantinople, such as ordering his boats to be put on wheels and moving them under sail to positions under the city's walls. They also told of Oleh's various demands, which included ordering that sails for the Rus' boats be sewn of the Greek silks taken as booty and that shields be hung on the gates of Constantinople as a sign of his victory. It is easy to imagine the allure of Constantinople, 'the new Rome,' with its sophistication, highly developed technology and art, and its flourishing and diverse amalgam of classical and oriental elements. For the Slavic peoples, and the eastern European peoples in general, this attraction was as strong as the attraction that old, more conservative, and classic Rome held for the Germanic people. Only by understanding that attraction can we comprehend the degree to which the legends about Oleh's accomplishments fired the popular imagination: '...and they called Oleh "a Seer," for they were pagan people and ignoramuses.'¹

As I have already pointed out, the triumphs of the Kyivan state associated in the Primary Chronicle with Oleh are almost entirely the product of the Kyivan chronicler's learned conjectures. In setting these conjectures aside, we took them to be a consequence of the growth of the Kyivan state up to the first decades of the tenth century. But the 'seer' prince, who approached Byzantium on boats fashioned with wheels, who had silken sails sewn for his retinue, and whose death was caused by his own horse, as a living illustration of Boian's 'song' (the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*)—

Neither the guileful nor the skillful
nor the skillful bird
can escape God's judgment

—that 'seer' Oleh is not the lifeless construct of a later chronicler, but the living product of popular creativity. He is clearly distinguishable from the homunculi created in the Kyivan bookman's cucurbit that fill the Primary Chronicle throughout the second half of the ninth century. We must therefore take into account this Oleh of popular tradition, despite the fact that certain legends about other individuals with a similar name—some earlier Oleh, as well as the princess Olha—were probably attributed to him.²

1. *Hyp.*, p. 19.

2. The confusion between Oleh and Olha in popular tradition was pointed out by Khalanskii in his 'K istorii

The only certain date associated with Oleh is the year 911, the date of his treaty with the Greeks. According to the chronology of the Primary Chronicle, Oleh died soon afterwards, that same autumn. But that information is the result of uncertainty in the counting of years, which probably stems from the circumstance that Oleh's death could not be dated any earlier. In fact, around the year 911, the Rus' engaged in several bold expeditions into distant lands, adventures that seem to fit the image of the 'seer' prince and suggest that Oleh lived longer than the Primary Chronicle's chronology indicates.

But let us first examine the Byzantine campaign. The longer version of the Primary Chronicle describes the expedition in detail under the year 907. The details supplied by the account are entirely legendary. Even when we reject its purely anecdotal embellishments, we cannot be certain about the reliability of the 'bare bones' of the narrative remaining after all else has been stripped away. Indeed, in light of the complete silence of Greek sources, it is very unlikely that Oleh ventured as far as Constantinople itself, and this part of the story could in fact have been transposed to Oleh's time from the campaign of 860 or embellished with particulars from the accounts of Ihor's expedition. Yet it is very likely that the Rus' did wage campaigns against Byzantine lands at the beginning of the tenth century, and that they did so more than once, just as they had at the beginning of the ninth century, when successful raids brought them rich booty. The success of these expeditions, which forced Byzantium to pay tribute to the Rus' and to conclude treaties favorable to Rus', fired the popular imagination, causing it to embellish accounts of the events.³ The previous confirmed event in Rus'-Byzantine relations was the treaty that Byzantium concluded with Rus' in the 860s. On that occasion, as the biographer of Emperor Basil recorded, the Byzantine government did not skimp on 'gold, silver, and silk [brocade] garments'—in other words, it bought itself a treaty, and peace with the Rus' princes. The editor of the Primary Chronicle had at his disposal some treaty, which he cited under the year 907, but which must have been made before 912 (that is, before the death of Emperor Leo, who is mentioned in it). In it, the Rus' were given a lump sum payment and important trade benefits (restricted in 944). The fragments and paraphrases from this treaty cannot be considered as imaginary or falsified,⁴ but it is just as difficult to conclude that the

poëticheskikh skazanii,' p. 3, and in his 'Materialy i zametki.' Unfortunately, his work on the topic was left unfinished. Those parts that were published, and the posthumous 'Otnoshenie bylin ob Il'e Muromtse,' provide some interesting observations, but his work is marred by an attempt to include in the legends about Oleh as much available material as possible, without distinguishing between genuine legends and obvious errors, literary constructs, and so forth. Of particular interest is Khalanskii's theory that Ilia Muromets and Oleh, the 'murman' (*murmanskii*—*normanskii*—Norman) prince, were the same person (published also in German: idem, 'Ilias von Reußen'). However, the application of the epithet 'murman' to Oleh remains wholly unconvincing. It is derived from an unreliable source, Ioakim's Chronicle, where he is called 'urman' (*urmanskii*). Also, the change of the name 'Oleh' to 'Ilia,' given such forms as Oleh and Vol'ga (Volha), is quite dubious (cf. the observations by Jagić [in his critical note on Khalanskii]).

3. It should be noted that Vasil'evskii saw an 'allusion' to a Rus' campaign at the beginning of the tenth century in the fact that 'in the place where there should have been an account of Oleh's campaign,' in the *Chronographia* of Symeon Logothete, there is a passage about the legendary Rus' eponym, 'Ῥῶς σφοδρός (*Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia*, p. CXXXVIII). In reality, however, there is no such allusion, because the mention of Rus' was imported into Symeon's account as part of a whole complex of philological lucubrations. On the Chronicle's account of Oleh's campaign, see also Lambin, 'Deistvitel'no-li pokhod Olega.'

4. In my opinion, the most important evidence that the paraphrase of the Rus'-Byzantine treaty in the Primary Chronicle under the year 907 has a factual basis is that the passage containing these fragments and paraphrases, beginning with the words 'and the Greeks began to ask for peace' and ending with the phrase 'And Oleh said,' is an interpolation. This is confirmed by a comparison with the *Novg. I*. We find traces of an insertion in the repeated statement by the Greeks that they are prepared to pay tribute (as Shakhmatov correctly noted in his 'O nachal'nom

concessions were made because of the fear that the Rus' had inspired in Byzantium fifty years earlier. It is very likely that Oleh led raids into Byzantine lands at the beginning of the tenth century, although not against Constantinople itself. Hence, there would be nothing unusual in the fact that Byzantine chronography (generally very poor for the first half of the tenth century) contains no reference to these raids.⁵

The fragments of the treaty described above state that the Greeks agreed to pay tribute to Oleh's troops and to pay an annual contribution to the Rus' princes who were Oleh's lieutenants. The Rus' merchants were given the right to engage in trade without paying customs duties. They were to receive rations for six months in Constantinople and to be given the supplies and equipment needed for their journey home by boat. However, they were not permitted to live inside Constantinople, but in a suburb near the Church of St. Mamas ('at St. Mamas'). Byzantine officials were to keep a name list of the Rus' merchants, and they were to be permitted to enter the city, without weapons, in groups of no more than fifty men (perhaps the restrictions were due to some disturbance caused by the Rus' merchants in Constantinople on an earlier occasion).

Apart from these fragments, there is a complete treaty dated 2 September 911, which was probably a supplement to the preceding agreement. The new treaty established legal norms to cover various situations that could arise between the Rus' and the Greeks in their commercial dealings, particularly inside the merchants' colonies that existed in Greek and Rus' cities. The treaty set forth the legal procedures and penalties that applied in cases involving both Greeks and Rus'. It contained special provisions dealing with shipwrecks near the Rus' shores, the ransom of slaves, and the disposition of the property of Rus' who were in the service of the Byzantine emperor. In the event that any Rus' serving the emperor died without a will, his property was to go to his relatives in Rus'. In a separate article, the Rus' princes promised not to forbid the members of their retinues to join the emperor's army. The treaty is an exceptionally important source for the history of Rus' law, and it clearly reveals the diverse and lively relations of Rus' with Byzantium.⁶

This treaty between Rus' and Byzantium was in effect for a long time, and Byzantium made use of Rus' troops in various campaigns. We learn by chance that a Rus' detachment numbering

kievskom letopisnom svode,' p. 48). This interpolation may contain the compiler's own additions. Thus, he took from the legendary account and inserted here the information regarding the payment of twelve hryvnias per man (the sum is improbable, and the detail may have replaced a general reference to a payment in the treaty). As I stated above (chap. 7), some names of towns may have been added, but what remains has not the slightest trace of uncertainty. As to how the question is viewed in scholarship, Ewers and Tobien regarded the fragments as the preamble to the treaty of 911 (that view has come to be shared by A. Vasil'ev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, 2: 165). Sergeevich regarded the whole treaty as doubtful; see his 'Grecheskoe i russkoe pravo,' as reprinted in *Lektsii i issledovaniia po istorii russkogo prava*, p. 616. However, the view that this was a separate, genuine treaty of 907 now prevails: see Vladimirskii-Budanov, *Obzor istorii russkogo prava*, and others.

5. On Rus'-Byzantine relations in the tenth century, apart from the special studies that I indicate where applicable, see also the following more general works: the old study by Wilken, 'Über die Verhältnisse der Russen'; Lamanskii, 'Neskol'ko slov'; Samokvasov, 'Svidetel'stva sovremennykh istochnikov'; Uspenskii, *Rus' i Vizantiia v X veke*; and Velychko, 'Politychni i torhovel'ni vzaiemny.'

6. On Rus'-Byzantine relations, see also: Sreznevskii, 'Dogovory s grekami'; I. Beliaev, 'O dogovorakh kniazia Olega s grekami'; N. Lavrovskii, *O vizantiiskom elemente*; Sokol'skii, 'O dogovorakh russkikh s grekami'; Shukhevych, 'O dohovorakh Rusy z hrekamy'; Dimitrii, 'K voprosu o dogovorakh russkikh s grekami' (my review in *ZNTSh*, vol. 16); Nekrasov, 'Zametka o dvukh stat'iakh' (my review appeared in *ZNTSh*, vol. 55); Longinov, 'Mirnye dogovory russkikh s grekami.'

700 men took part in a Byzantine naval expedition led by Himerios against the Arabs around 910. They received 100 pounds of gold (7,200 gold pieces) in payment for their part in this action.⁷ The correspondence of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas Mystikos, contains the information that ca. 920 Byzantium availed itself of assistance from the Rus' in its difficult war against the Bulgarian emperor, Symeon. Whether Rus' did indeed send help at the time has not been established, but very likely it did.⁸

The report that Rus' troops took part in Himerios's campaign makes it possible to date the Rus' expeditions against Byzantium with somewhat more precision. These raids into Byzantine possessions took place sometime before 909–10, because that is when we encounter Rus' troops serving in the Byzantine military. Moreover, in 909–10, Rus' was hardly in a position to attack Byzantium, for it was busy with its own campaigns in the east.

According to a later historian of Tabaristan, Ibn Isfandiyar, the Rus' came in sixteen ships to Abeskun in 909–10, and succeeded in plundering the vicinity of Abeskun and the opposite coast of the Caspian Sea before help arrived from Abu al-'Abbas, the governor of Tabaristan (which then belonged to the Samanid emirs). With his forces reinforced by this assistance, the commander of Sari (the capital of the southern Caspian shore) surprised the Rus' with a nocturnal attack, defeated them, and sent those taken captive to various parts of Tabaristan.⁹

That is the story told by Ibn Isfandiyar, yet much of what he tells us is questionable. A much larger Rus' military force would have been needed to wage such a distant campaign and to engage in such bold piracy. Therefore, the report in Ibn Isfandiyar's account that there were sixteen ships must be an error, or else he may have been referring to a band that was part of a larger force. Nor is it certain that the whole campaign was as disastrous for the Rus' as it would appear, inasmuch as it was followed almost immediately by another Rus' raid.

According to Ibn Isfandiyar, the Rus' attacked again the following year, and on that occasion, too, they met with failure and were defeated in Gilan. Afterwards, there were no more Rus' raids.¹⁰ The outcome described by Ibn Isfandiyar suggests strongly that this report should be linked with the Rus' campaign described in much greater detail by al-Mas'udi, despite the fact that the date provided by the latter is different. According to al-Mas'udi, after A.H. 300 (912/13 A.D.), 500 Rus' ships, each carrying 100 men, sailed along the Don into the Volga and thence into the Caspian Sea, after promising the Khazar kagan half their booty in return for permission to pass through his lands (in reality, rather than buying the right to pass, they probably forced

7. Accounts of expenses from this campaign survived in the collection of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De ceremoniis*, p. 651ff., but without a date. Modern scholars date this expedition to the years 909–911 [The expedition is now more commonly dated to 908, although 905 or 906 is more likely.—Eds.]. See, in particular, A. Vasil'ev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, 2: 165; also, Lamanskii, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla,' *ZhMNP* 351 (January 1904): 148.

8. Nicholas Mystikos, [*Litterae ad Symeonem*,] no. 23. For a discussion of these letters, see Zlatarski, 'Pismata na tsarigradskii patriarkh,' p. 153ff. Zlatarski dates Nicholas's letter containing mention of Rus' assistance to ca. 922. Uspenskii, 'Vizantiiskie vladeniia,' p. 282, dates it to ca. 920.

9. Dorn, 'Kaspil,' pp. 5ff. and 464 (text). There is a brief mention of what is obviously the same campaign by Zahir al-Din [Mar'ashi], a later (fifteenth-century) historian of Tabaristan (*ibid.*, pp. 28–29 [and 225–30]); others applied this report to the campaign of 913/14.) On these campaigns, see also V. Grigor'ev, 'O drevnikh pokhodakh,' p. 12ff.; Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung,' sec. 4, and 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov,' pp. 5, 21; and Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 330ff.

10. Texts in Dorn, 'Kaspil,' pp. 6 and 464. According to this account, the Rus' were defeated by the 'Khazar Shirwan Shah.' This reference to the Khazar ruler [Shirwan Shah was one of the indigenous rulers in the Caucasus and a vassal of the Khazars.—Eds.] suggests that Dorn may have provided an overly simple explanation in interpreting 'Khazar' merely as a title of Shirwan Shah. Might it not recall the rout of the Rus' in the land of the Khazars?

the kagan to let them through). When they reached the Caspian Sea, the Rus' began to plunder the southern ports—that is, in the land known as Tabaristan and in territories farther to the west (Azerbaijan) and to the north, as far as the Kura River. Foraying into regions at some distance from the coast, 'the Rus' spilled blood, took women and children captive, plundered goods, sent out their horsemen, and set fires.' Linking this campaign with Ibn Isfandiyyar's account, scholars have dated the raid to A.H. 301 (913/14).¹¹ They explain Tabaristan's failure to defend itself against the Rus' by the fact that the country was in the midst of an uprising, in which the Samanid forces had been defeated by the rebels and there was no one to oppose the Rus' invaders. For several months, the Rus' held the entire coast unopposed. Finally, after several months of occupation, the Rus' started back. But trouble awaited them: 15,000 Khazar mercenaries attacked them on their homeward journey, and, according to al-Mas'udi, killed some 30,000 Rus'. The survivors fled north along the Volga (the route from the Volga to the Don was blocked), but these remnants, too, were killed in various places—among the Burtas (the Mordva) and in the land of the Bulgars.¹² Al-Mas'udi writes that this was the revenge of the Muslims who had been hired by the Khazars. It is more likely, however, that the Khazars, unable to halt the Rus' in their advance to the Caspian Sea, succeeded in crushing them as they made the return journey, weakened by a protracted war and heavily laden with booty. Whether or not the Rus' army was completely destroyed, as al-Mas'udi describes, is questionable. Al-Mas'udi's claim that the Rus' army numbered 50,000 men is probably somewhat exaggerated; even so, that force must have been large and therefore difficult to destroy in its entirety.

Such raids into Byzantium and lands to the east are described by various independent sources. The surviving reports of these campaigns are rather haphazard, and, in reality, there may have been many more such expeditions. It is quite likely that all these campaigns took place at the end of Oleh's reign, because they follow one another, and organizing them would have required wielding the kind of influence and power in the Rus' political system that a Kyivan prince acquired only after years of rule. Small wonder that all known campaigns against foreign lands occurred not at the beginning of the reign of each prince, but during the later years, or even near the end, of his years on the throne, when he was in a position to mobilize the large army needed for such expeditions.¹³ This suggests that Oleh's death may have occurred somewhat later than the date given by the Primary Chronicle. As we shall see later, errors by several years occur in various other dates in the Primary Chronicle.

The Chronicle retained only the memory of Oleh's war against Byzantium. The recollection of the eastern expeditions survived in the northern *bylina* (epic tale) about the campaign of Volga Sviatoslavich against the Indian Empire, or, as it is called in other versions, 'Turets-zemlia' [the Turk-land], the Golden Horde. Many scholars have suggested that Volga Sviatoslavich evolved from the Oleh of the Chronicle, and, in fact, many details seem to confirm this. Thus Volga, a Kyivan prince and the leader of a retinue, is described as collecting tribute from communities that resist and revolt against him. He is portrayed as a sorcerer, and

11. V. Grigor'ev, 'O drevnikh pokhodakh,' p. 19. Dorn ('Kaspii,' p. 16) dates this campaign to the end of 913 or, more likely, to the first half of 914. Westberg initially believed the campaign to have taken place in the autumn of 913, but in a more recent article ('K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov') moved it to the 920s, in the belief that it should not be identified with the second raid described by Ibn Isfandiyyar, because the latter dated it to A.H. 298.

12. Maçoudi [al-Mas'udi], *Les prairies d'or*, 2: 18; translation and commentary in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, and in my *Vyimky z zherel*; a new translation in Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*.

13. See above, p. 326.

he leads a successful campaign against the distant Indian Empire. It is possible, as has been surmised with good reason, that his name, Volga-Oleh [Oleg], with the initial spirant 'v' and the patronymic Sviatoslavich, could have evolved under the influence of accounts about the famous Oleh Sviatoslavych of Siveria [Chernihiv] of the eleventh century. His traits as a wizard could have evolved from a confusion of the legends about Oleh with those about Volkh-Volkhv (this name is confused with Volga because of their similarity) and about the miracles he performed. Some aspects of the legend of Vseslav [of Polatsk] and his powers of sorcery may also have been a factor (other influences are also conjectured, e.g., accounts of Alexander the Great).

Turning himself into a bird, the seer prince in the *bylina* about Volga Sviatoslavich listens in on the plans of the 'Turkish sultan,' or, in another version, of the Indian emperor. Transforming himself into a wolf, he suffocates his enemy's horses; turning himself into an ermine, he chews through the strings of his enemy's bows and destroys other weapons in the enemy arsenal. Having thus rendered his adversary completely helpless, the prince leads his retinue from Kyiv against the sultan, takes the sultan's force captive, and captures great booty and countless prisoners:

what was not expensive in the distribution were the females:
the old women for a farthing,
the young matrons for two farthings,
and the beautiful girls a penny each.¹⁴

There must have been more such legends about Oleh's eastern campaigns at the time the Primary Chronicle was being written. Moreover, all these campaigns, bedimmed by time, may have been combined in popular memory into the image—embellished by the imagination of succeeding generations—of the 'seer' prince's campaign against the world capital, Constantinople, to which colorful details were added.

In any event, the campaign against the Indian Empire could not have been the expedition against Constantinople, as is customarily thought; it could only have been the expedition into the Caspian region. Moreover, the traditional account of it may have combined not only Oleh's campaigns, but also later expeditions by the Rus' to the East.

* * *

In light of the above, Oleh's death should be dated somewhat later than the date provided in the expanded redaction of the Primary Chronicle—probably no earlier than 914–15.¹⁵ In that account, Oleh is immediately succeeded by Ihor (in the earlier version, Oleh was only Ihor's voivode). How the throne passed from Oleh to Ihor remained unclear and unknown to the chroniclers. For our part, although we have no clear evidence to dispute categorically that Ihor was Oleh's immediate successor, we should point out that all the actual facts we have about Ihor apply to a much later time—i.e., the 940s.

14. Literature: O. Miller, *Il'ia Muromets*, chap. 4; Kostomarov, 'Predaniia pervonachal'noi russkoi letopisi,' chap. 7; Zhdanov, *Russkii bylevoi épos*, p. 403ff.; A. Veselovskii, 'Melkie zametki k bylinam,' and idem, *Iuzhnorusskie byliny*, p. 237; Kirpichnikov, 'Srednevekoveye literatury Zapadnoi Evropy,' p. 230; V. Miller, *Ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti*, p. 166; Khalanskii, 'K istorii poeticheskikh skazanii.'

15. Without attributing undue significance to this, I remind the reader that according to the Novgorodian redaction of the Primary Chronicle, Oleh died after 922.

One set of facts about Ihor's reign comes to us from local tradition. Because this tradition is associated with the tragic story of his death, there is every chance that it survived in the popular memory quite intact. Another set of facts is known to us from contemporary foreign sources. Let me repeat that both series of events, which can be dated accurately, belong to the 940s.¹⁶ It is therefore quite possible that Ihor became the prince of Kyiv much later than indicated by the Primary Chronicle and that there is a gap between Oleh and Ihor in the list of princes supplied by the Chronicle. Earlier in this work (pp. 311–12), I stated that Dyr may have reigned between Oleh and Ihor. Although it is more probable, in light of the Kyivan tradition, to regard Askold and Dyr as proximate in time, al-Mas'udi's account of Dyr may equally well suggest a later time. Ihor's reign may also have ended somewhat later than the date provided by the Primary Chronicle.

The dynastic ties between Oleh and Ihor remain as much a mystery to us as they were to the compilers of the Primary Chronicle.

The events related in the Chronicle that bear on Ihor's domestic rule are part of the process of consolidating Kyiv's control over subject Slavic tribes that I described earlier. The Chronicle tells us that the Derevlians, who had been conquered by Oleh, rebelled against the Kyivan prince after Oleh's death, but that Ihor conquered them once again and 'levied on them tribute greater than Oleh's.' He waged another war against the Ulychians, the southern neighbors of the Polianians. They, too, were subjugated, after a protracted war in which their town, Peresichen, was captured after a three-year-long siege. Ihor changed the earlier, less restrictive form of Ulychian dependence on Kyiv to a harsher one. Whereas earlier they had probably been obliged simply to acknowledge Kyivan hegemony and to give assistance in times of war (inasmuch as there is no reference to paying tribute), now they were compelled to pay tribute. Ihor granted this tribute to Sveneld, one of his leading voivodes, who had commanded the war against the Ulychians, for the upkeep of his retinue. But the Ulychian tribute failed to satisfy Sveneld. Given the migration of the Ulychians to escape the Pecheneg advance at that time, both the victory in the campaign against them and the income from Ulychian tribute may well have proved illusory.

To reward Sveneld, Ihor gave him the Derevlianian tribute. That must have yielded a much larger income, because Ihor's retinue complained to the prince that he had given too much to one voivode and then objected that Sveneld's retinue enjoyed better conditions than they did: 'Sveneld's men have equipped themselves with weapons and clothing, while we are naked.'¹⁷ Ihor's retinue began to urge him to exact additional tribute, for himself, from the Derevlians. Ihor agreed, and marched on the Derevlianian land. That was, of course, a breach of the relations that had been established with the Derevlians. The Primary Chronicle relates that Ihor resorted to various violent tactics to force the Derevlians to pay an additional contribution, which only whetted his appetite for more. He again led a raid into the Derevlianian land, this time taking only a small band of his retainers, in order not to have to divide the spoils

16. With the insertion of dates (years) into the shorter version of the Primary Chronicle, a gap that makes no sense appeared between the siege of Peresichen and the war with the Ulychians. The beginning of the siege of Peresichen is reported under 922 and the end under 940; between them are 17 years without entries (although the text states that the siege lasted three years). In the expanded redaction, the gap between the beginning of Ihor's reign and the year 941 is filled in with excerpts from Byzantine sources that do not apply to Rus'.

* [Hyp., p. 25, under 6422 (914).—Eds.]

17. [Hyp., p. 34.]

among his entire retinue (apparently a further amplification on the topic of Ihor's legendary greed). Finally, one of the Derevlianian communities, Iskorosten [Iskorost, present-day Korosten], driven to despair by the continual plunder, rebelled and attacked Ihor, killing his retinue. According to Leo the Deacon, the Derevlianians tied Ihor to two bent tree trunks, which, springing open, tore him apart.¹⁸ The Chronicle does not contain this detail; it merely states that Ihor died in battle and refers to his tomb near Iskorosten, which was known even at the time of the writing of the Chronicle.¹⁹

It goes without saying that Ihor's domestic policies were not confined to his wars with the Derevlianians and Ulychians. They are merely the events that survived in the popular memory, and they survived precisely because they were associated with Ihor's death. In addition, the Primary Chronicle (under the year 920) makes a laconic reference to Ihor's war with the Pechenegs: 'Ihor warred against the Pechenegs.' The report does not appear to be very reliable; rather, it gives the impression of being a conjecture on the part of the chronicler. Yet there very well may have been, and probably were, frequent wars with the Pechenegs.

Foreign sources contain reports about two campaigns into distant foreign lands.

In 941, Ihor led a large fleet against the Byzantine lands. That campaign is documented in a number of sources. In addition to the chronicle of the contemporary Byzantine author Symeon Logothete (and the compilations whose reports derive from that source),²⁰ we have an account

18. Leo the Deacon 6.10.

19. Shakhmatov, in his 'Mstislav Liutyi v russkoi poëzii,' and, subsequently, in a new version of his *Razyskaniia*, chap. 14, posed a very bold and fascinating hypothesis, namely, that in the earlier version of the Chronicle, the death of Ihor was related quite differently: Mstysha Sveneldovych rose against Ihor for collecting illegal tribute, and Ihor died in battle against him. This was an episode in the retinue epos, which glorified the same Mstysha, under the name of Mstyslav Liutyi. Later, however, this episode, so scandalous from the court's standpoint, was replaced with the story of Olha's revenge for Ihor's death. In the later narrative, Prince Mal appears as the leader of the Derevlianians, and Sveneld and his son, Mstysha, are represented as the loyal servants of the Kyivan prince. Shakhmatov explains that this substitution was made under the influence of another legend that told of the death of Mstyslav Liutyi (Liut) at the hand of the Derevlianian prince, Oleh [Sviatoslavych], which led to a war between Kyiv and the Derevlianians. Making use of this episode in the history of the internecine strife between the descendants of Sviatoslav, one of the Chronicle's compilers threw out the account of the war between Mstyslav, son of Sveneld, and Ihor. Traces of the first redaction have survived in Długosz, where the Derevlianian prince who led the uprising is called Miskina-Mstysha, and in the Chronicle's reference (following Ihor's death) to Sveneld as 'the same, the father of Mstysha.' As we see, the hypothesis is constructed very neatly. I can even cite another detail that seems to confirm it. The ancient Volhynian family of Kysil, which traced its lineage to the Kyivan voivode 'Sviatold,' had as its hereditary property the village of Nyzkynychi (in Volodymyr county, Volhynia), which had been granted to the family as a gift by King Jogaila-Władysław (see Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, under the entry 'Kisiel'; on the Kysil family, see also Novitskii, 'Adam Kisel', voevoda kievskii'). Sviatold is obviously the Rus'-Lithuanian form of Sveneld, and this combining of the byname of the Sviatold clan with the family seat of Nyzkynychi [Nyskynychi] may suggest the existence in Volhynia of a tradition about Nyskyna, son of Sviatold (Sveneld), who can indeed be seen in Długosz's 'Niskina' (not 'Miskina,' as Shakhmatov suggests in order to make it closer to 'Mstysha,' even though in sound, 'Miskina' is also difficult to link to 'Mstysha'). Despite all this, I find it very difficult to accept the existence, in the first half of the eleventh century, of a popular legend relating the death of Ihor at the hands of Sveneld's son as the latter defended what had been granted to his father—difficult in light of the unquestionable existence of the popular tradition of Olha's revenge against the Derevlianians. In the second quarter of the eleventh century, these events were not so distant in time. The fact that both Sveneld and his son held such high positions at the court of Ihor's son makes this story, as well as the existence of any tradition of Ihor's death at the hand of Sveneld's son, highly unlikely.

20. The text of Symeon Logothete was published under the name Leo Grammatikos together with compilations based on this work in Theophanes Continuatus and George the Monk Continuatus, as well as in the Muralt edition of George

of the campaign in the *Life* of a contemporary, St. Basil the Younger (died 944), written by his disciple Gregory; also, in the chronicle of Liutprand, who relied on the eyewitness account of his stepfather; and, finally, in the work of the contemporary Arab geographer, al-Mas'udi.²¹

By putting all these sources together (because each source describes only individual episodes in the campaign), we obtain a rather complete account of the expedition, although the reasons for the war remain obscure. Our information about Ihor's forces is also incomplete. Symeon Logothete and other Byzantine authors report that Ihor's fleet numbered 10,000 boats, which would give us the improbable figure of 400,000 troops. Liutprand writes that there were more than one thousand boats, which would add up to 40,000 men—probably also an inflated figure. In any event, the fleet must have been large. The attack was well timed, because the Byzantine fleet was away fighting the Saracens. This explains, as the *Life of St. Basil the Younger* reports, why the Byzantine emperor was not able to halt the Rus' advance before it reached Constantinople, even though he had received timely news of the impending attack from his strategos (military chief) in Cherson. Ihor's fleet approached Constantinople—or, rather, the entrance into the Bosphorus (Hieron—Ἱερόν)—unopposed. There may also have been a diversionary maneuver on land.²² But then the Rus' fleet met with misfortune. A Greek naval squadron blocked the strait. Ihor began to burn and pillage the shores of the strait, but his flotilla was attacked by a Greek squadron using so-called 'Greek fire,' an explosive chemical compound that was used to attack foreign ships (it was simply gunpowder, we now know).²³ Suffering heavy losses, the Rus' fleet was forced to turn back, and Ihor turned to plundering the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor. According to Symeon Logothete, the Rus' pillaged the lands lying east of the Bosphorus, the coast of Bithynia and Paphlagonia. Ihor's men dealt harshly with the local population: they crucified people, nailed them to the ground, and hammered iron nails into their heads. While Ihor's troops ravaged the region, Byzantium assembled its forces. A unit of Macedonian cavalry destroyed the Rus' units sent inland into Bithynia for supplies. Another unit arrived from the east, and the fleet sailed in under the command of the patrician Theophanes. The Rus' army found itself under blockade; in September, with its supplies

the Monk. For the connections among these compilations, see Note 10. For excerpts from the sources about the campaign of 941, together with commentary, see my *Vyimky z zherel*, chap. 20 and following.

21. The report of the Rus' campaign in the *Life of St. Basil the Younger*, which was omitted from the *Acta Sanctorum*, was published from a fourteenth-century manuscript in A. Veselovskii, 'Videnie Vasilii Novogo,' and reprinted in his 'Razyskaniia v oblasti russkogo dukhovnogo stikha,' p. 90ff. This source points out the details in the episode identical to those provided by the Primary Chronicle. The Chronicle's account appears to be a contaminated version of George the Monk Continuatus and of the episode in the *Life of St. Basil the Younger*, but it contains certain differences that are almost certainly not the work of the author of the Primary Chronicle (e.g., instead of the Riva River named in the *Life*, in the Chronicle we find Bithynia, through which the river flows). More than likely, the Chronicle made use of another, similar source. Liutprand's account in his *Antapodosis* (published in *MGH*) has been widely discussed in studies on the origins of Rus'—but only concerning the Rus' name—from both the Normanist and anti-Normanist standpoints. Al-Mas'udi's account was published by Garkavi, 'Neizdannoe svidetel'stvo Masudi.' On Ihor's return from Byzantium, see Leo the Deacon 6.10.

22. There are references to the Pechenegs and Bulgars in al-Mas'udi's account, but these are so unclear that they can be taken to mean either that the Rus' were accompanied by the Bulgars and Pechenegs in their expedition against Byzantium, or that the Rus' campaigned against the Bulgars and Pechenegs at the same time. This is followed by the information that the Rus' conquered Byzantine cities and the Burjans (the Danubian Bulgars). It is very tempting to juxtapose this information with the Chronicle's account of the 944 campaign, which reports that Ihor hired the Pechenegs to assist him, and, after making peace with Byzantium, sent them against the Bulgars instead.

23. Apparent from the formula for it given in Leo VI the Wise, *Tactica*—Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 636.

completely depleted, it was forced to break through the Byzantine fleet. The battle went against the Rus', and they lost many boats. The remainder of the fleet managed to flee and headed for the coast of Thrace, perhaps hoping to reap some rewards there. But the Greeks quickly discovered this, and giving chase, caught up with some of the Rus' boats (those in front managed to escape). The Greeks again used their 'liquid fire' and destroyed these boats. Some Rus', fearing the fire, jumped into the sea and were drowned. Many were taken captive. Liutprand, stepfather of the historian, who was then a member of the emperor's legation, witnessed the beheading of the Rus' prisoners in Constantinople.

Ihor and remnants of his fleet fled into the Azov strait. It is possible that an ambush had been prepared against him on the Dnipro, similar to the one encountered later by Sviatoslav as he was returning from his expedition against Greece.

These hostilities with Byzantium ended in 944, when peace was established once again and a treaty of alliance and commercial relations was concluded. The full text of the treaty has been preserved in the Primary Chronicle. Byzantium and the Rus' princes made a bilateral agreement not to encroach upon each other's possessions in the Crimea or on the Sea of Azov; rather, they each undertook to help protect them. The Rus' princes promised to send auxiliary troops at the emperor's request. Trade agreements were renewed, but with some restrictions on the privileges for the Rus' merchants that had been negotiated by Oleh. The Rus' merchants in Byzantium were also made subject to stricter controls: they were forbidden to remain in Constantinople over the winter, and so forth. It is safe to assume that these merchants had caused some problems for Byzantium. It is even possible that that was what had led to the rupture with Byzantium, as was the case during Iaroslav's reign: 'A quarrel arose in Constantinople with some Scythian [i.e., Rus'—M.H.] merchants, and a prominent Scythian was killed,' wrote a contemporary chronicler of the later rupture.²⁴ On the other hand, the restrictions included in the treaty by Byzantium on Rus' claims to Byzantium's Crimean possessions suggest that even then, the Rus' had begun to encroach on Byzantine territories in the region. These claims were quite understandable: straddling the mouth of the Dnipro and the Azov strait, the seafaring and trading Rus' must have always cast an envious eye on the Crimea, and the later campaign waged by Volodymyr against Cherson probably had precedents.

As we see, Ihor's war with Byzantium was hardly a triumph. The compilers of the Chronicle found a short account of that unsuccessful expedition in some chronographic collection (of Greek provenance) and at first combined it with the tradition of Oleh's successful campaign against Constantinople. That is what we find in the Novgorod version, where Ihor's campaign is recorded under the year 920, followed by Oleh's successful expedition in revenge under the year 922.²⁵ Later, when Oleh's campaign, along with his reign, had to be moved to precede Ihor's, and when more detailed accounts of Ihor's unsuccessful expedition were found in the chronicle of George the Monk Continuatus and other sources, the compilers of the Primary Chronicle searched for the revenge motif in other accounts, especially because the text of Ihor's treaty with Byzantium that they found suggested that this agreement must have been preceded by another campaign waged by Ihor to avenge his earlier failure and to force the Greeks to conclude a new agreement. For his tale of such a new campaign, the chronicler turned to

24. [Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 551.]

25. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 99) aptly drew attention to the notes in the *Palaea Chronographica*, where the account of Ihor's campaign is described in such a way as to suggest the year 920, the date of this entry in the Novgorod version of the Chronicle.

popular legend. However, we do not know whether the legend mentioned Ihor by name and was a distorted echo of the unsuccessful campaign of 941 (just as popular memory invented a happy ending to Sviatoslav's expedition that had no relation to what actually took place), or whether the leader of that legendary expedition was unnamed. On the basis of the legend, the Primary Chronicle relates that Ihor led a new force that included Pecheneg bands against Byzantium in 944, in order to avenge his earlier failure. Taking fright, the emperor sent envoys to Ihor, bearing gifts and promising a larger tribute than the one paid to Oleh. The envoys intercepted Ihor near the Danube. Ihor conferred with his retinue and they accepted the Byzantine offer: 'What more do we want than to take gold and silver and brocades without fighting? Who knows who will win, we or they? Or who is in counsel with the sea?' After carefully considering the matter in this fashion, Ihor agreed to the Byzantine proposals and sent the Pechenegs against the Bulgars,²⁶ while he himself returned home with his booty.²⁷

The detail that Ihor returned home without reaching Constantinople may mean that what we have here is a popular legend about the campaign of 941. In any event, the story of Ihor's two campaigns is highly characteristic of the approach to history found in the Primary Chronicle. That there was no campaign in 944 is indisputable: the numerous sources containing reports about the campaign of 941 would hardly have ignored the avenging by the Rus' of their earlier defeat. More important, however, the treaty of 944 serves as evidence that the Rus' had no advantage over the Greek side.

But the Rus' did wage a successful expedition into the Caspian Sea. It is described by the contemporary Armenian historian, Moses Kaghankatuatsi [Moses Dashkurantsi], in his *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, and by the later (thirteenth-century) Arab author, Ibn al-Athir. There are short references by many later authors. The famous Persian poet of the twelfth century, Nizami, a native of the region overrun by the Rus' during this campaign, described it in fictionalized form, in verse, in his *Tale of Alexander the Great (Iskandar-Nama)*. In the poem Alexander of Macedon leads a force against the Rus', who had devastated the vicinity of Barda'a and had taken captive its empress, Nushaba, to punish them for their deeds. The Rus' king Qintal,²⁸ accompanied by Burtas, Alani, and Khazar mercenaries, comes to meet him. His army numbers more than 900,000 men, his troops go into battle riding elephants, and at the center march the Rus', 'brigands resembling wolves and lions.' They are merciless; the only thing human about them is their appearance. The troops look so fierce that even the wise Plato would have fled in fright at the sight of them. After seven indecisive battles Alexander wins, and Qintal and 10,000 of his men are taken captive. But Alexander sets Qintal free, keeping for himself a rich booty, particularly expensive furs.

The fantastic nature of his account notwithstanding, Nizami provides an interesting description of the route by which the Rus' arrived. They marched along the coast to Derbend; from there, unable to proceed further through the pass, they traveled by sea in boats. It is very likely that the Rus' army, recalling the treachery of the Khazars during their earlier campaign,

26. Perhaps what we have here is an echo of some military assistance that Ihor had actually sent to Byzantium against the Bulgars.

27. *Hyp.*, p. 28. On the legendary nature of Ihor's second campaign, see the observations by Kostomarov, 'Predaniia pervonachal'noi russkoi letopisi.' Other scholars, however, continued to accept the account of the Primary Chronicle as authentic, e.g., Kunik in Dorn's 'Kaspil,' p. 520. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 395) goes too far in calling the campaign 'obviously fabricated.'

28. The name is probably a distortion of 'Kandavl' in the *Tale of Alexander the Great*.

this time marched overland, taking along with them some of the local Caucasian peoples (the Alani mentioned by Nizami; the Lezgians referred to by Bar-Hebraeus). The Rus' arrived by boat at the mouth of the Kura River and sailed along that waterway into the hinterland of the land known as Albania in ancient geography (Ptolemy), as Agvania to the Armenians, and as Arran to the Arabs (now Karabagh).²⁹ The capital of this land was Barda'a [Partaw], situated on one of the southern tributaries of the Kura (the Terter), not far from its mouth into the Kura. Barda'a was a large and rich city. Visiting it four years after the Rus' attack, Ibn Hawqal wrote that, despite the devastation wrought by the Rus', the city still had many marketplaces, caravansaries, and public baths. Today, only vestiges of the ancient city's earthen walls and cemeteries remain; among them lies the village of Berda, or Berde.³⁰ In the middle of the tenth century Arran belonged to the Caliphate, which was then in complete decline, and this may have prompted the Rus' to invade. The Rus' attacked Barda'a, destroyed its Muslim garrison, and captured the city. They showed mercy to the inhabitants and treated them well. When an uprising broke out in the city, the Rus' initially tried to quell it, but when the people refused to obey, the Rus' ordered them to leave the city in three days. Those who failed to do so were taken captive. Many people were killed and much property was plundered. From Barda'a the Rus' troops made raids into neighboring places. But they suffered heavy losses from dysentery, which they contracted from eating too many southern fruits. Meanwhile, the governor of neighboring Azerbaijan began assembling forces to liberate Barda'a. The first battle, into which he led 30,000 men, ended in his defeat, but in another battle he set an ambush and succeeded in killing many Rus' and laying siege to them in the Barda'a fortress. However, internecine strife in the Caliphate forced the governor to lift the siege of Barda'a. Illness continued to decimate the Rus' army, compelling it to leave Barda'a of its own accord after spending six months there. Taking everything of value, the Rus' marched to the banks of the Kura and sailed home with rich booty. No one dared to stop them or give chase.

Ibn al-Athir described this campaign under A.H. 332 (September 943 to August 944), but, based on the details in his account, it would appear that the Rus' did not return home until sometime at the end of 945. It is probable that the campaign lasted more than a year and that the Rus' remained in Barda'a longer than six months.³¹

It is strange that, judging by the Primary Chronicle, this storied campaign, like Sviatoslav's expedition to the East somewhat later, left no traces in popular tradition, whereas the wars against Byzantium are so amply represented in the Chronicle. To be sure, the tradition of Byzantine campaigns was supported by subsequent expeditions and relations, while the East, which was closed off by the Turkic hordes after the middle of the tenth century, soon disappeared from popular tradition. But it is possible that the compilers of the Primary Chronicle simply disregarded this part of the tradition, because the East did not interest them, and they lacked confirmation in literary and diplomatic documents such as those that drew attention to the popular legends about the campaigns against Byzantium.³² I have already indicated the

29. Dorn ('Kaspil,' pp. 444, 473–76) describes this location, which he visited in 1861; cf. *ibid.*, pp. xxxv and 67.

30. On this expedition, see: V. Grigor'ev, 'O drevnikh pokhodakh,' p. 495ff., which includes text and commentaries; Charmoy, *Expédition d'Alexandre le Grand*; the Brosset translation of Moses Kaghankatuatsi; Dorn, 'Kaspil,' p. 495ff., which includes text and commentaries. *The History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Moses Kaghankatuatsi was published in Russian translation by Patkanov; for Nizami's text, see Charmoy, *Expédition d'Alexandre le Grand*.

31. Dorn, 'Kaspil,' pp. 521–22.

32. Characteristically, the older version of the Primary Chronicle describes only one campaign against Byzantium during the reigns of Oleh and Ihor, while the expanded version, which made use of Byzantine sources and contained

possible traces in folk poetry of the recollection of the eastern campaigns. The poetic tradition of campaigns against the 'Indian Empire' may have evolved from legends about various eastern raids, not only those waged by Oleh.

Such is the sum of our information about political events in Rus' during the reign of Ihor. The treaty of 944 casts light on the internal structure of the state. We see how large and complex this political system was: some twenty 'illustrious and great princes' governed the various domains and lands and recognized the suzerainty of the 'great prince of Kyiv.' This did not include the lands administered by local princes who were obliged to pay tribute, nor the lands that were allied with Rus'. Ihor's young son, Sviatoslav, reigned (nominally) in Novgorod; we do not know where Ihor's nephews, Ihor and Iakun, held power. Vyshhorod belonged to his wife, Olha. The other contemporary princes did not belong to Ihor's dynasty or were only remotely part of it. Many of them bore unmistakably Norse names and were obviously lieutenants of the Kyivan prince, like the later hero of the Eymund saga. Some (like Predslav) had Slavic names; they may have been members of the prince's retinue or local princes who had become part of the Rus' state system.

In contrast to the two heroic princes—Oleh and Sviatoslav—between whom he is placed in the Primary Chronicle, Ihor is portrayed indistinctly and unsympathetically. He lacks the warlike nature of the other two, is unsuccessful in war, and is depicted as greedy, which is perceived as a serious flaw by his retinue. Consequently, in more recent historiography the portrait of Ihor has long been that of an inept and unsympathetic prince. But that description belongs to the realm of fiction. We cannot rely on the descriptions of him in popular legends, and the place that Ihor holds in the evolution of the Rus' state is in obvious contrast to such characterizations. He must have been an energetic and able individual, given that he did not allow the state to disintegrate despite its complex and unstable nature. It is more likely that the short characterization in the older version of the Primary Chronicle, 'when Ihor grew up, he came to be brave and wise,' should be accepted.³³

His marriage to Olha 'from Pleskov' (perhaps the daughter of the 'illustrious and great prince' of Pskov), referred to briefly in the older version of the Primary Chronicle ('he brought himself a wife from Pleskov called Olha, and she was wise and judicious'), is described in a later legend, which is known in several variants from the sixteenth century, but is, in any event, of much earlier origin. While hunting in the Pskov region, Ihor wanted to cross a river to reach some quarry and, seeing a boat, ordered himself carried across. The boat was ferried by Olha, a peasant girl. She caught the eye of the young prince and he 'accosted her with taunting language,' but his 'shameless words' received a fitting reply, and she so appealed to his reason that he later asked for her hand in marriage.³⁴ In the longer version of the Primary Chronicle, amended to state that Ihor was under the guardianship of Oleh, it is the latter who finds a wife for him, but there are no details of the betrothal. According to the chronology of the Primary Chronicle, Ihor's only son, Sviatoslav, was born in 942. In 945, after he had concluded a treaty with the Greeks, Ihor died. Though both dates may be conjectured and not necessarily exact, they are not far from being accurate.

It is probable that Ihor actually lived somewhat longer, especially if he led the campaign

the texts of the treaties between Rus' and Byzantium, reports three such expeditions.

33. *Novg. I*, p. 5.

34. *Kniga stepennaia*, 1: 6–8; other variants in Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, pp. 155–56, and also in Khalanskii, 'K istorii poeticheskikh skazanii,' chap. 3.

against Barda'a. On the basis of that date, as well as the fact that dates were generally fixed later in the Chronicle, about which more will be said below,³⁵ we should extend Ihor's life to 947–48. From the words of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, it would appear that in the period from 948 to 953, Ihor was already dead. In chapter 9 of the treatise *De administrando imperio*, Constantine speaks in the past tense of the time when Sviatoslav reigned in Kyiv, so, by that time, Sviatoslav had already moved to Kyiv. According to recent studies, the materials for Constantine's treatise were collected between 948 and 953.³⁶

The Primary Chronicle states that at the time of his father's death, Sviatoslav was a child and there was a regency. We can regard the account as reliable, for even a century later these events must have been well remembered in Kyiv.

* * *

Ihor's wife, Olha, succeeded her husband as ruler of the lands that belonged outright to the Kyivan throne. Tradition retained two events from the period of her regency: her war with the Derevlians, and her baptism. Both events have been heavily cloaked in a mantle of legend and embellished by various anecdotal details that recall the legends about Oleh and Volodymyr, especially the former. Oleh and Olha are a legendary pair of wise and shrewd princes who knew how to defend what was theirs and how to obtain what they wanted through the primitive cunning so highly regarded in a primitive society. Undoubtedly, the similarity of their names contributed to the two figures' similarity in the popular tradition and made it possible to attribute various legends about Oleh to Olha and vice versa, as is especially apparent in later literary reworkings of the Chronicle legends.³⁷ Beyond that, however, lay a more profound similarity between the two figures in Kyivan tradition, which led it to evolve along analogous paths. From beneath the religious coloring of the Chronicle's image of Olha produced by the combining of ecclesiastical tradition with popular legend, there emerges distinctly the figure of the cunning princess represented in the latter. That is the image of Olha in her negotiations both with the backward Derevlian forest bumpkins and with the Byzantine Greeks, known universally for their cunning and chicanery, and that is how she is later portrayed by Kyivan public opinion in the legend of Volodymyr: 'Olha was wiser than all people.' But in addition to being the head of state, she was also a woman, which disrupted the complete symmetry with Oleh. As a woman, Olha fiercely defends her womanly honor, first as a maiden (in the later legend about Ihor's overtures) and later as a widow (the offers of marriage from Mal and from the Greek emperor). Attractive and desired by all, she remains inaccessible and knows how to rebuff all her suitors in a fitting manner, which is for her, as a woman, the highest accolade.

Olha's war with the Derevlians following their revolt against Ihor was probably her first important act as regent. The war ended successfully and resulted in a significant curtailment of the ancient Derevlian autonomy. The old, 'good' princes disappeared, the Derevlian land

35. See Excursus 1.

36. Bury, 'The Treatise,' p. 522; Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, pp. 171–72.

37. The confusion of the two in later literature is pointed out by Khalanskii, in his 'K istorii poeticheskikh skazanii' and 'Materialy i zametki.' But Khalanskii confined himself to passing observations. One example of such confusion is contained in the accounts found in later compilations about the siege of the Derevlian town of Kolets, which in some texts is attributed to Oleh and in others to Olha. See Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, pp. 141 and 250.

was ravaged, and heavy tribute was exacted from the population. Apart from the tribute to be paid to the Kyivan princely treasury, there was to be a payment to Olha herself, perhaps as 'blood money' (*wergild*) for her slain husband ('She levied a heavy tribute on them. Two parts of the tribute went to Kyiv and the third to Vyshhorod to Olha; for Vyshhorod was Olha's fortified town'). That would have been the factual basis of the legendary account. In its shorter and earlier redaction, the uprising and subsequent war waged by Olha are represented as a Derevlianian affair in a broad sense: she goes to war with the Derevlians as part of her policy and conquers their land. The expanded redaction also includes accounts of Olha's particular anger against Iskorosten, and vindicates it by stating that it was the residents of that town who killed her husband. Thus, after the conquest of the Derevlianian land ('all your fortified towns have surrendered to me and have agreed to give tribute,' Olha told the Iskorostenites), Olha wanted to take special revenge on the Iskorostenites. For this reason she did not accept their submission and burned the town: 'The elders of the fortified town she burned; as for the rest of the people, some she killed and others she gave to her men as slaves, and the rest she left to pay tribute.'³⁸

In the popular tradition, Olha's war with the Derevlians is embellished by various legendary details. The attempt to arrange a marriage between Olha and the Derevlian prince Mal should be regarded as one such embellishment. After killing Ihor, the Derevlians decide to wed their prince to Olha and to take the new prince, Sviatoslav, into their hands: 'And we will do what we want with him.'³⁹ This particular detail is highly improbable and was probably introduced for comic relief. Though Olha does not refuse to marry, she kills each group of Derevlian envoys as they arrive. The artificiality of the guileful methods used to kill these envoys clearly betrays their legendary origin. On the first occasion, Olha instructs the Derevlian envoys to demand that the Kyivans carry them to their audience with her in the boats in which they arrived. They arrive as instructed, only to be thrown into a pit and buried alive.⁴⁰ The second group of envoys is told by Olha to visit the baths before their audience with her; the baths are set ablaze and the Derevlians are burned to death. Next, she arranges that the proposed marriage be held following a funeral feast on the grave of her husband, near Iskorosten. There Olha orders the Derevlian representatives, who had become drunk at the feast, to be killed. Finally, she leads a campaign against the Derevlians, but, unable to take Iskorosten by force, she once again resorts to guile.⁴¹ She tells the Derevlians that if they surrender, she will settle for a tribute of three doves and three sparrows from each house. When the overjoyed Iskorostenites meet her demand, she sets fire to Iskorosten by freeing the doves and sparrows to fly back to the town, carrying lit tinders. This theme is very old and widespread, dating back to Samson, who burned the fields of the Philistines in the same manner,

38. *Hyp.*, pp. 37, 38.

39. [*Hyp.*, p. 35.] While the page proofs of this book were being read, there appeared an article by Korf, 'Drevlianskii kniaz' Mal,' in which the author elaborates on Pipping's theory (*De skandinaviska Dnjeprnammen*) that the name 'Mal' appeared as the result of a misunderstanding—that is, from an inaccurate interpretation of the Scandinavian [matchmaking] formula [!—M.H.] used by the Derevlians to arrange a marriage between Olha and one of their princes, and that therefore no such personage as Prince Mal existed. I mention this theory despite its fantastical nature.

40. The motif of being carried in their boats remains unclear. Some scholars saw in it the tradition of burial in boats, but that custom is not known to have existed among the Polianians and Derevlians.

41. This episode is missing from the Novgorod version of the Primary Chronicle. There the narrative ends with a campaign against the Derevlians by Olha and Sviatoslav. Olha's vengeance against the Iskorostenites is a further amplification of the Chronicle's reworking of the legend.

and to the legend about the Tatars capturing Kyiv with the use of 'doves' (in Dalimil).⁴² Some episodes in the war against the Derevlians may also have been transposed to Olha from the cycle of Polianian-Derevlian wars. The centuries of border disputes, in which the Derevlians were represented as a stupid people whom the Polianians were able to dupe,⁴³ must have left many traces in the popular tradition. Underlying all these stories is the interesting general characterization that tradition has given to Olha as a harsh heroine and the ruthless, cunning avenger of her husband. That portrayal was later dimmed in the literary tradition by the image of Olha as the 'progenitrix of Rus' sons' in Christianity, a religion of love and forgiveness poorly suited to her character as described in popular legends.

Another series of episodes in Olha's life that has been refined by legend are her journey to Constantinople and her baptism. I shall discuss the spread of Christianity in Rus' elsewhere; here I confine myself to Olha's baptism and the legends associated with that event. In the Chronicle, this episode, too, is heavily cloaked in legend. When Olha arrived in Constantinople, the emperor summoned her to him and, 'seeing that she was very good looking and very intelligent,' began to court her and wanted to marry her. But Olha duped him, telling him that she was a 'pagan' and therefore the emperor could not marry her. If he wanted her to accept Christianity, he would have to act as her godfather, or else she would not consent to be baptized. The emperor agreed and 'baptized her,' but now, as her godfather, he could no longer marry her: 'And the emperor said, "You have outwitted me, Olha!"' And so he had to allow her to return home. Still, he attempted to gain at least something from her. In return for the gifts that he gave her as his goddaughter, he received her promise that she would send him many slaves, wax, furs, and troops to assist him. After she returned home, the emperor sent his envoys to her in Kyiv and reminded her of her promise: 'I have given you many gifts. For you said to me, "If I return to Rus', I will send many gifts to you—servants, wax, and furs—and warriors to help you."' But Olha once again outwitted him, saying to his envoy, 'Say to the emperor, "If you wait here at Pochaina [the port in Kyiv] as long as I was kept waiting [for an audience] at the Horn [the port in Constantinople], then I will give it all to you."'"⁴⁴

Many scholars have attempted to find various references to real events in this Chronicle account of Olha's stay in Constantinople, but that is a vain endeavor. What we have here is pure

42. The Armenian historian Stephen of Taron (Asoghik) provides an interesting parallel to this motif. He relates that the emir of Baghdad, Ibn Khusraw (end of the tenth century), burned down a city by gathering together its dogs, which he then ordered to be covered with oil, set on fire, and released to return to their homes. In his narrative, Stephen of Taron also mentions, in addition to Samson, Alexander the Great, who burned down a city built of wood on a high hill by letting loose birds carrying fire. This episode, interesting in its similarity to the Chronicle, is missing from the Alexander romance by Pseudo-Callisthenes (see Vasil'evskii, 'Variago-russkaia i variago-angliiskaia družina,' p. 403). It should also be noted that a similar motif appears in the sagas of Iaroslav's son-in-law, Harald, who used a similar ploy to set afire a city in Sicily. At one time, the contention that this motif in the Primary Chronicle is of Norse origin served as one of the arguments in support of the Normanist theory.

43. Korobka (*Skazanie ob urochishchakh*) published the legends about Olha from the vicinity of Iskorost [Iskorosten]. These differ fundamentally from the legend of the Chronicle. In them, Olha quarrels with her husband, searches for him, and kills him. But some elements are very similar: 'Later she herself waged war and conquered those against whom she fought, and they submitted to her; she did not ask for money, but caught pairs of sparrows and tied tinders to them and let them loose. They flew to their stables and to their houses and burned everything. And there is a grave here [in Iskorost] where her husband is buried.' These details, which are uncommonly similar to those found in the Primary Chronicle, despite the overall dissimilarity of the legends, strike me as somewhat doubtful. Could they not have been borrowed from the literary tradition?

44. *Novg. I*, pp. 13–15; *Lavr.*, pp. 59–61.

legend, and no amount of commentary or correction can change that fact. The wise princess shrewdly deceives the cunning Greeks, just as she had deceived the backward Derevlians. The proposal of marriage from the Greek emperor is a legendary parallel to the proposal from the Derevlianian prince. A marriage proposal from the Greek emperor would have been completely out of the question. Constantine Porphyrogenetos,⁴⁵ the Greek ruler at the time, a famous writer and bibliophile, had a wife, and was so advanced in years that he could hardly have considered divorcing his wife for the barbarian 'archontissa.' The triumph of the wise princess over the Greeks parallels Oleh's triumph. On the other hand, the detail of the legend regarding the method by which Olha deceived the emperor into baptizing her matches in tone the legend of Volodymyr obtaining baptism from the Greeks by force of arms. We find further elaborations on this theme in later versions of the Chronicle accounts: Olha's military campaign against Constantinople (which includes details from Oleh's campaign), the fear it causes among the Greeks (she uses sparrows to set fire to Constantinople), followed by her eventual baptism.⁴⁶

In the Primary Chronicle, Olha's journey to Constantinople is very closely linked to her baptism. By contrast, contemporary Byzantine court documents, collected under the title *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*,⁴⁷ on the initiative of the same Constantine Porphyrogenetos mentioned in the Chronicle, make no reference to her baptism, even though they contain detailed accounts of the various ceremonies that took place on the occasion of Olha's visit to the Imperial City. The Primary Chronicle is not, however, the only source to report that Olha was baptized in Constantinople. Contemporary and later German annals, the eleventh-century Byzantine chronicler John Skylitzes, and local encomiums for Volodymyr and Olha also relate that Olha was baptized in Constantinople.⁴⁸ This corroborative evidence carries considerable weight. However, if we consider how easily the fact of Olha's baptism may have become associated with her journey to Constantinople in all these sources, which in their writing were removed by either distance or time, the silence of the court records about any of the ceremonies that must have been connected with such an important event as the baptism of a Rus' princess is more significant than all the accounts of this occasion put together. In all probability, Olha was baptized in Kyiv. Moreover, her baptism was probably not widely publicized, and as a result left no special memory among the local population. It became significant only in retrospect, following Volodymyr's baptism of Rus'. Olha's baptism must have occurred near in time to her journey to Constantinople, most probably following her visit, because the Byzantine records contain no hint that Olha was a Christian (her entourage included a priest, but that may indicate only that she was interested in Christianity at the time, or he may have served as an interpreter). Nor did her baptism occur later than 958, for when her envoys were received in Germany in 959, it was already known that Olha was a Christian.⁴⁹

45. The shorter version mistakenly applied the account to John I Tzimiskes, but the expanded version corrected the error.

46. Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, pp. 250–53. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 113) is inclined to believe that this variant already existed at the time that the Chronicle was compiled and that certain details from the Chronicle legend are derived from it. The somewhat ambiguous phrase from Antonii's pilgrimage to Constantinople (see fn. 54 below) about the gift (*dan'* [other meanings: 'tribute,' 'donation']) taken by Olha 'when she went to Constantinople' is interesting from this point of view.

47. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De ceremoniis* 2.15.

48. Cf., e.g., the encomiums in Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' pp. 18 and 20; Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 329; for the German annals, see fn. 55 below.

49. In his attempt to establish the date of Olha's baptism, Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, pp. 116–17) suggests what he

Although Olha's journey to Constantinople did have some internal connection with her intention to adopt Christianity, externally it had the character of a diplomatic visit and, according to all evidence, was that.⁵⁰ There is mention of envoys (*ἀποκρισιάρχοι*) from Rus' princes and of merchants in her entourage (very much like Ihor's legation in 944). It is obvious that Olha's purpose was to conduct some sort of negotiations with the Byzantine court. The date of her arrival in Constantinople is not indicated in the records. The first audience took place on 9 September 957.⁵¹ Olha was accompanied by her nephew, who, unfortunately, is not named; several relatives, who were Rus' princesses and noblewomen; and a large entourage. In addition to her nephew and a priest named Hryhorii (who received smaller gifts than the interpreters, signifying that he played a minor role), the record lists 12 more noblewomen close to the princess, 18 female attendants, 20 envoys (in a different passage, 22), 42 merchants, and 12 interpreters, not including minor servitors. At the Byzantine court, Olha was received in a similar fashion as was the envoy of the Syrian rulers, the Hamdanids, who preceded her. But as a high-born and honored person, she was exempted from the various obeisances and prostrations that envoys had to perform before the emperor. The first audience took place in the great hall of the Magnaura, used for receiving important rulers ('hegemons'). This was a magnificent hall filled with various marvels of Byzantine luxury and ingenuity, designed to overwhelm visiting barbarians with the grandeur of the Byzantine state and Byzantine culture. The golden throne on which the emperor sat was not only luxuriously decorated with various ornaments, but also had an artful mechanism that elevated the throne into the air, moved the statues of lions placed in various locations, and gave them voice so that the lions 'roared ferociously' and the birds sang in harmony. Similar mechanisms were contained in other decorative elements that filled the room.⁵² Into this room the protocol officers led Olha with the most important women of her court; she walked ahead alone, followed by her ladies of rank, then her envoys, and then the merchants. When she stopped at the designated spot, the imperial logothete (minister of foreign affairs) exchanged the 'customary' ritual questions with her, that is, inquiries dictated by etiquette about her journey and her health, as well as various compliments. This was usually followed by a demonstration of all the wonders of the palace:

calls 'a very elementary method of finding agreement between the two Greek sources' (Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cerimoniis*, and Skylitzes): Olha was baptized in 955, and traveled to Constantinople in 957 already a Christian. However, the date 955 in Skylitzes in Kedrenos is directly linked with Olha's arrival in Constantinople; if her baptism is separated from her arrival, then it offers no information about her baptism. Moreover, it contradicts the far more reliable date of her visit offered in *De cerimoniis*. Consequently, it cannot serve to confirm the Chronicle's date of 955, as Shakhmatov believes. He views it as the 'first reliable date' in the Chronicle, and on that basis regards the date of Olha's death as authentic, but thinks that the chronicler took the day and year of her death from a local account about Olha, while the date of her baptism is independent (*Razyskaniia*, pp. 117–18). That may be true of the day, but as far as the years are concerned, they are apt to be marked by the same lateness as other dates in the tenth century provided in the Chronicle.

50. Znoiko ('O pokhodakh Sviatoslava,' p. 293) suggested that Olha made the journey in the hope of improving the unfavorable trade terms arranged in Ihor's treaty. Even earlier, Uspenskii (*Rus' i Vizantiia v X veke*) suspected that the visit had a commercial motive.

51. The account in the Chronicle suggests that Olha waited quite a long time for her audience with the emperor, which would indicate that she arrived in the summer or even in the spring of 957. That may well be based on fact. On the other hand, Ainalov ('Kniaginia sv. Ol'ga v Tsar'grade') suggested that the length of Olha's stay can be calculated from the difference between the first payment to her and the second (49 days later) after her arrival [see p. 345]. But there does not seem to be a direct relationship between the two payments.

52. For the general ceremonial, see Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cerimoniis*, p. 589.

the animals moved and roared, the birds sang, the organ played. Then the gifts brought by the foreign visitors were given to the emperor, and that ended the audience. The foreign guests then left, to the accompaniment of roaring lions and organ music. After leaving the imperial audience, Olha rested in the Skyla and was then taken to the Hall of Justinian [Triklinos], where she was awaited by the empress and her daughter-in-law, surrounded by their court. Here, on behalf of the empress, the praipositos [grand chamberlain] again exchanged similar questions of etiquette with her, and then, together with her attendants, Olha once again entered the Skyla, where she could sit (at the audience she had had to stand). She was then taken to the Kainourgion [a residential room], where she could rest, and then was called to a private audience with the emperor, who received her without her attendants in the rooms of the empress together with his wife and children. Olha was told to sit here and tell the emperor what she had come to tell him. This real audience was followed by a state banquet, at which Olha dined with her princesses and ladies in the Hall of Justinian with the empress, while the men—Olha's relatives, envoys, and merchants—dined with the emperor in the Golden Hall [Chrysotriklinos]. Upon entering, Olha bowed to the empress, who sat with her daughter-in-law on the throne. Then Olha's princesses and ladies were brought in and they bowed to the ground. Olha dined at a special table with the imperial ladies-in-waiting of highest rank. There were two such 'girdled ladies' (*zostai*), one attached to the empress and the other to her daughter-in-law. During the meal, singers from two of Constantinople's most important churches—that of the Holy Apostles and the Hagia Sophia—sang in honor of the imperial family, some kind of theatrical performance was staged, and magicians performed magic acts.

After the banquet, Olha was invited to take dessert in the Aristeterion (dining palace) with the immediate members of the royal family. A small table made of gold was brought in, and the two emperors, Constantine and his co-ruler Romanos, Constantine's daughter-in-law, the royal children, and Olha all sat at it. At this time, in accordance with Byzantine custom, Olha was given money—500 miliaresia on a golden enamel plate (a miliaresion was a silver coin, equal in value to one-twelfth of a golden nomisma)—as were her attendants: 30 miliaresia for her nephew and 20 for her other relatives; the envoys and merchants received 12 miliaresia each, and various other servitors from three to eight miliaresia. Similarly, the Syrian envoys who preceded Olha had received 500 miliaresia each. The significance of this custom is not clear; the sums appear too small to have been gifts. It has therefore been suggested that they were per diems that the Byzantine court was obliged to pay by the treaties of 907 and 944.

On October 18, there was another state banquet, probably in conjunction with Olha's departure. The emperor once again dined with the Rus' men in the Golden Hall, while the empress, accompanied by her children and her daughter-in-law, dined with Olha and her ladies in the Pentakoubouklon, the large hall at the Church of St. Paul, and once again money was given, but in smaller sums: Olha received 200 miliaresia, her nephew 20, and so forth.⁵³

There is no mention of Olha's departure, just as there was no mention of her arrival. For a long time after her departure, pilgrims to the Hagia Sophia from 'Rus' were shown, as a

53. On Olha's journey to Constantinople, aside from general works (Solov'ev, Golubinskii, and others), see also Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, and articles devoted to the subject: W. Fischer, 'Die russische Großfürstin Helga' (primarily a commentary on the description of the audience); Ainalov, 'Kniaginia sv. Ol'ga v Tsar'grade' (also a commentary on the account in *De cerimoniis*), and his 'Ocherki i zametki,' *IzORIAŠ* 13, bk. 2. There are general commentaries on Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cerimoniis*: an earlier one by the work's editor, Reiske, and a recent one by D. Beliaev, *Byzantina* (especially vol. 2, on the audiences).

memento of her visit, a plate made of gold and adorned with pearls, bearing a carved image of Christ, which Olha had given that cathedral.⁵⁴

The court record indicates that Olha was received with considerable pomp within the context of existing court etiquette, and Skylitzes later confirmed the truth of the record regarding the occasion by reporting that she had been 'honored worthily.' It is possible, however, that the regent of Rus' and widow of the famous Ihor expected greater honors at the Byzantine court than those given to the Syrian envoys. The story told in the Primary Chronicle about Olha telling the Byzantine envoys that the emperor should wait as long at Pochaina as she had waited at the Horn for an audience with him may be an echo of such popular tales. In the Chronicle, however, these legends are overshadowed by the details of Olha's baptism, taken from some ecclesiastical source. Another, even more interesting detail in the account is the mention of Olha's promise of military aid. I connect this with the theory proposed above that Olha's journey to Constantinople was political and diplomatic in nature and not for the purpose of Olha's baptism.

German annals relate that in 959, the emperor (in fact, still the Roman king) Otto I received envoys from the 'queen of Rus', Olena' (*Helena reginae Rugorum*). These envoys are said to have requested that a bishop and priests be sent to the Rus' people. Later, however, it became clear that all of this had been a misunderstanding. The Rus' envoys came spuriously, as it turned out (*ficte ut post claruit venientes*), and the bishop sent to Rus' returned empty-handed.⁵⁵

Various explanations have been offered for this mysterious mission. Some scholars have suggested that the bogus envoys from Olha were nothing more than impostors. A literal reading of the report would seem to confirm this, but it is difficult to imagine such a spurious legation. A more serious explanation is that Olha did, in fact, request that a bishop be sent to Rus'. As an analogy, some scholars cite the case of the Bulgarian prince Boris, who turned to the pope when he failed to obtain a church hierarchy for his land from the Patriarchate of Constantinople and then sent back the Latin bishop when a bishop was sent by the patriarch. In that event, however, we would first have to answer the question: did Olha, after adopting Christianity, plan to convert Rus' and to organize a Christian Church?

This question can only be answered in the negative. Judging by all available evidence, Olha's baptism was her private affair. Our sources provide no grounds to believe that she took any

54. 'A large golden liturgical plate of Olha of Rus', when she took a gift when she went to Constantinople [see fn. 46 above]...a precious stone set in the plate, and on this stone the image of Christ... this plate was framed in pearls'—Antonii, *Puteshestvie novgorodskogo arkhiepiskopa Antonii*, p. 68ff. On this account, see Ainalov, 'Dar sv. kniagini Ol'gi.' Perhaps it is in connection with these Constantinopolitan mementos of Olha's that there is a notation to the *Tale of the Baptism of Olha* in the 'Synaxary Life': 'she sent gold to the patriarch in Constantinople'—Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 68.

55. *Continuator Reginonis Trevirensis*, under the year 959, p. 624; also (under 960) in the later *Annales Hildesheimenses*, pp. 60–61 (end of tenth century; envoys from the Rus' people—*Rusciae gentis*); *Annales Ottenburani*, p. 4; *Annales Quedlinburgenses*; and *Annales Lamberti* (eleventh century); also, a mention in *MGH, Diplomata*, vol. 1, no. 366. It has been suggested that this reference is not to Rus', but to the island of Rügen. But the matter was decided by Thietmar of Merseburg (*Chronicon* 2.14), who was familiar with Rus' affairs, in his statement that the mission resulted in the consecration of Adalbert ('Aethelbert' in Thietmar) as bishop for Rus' (*Ruscia*, as he calls Rus' throughout). For texts (in translation), see my *Vyimky z zherel*, chap. 23. On this topic, see Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 1: 141; Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, p. 380ff.; Voronov, 'O latinskikh propovednikakh'; Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1: 81; Fortinskii, 'Kreshchenie kniazia Vladimira,' p. 120; Skobel's'kyi, 'Zhadky o Rusy'; Parkhomenko, *Drevnerusskaia kniaginia* (an attempt to establish facts on the basis of the *Continuator Reginonis Trevirensis*).

steps similar to those later taken by Volodymyr. The Chronicle says only that she tried to convert her son Sviatoslav to Christianity, that she lived as a Christian, and that she did not permit herself to be buried according to pagan custom: 'for she had a priest, and he buried the blessed Olha.'⁵⁶ There is no hint of there being a bishop or of any attempts to establish an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and there probably was no such attempt. To be sure, the old *Encomium* states that upon her return from Constantinople, Olha 'destroyed the demonic offering sites.' But even if this is not a simple *lapsus linguae* influenced by the story of Volodymyr, like the mention in the *Synaxary* of 'the destruction of idols' (the *Encomium* is written in a very rhetorical style, without any facts), this, too, must refer to some domestic, private 'offering sites,' because the *Encomium* itself says nothing of Olha's services to Christianity outside her private life.

It is thus unlikely that Olha asked Otto to send her a Latin bishop, inasmuch as that would have implied that she planned to organize a Christian Church on a larger scale. The most likely explanation may be that Olha sent a legation to Otto on a political matter, and Otto wanted to take advantage of that opportunity to send a missionary, either on his own initiative or because the envoys said something of the sort on their own behalf, which may have encouraged him to undertake such a mission. It should be remembered that Otto was very enthusiastic about converting Slavs: Christianity served his political goals.

The story of the misunderstanding continues as follows.

The following year, the monk Libutius was consecrated bishop for Rus' and ordered to travel there, but he died before he could embark on the mission. Adalbert, later bishop of Magdeburg, was ordained in his stead and sent to Rus' in 961. The undesirable nature of the mission is evidenced by the fact that the appointment of Adalbert to the post is explained as resulting from intrigues against him. The following year Adalbert returned, 'unable to do anything' in Rus'. Apparently, it had immediately become clear that a misunderstanding had occurred and Adalbert was unable to find any support for his mission. Meanwhile, Olha's envoys to Otto are the first known recorded evidence of the diplomatic relations of Rus' with the German Empire.

The account of Olha's legation to Otto reveals that she was still regent in 958. That corresponds to the account in the Primary Chronicle that after her own baptism, Olha attempted to persuade Sviatoslav to become a Christian, but that Sviatoslav refused to heed her advice and became angered. Despite that, states the Chronicle, Olha loved her son and prayed to God for him and for the people, 'while she nourished her son to manhood and his majority.' Thus, Sviatoslav reached 'manhood' somewhat later. In accordance with this, as well as the fact that Sviatoslav needed several years to prepare for his grandiose campaign (or campaigns) to the East in 966–67, the end of Olga's regency and the beginning of Sviatoslav's reign should be dated to the beginning of the 960s.

With respect to Olha's domestic policies, the Chronicle is exceptional in that it includes a few words about her administrative measures and various traces of her activity in the conquered Derevlianian land. Thus, the Chronicle relates that 'her lands and hunting grounds are all over the Derevlianian land,' as well as in other regions. It reports that she established administrative and economic centers (*pohosty*) along the Msta River and imposed tribute 'throughout the land.' Her administrative centers, hunting grounds, and 'signs' (*znameniya*—emblems of hunting rights) still stand everywhere. Her sled stands in Pskov, the village of Olzychi on the Desna is named

56. *Hyp.*, p. 44; cf. her 'Synaxary Life' in Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 68.

after her, and her trapping sites (*perevisisca*—sites for stringing up nets to trap birds) and villages remain along the Dnipro.⁵⁷

The existence of such traces of Olha's rule in the Novgorodian lands served as grounds for the chronicler to conjecture her journey north, 'to Novgorod,' on administrative matters.⁵⁸ And, in that connection, the old 'Synaxary *Life of St. Olha*' characterizes her life by stating that she 'traveled about the whole Rus' land and established light tributes and duties.'⁵⁹

The association with Olha of various traces of princely activity in various regions undoubtedly reflects the tradition of her as a great ruler, even though some of those traditions and names may actually have derived from Oleh rather than from Olha.

There is no doubt that Olha ruled the Rus' state system with an experienced and strong hand. That system did not weaken and did not disintegrate in the period between Ihor and Sviatoslav, given that the latter was able to take on distant campaigns as soon as he took over the throne, which required a strong and stable state machine. He did not need to waste time suppressing disobedient tribes who took advantage of changes on the Kyivan throne and of any weakening of the power of the state to escape from under the Kyivan yoke. From his mother, he received a strong and well-ordered state. The princess, who left such an enduring memory of her revenge for her husband's death, obviously knew how to take his place.

* * *

Despite his short reign (lasting only some ten years or less), Sviatoslav is one of the most distinctly drawn and representative figures among the Old Rus' princes. His reign marked the height, as it were, of the retinue system under the Kyivan princes. The role of the prince as ruler and head of state played a secondary role to that of military leader. He was a true

57. *Novg. I*, p. 12; cf. *Hyp.*, p. 38.

58. Shakhmatov regards this as a Novgorodian addition made in the Novgorodian revision of the Chronicle of Kyiv. He believes that the Novgorodian chronicler could have taken the Derevlianian land of the Chronicle of Kyiv to be his Novgorodian 'Derevska' land, which had its own Korostin, and therefore added to Olha's Derevlianian regulations the accounts of traces of her rule on the Msta and Luga Rivers and throughout the land. The initial text of the Chronicle of Kyiv is restored by Shakhmatov to read: 'And Olha went about the Derevlianian land with her son and her retinue, setting up regulations and duties. And her sites for stringing up nets to trap birds and her hunting grounds are all over the land. And along the Dnipro are her sites for stringing up nets to trap birds, and along the Desna. And her village Olzhychi exists until now.' From this he concludes that the chronicler included the Desna region in the Derevlianian land (Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 110–11, 171–73, 544, 632, and idem, 'Do pytannia pro pivnichni perekazy'). However, just as it is historically unlikely for the Kyivan chronicler of the eleventh century to have included in the Derevlianian land the Desna region, which was separated from the former by Olha's Vyshhorod (Polianian) domain, and for the Novgorodian chronicler of the eleventh century to have confused the Derevlianian region, where Ihor and Olha waged wars, with his own Derevlianian region (that may have been unclear to the later authors of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, whom Shakhmatov cites, but not to an eleventh-century chronicler, even one from Novgorod), so I find Shakhmatov's reconstruction of the Chronicle text less than convincing. The mention of the Dnipro hunting grounds and the village of Olzhychi cannot be regarded as the initial text. This is an addition, separated from the Derevlianian episode with a certain coda. The traces of Olha in Novgorod were probably attributed earlier, and they were what provoked the recollection of the Dnipro-Desna vestiges of her reign. The Novgorodian references are an example of the common intermingling of Novgorod and Kyivan accounts, which underlies the Chronicle's conception. In any case, the Derevlianian 'regulations and duties' and the 'sites for stringing up nets to trap birds and hunting grounds all over the land' are two quite distinct and separate matters, and the latter do not belong to the Derevlianian land.

59. Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 68: 'destroying idols' has been added inappropriately.

Zaporozhian [Cossack] on the Kyivan throne, and he is beautifully described as such in a classic passage from the Chronicle: 'When Prince Sviatoslav had grown up and become a man, he began to collect numerous and brave warriors. For he himself was brave. And moving lightly, like a leopard, he waged many wars. When traveling, he did not take any carts with him, nor a kettle, nor did he cook meat. But cutting off a thin slice of the meat of a horse or a wild beast or a beef, he would roast it on the coals and eat it. Nor did he have a tent, but would spread out his saddle-blanket and set his saddle under his head. And the rest of his warriors were all like that. And [before going to war] he would send word to other lands: "I am setting forth against you!"'⁶⁰

This artistically concise description, taken from popular tradition and adhered to consistently throughout the entire tale of Sviatoslav in the Chronicle, is in complete agreement with the characterization provided by Leo the Deacon, the historian of Sviatoslav's war with the Greeks. At his meeting with the [Byzantine] emperor, Sviatoslav impressed the Greeks by his unusually simple attire and conduct. Here is what Leo the Deacon quotes Sviatoslav as saying when confronted by disaster in his unsuccessful war against John I Tzimiskes: 'The glory of the Rus' army, which has easily conquered all neighboring nations and subjugated entire countries without bloodshed, will be lost if we now disgracefully submit to the Romans. Let us take the valor of our ancestors as a model. Let us bear in mind that, to this day, Rus' might remains unvanquished. Let us fight this bitter battle for our freedom courageously to the end. It is not our custom to return home in flight, but rather to live in victory or die in glory, having proved our heroism by our deeds.'⁶¹

These words recall Sviatoslav's famous speech, quoted in the Chronicle, on the occasion when, tricked by the Greeks, he found himself surrounded by a Greek army much larger than his own: 'There is no place for us to go now; willing or unwilling, we must stand against them. Let us not shame the land of Rus', but lay down our bones, for the dead have no shame. If we flee, we will be disgraced. We must not run away, but stand firm. I will go out ahead of you. If my head falls, you take care of yourselves.'⁶²

As we see, the prince's description in popular tradition corresponds to the facts. Whether beneath these external facts there lay some broader and more serious political goals is another matter. Sviatoslav's speech in the Chronicle, in which he explains his determination to pursue his Bulgarian plan ('I want to live in Pereiaslavets on the Danube, for that is the center of my land. For there all the good things come together'), suggests that his thinking went far beyond a delight in war and destruction. Perhaps if we had more facts at our disposal, these political designs would become clearer. But we have very few facts that would allow us to gain an insight into Sviatoslav's policies, and the Chronicle reflects the attitude of Kyiv's politicians, who condemned the prince's wide-ranging expeditions and accused him of neglecting local Kyivan interests for foreign ones: 'You, prince, are seeking foreign land and taking care of it, but you have abandoned your own.' And it is from this standpoint that the Chronicle recorded the history of Sviatoslav's reign.⁶³

60. [Hyp., p. 41.]

61. Leo the Deacon 9.7.

62. Hyp., pp. 45-46.

63. The general tone of the accounts of Sviatoslav's military victories, which reflects the tone of the retinue legends about a successful hero-prince, differs significantly from that of this episode, in which the boyars reproach Sviatoslav. It also differs from that of the subsequent account of the counsel given by Sveneld, which was ignored by Sviatoslav.

Our information about Sviatoslav's reign is confined to two groups of campaigns—his eastern wars and his Greco-Bulgarian expeditions. That is practically all that we know about his political activity.

Ihor's last venture had been an eastern campaign, and so his son, too, turned his attention to the East. Unfortunately, we know very little about this aspect of Sviatoslav's activity, despite the importance of its consequences for the history of eastern Europe.

The Primary Chronicle reports that Sviatoslav marched to the Oka and Volga Rivers. Along the way he encountered the Viatichians. Learning that they paid tribute to the Khazars, he attacked the Khazars, won a victory over their kagan in a battle, took Sarkel, conquered the Iasy [Ossetians] and the Kasogians [Circassians], and in a new campaign defeated the Viatichians and levied a tribute on them. This account is spread mechanically across several years to give the impression of several separate campaigns. Moreover, upon closer examination, we can see that it is compiled from at least two different sources.⁶⁴

The first narrative, written in epic style, is a continuation of the description of Sviatoslav. It relates how he set out against the Khazars after sending them advance warning, as was his custom. When they received Sviatoslav's announcement, the Khazars came out to meet him with their prince—the kagan—and the two sides came together to fight. In the battle, Sviatoslav defeated the Khazars and took their town, Sarkel. He also conquered the Iasy and Kasogians and then returned to Kyiv.⁶⁵ This narrative is followed by the account of Sviatoslav's campaign against the Bulgars.

The Volga campaign was a later addition to the story of Sviatoslav's campaign against the Khazars: 'Sviatoslav came upon the Viatichians, and he said to them, "To whom do you give tribute?" And they said, "To the Khazars; we give a shilling per plow." [What has been lost here is Sviatoslav's response, in the style of Oleh's commands to the Radimichians and Siverianians: 'Don't give it to the Khazars, give it to me.'—M.H.] Sviatoslav defeated the Viatichians and levied a tribute on them.'

Let us begin with this last entry. I stated above that by the end of the ninth century, the Viatichians were most likely already within Kyiv's political sphere of influence, yet simultaneously remained dependent on the Khazars.⁶⁶ In the Primary Chronicle, Sviatoslav does not wage a separate campaign against the Viatichians; the 'Viatichian question' emerges during his expedition to the Oka and Volga. After conquering the Khazars, who were their overlords, Sviatoslav coerces the Viatichians into a closer alliance with Kyiv. That is quite possible, inasmuch as Sviatoslav's expedition to the middle Volga would naturally have resulted in establishing greater dependence on Kyiv of all the lands in that region, not only that of the Viatichians. The strengthening of Rus' domination in the Finnic lands on the Oka and the middle Volga, where several princely domains appear during Volodymyr's reign, must also be dated to Sviatoslav's time and be attributed to his campaigns in the region. But was the Volga campaign confined to just these gains?

who, as a result, died on the rapids. The Chronicle probably combined two different sources, or perhaps there was a later interpolation. Shakhmatov regards the story of the Bulgarian war as borrowed from some Bulgarian chronicle, but this seems improbable to me. On this hypothetical Bulgarian source relied on by the Chronicle, see Excursus 1.

64. See my 'Do pytannia pro rozselennii Viatychiv,' where I dispute Shakhmatov's interpretation of this text ('Iuzhnye poseleniia Viatichei,' p. 119).

65. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 426) believes that the report about the Iasy and Kasogians, too, was a later addition, but I am unconvinced.

* [*Hyp.*, p. 42, under 6472 (964) and 6474 (966).—*Eds.*]

66. Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 415–16.

The information provided by Ibn Hawqal, a contemporary Arab geographer (who wrote in the 970s), supplements the Chronicle. From his reports, we learn that at that time the Rus' destroyed Bulghar and devastated the land of the Burtas, a region frequently mentioned in reports of Arab trade on the middle Volga (thought to be the land of the Mordva). 'Today not a trace remains of Bulghar, nor of Burtas, nor of Khazar,' wrote Ibn Hawqal, 'because the Rus' destroyed them all, took from them all their lands and made them their own. Those who survived fled to neighboring cities in order to remain close to their homes, in the hope that they would make peace with the Rus' and submit to them.'⁶⁷ However, the strike against Bulghar was not as fatal as Ibn Hawqal described it. The Bulgar state on the Volga regained its power very quickly, as indicated by the fact that Volodymyr led another campaign against it. Bulghar survived as a rich commercial center into the fifteenth century, when it relinquished that role to neighboring Kazan.

A much more severe, almost fatal, blow was dealt by Sviatoslav to the Khazar state, which was already weak and had been in decline for two centuries. The Chronicle tells us that Sviatoslav captured Sarkel (Bila Vezha),⁶⁸ an important stronghold on the strip of territory between the Volga and the Don, which was then apparently in Khazar hands, although it was also populated by Slavs. Ibn Hawqal relates that the Rus' also plundered Itil and Samandar, a wealthy Khazar city on the shores of the Caspian Sea. The entire Khazar state was then devastated, and the population of Itil dispersed along the Caspian shore. There is some reason to doubt that the ruin was quite as irreversible as Ibn Hawqal suggested, in light of the report of Volodymyr's war with the Khazars (which, admittedly, scholarly literature has so far disregarded). Nonetheless, the once mighty Khazar state was dealt a fatal blow, so that in the eleventh century it lost its importance. The compiler of the Primary Chronicle, remembering how the Khazars had once exacted tribute from the Polianians and, allegedly, had themselves foretold that the Polianians would eventually conquer them, added that this had now happened: 'For the princes of Rus' rule over the Khazars to the present day.'⁶⁹ The remnants of the Khazars on the lower Volga, under the name of Saqsin, no longer played a significant role. The Chronicle refers to some larger eleventh-century Khazar colony in Tmutorokan.⁷⁰

Sviatoslav's overwhelming victory over the Khazar state was linked with his war against the Caucasian tribes: the Iasy (i.e., the Ossetians, the remnants of the Alani) and the Kasogians (Circassians, still known in Ossetian as Käsäg). It is very probable that the reference here is to the Kasogians on the lower Kuban River, and scholars surmise that Ossetian settlements then

67. Ibn Hawqal in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 218. Westberg ('Beiträge zur Klärung,' sec. 5, pp. 230–32) has put forward the theory that the crushing defeat of the Bulgars and Khazars described by Ibn Hawqal was carried out not by Sviatoslav, but by some band of Norse Rus'. Citing Ibn Hawqal's statement that, following this rout, the Rus' marched on 'Rome and Andalusia,' Westberg argues that Sviatoslav could not have waged this campaign in 969, and suggests that from the Volga, the Norse invaders did indeed sail home across the Mediterranean. It is evident that the entire episode of such a Norse campaign is quite fantastic. But, as I have indicated in the text, with only minor adjustments, Ibn Hawqal's account is consistent with the Chronicle's. In either case, Andalusia must be the result of a misunderstanding or an erroneous conjecture. 'Rome' (*Rum*), on the other hand, is quite consistent with Sviatoslav's later war against the Greeks. Moreover, Ibn Hawqal states that not only did the Rus' capture the lands of the Bulgars and Khazars, but that they made them their own. How could this have applied to the nomadic Northmen?

68. *Bila Vezha* ('White Tower') is the Rus' translation of Sarkel: *sar* 'white,' *kel* 'house' in the Vogul language. Constantine Porphyrogenetos interprets Sarkel as 'white house' (ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον) (*De administrando imperio*, chap. 42). On its location, see above, p. 176, fn. 239.

69. *Hyp.*, p. 9.

70. *Hyp.*, pp. 143–44.

projected far to the north in the steppes, extending to the Don region.⁷¹ This war would thus have been closely linked with the Khazar war in the Don region and with the interests of Tmutorokan. Such a war was later waged by Prince Mstyslav of Tmutorokan against his Caucasian neighbors.

According to the Chronicle's chronology, these campaigns took place between 964 and 966. It is quite unlikely that a war waged across such a vast expanse of territory and producing such important victories could have been conducted in a single campaign. It must have taken several years. However, as in other instances, the dates in the Chronicle are not correct. Ibn Hawqal writes that the destruction of Bulghar, Burtas, and Khazar occurred in A.H. 358, i.e., in 968–69, prior to the Rus' campaign against Byzantium. In my opinion, the reference is to Sviatoslav's first campaign against Bulgaria in 968, inasmuch as it is unlikely that he would have undertaken such a distant expedition to the East in the interval between his Bulgarian campaigns. Given also that Ibn Hawqal, who wrote only a few years after these events, would not have made such a serious error, it is most likely that the wars in the East took place in 965–67 and perhaps lasted into the beginning of 968.⁷²

71. V. Miller, *Osetinskie étiudy*, 3: 67–68 (he cites the entry in *Hyp.*, p. 42, in which the war with the Ossetians is linked with a campaign to the Don, and attempts to derive the name Sugrov from *surkh gaiū* 'red village'); Kulakovskii, 'Khristianstvo u alan,' and idem, 'Alany,' pp. 138–54; Spitsyn, 'Istoriko-arkheologicheskie razyskaniia.' Cf. above, p. 95.

72. Scholars often link the so-called 'Fragments [of *Toparcha Gothicus*],' published by C. B. Hase, with Sviatoslav's campaigns in the Don region. In 1819, in a commentary on the chronicle of Leo the Deacon, Hase, then a famous Byzantinologist, published two—or, in fact, three—fragments he had found in a manuscript that later disappeared. Based on their handwriting, he dated the fragments to the tenth century and, judging by the corrections in them, believed them to be an autograph (the text was reprinted in *CSHB* in 1829 with the chronicle of Leo the Deacon). They describe a Greek unit crossing the Dnipro and its journey in barbarian lands, to a land devastated by barbarians, which here is called 'the Klimata' (τὰ Κλίματα), and about the construction of a fort to defend it. The account's only chronological indications are astronomical, and these are not very exact. Scholars usually saw in them an indication of Saturn resident in Aquarius, a configuration that occurs approximately every thirty years and lasts a year and a half (a difference of two to three years in the astronomical calculations has been offered in various studies). Consequently, according to one calculation, these years would be 874–76, 903–5, 933–35, 964–66, 993–95, and, according to another, 961–63 and 991–92. Westberg gave yet another explanation: in the period between the end of the tenth and the end of the eleventh centuries, such a configuration could have occurred only in 963 and in 1080–82. In dating the events described in the 'Fragments,' scholars have also relied on the paleographic determination of the date of the manuscript given by Hase, but that cannot be regarded as very exact. Various interpretations can also be arrived at from the geographic indications in the 'Fragments': a mention of the Dnipro, of some 'emperor who ruled to the north of the Danube' (κατὰ τὰ βόρεια τοῦ Ἰστροῦ βασιλεύοντα), the towns Maurokastron (Μαυρόκαστρον) and Borion (Βοριών), and the Klimata (Κλίματα). Κλίματα was the name of a Byzantine province on the Crimean slopes, and the account was therefore usually applied to the Crimea. All these imprecisions have permitted the account to be interpreted in various ways. Hase himself applied it to Volodymyr's campaign against Cherson; Gedeonov and Kunik, to Sviatoslav's campaigns on the coast of the Sea of Azov; Vasil'evskii, to Sviatoslav's Bulgarian campaign; Lambin, to Oleh's campaign into the Crimea; Uspenskii, to Byzantino-Khazar relations at the beginning of the tenth century; Westberg and Shestakov, to the same relations in the 960s; Miliukov, to Bulgaro-Rus' relations at the end of the ninth century; Píč moved it to a later time, to 991–92, and saw in it a reference to the Bulgar state north of the Danube, and so forth. As matters stand today, the account contained in the 'Fragments' can serve as material for various hypotheses and can theoretically be used to illustrate any number of episodes. In view of its complete lack of clarity, however, the account cannot provide any reliable indications. Therefore, I shall dwell on it no further.

Bibliography: Gedeonov, 'Otryvki iz issledovaniï,' p. 66ff.; Lambin, 'O Tmutarakanskoi Rusi,' p. 79ff.; Kunik, 'O zapiske got'skogo toparkha'; Vasil'evskii, 'Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 4'; Burachkov, 'O zapiske got'skogo toparkha'; Píč, *Der nationale Kampf*, pp. 83–85; idem [and Amlacher], 'Die dacischen Slaven,' pp. 278–79; Uspenskii, 'Vizantiiskie vladeniia'; the polemic between Vasil'evskii, 'Otvét na stat'iu,' and Uspenskii, 'O mirzhakh,' and idem,

As to the underlying reasons for these campaigns, the Chronicle suggests one—namely, the desire to strengthen the Rus' state in the east and Kyiv's desire to impose greater control over the lands on the Oka and Volga and on the Sea of Azov. Another reason may have been that the Khazars barred the way to the Caspian shores. In 913, the Khazars and the Burtas crushed the Rus' expedition to the region, as a result of which, in 944, the Rus' marched overland instead of sailing down the Volga, to avoid any repetition of the earlier Khazar treachery. The destruction of the Khazar state opened an unobstructed route to the east for the Rus' campaigns. It is very probable that had the Bulgarian issue not interfered suddenly with Sviatoslav's plans, there would subsequently have been a Rus' drive to the southern Caspian shore.

Most probably, however, the principal and most immediate reason for the campaigns was the rich booty to be had in the cities of the Bulgars, the Burtas, and the Khazars, which were bustling centers of trade.

To be sure, the long-term consequences of the destruction of these cities, as well as the Rus' expeditions to the Caspian shore, were very harmful to Rus' trade. They contributed to the decline of Rus' commerce with the East that is evident toward the end of the tenth century and throughout the eleventh (in the finds of coin hoards, among other things), although the Rus' campaigns were not the sole cause of that decline. Other factors included the decline of trade in Transcaspian Khwarizm, turmoil in the Caliphate, and the westward movement of Turkic tribes into the Black Sea steppes.

The fall of the Khazar state was especially harmful in light of the advance of the Turkic peoples. For centuries, the Khazar state had served as Europe's bulwark against the Turkic hordes. By eliminating that bulwark, Rus' did a great disservice to itself. To be sure, the bulwark had by then become weak on its own and had lost significance; it had failed to halt the Pechenegs and most probably would not have been able to ward off for long the succeeding hordes of Torks [Oghuz] and Cumans [Polovtsians]. The Torks came into the Ukrainian lands in the wake of the Pechenegs (we encounter them in Volodymyr's campaign against the Bulgars).

In the face of the Turkic advance into the Black Sea steppes, the gains that the Rus' had made in the Azov and Caspian regions meant very little. The Rus' domains in that region became increasingly isolated islands, cut off from the Rus' state by a Turkic flood that grew larger and stronger each year, as it captured ever larger territories from the sedentary Slavic population and blocked the principal Rus' trade routes to the south and east. Constantine Porphyrogenetos describes how difficult trade had become by the first half of the tenth century because of the Pecheneg threat. The lower Dnipro and the Black Sea coast had to be traveled under an armed escort, 'a protective hand.' The same was certainly true of the eastern routes.

Either the Kyivan princes, or the Chronicle, or both paid too little attention to this aspect of the matter. The Chronicle relates that while Sviatoslav was campaigning in Bulgaria, the Pechenegs nearly captured Kyiv and laid siege to it 'in great force' (with a large army), so that in the city 'the people grew weak from the lack of food and water.' Even though troops from across the Dnipro were able to reach the city, the Pechenegs continued to blockade Kyiv ('and it was not possible to water a horse at the Lybid because of the Pechenegs').⁷³ Finally, Sviatoslav had to be summoned from Bulgaria. And what of it? According to the Chronicle, Sviatoslav merely 'assembled warriors and chased the Pechenegs into the steppe'—that is, into the Black Sea steppes, away from the Kyivan borders.

⁷³ 'Otvet'; Miliukov, 'Vremia i mesto deistviia'; Westberg, 'Die Fragmente'; Shestakov, *Ocherki po istorii Khersonesa*. [Hyp., pp. 42–43.]

The report is typical. In the eleventh century, there was clearly no recollection of an energetic war against the Pechenegs fought by Sviatoslav or Ihor (a very brief and not completely reliable mention of the latter's campaign against the Pechenegs appears under the year 920).⁷⁴ To some degree, this may indicate that the Kyivan princes had indeed not waged a persistent war on that front, although they probably had frequent clashes with the Pechenegs, which had been forgotten among the people. Perhaps the Kyivan rulers were indeed rather passive with respect to the Pecheneg inundation (though not as passive as the Chronicle's silence on the subject would suggest) and began to fight them with greater determination only when the Pechenegs began to harass the suburbs of Kyiv (during Volodymyr's reign). One reason for such passivity may have been that, at the time, the only ones to suffer from Pecheneg raids were the Black Sea tribes, whose political links with the Rus' state were weak and who may not have been overly eager to recognize Kyiv's suzerainty (as witnessed by the Ulychians). Hence, Kyiv's princes may not have been particularly concerned about their fate and confined themselves to protecting Kyiv's trade routes. Secondly, trade on these routes was still conducted under armed escort, and this circumstance, which allowed the prince and his retinue to retain a monopoly over foreign trade and precluded local or foreign competition, was advantageous to the prince and his retinue. As a result, even though their policy was short-sighted, they may have been in no hurry to change the situation.

For whatever reason, there is no evidence of any particular expenditure of energy in the struggle with the Pechenegs—at least, as far as we can see from the silence of the Chronicle and other contemporary sources, which are very scant in any event.

* * *

I have already written that we might have expected the ferocious campaigns into the middle and lower Volga to be followed by a campaign against the more distant Caspian lands. The successful campaign of 944 would have served as an encouragement, and it may well be that Sviatoslav's campaigns were waged in preparation for just such an expedition. But an unexpected proposal from another direction drew Sviatoslav's attention from the east to the southwest—to Bulgaria. The possibilities here were exceptionally attractive. Grandiose prospects opened up before Sviatoslav. The Bulgarian campaign, though it failed, deserves our attention in light of the great changes it would have wrought in the life of the Rus' state had it been successful. The Rus' state might have incorporated all the South Slavs and become a powerful rival to Byzantium.⁷⁵

The initiative for Sviatoslav's Bulgarian campaign came from Constantinople.

In the first half of the tenth century, Byzantium suffered through a difficult and unsuccessful war with the young Bulgarian state. The Bulgarian emperor, Symeon (893–927), had shown a serious determination to conquer the entire Balkan peninsula, which was densely populated by Slavs and was ripe for a decisive Slavic victory over the Greeks. We know that Byzantium had turned to the Rus' for assistance in that war (from a report dated around 920, as well as an entry in the Primary Chronicle in conjunction with the legendary campaign of 944, stating that Ihor sent the Pechenegs against Bulgaria). But there is no evidence that the Rus' played an energetic

74. It should be noted that in some of the later reworkings of the Primary Chronicle, Olha, too, fought the Pechenegs: Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 250.

75. For sources on Sviatoslav's Bulgarian campaign and the controversial issues surrounding it, see Note 11.

role in the war. Ultimately, Symeon was either unable or did not dare to carry out his grandiose plan. Nonetheless, Byzantium had been forced to conclude a humiliating treaty with Symeon's successor, Peter (927). Not only had Byzantium been compelled to recognize Peter's title of emperor, grant a patriarchate and full independence to the Bulgarian Church, and permit Peter to marry a Byzantine princess (all terrible circumstances, in the Byzantine view!), but the Byzantine emperor had been forced to agree to pay an annual tribute to the Bulgars, and, apart from the vicinity of Constantinople, Byzantium was left with only the narrow coasts of the Aegean and Ionian Seas and the Peloponnesus, with the remainder going to Bulgaria.

The warlike emperor, Nikephoros Phokas (963–69), was bent on breaking off these humiliating relations with Bulgaria by taking advantage of the ineptitude of Symeon's successor, Peter, and of Bulgaria's weakened position, the result of its division into two kingdoms—an eastern kingdom under Peter and a western kingdom under Shishman. Nikephoros refused to continue paying tribute to Bulgaria, claiming that Bulgaria was not living up to its agreement to protect Byzantium from attacks by the Hungarians, and he seized neighboring Bulgarian strongholds. However, Nikephoros was engaged in a difficult war on the empire's eastern frontier, in Syria, and, rather than start a war with Bulgaria on his own, decided to exploit the Rus' for this purpose. Earlier attempts to use the Rus' through alliances to fight the Bulgars had failed. Nor had the recent negotiations with Olha (in light of the existing hints of such) produced any concrete results. And so Nikephoros decided to resort to other measures. He chose for this mission an individual named Kalokyros, 'a bold and cunning man,' who was familiar with Rus' affairs because he was the son of the ruler of Cherson. Nikephoros instructed Kalokyros to take rich gifts to Sviatoslav (108,000 nomismata, i.e., 1,500 pounds of gold, according to Leo the Deacon) and to lure him with the prospect of capturing Bulgaria for himself. Whether on the emperor's orders to gain Sviatoslav's trust, or on his own initiative, Kalokyros presented the proposal as an alliance between himself and Sviatoslav. He would make a bid for the imperial throne, while Sviatoslav would assist him and take Bulgaria. It appears that, later, Kalokyros did, in fact, betray Nikephoros and, in an attempt to seize the imperial throne for himself, promised Sviatoslav Bulgaria and large sums of money in return for Rus' assistance.⁷⁶ That, however, does not preclude the possibility that it was Nikephoros himself who ordered Kalokyros to represent himself as pretender to the Byzantine throne, as a more reliable inducement to Sviatoslav.⁷⁷ Kalokyros, awarded the title of patrician in advance for this mission, came to Sviatoslav, gave him the emperor's bountiful gifts, and enticed the young prince with these attractive prospects.⁷⁸ The 'passionate and bold, courageous and active' Sviatoslav, as Leo the Deacon described him, did not need much encouragement. Given the ineptitude of the Bulgarian emperor and the assistance of Byzantium, the capture of Bulgaria did not appear difficult to him. Taking Bulgaria meant seizing all of the Danubian trade and moving directly up to the borders of Byzantium. After that, why not revive Symeon's plan to seize the entire Balkan peninsula and even the world capital of Constantinople itself? Moreover, even if no such long-range plan existed, Bulgaria was a rich prize in its own right. 'I do not like

76. Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 384.

77. Uspenskii (*Rus' i Vizantiia v X veke*), and, after him, Znoiko ('O posol'stve Kalokira'), surmised that Kalokyros planned to seize the Crimea for himself. Znoiko thought that Kalokyros advised Byzantium to send Sviatoslav against Bulgaria only to divert Byzantium's attention away from his own plan, that he took for himself the gold that Nikephoros had meant for Sviatoslav, and so forth. But these are mere suppositions, unconfirmed by existing sources.

78. Leo the Deacon 4.6 and 5.1; Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 372.

being in Kyiv,' the Chronicle quotes Sviatoslav as saying in response to advice to remain in Kyiv and defend his land. 'I want to live in Pereiaslavets on the Danube, for that is the center of my land. For there all the good things come together: from the Greeks—gold, brocades, wine, and various fruits; from the Czechs and Hungarians—silver and horses; and from the Rus'—fur and wax, honey and slaves.'⁷⁹ Sviatoslav was well aware of Bulgaria's significance to trade, and he appreciated its importance from the standpoint of his dynasty's traditional policy regarding trade.

According to Leo the Deacon, Sviatoslav wasted no time in assembling a large army of 60,000 men, plus supply transport units, and started out for Bulgaria together with Kalokyros, with whom he had developed a close friendship. Indeed, the preparations must have taken very little time, because, according to Ibn Hawqal, Sviatoslav had campaigned on the Volga in 967–68, and in 968 he was already in Bulgaria. Accounts of this first war are very meager. Leo the Deacon and the Chronicle agree that the Bulgars offered resistance but were unable to withstand the Rus'. According to Leo, they had a significantly smaller force (he estimates it at 30,000), and they lost the battle on the Danube, near Dorostolon (now Silistra). Peter was so distraught by the defeat that he fell ill and soon died. Sviatoslav occupied a part of Bulgaria.⁸⁰ The Chronicle relates that he captured eighty towns along the Danube and settled in 'Pereiaslavets,'⁸¹ that is, Little Preslav, south of the Danube.⁸² The number of towns captured by Sviatoslav appears suspicious,⁸³ but it is quite possible that he overran the region between the Danube and the Black Sea from the outset.

Very soon thereafter, however, Sviatoslav was called home to Rus' by reports that the Pechenegs had blockaded Kyiv. The boyars of Kyiv reportedly reproached Sviatoslav for seeking new trophies while almost losing Rus': 'You, prince, are seeking foreign land and taking care of it, but you have abandoned your own. For the Pechenegs almost captured us and your mother and your children.'⁸⁴ They tried to persuade him to remain in Kyiv, but Sviatoslav was much too interested in his new political prospects and refused to abandon his Bulgarian plans. The elderly Olha, who continued to rule in Kyiv in Sviatoslav's absence, was dying: she delayed her son in Kyiv, and died in his arms. Such is the account of the Chronicle, which stops to give details of Olha's death, her orders not to be buried in the pagan ritual but in the Christian one, and includes an encomium for her taken from some *Life*, which lauded her as the forerunner of Christianity in Rus' and opened the way for her later canonization.⁸⁵

79. *Hyp.*, p. 44.

80. Leo the Deacon 6.1.

81. *Hyp.*, p. 42.

82. Now the village of Preslav near Tulcea. Great Preslav, the capital of Bulgaria, was near Shumla, now Preslav; in Turkish, Eski Istanbul.

83. It has been explained as derived from a literary source (e.g., from Prokopios), but some scholars defend it as real (e.g., Vasil'evskii). For Shakhmatov's conjecture, see Excursus 1.

84. [*Hyp.*, p. 43.]

85. *Hyp.*, p. 44. In the eleventh century Olha was not yet canonized, and we do not know exactly when this occurred. We encounter her name later among the Rus' saints of the pre-Mongol period. It was probably Volodymyr who transferred her remains to the Kyiv cathedral, where they were the object of veneration already in the eleventh century. The Chronicle (*Hyp.*, p. 44) and the *Encomium for Princess Olha* (Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' 2: 20–21) state that her body remains uncorrupted and that this is the way in which God has honored her. On the canonization, see V. Vasil'ev, 'Istoriia kanonizatsii russkikh sviatykh'; Golubinskii, *Istoriia kanonizatsii sviatykh*, and a revised treatment under the same title in *ChOidr* (1903).

Set on his plan to occupy even more of Bulgaria, Sviatoslav decided to establish his young sons as rulers of Rus'. He installed his elder son, Iaropolk, in Kyiv, and his younger son, Oleh, in Ovruch, to rule over the Derevlians.

Novgorod, which had been under Sviatoslav's personal rule since his childhood, was to have been ruled by a lieutenant. However, according to the Chronicle, which obviously relied on a Novgorodian source, the people of Novgorod were strongly opposed to this. They demanded that Sviatoslav appoint one of his sons to the Novgorod throne or else they would find themselves another prince. Sviatoslav told them that they themselves would have to persuade one of his sons to go to Novgorod. But neither Iaropolk nor Oleh wished to go there (perhaps because even though Novgorod itself was an important key to the trade routes and political power of the Kyivan prince, it was no longer attractive as a princely seat). Then one of Sviatoslav's boyars, Dobrynia from Liubech, the brother of Sviatoslav's concubine Malusha, advised the Novgorodians to ask for Volodymyr, Malusha's son by Sviatoslav. The Chronicle reports that Malusha was the daughter of Malko Liubchany and calls her Olha's favorite (*milostьnica*).⁸⁶ Another variant states that she was Olha's steward, but that explanation is probably associated with the fact that Rohnid later called Volodymyr the son of a bondswoman (*robіčičь*). In view of the high position held in the retinue by her brother Dobrynia, it is difficult to imagine that Malusha was an ordinary servant (steward) or slave.⁸⁷ The Novgorodians took

86. *Milostьnicь* in the Hypatian Chronicle and the Chronicle of Pereiaslavl-Suzdalskii [*Milostьnica (mylostnytsia)* was a court institution similar to the *familiares regis (reginae)* in the West.—Eds.]; in the Laurentian and Novgorod I (*Novg. I*, p. 21) and later compilations, she is called *ključnica* 'steward.' There were two early articles about Malusha: D. Prozorovskii, 'O rodstve sv. Vladimira,' and Sreznevskii, 'O Malushe.' Prozorovskii put forward the theory that Malko Liubchany was the well-known Derevlianian prince Mal, who had once proposed marriage to Olha. He had supposedly been captured during her campaign against the Derevlianian land and made to settle in Liubech. That is how Prozorovskii explained the fact that Sviatoslav acknowledged Volodymyr as a son equal in rights to his other sons. This explanation is quite superfluous, inasmuch as even later the illegitimate sons of princes were held to be equal to their legitimate brothers, without regard for the mother's status. But Prozorovskii's theory about Malko was adopted and supplemented with a number of additional conjectures by Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 374ff.). Shakhmatov argued that the Malko Liubchany of the Chronicle should be corrected to Malko Kolchany, the prince of the town of Kolets of the later compilations (Shakhmatov considers this town to be Klechesk, but that is not very probable, in my opinion). He amended Dobrynia's patronymic from 'Mykytych' to 'Mystynych' and believed that the passage originally read: 'and their father was Mystysha Sveneldych' (or Mystysha Derevliany). The real name of Volodymyr's mother was Malfrid (a reference to her death, without explanation, appears under the year 1000), and the Chronicle called her Malusha in conjunction with the substitution of the name 'Mstysha' for the name 'Mal' in the Chronicle's account about the Derevlianian uprising. Thus, Volodymyr became the great-grandson of Sveneld, and Dobrynia, his grandson. This whole genealogy, however, rests on very unreliable evidence. It is highly unlikely that the chronicler would set out to rework the entire genealogy of Volodymyr and give him the unfortunate Derevlianian Mal as an ancestor instead of the famous Sveneld. If the chronicler had believed Malko to be the Derevlianian Mal, he would probably not have failed to explain who Malko Liubchany was. And it would have been odd to call Volodymyr the 'son of a bondswoman' if he were descended from such a leading boyar family as Sveneld's.

87. Later variants contain the following detail: 'Volodymyr was born in the village of Budutyn, for Olha, in anger, had sent her [Malusha—M.H.] there, for her village was there, and while dying she gave it to the Holy Mother of God' (*Nikon*. in *PSRL*, 9: 35). The final detail about deeding the village to the Holy Mother of God gives some authenticity to the account, which represents Malusha as the owner of the village. Her brother Dobrynia is well remembered in the popular tradition as one of the more important epic heroes (*bogatyri*) in the Volodymyr cycle of the Russian *bylina* epos. But his name is surrounded by a great diversity of legendary and mythical motifs, which tell us almost nothing about the life of the real Dobrynia (except for his role as Volodymyr's matchmaker, told in the Chronicle's account of Volodymyr's marriage to Rohnid, but that motif has survived in a very weak form). What remains is only a general description of him as a man of the court, well-educated, an aristocrat of high birth. See the bibliography on p. 332, fn. 14.

Dobrynia's advice and invited Volodymyr to rule them. Sviatoslav sent him to Novgorod, accompanied by his uncle Dobrynia, who was to be the actual ruler of the region. Sviatoslav appointed other boyars to serve his other two sons in the same role. These events, as reported in the Chronicle, are so closely linked with the interruption in the Bulgarian war that they lend credence to the Chronicle's account that there was a break in that campaign.

Having settled how Rus' should be ruled, Sviatoslav was able to return to Bulgaria. The situation there was becoming difficult. In sending Sviatoslav against the Bulgars, Nikephoros did not intend to allow him to conquer them completely. The Byzantine emperor only wanted the Bulgars to be subdued and weakened. Sviatoslav, however, conquered the Bulgarian Empire immediately, and Nikephoros had to hurry to reap the fruits of his policy before it turned against him. He began to fortify Constantinople (obviously fearing a naval attack by the Rus' against his capital, as in the times of earlier Rus' princes). He opened negotiations with the Bulgars, assuming the role of their protector. But in the midst of these measures, he was overtaken by a palace revolution: in December 969, Nikephoros was killed, and his killer, John I Tzimiskes, was proclaimed emperor. An Armenian by birth, he was a skillful ruler and military commander.⁸⁸

John Tzimiskes assumed power in the midst of difficult circumstances: the Byzantine Empire was ravaged by famine, Syria had to be defended against the Arabs, and a Rus' storm was gathering in the north.

Unfortunately, we know even less about Sviatoslav's second Bulgarian campaign than about his first. In fact, we know nothing. Our only source of information is the Chronicle, but it relates popular tradition about Sviatoslav's war with the Bulgars and Greeks in general, without distinguishing between the first and second campaigns (in a later redaction, that war is combined with Sviatoslav's treaty with Byzantium and changed somewhat accordingly). The epic sweep and magnificent simplicity of the Chronicle's account make it one of the most valued episodes from the literary standpoint, but it wholly contradicts the facts and has no historical value whatsoever. The account in the Chronicle begins with the siege of Pereiaslavets. The Bulgars came out to fight and were winning, but Sviatoslav exhorted his troops: 'We will fall here. Let us pull together courageously, brothers and retinue.' He overcame the Bulgars and took the town 'with spears'—in other words, allowed it to be plundered. He then sent word to the Greeks that he was about to march on them, but they tricked him into revealing the size of his force by sending envoys to tell him that they were too weak to stand against him and would send him tribute, asking how many men he had so that they could calculate the size of their payment. When Sviatoslav had told them the size of his army, they sent against him a force ten times larger than his ('for the Greeks are crafty even to this day,' adds the Chronicle). At the sight of the numerically much larger Greek force, the Rus' grew frightened, but Sviatoslav did not lose heart. He delivered his famous speech cited above, and his emboldened troops responded that they were prepared to die with him ('Where your head lies, Prince, there we, too, will lay down our heads'). Defeated, the Greeks fled, and Sviatoslav advanced on Constantinople, destroying towns along the way ('which still stand empty to this day'). The Greeks tried to tempt him with rich gifts, but Sviatoslav ignored the gold and brocades. But when they sent him various weapons, he accepted them with great delight. The Greeks then saw that they were dealing with a very fierce warrior and decided to give him tribute in the

88. Leo the Deacon 6.2ff.

amount he wanted, 'for he had come up almost to the Imperial City.' Sviatoslav returned to Pereiaslavets 'with great praise.' However, because his army had suffered great losses, he decided to return to Rus' to bring more warriors, and on the return journey he was killed by the Pechenegs.⁸⁹

These are but distant and distorted echoes of the war against the Greeks, which is described with greater factual reliability in Byzantine sources.⁹⁰

In leaving to defend Kyiv, Sviatoslav most certainly would not have entrusted Bulgaria to God's mercy, but would have left his troops there. Hence, he did not need to reconquer it upon his return. Most likely he only consolidated and strengthened his gains. This time he occupied not only northern Bulgaria,⁹¹ but moved the war into the Balkans, while holding the Bulgars by terror. It was said that after taking Plovdiv, he killed 20,000 people by impaling them, but the report must be grossly exaggerated.

Byzantine sources claim that because of the war with Syria, John Tzimiskes initially wanted to reach agreement with Sviatoslav without resorting to military action, but we do not know how much hope he really had for such an outcome. According to Leo the Deacon, he demanded that Sviatoslav take the reward 'which had been promised him by Nikephoros for attacking the Bulgars' and leave Bulgaria, because it supposedly belonged to the Byzantine Empire. But if such a proposal was, indeed, made, it would only have provoked Sviatoslav, who had originally been told to take Bulgaria for himself and now was being paid off for his labors and told to go home. Sviatoslav responded that he would agree to such terms if Byzantium gave him suitable payment for the rich lands he had won, for the conquered towns and the Bulgarian slaves he had taken during the war. If they refused, said Sviatoslav, the Greeks should leave Europe and withdraw to Asia while there was still time, leaving the whole Balkan peninsula to him. Otherwise, he would not make peace with them. When Tzimiskes answered by allegedly reminding Sviatoslav of Ihor's unsuccessful campaign and death, and threatened Sviatoslav that he, too, would die in Bulgaria, the angered Rus' prince reportedly announced that he would march on Constantinople. That is the story told by Leo the Deacon, and it may well describe the real basis for Sviatoslav's declaration of war against the Greeks reported in the Chronicle.

Byzantine sources offer no further details about this war. The Rus' army devastated Thrace, and perhaps it did reach the vicinity of Constantinople, as Kyivan tradition holds. To defend Byzantine possessions, Tzimiskes, who was then involved primarily with Asian affairs, sent the magistrate Bardas Skleros at the head of an army against Sviatoslav. On learning of this, the Rus' army, along with Bulgarian, Hungarian, and even Pecheneg units, moved against Skleros's troops.⁹² The battle took place near Arcadiople (not far from Adrianople), where, according to Byzantine sources, the Greeks set an ambush and killed a great number of the Rus'. The death toll was more than 20,000 Rus' and only 55 Greeks (or just 25), with many of the latter wounded. This report is of as little value as the Chronicle's account of Sviatoslav's glorious victory over 100,000 Greeks with only 10,000 men. It is clear from the next portion of Leo the

89. *Hyp.*, pp. 42–48.

90. Leo the Deacon 6.8ff.; Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 372, 388ff.

91. Vasil'evskii ('Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 4,' p. 434) believed that the *Κωνσταντία* referred to in Skylitzes in Kedrenos (2: 401) was the Konstantiolea near present-day Belgrade.

92. Only Skylitzes mentions the Pechenegs. He explains their later hostility to Sviatoslav as the result of their anger at him for making a truce with the Greeks (Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 413). His claim that Sviatoslav's army numbered up to 308,000 men is completely improbable. Leo the Deacon (6.12) reported that Sviatoslav's army consisted of 30,000 men and Skleros's of 10,000 men.

Deacon's account that things were not going all that well for the Greeks. Tzimiskes immediately sent another army into Europe, with orders to winter in Thrace and Macedonia—clearly, to defend these regions—and promised to come himself in the spring and lead a campaign against the Rus'.⁹³

But Tzimiskes' plans were interrupted by an uprising in Asia Minor led by Bardas Phokas, the nephew of Emperor Nikephoros Phokas. Not only was Tzimiskes himself unable to march against the Rus', but he had to recall Skleros to Asia. When Skleros left, the Rus' once again began to have their way in the Byzantine lands, especially in Macedonia, which they 'ruthlessly plundered and devastated.'⁹⁴ It was not until the beginning of 971 that Tzimiskes, having captured Phokas, was able to return to the war against Sviatoslav.⁹⁵ He sent fire-ships (ships armed with 'Greek fire') into the mouth of the Danube to block the Rus' army's return home, as Leo the Deacon tells us, but it is more likely that his purpose was to prevent any auxiliary forces from reaching the Rus' army. He himself started out for Adrianople, a city on the border between the Byzantine Empire and Bulgaria. Here he learned that, contrary to all expectations, the Rus' had left the Balkan passages open. Disregarding the protests of his officers, who regarded continuing the advance as too risky, Tzimiskes decided to take advantage of this carelessness on the part of the Rus' to move rapidly across the Balkans and occupy Bulgaria. Following the example of Nikephoros, he proclaimed himself the protector of the Bulgars against the Rus' and thus won them over to his side.

Tzimiskes' campaign was successful. According to the Byzantine authors, he led a smaller force than Sviatoslav's: Leo the Deacon reports that Sviatoslav had 60,000 men and Tzimiskes had 15,000 infantry and 13,000 cavalry, whereas Skylitzes writes that the force that advanced with Tzimiskes numbered only 9,000. But Tzimiskes' swift advance found the Bulgarian capital, Preslav, unprepared. It was held by 'Sfenkel,' as he is called in Byzantine sources, 'who was third in rank after Sviatoslav.' This was probably Sveneld, who is named along with Sviatoslav in the text of the treaty of 971 included in the Chronicle. King Boris of Bulgaria and Kalokyros were also in Preslav. The Rus' were defeated in battle and sought refuge in the city. Following two days of a fierce siege, Preslav was taken by the Greeks on Good Friday.⁹⁶ Almost the entire Rus' garrison perished. Those who survived retreated to the royal court and fought fiercely, but the palace was set on fire and the Rus' were forced to flee. 'Sfenkel' and a small force made their way to Sviatoslav. Tzimiskes proclaimed Boris, who had been taken captive, the ruler of Bulgaria and announced that he had come to defend Bulgaria from the Rus'.

After taking Preslav, Tzimiskes moved swiftly against Sviatoslav, who was then in Dorostolon on the Danube with the main army. The capture of Preslav and the proclamation of Boris as ruler made an impression in Bulgaria. As Tzimiskes advanced on Sviatoslav, the Bulgarian towns along the way submitted to the Byzantine emperor, and the Bulgars went over to his side. According to Byzantine sources, this was of great concern to Sviatoslav: in an attempt to save himself, he resorted to terror, arresting prominent Bulgars and putting many of them to death. Tzimiskes, however, did not waste any time winning Bulgaria over to his side and instead advanced directly on Sviatoslav. Following a fierce battle, he succeeded in defeating Sviatoslav's army, which was forced to take refuge in the fortress of Dorostolon. Tzimiskes then

93. Leo the Deacon 6.11 (6.12)ff.; Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 384ff.

94. Leo the Deacon 7.9.

95. Leo the Deacon 8.1ff.; Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 392ff.

96. In 971, Good Friday fell on April 14.

laid siege to Dorostolon. Just then the Greek fleet arrived and blockaded Dorostolon with fire-ships from the Danube side. Fearing these ships, the Rus' pulled their boats into the fortress. There began a fierce, three-month-long siege of Dorostolon, which is described in detail by Leo the Deacon and Skylitzes.⁹⁷

The Rus' forayed out of Dorostolon time and again in an attempt to break the blockade, but were unable to overcome the Greeks. The town was running short of provisions, but it was very difficult to bring in supplies through the Greek lines on both land and water. One day the Rus' attempted to set fire to the Greek siege machines, but they failed; putting their large shields on their backs, they were forced to retreat back into the town. In the battle, many Rus' were killed. During the night, by moonlight, the Rus' gathered up their dead on the plain and burned the corpses in bonfires on the banks of the Danube. Leo the Deacon relates that, as part of this ritual, the Rus' killed slaves to serve the dead in the next life and threw children and roosters into the Danube. However, the Greeks' victories over the Rus' also took a heavy toll. The Rus' fought fiercely, and it was not only men who fought: the reports relate that when the Greeks removed the clothes of the slain Rus', they found women among them. Tzimiskes was troubled by his army's large losses and by the long siege. Skylitzes relates an interesting story that Tzimiskes called upon Sviatoslav to end the war by fighting a duel with him rather than let the armies be destroyed. Sviatoslav is described as replying with great dignity that he knew his duty better than his enemy did, and that if the emperor had tired of life, he was free to choose any one of a thousand ways to die.

Following the heavy losses suffered in the attempt to destroy the Greek siege machines, Sviatoslav called together his commanders for counsel. Some reportedly advised fleeing by night by making their way through the Greek fleet, whereas others, believing that to be impossible, counseled making peace with the Greeks. Sviatoslav, however, decided to try his luck in war one more time. On the following day, July 24, a fierce battle took place. The Greeks reported that it was only by a miracle—with the help of St. Theodore himself—that they managed to defeat the Rus'. Leo the Deacon estimated Rus' casualties in the battle at 15,500 (his figures must, however, have been vastly exaggerated). Sviatoslav himself was reported to have been wounded and nearly taken captive.

After this final attempt, Sviatoslav decided to leave off fighting, and the very next day he began negotiations with Tzimiskes, agreeing to return the Greek captives and leave Bulgaria, but demanding free passage home and the supplies needed by his troops for the journey. Tzimiskes was more than happy to agree to the armistice. A treaty was concluded, in which Sviatoslav abandoned his claims to the Crimean lands belonging to Byzantium ('the domain of Cherson and as many towns as are theirs') and to Bulgaria, and promised not to wage war against Byzantium, but rather, to be an ally. In addition, Leo the Deacon reported that a trade agreement with Byzantium was renewed. Inasmuch as the text of the treaty that survived in the Primary Chronicle makes no mention of trade, the earlier agreements on trade may have been confirmed by a separate treaty. The Rus' received two medimni of grain each, because they needed provisions. Leo the Deacon reports that bread was distributed to 22,000 Rus' and that Rus' losses in the war numbered 38,000 men.

After the treaty had been signed, Sviatoslav asked for a meeting with the emperor. Tzimiskes came to the banks of the Danube, wearing brilliant golden armor, accompanied by a large

97. Leo the Deacon 9.1ff.; Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 397ff.

retinue of horsemen. Sviatoslav arrived by boat, rowing along with the others with nothing to distinguish him from his men but the cleanliness of his cloth garments. As his only adornment, he wore a gold earring in his ear. We have already discussed his appearance, as described by Leo the Deacon—he was of medium height, with a strong stature and broad shoulders, and had bushy eyebrows, blue eyes, and was snub-nosed. He appeared gloomy and savage. He was beardless and his head, too, was shaven, except for a lock of hair on one side, ‘as a sign of the nobility of his family.’ He spoke for a short time with the emperor while sitting on the bench of his boat and then departed.

Thus ended the Bulgarian war. The Byzantines accomplished what they had set out to do: eastern Bulgaria was annexed to the empire, and only the western portion of the country survived for a time under the new Shishman [Comitopouli] dynasty. Sviatoslav’s plans had come to nought. Rus’ tradition, as related in the Chronicle, retained the successful beginning of this campaign and ignored its ultimate failure. That is why the text of the treaty included in the expanded redaction of the Chronicle stands strangely at odds with the rest of the account in the Chronicle.

Having signed a treaty with the Greeks, Sviatoslav could take solace in the rich booty he had taken in the Bulgarian war. It is also possible that he intended to return with fresh forces, as the Chronicle states: ‘And he said: “I will go to Rus’; I will bring more retinue.”’ The Byzantines, too, may have foreseen such a possibility, and they moved to prevent it.

John Skylitzes writes that following the signing of the truce, Sviatoslav asked Tzimiskes to be his intermediary with the Pechenegs and arrange that they allow him to return home without barring his passage. The emperor sent an envoy to the Pechenegs, urging them to become his allies and asking them not to attack Bulgaria and to give Sviatoslav safe passage. The Pechenegs agreed to everything except the request that Sviatoslav be allowed through, for he had angered them by making peace with the Greeks.⁹⁸ This account appears highly suspicious, because it suggests that the Pechenegs were enemies of the Greeks to the very last moment (and yet they did not help Sviatoslav in his last war with the Greeks!). If that were the case, why would Sviatoslav have asked the Greeks to negotiate with them on his behalf? It appears more likely that Tzimiskes sent envoys to the Pechenegs not so much in Sviatoslav’s interests as to protect Bulgaria from them. As far as Sviatoslav was concerned, the Pechenegs had already decided not to let him through and the Greeks were supposedly obliged to accept that. It seems that Skylitzes wrote his account in an attempt to conceal the real purpose of the negotiations.

As Sviatoslav sailed up the Dnipro with his fleet, he learned that the Pechenegs had occupied both banks in the region of the rapids—at the spot where merchants had to portage their boats and goods and where the Pechenegs usually ambushed the trade caravans. According to the Chronicle, the Pechenegs were informed by the people of Pereiaslavets (i.e., Little Preslav) that Sviatoslav was returning to Kyiv with rich booty but few troops, and the Pechenegs therefore set an ambush. One might ask, however: who had sent word to the Pechenegs—was it the Bulgars or the Greeks, who, having ousted Sviatoslav, had by then occupied Bulgaria? Very likely it was the Greeks, which would correspond with Skylitzes’ deliberately incomplete account. It is possible to connect that circumstance with the report (albeit very general) that relations between Rus’ and the Byzantine Empire were not good until Volodymyr’s marriage. The Greeks’ treachery against Sviatoslav may well have nullified the treaty he had concluded with them.

98. Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 412.

When he approached the rapids, Sviatoslav realized that the Pecheneg forces were too large to allow him to break through with his much diminished army and heavy baggage. Sveneld counseled leaving the boats, baggage, and infantry on the lower Dnipro and breaking through on horseback to Kyiv. But Sviatoslav rejected the advice, because it would have meant losing all the booty taken in war. He returned to the mouth of the Dnipro, to the so-called Biloberezhia region,⁹⁹ and remained there through the winter, in the hope that either something would draw the Pechenegs away from the rapids or help would arrive from Kyiv. But his supplies ran short (we know that the Rus' left Bulgaria with limited provisions) and famine set in, 'so that a horse's head cost a half-hryvnia [to buy—M.H.].' Having survived the winter somehow, that spring Sviatoslav sailed up to the rapids. The Pechenegs were there waiting for him. Under extreme pressure, Sviatoslav decided to risk breaking through. The attempt failed, and Sviatoslav himself was killed. Rus' tradition had it that the Pecheneg leader, proud of his victory, ordered a cup to be made of Sviatoslav's skull. Later chronicle compilations add that the cup bore an inscription written in the spirit of the boyars' reproach to Sviatoslav: 'Seeking others, you lost your own [lands].'¹⁰⁰ Sveneld succeeded in making it back to Kyiv—whether by boat or on horseback, we do not know.

By my calculations, these events occurred in 972. Sviatoslav must have been still a young man, just over thirty years of age.

99. This was the name given to the region along the banks of the Dnipro stretching from the mouth to well above the rapids. See *AluZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, p. 127; pt. 7, vol. 1, p. 86; pt. 7, vol. 2, p. 11; Lassota, 'Dnevnik Ėrikha Lassoty,' p. 162; *Voskr.* in *PSRL*, 7: 241. Biloberezhia, where Sviatoslav wintered, was at the mouth of the Dnipro. Cf. Ihor's treaty with the Greeks: 'The Rus' are not empowered to winter at the mouth of the Dnipro, Biloberezhia, nor [the island of] St. Eleutherios [The Chronicle has 'Eleutherios' instead of 'Aitherios,' the correct name of the saint.—Eds.] (the last is usually thought to be Berezan Island). *Hyp.*, p. 32.

100. Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 319; *Letopisets russkii*, 1: 61; Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 123; also Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia*, p. 132.

IX

The Consolidation of the Rus' State: The Age of Volodymyr the Great

In the Chronicle, the seven-year interval (by my calculations) between the death of Sviatoslav and the accession of Volodymyr to the Kyivan throne is taken up by the fratricidal struggle among Sviatoslav's sons.¹ The boyar administrations that ruled in the name of the young princes quite naturally looked after the best interests of their own domains. The sense of political unity among the Rus' lands dissipated, and the Rus' state virtually disintegrated into a collection of independent regions until the most energetic and able of Sviatoslav's sons emerged victorious and set about strengthening the weakened state organization.

Iaropolk, as the eldest and the occupant of the Kyivan throne, stood first in line to take on the task. It appears that he had every intention of doing so, or, at least, that is the impression given by the account in the Chronicle. But Iaropolk lacked the qualities requisite for success, and, so, he was ultimately supplanted by his younger brother.

According to the Chronicle, Iaropolk first waged war against his brother Oleh, whose domain neighbored on his. In keeping with popular tradition, the chronicler blames Sveneld, one of Kyiv's leading boyars, for the outbreak of hostilities. In Sviatoslav's treaty of 971 with Byzantium, Sveneld is named together with Sviatoslav as his deputy or as the next in rank after the prince. He was probably Iaropolk's deputy as well. The Chronicle relates the following story. During a hunting expedition, Sveneld's son Liut trespassed on the lands of Sviatoslav's second son, Oleh, who was prince of the Derevlians. Oleh, who was also hunting at the time, came upon Liut, and upon learning that he was Sveneld's son, killed him. The Chronicle does not explain whether Oleh killed Liut because of some enmity against Sveneld or as punishment for poaching. Sveneld, seeking revenge, persuaded Iaropolk to go to war against Oleh, luring him with the prospect of seizing the Derevlianian domain for himself. And so Iaropolk launched a war against Oleh: Oleh's forces were defeated in a battle at Vruchyi (Ovruch) and Oleh himself was killed in the action. Pushed off the bridge leading into the town during the panicky retreat of his troops, he was crushed in the moat by falling horses and men. Iaropolk bitterly reproached Sveneld for such an outcome of the war, yet nonetheless took Oleh's domain for himself. When news of what had happened reached Volodymyr, he fled overseas, and Iaropolk seated his lieutenants in the Novgorodian domains as well, and 'ruled alone in Rus'.²

The story of Sveneld as the chief instigator of the war and the claim that the conflict was sparked by a private family matter are not very convincing. There are clear indications that the whole account of the killing of Sveneld's son as the cause of the war was a later interpolation into the Chronicle, which originally related only that the boyars urged the prince to 'go against

1. On the chronology of this period, see Note 11.

2. *Нур.*, p. 49.

your brother and take his domain.³ The whole history of Iaropolk is an elaboration on the theme of princes falling victim to the evil counsel of their boyar advisors. Thus, Iaropolk listened to Sveneld and started a fratricidal war that ultimately turned against him (with Volodymyr as the avenger of his slain brother); he then listened to Blud, lost the support of his land, and was forced to surrender, only to be cut down. In reality, having another ruler in the neighboring Derevlianian land while he himself ruled in Kyiv could hardly have been desirable in and of itself to Iaropolk, and that alone could have been ample cause for conflict. It is also possible that no particular reason was required for conduct that was part of the very tradition of the Kyivan throne as the center of the Rus' political system—a tradition in which it was virtually incumbent upon the Kyivan ruler, as a matter of honor, to seize the legacy of his predecessors. There is no doubt that ultimately Iaropolk consciously set out to achieve that goal. Otherwise Volodymyr would have had no reason to flee Novgorod, and Iaropolk would not have sent his lieutenants into Volodymyr's domains. Everyone must have understood what was taking place. The process of consolidating the Rus' domains and strengthening political ties between them by any available means must have occurred regularly upon the death of the Kyivan prince and would have been a familiar phenomenon. Hence, it would not have been difficult for contemporaries on every such occasion to recognize the signs that such a process was under way and to conclude that the Kyivan prince was seeking to gain control over his patrimony.

Nor was Volodymyr's role as fortuitous as the Chronicle would have us believe. It relates that, fearing Iaropolk's bloodthirsty measures, this able and energetic 'son of a bondwoman' (*robičič*) fled Novgorod, but without any intention of capitulating. After a time,⁴ Volodymyr returned to Novgorod with a powerful Varangian force that he had hired abroad, expelled Iaropolk's lieutenants and their troops from his domains, and sent Iaropolk a declaration of war: 'Volodymyr is coming against you; get ready to fight against him.'⁵ But the Chronicle itself suggests that these events did not take place in such rapid succession. It states that Volodymyr 'collected many warriors, Varangians and Slovenians [Novgorodians], Chud and Krivichians' and only then moved against Iaropolk. A later interpolation into the text at this point describes his war with the prince of Polatsk.

The story of Volodymyr's war with Polatsk was worked into a poetic theme early on, and it has come down to us in that form. Volodymyr and Iaropolk both asked for the hand of Rohnid, daughter of Rohvolod, the prince of Polatsk, who had come from overseas. When Rohvolod asked his daughter whom she preferred, she replied that she would not marry a bondwoman's son (a hyperbolic allusion to Volodymyr's illegitimate birth) and chose Iaropolk instead. When Dobrynia, Volodymyr's maternal uncle, was informed of her reply, he became incensed and resolved to seek revenge. In the midst of Rohnid's preparations for her wedding journey to Kyiv, Dobrynia and Volodymyr attacked the Polatsk Principality with a large army. In retaliation for the insult to him, Dobrynia avenged himself on Rohvolod's family: Rohvolod and his two sons were killed, Rohnid was taken captive, and Volodymyr forcibly married her.

3. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 353ff.) offers a rather comprehensive argument in support of this by noting that the Novgorodian versions read: 'Iaropolk reigned in Kyiv and Blud was his voivode.' Immediately following is the story of Blud, with no mention of Sveneld. It is also interesting that the account of these events provided by Długosz contains nothing about the slaying of Liut and the role of Sveneld as instigator: Iaropolk marches against Oleh simply on the grounds of *principandi maiortate* (Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, 1: 129).

4. The Chronicle reports Volodymyr's return to Novgorod in the entry for 980, but that entry clearly includes events that took place over several years.

5. *Hyp.*, p. 50.

Volodymyr then immediately set out against her suitor Iaropolk and killed him. Because of the misfortunes she suffered, Rohnid became known as Horyslava [literally, 'Renowned for Misfortunes']. She bore Volodymyr a son, called Iziaslav, but later Volodymyr took other wives and, having grown tired of Rohnid, neglected her. In addition to all the other indignities that she had suffered at the hands of Volodymyr, Rohnid was now overcome by jealousy, and she resolved to take revenge. One night, as Volodymyr lay sleeping in her bed, she tried to stab him with a knife. Volodymyr awoke and grabbed her hand. Rohnid admitted that she wanted to avenge her father because Volodymyr had stopped loving her and their son. As punishment for her act, Volodymyr decided to kill her. He ordered her to put on 'all her royal finery,' the attire she had worn for her wedding, and to sit on the bed awaiting him—apparently a ritual meant to heighten the effect of the punishment to come. But Rohnid gave an unsheathed sword to her young son, and when Volodymyr entered the room, the boy stood before his father and repeated what his mother had told him to say: 'Father, do you think that you are alone here?' Confronted by the small defender (and potential avenger) of his mother, Volodymyr threw down the sword that he had readied to kill Rohnid and said: 'Who expected you to be here?' Volodymyr's boyars persuaded the prince, for the sake of his son, not to kill his wife, and they advised him, instead, to give her and young Iziaslav her patrimony. This Volodymyr did. 'And from that time on, the grandsons of Rohvolod raise their swords against Iaroslav's grandsons,' ends this Chronicle account by 'those who knew.'

As I have already pointed out, this narrative bears distinct traces of having been drawn from a poetic treatment.⁶ The account in the Chronicle under the year 980 is the beginning of the tale; the story in its entirety is found in the Suzdal Chronicle under 1128. In the latter source, its purpose is to explain the traditional hostility between the dynasties of Iziaslav of Polatsk and Iaroslav of Kyiv. Clearly, however, the story was composed quite independently of that interpretation and was poorly suited to the purpose, inasmuch as Iaroslav, being Rohnid's son, was, like Iziaslav, a 'grandson of Rohvolod.' The narrative was adapted to reflect that construction only later, and perhaps some details were changed for that purpose. Its origin, though, is older than the dynastic hostility with which it was later associated.⁷ The story is part of a cycle of legends about Volodymyr as a great and insatiable womanizer, a cycle that is quite extensive and was elaborated upon *con amore* by both contemporary and later popular tradition (in the portrayals of contemporaries, an erotic temperament was perceived as a sign of energy and power, and contained nothing deemed immoral from the nonecclesiastical standpoint). Only scant remnants of the cycle have survived, however, usually in the service of pious legends.⁸ Nonetheless, the poetic camouflage does not affect the significance of the historical fact to which the legend is linked—that is, Volodymyr's war prior to his campaign against Kyiv with the neighboring Polatsk Principality, which in this transitional period had attained virtual independence and leaned toward Iaropolk. Whether the chronicler was correct in placing the

6. For the older literature on the Rohnid episode as a work of poetry, see Dovnar-Zapol'skii, *Ocherk istorii*, p. 71. For the newer literature, see Loboda, *Russkie byliny o svatovstve* (1904), chap. 4, and Shakhmatov, 'Korsunskaiia legenda,' chap. 12.

7. Thereby refuting the interpretation offered by some scholars that the legend is a symbolic representation of the dynastic warfare between Kyiv's descendants of Iaroslav and Polatsk's descendants of Iziaslav. See Dovnar-Zapol'skii, *Ocherk istorii*; Loboda, *Russkie byliny o svatovstve*; Golubovskii, 'Neskol'ko soobrazhenii.'

8. Shakhmatov's surmise ('Korsunskaiia legenda,' chap. 12) that the Rohnid legend is a reworking of the legend about Volodymyr's courting of a Greek princess appears pointless to me. What we have here are two separate episodes drawn from a whole cycle of legends that may have shared certain motifs but evolved independently.

incident between Volodymyr's return from abroad and his war with Kyiv is another matter. Perhaps what actually happened was different.

Just as the only information we have about Iaropolk's rule in the south concerns the war he waged against his brother Oleh—although his political activity was probably not confined to that single action, and, in all likelihood, he fought many such wars in an attempt to take control over Kyiv's old domains—so, too, in the case of Volodymyr and his court, the war with Polatsk, preserved by chance in the legend of Rohnid, was probably not the only military action Volodymyr conducted during this period. While Iaropolk was consolidating his power over the southern domains, Volodymyr or his ambitious regent, Dobrynia, was almost certainly engaged in the same type of activity in the north, until ultimately the two rulers—of the north and of the south—met and fought a decisive battle to determine which of them would rule the entire Rus' state. Volodymyr's flight from Novgorod and Iaropolk's installation of his lieutenants in that domain suggest that the conflict between them began long before Volodymyr's advance against Kyiv. Volodymyr's war with the Polatsk prince, who supported Iaropolk and sought his assistance against the claims of Novgorod's ruler, may also have taken place well before Volodymyr's confrontation with Iaropolk. It may even have caused, or at least hastened, the clash and war between these representatives of the two retinue centers—that in the south and that in the north. According to the Chronicle, Iaroslav was one of Volodymyr's younger sons by Rohnid, usually named as third in line.⁹ He died in 1054, in his seventy-sixth year, a circumstance that (if there is no error in the Chronicle) would put back Volodymyr's marriage to Rohnid to only a few years before his attack on Kyiv—in other words, to 976 or 975.

We know very little of the war between Volodymyr and Iaropolk. The Chronicle describes only the treachery of Blud, 'Iaropolk's voivode,' who succumbed to Volodymyr's promises and 'became his friend' and whose perfidious counsel brought about Iaropolk's death. It also tells us about the Varangians who took part in Volodymyr's campaign.

Volodymyr, relates the Chronicle, came against Iaropolk 'with many warriors.' Iaropolk did not have forces sufficient to oppose him and shut himself up in Kyiv. Volodymyr laid siege to the city and frequently attacked it. During these battles Blud, suborned by Volodymyr, tried to have Iaropolk killed, but he could not find anyone among Kyiv's inhabitants to do the deed, because Iaropolk was popular and respected among them. So, instead, Blud tried to place Iaropolk into the worst possible situations by giving him evil advice. He finally persuaded Iaropolk to flee Kyiv by telling him that the Kyivans had supposedly established relations with Volodymyr and were about to deliver Iaropolk over to him. Iaropolk fled to the stronghold in Roden on the southern frontier of the Kyiv region, but there, besieged by Volodymyr's forces, he was overtaken by famine and other troubles. Then Blud persuaded him to give himself up to Volodymyr. But when Iaropolk heeded Blud's counsel and came before Volodymyr, at a prearranged signal the Varangians took up their swords and killed him. Volodymyr then seized control of the Kyivan land. According to the *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr*, this took place on June 11.¹⁰ Claiming full credit for the victory, the Varangians demanded that to stop them from sacking the city—a right they had won by taking it by force of

9. *Novg. I*, p. 30; *Hyp.*, p. 53.

10. For the year in which this took place, see Note 11. The note also discusses the relationship of the *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr* to the Chronicle. For editions (recent) of the *Memorial and Encomium* from various manuscripts, see Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 17; Sreznevskii, 'Musin-Pushkinskii sbornik'; idem, 'Pamiat' i pokhvala.'

arms—Volodymyr pay them two hryvnias for every resident of Kyiv ('This is our fortified town. We took it'). Volodymyr, who did not want to see his new capital plundered, promised to gather the money in a month's time. Meanwhile, obviously, he gathered a force against the Varangians. Realizing what was in the offing, the Varangians said: 'You have deceived us; show us the way to the Greeks' (to enter into their service). Volodymyr kept the ablest of them in his own service and sent the rest to Byzantium, warning the emperor not to allow them to remain in his capital, 'or else they will do you harm in the city as they did here,' and asking that he not permit them to return to Rus'.

As we see, the narrative is very naïve; it incorporates legendary accounts and external details without entering into the causes and significance of the struggle. More recent investigators have attempted to explain it in terms of more fundamental motives. The account in the so-called Ioakim's Chronicle that in the war with Iaropolk, Dobrynia counted on the latter's lack of popularity among the people, 'because he gave great freedom to Christians,'¹¹ led some to conclude that the war was fought on religious grounds. According to Ioakim's Chronicle, Iaropolk supported Christianity, whereas Volodymyr, an advocate of paganism, opposed it. For that reason Volodymyr found support among Iaropolk's boyars, who remained pagans, and thus overthrew Iaropolk. Upon ascending the Kyivan throne, Volodymyr did everything in his power to elevate and revive paganism and make it the consolidating force in his society. When the attempt failed, because paganism proved too weak and incapable of competing with the other religions that were gaining followers in Rus', Volodymyr set about finding another religion to serve his purpose. Even apart from the highly questionable reliability of Ioakim's Chronicle,¹² such an explanation for the struggle between Volodymyr and Iaropolk is not confirmed by any of the facts we know. We find no traces of opposition to Christianity in Kyiv, and the Chronicle is quite clear about Iaropolk's popularity in Kyiv. Nor is there any indication in our sources that Volodymyr gave any special support to paganism. There is no reason to seek the causes of Volodymyr's struggle with Iaropolk in a different sphere than the one in which it evolved, namely, that the two heirs of Sviatoslav clashed on political grounds, just as fifty years later Volodymyr's two heirs would also fight for control over their patrimony, that is, Kyiv and Novgorod. It was always a matter of rivalry between Kyiv and Novgorod, a rivalry that also left a deep imprint on the history of our Chronicle tradition.

11. Ioakim's Chronicle relates that when Volodymyr set out against Kyiv, Iaropolk sent his envoys to him to persuade him to make peace and at the same time dispatched his army to the land of the Krivichians. Volodymyr took fright and wanted to turn back, but Dobrynia calmed him with the argument cited above and began negotiations with the envoys sent by Iaropolk. He persuaded the voivodes sent by Iaropolk to join Volodymyr, which they did near Smolensk (Tatishchev, *Istoriia rossiiskaia*, 1: 38). Without resolving the problem of the authenticity of the account, Solov'ev regarded the explanation of Volodymyr's victory as resulting from a religious division and the struggle between paganism and Christianity as credible and apt, even if it was fabricated. He viewed both Volodymyr's raising of pagan idols and his notorious womanizing as a demonstration against Christianity (*ibid.*, pp. 158–59). More recently, Skulj ('Drei Fragen aus der Taufe'), ignoring both Solov'ev and Golubinskii's (*Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1: 148ff.) criticism of Solov'ev, expressed an identical view; he added nothing, however, to what Solov'ev had said earlier, and the full force of Golubinskii's arguments can be turned against him as well.

12. In the form in which the document has come down to us, i.e., in fragments published by Tatishchev (the original has disappeared), this 'chronicle' bears clear signs of a scholarly hand of the eighteenth century. Hence its extravagant claims have even less significance than the reworkings of the Chronicle from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, which we now view *cum grano salis*. The harshest evaluation of this 'chronicle' is found in Golubinskii, 'O tak nazyvaemoi Ioakimovskoi letopisi.' A history of the question can be found in Senigov, *Istoriko-kriticheskie issledovaniia*, and in Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii*, 2: 330–31.

The matter was not settled by Iaropolk's flight from Kyiv and his death. Volodymyr still had to take Kyiv by force. This detail in the Chronicle can be accepted as reliable, as can the fact that the Varangian bands that Volodymyr had brought with him played a key role in assuring his victory. The Varangians wanted to reap some benefit from their service, and they demanded payment. They may also have wanted to foment an uprising against Volodymyr, but he managed to defuse the crisis without allowing fighting to break out and ultimately left the Varangians with nothing. The story of the Varangians' leaving Volodymyr's service and heading for Byzantium may be true,¹³ but it may also be an echo of a subsequent episode, when Volodymyr dispatched a military force to assist Byzantium.¹⁴

* * *

Volodymyr had to spend the first years of his reign restoring the 'collapsed temple' of the Rus' state, which had suffered badly during the decade of boyar regencies (following the death of Olha) and required radical repairs. Unfortunately, accounts about this period in Volodymyr's reign and about the steps he took to achieve his goal are fragmentary and provide a very incomplete picture. From the first five years of Volodymyr's reign only the following events are recorded in the Chronicle.

In 981, Volodymyr annexed the lands that are now western Ukraine: 'Volodymyr went to the Poles and seized their fortified towns Peremyshl, Cherven, and other fortified towns.'¹⁵

Under 983, Volodymyr's campaign against the Yatvingians is linked with the story of the Kyivan martyrs. The Chronicle states that Volodymyr devastated the land of the Yatvingians ('and he took their land').¹⁶ These western campaigns will be discussed below.

Under 981–82, the Chronicle reports a war in the east. The Viatichians, whom Sviatoslav had forced to pay tribute, threw off Kyivan suzerainty after his death. The Chronicle states that Volodymyr vanquished them and forced them to pay the same tribute as they had paid in his father's time, but they rebelled once again. Volodymyr marched against them the following year and defeated them 'for the second time.'¹⁷ They probably retained their autonomy, however, and were obliged only to pay tribute.

Under 984, the Chronicle reports a war against the Radimichians, ancient subjects of Rus'. We do not know whether this generally undistinguished tribe had refused to recognize Kyivan overlordship, or if there had been an uprising, or (most probably) if this was a campaign

13. It is noteworthy that just at the time when the Varangians were supposed to have left Kyiv for Constantinople—according to the chronology of the Chronicle, in the fourth year of the reign of Emperor Basil—there is a reference in Byzantine sources to the arrival of some German prince: 'Petros, nephew of the emperor of the Franks' (in another passage, 'Petros, the legitimate nephew of the king of the Germans'). Kekaumenos, *Strategicon*, sec. 220. It is difficult to find such a prince among the Germans, but it is equally difficult to interpret this as a reference to a Varangian *konung*. See the commentary on this report in Vasil'evskii, 'Sovety i rasskazy,' p. 316ff.

14. Less likely, in my opinion, is the more recent suggestion made by Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 481) that this detail was transposed here from the narrative about the internecine strife among the sons of Volodymyr.

15. *Novg. I*, p. 31; *Hyp.*, p. 54.

16. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, pp. 26, 27, 147) believes that the story of the martyrs was taken from a written tale and added mechanically to that of the Yatvingian war. But the opposite could also be true, namely, that the Yatvingian campaign was linked with the story of the martyrs in the old tradition and that a record of it survived precisely because of that.

17. Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, p. 175) suggests that the second campaign against the Viatichians is a duplicate of the first, but there is no clear evidence of that.

against some prince or lieutenant who needed to be subdued, as had been the case with Rohvolod. The Radimichians were, of course, defeated. A popular saying was coined in connection with the expedition: 'The Pishchanians [the Radimichians on the Pischana River—M.H.] run from a wolf's tail.' The Chronicle explains that 'Wolf's Tail' was the name of one of Volodymyr's voivodes. It is likely, however, that this 'wolf's tail' was just that, a wolf's tail with which the Pishchanians' neighbors had mocked them from times immemorial, and that the reference to the name of a voivode was a linguistic myth made up to give the saying a basis in a real hero. In any case, inasmuch as the story of the wolf's tail was not included earlier, in Oleh's time, there must indeed have been a war with the Radimichians during Volodymyr's reign.

Under 985,* the Chronicle describes a campaign against the Bulgars. Scholars have expressed various theories about which Bulgars are meant, but it is clear that the Chronicle is referring to the Volga Bulgars. This is indicated by the participation in the campaign of the Torks [Oghuz], who could not then have been on the Danube. The *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr* (and the *Life of St. Volodymyr*, which is regarded as its source) calls these Bulgars the 'Silver Bulgars,' a name associated with the Volga Bulgars.¹⁸ Clearly, we have here a continuation of Sviatoslav's eastern expeditions. Volodymyr sent his troops by boat (along the Oka and Volga Rivers), while his allies, the Volga Torks, who appeared in these lands after the fall of the Khazar Empire, followed overland. The Chronicle relates an anecdote associated with the campaign. It quotes Dobrynia as saying to Volodymyr: 'I have looked over the prisoners and they are all wearing boots [i.e., they are too grand for us—M.H.]. These people are not the sort to pay us tribute. Let us rather go look for people who wear bast shoes.' Accordingly, Volodymyr made peace with the Bulgars. The anecdote indicates that after their crushing defeat by Sviatoslav the Bulgars had once again grown wealthy and that Volodymyr had hoped to make them vassals of Rus'. Yet, even though he defeated them, Volodymyr was obliged to forego that plan. Instead, he concluded a peace treaty with them and returned home. In addition to the campaign against the 'Silver Bulgars,' the 'Old *Life of St. Volodymyr*' describes an expedition against the Khazars.¹⁹ Though historians have ignored this account, regarding it as a distorted reference to Sviatoslav's campaigns, I do not think it should be rejected. In light of the formation of the Tmutorokan Principality and the situation in the Crimea, a war with the remnants of the Khazars was quite possible.

Concerning subsequent years, the same *Life* (as well as the *Memorial and Encomium*) contains a laconic reference to some expedition 'to the cataracts' in the second year after

* [The original has 984, which, given the Primary Chronicle's chronology and Hrushevsky's own sequencing, is presumably a typographical error.—Eds.]

18. Cf. *Hyp.*, p. 56 [The original has p. 423, which is an error.—Eds.]. Some scholars have put forward the view that they were the Danubian Bulgars—for example, Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1: 167; Linnichenko, 'Sovremennoe sostoianie voprosa'; Uspenskii, review of Rozen, p. 295 (he corrected *Serebrenyia* 'Silver' to *Serbiansy* 'Serbians'); and Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia*, 175. Accepting the theory that this was a campaign against the Danubian Bulgars would mean that Volodymyr interfered in Byzantium's war with Bulgaria, taking the side of Byzantium, even before he entered into negotiations with Constantinople. However, Yahya b. Sa'id al-Antaki is very clear on the point that before these negotiations began, relations between Volodymyr and Byzantium were hostile.

19. 'He conquered the Yatvingians [*Jatvigny* instead of *Jatvjagy*—M.H.] and the Silver Bulgars, and he campaigned against the Khazars, vanquished them, and imposed tribute on them'—Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 16.

Volodymyr's baptism, perhaps to secure safe passage along the Dnipro to the Crimea and Byzantium in view of the relations he had established with Byzantium at the time. The Chronicle also mentions a campaign against the Croats under 993.*

Just how successful Volodymyr was in his endeavors is evident from a passing reference in the Chronicle to the domains that he distributed among his sons. Not only did he gain control over the domains that comprised the Rus' state, but he also strengthened Kyiv's links with most of these territories by installing in their capitals his own sons instead of the 'illustrious and grand' princes of earlier times, who occasionally assumed too much power and became wholly independent. Volodymyr thus bound his realm with dynastic ties. In that policy, his large family stood him in good stead. By his numerous wives he had twelve sons, whom as youths he seated in his principal towns to rule under the tutelage of various boyars, as he himself in his youth had ruled in Novgorod. The Chronicle lists Volodymyr's sons as rulers in the following domains: Vysheslav and later Iaroslav in Novgorod, Sudyslav in Pskov, Iziaslav in Polatsk, Stanyslav in Smolensk, Sviatopolk in Turiv (the Drehovichian land), Vsevolod in Volodymyr (Volhynia, together with Carpathian Rus' and the lands bordering on Poland), Mstyslav in Tmutorokan (the Don region, the Crimean and Caucasian domains), Iaroslav and later Borys in Rostov (the center of the Meria colonies), and Hlib in Murom (the capital of the colonies on the Oka).²⁰ Volodymyr's direct rule extended over the middle Dnipro region—the lands of the Polianians, Siverianians, Radimichians, and the newly subdued Viaticians. The last of these paid tribute, but probably retained their own princes (a century later we encounter a mysterious 'Khodota and his son' here).

When we compare the territory over which Volodymyr exercised direct control with the territory held by Kyivan dynasts under Sviatoslav (the lands of the Polianians and Derevljanians, and perhaps the Siverianians and Novgorod), we see significant progress in the evolution of a unified state. This work must have taken some time and could not have been accomplished without warfare. References to wars with Polatsk, the Radimichians, Viaticians, and campaigns into the western borderlands are merely fragmentary and chance echoes of that aspect of Volodymyr's activity.

The Chronicle should contain much more information about the western campaigns, in particular. Instead, it contains short entries about three campaigns—against the Poles, against the Yatvingians, and against the Croats—followed by the statement that Volodymyr lived (in the latter part of his reign) in peace 'with the surrounding princes: with Bolesław of Poland and Stephen of Hungary and Oldřich [Udalrich] of Bohemia.'²¹ In addition, the later Galician-Volhynian Chronicle notes in connection with Danylo's campaigns against Kalisz that before Danylo, no one had advanced so far into 'the Polish land' except 'Volodymyr the Great.'²² That is all the information our historical sources offer. Western sources report only that relations between Volodymyr and Bolesław I the Brave of Poland were strained. In 992, Bolesław could not come to the assistance of Emperor Otto because he anticipated a great war

* [Some authors call the Croats (*Khorvaty*), thought to be a Rus' tribe, the 'White Croats' or 'Khorvatians.' See chap. 4 for Hrushevsky's discussion of the question concerning the Rus' Croats.—Eds.]

20. Pskov and Smolensk are not mentioned in the older manuscripts of the Chronicle (the group including the Hypatian, Laurentian, and Novgorod I Chronicles). They are included only in the following chronicles: *Sophia I* in *PSRL*, 5: 72; *Voskr.* in *PSRL*, 7: 313; *Nikon.* in *PSRL*, 9: 57; and *Tver.* in *PSRL*, 15: 143. That Sudyslav reigned in Pskov is evident from a later reference (under 1036), and this lends credibility to the information about Smolensk.

21. *Lavr.*, p. 124; *Hyp.*, p. 87.

22. *Hyp.*, p. 505.

with Rus'.²³ Thietmar mentions Bolesław's campaign against Rus' in 1013, but gives neither the reasons for the war nor its outcome.

The most important information about these campaigns is the reference in the Chronicle under the year 981: 'Volodymyr went to the Poles and seized their fortified towns Peremyshl, Cherven, and other fortified towns, which even to this day are under Rus''²⁴—a passage that has presented great difficulties for historians.

The meaning of the passage is clear: Volodymyr campaigned against the Poles and captured Peremyshl, Cherven, and other towns. It cannot be understood to mean anything else without twisting and stretching the text. The chronicler must have regarded these towns as Polish only in the political and not in the ethnic sense, because he must have known at least that much about Rus' colonization in the west. Attempts to read the passage to mean that Volodymyr occupied Polish towns as well as Peremyshl, Cherven, and other towns ('their fortified towns [as well as] Peremyshl' and so on) go against ancient sentence structure, in which punctuation played no role. This is merely an exercise in stretching the text to salvage the Chronicle's reliability by separating Peremyshl and other towns from 'Polish fortified towns.' But there is little to be gained by stretching the meaning of the text in such a manner.

If the correction is not made, however, and Peremyshl, Cherven, and the 'other fortified towns' are taken to be Polish towns, the Chronicle account presents another difficulty. In the 980s, when Volodymyr is reported to have taken Peremyshl and Cherven from Poland, the Cracow land was held by the Czechs. We are told this by the Czech chronicler Cosmas of Prague.²⁵ Polish historians have questioned his report,²⁶ but there is corroborating evidence in another contemporary account, that of the geographer Ibrahim b. Ya'qub, who also included Cracow among the Czech towns and called the Polish prince, Mieszko, 'the ruler of the north.'²⁷ There is no indication whether the Cracow lands had previously belonged to the Polish state. We do know that this state was comprised of the lands of Great Poland, whereas Cracow belonged to Mieszko's successor, Bolesław I the Brave. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian towns between the Sian and the Buh Rivers could have come under Polish rule only when Poland gained control over Little Poland. It is highly unlikely that Poland could have occupied this Ukrainian wedge without controlling Little Poland, or that it could have retained the region after the Czechs took over Little Poland.²⁸ Nor is it likely that Poland could have held

23. *Annales Hildesheimenses*, p. 69 ('to be sure, a great war against the Rus' awaited him [Bolesław]'); Thietmar, *Chronicon* 6.55.

24. *Novg. I*, p. 31; *Lavr.*, p. 80; *Hyp.*, p. 54.

25. Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum* 1.33. On this basis, Roepell (*Geschichte Polens*, 1: 144) was the first to suspect that the information in the Chronicle that the Cherven towns were seized from the Poles was an error.

26. Małecki, 'Kościelne stosunki,' p. 197; Kętrzyński, 'Granice Polskie,' p. 3.

27. Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri,' p. 47. His account dates from the third quarter of the tenth century. Scholars disagree about the exact date of his journey to the Slavic lands. Some accept 965, while others accept 973. For a fairly extensive bibliography on Ibrahim b. Ya'qub, see Jacob, *Ein arabischer Berichterstatter*, p. 9, and Vestberg, *Kommentarii na zapisku*, p. 3ff; for various theories regarding the year of his journey, see *ibid.*, p. 72ff. Zakrzewski ('Studia nad starożytnościami polskimi') has tried to cast doubt on Ibrahim b. Ya'qub's account about Cracow (or, rather, has announced his intention to do so), but so far this account has not been refuted.

28. Such conjectures were put forward by Potkański, in his 'Kraków przed Piastami' (also in a revised version, under the same title), 'Granice biskupstwa Krakowskiego,' and 'Przywilej z 1086 roku.' He accepted the Chronicle entry for 981 as reliable and attempted to reconcile it with the fact that Cracow was then part of the Czech state (Bohemia) by arguing that only Cracow and its surrounding vicinity belonged to the Czechs; eastern Little Poland, along with western Rus', were then controlled by Mieszko, who held them even after the Czechs had seized Cracow, and, Potkański

Peremyshl if it did not hold Cracow. Hence, the information in the Chronicle that Volodymyr captured these Rus' towns 'from the Poles' is questionable.

Perhaps, however, these towns belonged to the Czech realm and the Chronicle's reference to the 'Liakhy' should be read to mean the Czechs? Czech historians do, in fact, include Carpathian Rus' within the borders of the Czech state of that period. As evidence they cite a founding charter of the Diocese of Prague issued in 1086 by Emperor Henry IV, allegedly as a confirmation of an earlier charter from the reign of Otto. This charter does, indeed, name the Buh and Styr Rivers as the borders of the Prague diocese.²⁹ Such an unusual extension of the Prague diocese eastward has been interpreted to mean that the diocese's borders coincided with the borders of the Czech realm. If this were the case, the Buh and Styr would indeed have marked the boundary of the Czech state at the time of the establishment of the Prague bishopric, that is, in the 970s. To lend greater credibility to the theory, some scholars corrected the Styr to read the Stry River.³⁰

We now know, however, that such boundaries for the Diocese of Prague were not authentic and that no such charter was issued during Otto's reign. It was a fabrication devised in the final quarter of the eleventh century to support the claims that the Bishopric of Prague advanced to the Moravian diocese at that time.³¹ But the reason for including Galician Rus' (in the northwest, the Buh and Styr mark the border between Galician Rus' and Volhynia) remains a mystery open to various conjectures.³² There is every likelihood that the inclusion derived from the historical tradition of Czech-Moravian rule in the lands of Little Poland. It is possible that in the tenth

maintained, it was only in 981 that Volodymyr seized these Rus' domains. Szelągowski (*Najstarsze drogi z Polski*) has tried to prove the possibility that Great Poland annexed western Ukraine through Mazovia before it annexed Little Poland. But these are all far-fetched hypotheses, based solely on the described entry in the Chronicle, and are marked by artificiality and arbitrariness. Is it likely that, given the expansion of the Czech state in the second half of the tenth century, it would have confined itself to taking only the vicinity of Cracow and allowed Mieszko to rule eastern Little Poland and Galician Rus' for decades right under its very nose? Equally unlikely is that Mieszko's realm stretched as far as the Carpathians in a wedge between the Czech and Rus' states. The only basis for believing that eastern Little Poland belonged to Mieszko in the mid-tenth century is the argument that if Mieszko held the Cherven towns, he must also have held Little Poland. The same Chronicle entry is cited as evidence that the Czechs controlled only the vicinity of Cracow. Potkański ('Przywilej z 1086 roku,' p. 25) wrote: 'The information provided by the so-called Nestor, which I cite, is reliable and is probably based on some annalistic record.' He could offer nothing more to confirm the claim. See also my reviews of Potkański's studies in *ZNTSh*, vols. 26 and 59.

29. 'From that place to the east, it has these rivers as borders, that is, the Buh and the Styr (*Ztir*), with the city of Cracow [included]' —Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum* 1.37. Apart from Cosmas, a copy of the charter, with some differences, is found in the Munich State Archives; it has been published by Stumpf-Brentano in *Acta imperii*, vol. 3, no. 76.

30. Palacký, *Dějiny narodu českého*, 1, pt. 1: 252; Dudík, *Mährens allgemeine Geschichte*, 2: 383 sd.; Tomek, *Děje Království Českého*, vol. 1, chap. 12; and others.

31. Dümmler, *Pilgrim von Passau*; Loserth, 'Der Umfang des böhmischen Reiches.' For earlier works, see Regel, 'Uchreditel'nye gramoty prazhskoi eparkhii,' and Kętrzyński, 'Granice Polskie,' p. 4. More recent works include Bachmann, 'Beiträge zur Böhmens Geschichte,' who also questions the authenticity of the privileges of 1086; Kaloušek, 'O listine císaře Jindřicha'; Potkański, 'Przywilej z 1086 roku'; Pekař, 'K sporu o zakládací listinu'; Szelągowski, *Kwestia ruská*.

32. The most likely explanation, in my opinion, is that the compilers of the founding charter added the western Rus' lands to Cracow under the influence of their still fresh recollection that just a short time before, Bolesław II the Bold had attempted to annex the region to Poland. This view, which I expressed in the first Ukrainian-language edition of this volume, was developed further by Potkański in his 'Przywilej z 1086 roku,' in which he argued that the designation of the Buh and Styr Rivers as the border described the lands seized by Bolesław the Bold. In that case, however, the description does not reflect the actual border. Moreover, we have no reliable evidence that Bolesław the Bold had in fact occupied the western Rus' lands (see vol. 2, chap. 2, of this *History*).

century, some borderland Ukrainian regions belonged to the Czech state along with Cracow. But it is very difficult—well-nigh impossible—to accept that the whole of Galician Rus' was part of the Czech state in the tenth century. Nor is the interpretation that the Chronicle meant Czechs when it referred to Poles in the entry under 981 very helpful, inasmuch as scholars have long since observed correctly that the Chronicle was well aware of the distinction between Poles and Czechs.

We need not, however, take every word of the Chronicle's account literally. This portion of the Chronicle dates from approximately the end of the eleventh century. In an attempt to lend it greater credibility, some defenders of the report (especially among Polish historians) have put forward the theory that in this passage the chronicler made use of some earlier annalistic record. That interpretation, however, has no confirmation in the report itself or anywhere else in this section of the Chronicle.³³ Even if we accept that the chronicler used some earlier tradition as his source, we have no way of knowing what this tradition was in its original form—that is, whether the towns mentioned in the earlier source had also been seized 'from the Poles.' At every step of the way, we encounter traces of the personal conjectures of the Chronicle's compilers, and the entry's reference to 'Poles' may well have been the result of such a conjecture.

We must remember that the Chronicle was compiled when the memory of the wars waged by the Rus' princes against Poland over the 'Cherven towns' and other western borderlands was still very fresh. It would have been quite natural for the chronicler to date one such war several decades earlier and, in an attempt to explain how Volodymyr incorporated the lands west of the Buh into the Rus' state, to conjecture that he had seized them 'from the Poles'—especially as the chronicler must have known about Volodymyr's campaigns against Poland if the author of the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle still remembered them in the thirteenth century.³⁴ This earlier dating in itself is therefore not sufficient reason for us to reject the Chronicle's report that in the beginning of his reign Volodymyr did indeed campaign in the west to recapture the western borderlands. Kyiv may have had political control over these western lands at an earlier time and then lost the region. Volodymyr may thus have had to use military force to reestablish Kyiv's hegemony over this territory. But were these borderlands then even partly under Czech control? That is possible, but we have no definite knowledge that this was so. On the other hand, in light of the above discussion, their political dependence on Poland appears very dubious.

The western boundary of Volodymyr's acquisitions is described in a well-known document—the grant made by Mieszko's widow, Oda (992–96), in which she reports that the borders of Poland stretch from the Baltic Sea, along the border with the Prussians, 'as far as the place called Rus', and the borders of Rus' extend as far as Cracow.'³⁵ The northern portion

33. See also Excursus 1.

34. In his analysis of the Chronicle, Shakhmatov, too, has now concluded that the entry about the annexation of the lands west of the Buh is probably based 'on recollections evoked by the events of 1031, when Iaroslav and Mstyslav "once again seized the Cherven towns."' Pointing out that exactly fifty years had passed between 981 and the entry under 1031, Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia*, pp. 461–62) surmises that the chronicler arrived at the year 981 by subtracting an even fifty years from 1031. But Shakhmatov believes that this entry belongs to the 'Oldest Kyivan Compilation' (1039), which may not be the case: it may have been added during the subsequent insertion of years into the Chronicle. It is noteworthy that in listing Volodymyr's campaigns the 'Old Life' (and the *Memorial and Encomium*) omits the expedition against the Poles as well as that against the Croats.

35. '...from the first side, a long sea, along the border of Prussia as far as the place called Rus', and the borders of Rus' extend as far as Cracow, and from the said Cracow as far as the Oder River.' The document—or, more precisely, the contents of it—is contained in the collection of Cardinal Deusdedit from the final quarter of the eleventh century. It has been published many times, most recently by Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonensammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, 1: 199. A recent study of the document—Łodyński, 'Dokument "Dagome iudex"'—also contains a bibliography.

of this border is described and thereby confirmed by Thietmar of Merseburg, a contemporary, who states that St. Bruno of Querfurt died in 1009 on the border between 'Prussia and Rus'.³⁶ Of course, in these accounts, the name Rus' is applied to these lands only because they belonged to the Kyivan Rus' state: Oda's grant describes political rather than ethnic borders. In light of the reports of Volodymyr's campaigns into the sub-Carpathian lands and into the Buh region (against the Yatvingians), we have to conclude that this is where the borders of Volodymyr's realm lay, although it is possible that he merely restored them rather than seized new territories. In the west and northwest, these borders coincided with those of East Slavic colonization, perhaps incorporating some territory that had belonged to the Lithuanian tribes, and included mixed Polish-Ukrainian borderlands. The taking of Peremyshl, Cherven, and other towns and the war with the Yatvingians are merely individual episodes in Volodymyr's endeavors in this sphere. We do not know whether he clashed with Poland over this issue or not.

We can speak with certainty about conflicts with Poland only from the time when the Polish throne was occupied by Bolesław I the Brave.³⁷ Because no details about these hostilities between Poland and Rus' are known, I shall confine myself to the supposition that the cause of the clash may have been Volodymyr's annexation of borderlands with a mixed population and, possibly, some Polish territories. That is to say, the situation may have resembled Bolesław's relations with the Czechs, in which Bolesław, not content merely to take back the Polish lands seized by the Czechs, attempted to incorporate into Poland lands that were part of the Czech realm proper. Bolesław's intentions are clearly revealed in an event following Volodymyr's death, when the Polish ruler captured the so-called Cherven towns, i.e., the upper Buh region, and probably also the lands on the upper Dnister. It is likely that the original hostility between Bolesław and Volodymyr had arisen precisely on these grounds. Perhaps these relations were also somehow linked with the Polish-Czech conflict, which was then the central issue in Polish political life. As we have seen from German sources, by 992 war between Rus' and Poland seemed imminent. The Chronicle reports a campaign against the Croats under 993; perhaps this 'Croat war' survived as an echo of a war with Poland. But it could just as easily have been an echo of some other war—with the Czechs or with Hungary—over Carpathian Ukraine.³⁸

A later Ukrainian chronicler refers to Volodymyr's campaigns deep inside Poland. Such actions seem to fit best into this period. We do not know the outcome of these expeditions, but the reference to Volodymyr's campaigns inside Poland—which we have no reason to reject—suggests that Volodymyr held the upper hand in the conflict. That is quite likely, given the strength of Volodymyr's state and the fact that other political matters (a war with the Polabian Slavs and Czechs and, later, with Germany) were keeping Bolesław busy at the time and dividing his forces and energies.³⁹ I regard the Chronicle's reference to the subsequent accord between Volodymyr and Bolesław I the Brave as an allusion to the fact that after the two had fought their first battle, circumstances compelled Bolesław to concentrate all his forces

36. 'in confinio predictae regionis (Prucia) et Rusciae'—Thietmar, *Chronicon* 6.58.

37. The conflict with Mieszko I is also referred to in Ioakim's Chronicle (Tatishchev, *Istoriia rossiiskaia*, 1: 38), but that source is much too unreliable to serve as a basis for any theory.

38. Szelągowski ('Granica Polski i Rusi' and *Kwestia ruska*) tries to attribute greater weight to the Croat war, claiming that the entry under 981 is combinational in nature. But the arguments he offers in support of his conjectures are generally weak and made without adequate knowledge of the issues involved.

39. The short references by the later annalists Helmold (*Chronica Slavorum* 1.15: 'he imposed a tribute on all Slavs beyond the Oder, but also on the Rus' and the Prussians') and Kadubek (*Chronicon Polonorum* 2.12) to the effect that Bolesław conquered Rus' are no more than exaggerated echoes of the campaigns he waged against Rus' after the death of Volodymyr.

against the German emperor (1003), thereby obliging him to conclude peace with Volodymyr. This is confirmed by the unquestionably reliable report by the German annalist Thietmar of Merseburg that Bolesław gave his daughter in marriage to Volodymyr's son Sviatopolk.

The marriage did not improve relations between the two princes, however, and the peace was not a lasting one. Thietmar relates that Sviatopolk entered into secret negotiations with Bolesław, and, at the latter's instigation, was preparing to rebel against his father. But Volodymyr learned of the plan in time and imprisoned his son, along with his wife and her chaplain, Bishop Reinbern, who had been appointed to her service by Bolesław. Volodymyr naturally suspected that Reinbern had played a part in the plot.⁴⁰ It is very likely that by sowing such strife within the Kyivan dynasty, Bolesław hoped to gain the Ukrainian lands he wanted, and, indeed, he achieved his goal, though only after Volodymyr's death.

We do not know when these intrigues in Volodymyr's family were uncovered. We know only that shortly before he died Volodymyr again clashed with Poland. In 1013, Bolesław made peace with the German emperor and set out against Rus', with Germans and Pechenegs as his allies. But during the march eastward, fighting broke out between the Poles and the Pechenegs, and Bolesław ordered all the Pechenegs killed. That put an end to the campaign, the only result of which was the devastation of Rus' lands.⁴¹ In another passage, Thietmar suggests that Bolesław took the part of his son-in-law Sviatopolk,⁴² and it is possible that the campaign of 1013 was waged for that purpose.⁴³ But Bolesław must also have had a broader motive, which became clear several years later, and his interference in Volodymyr's family affairs may have served merely as a pretext for his political goal of territorial expansion.

That is how matters stood with Poland. We know even less—in fact, nothing—about the Ukrainian lands south of the Carpathians. The Ukrainian lands on the northern slopes of the Carpathians were organically bound with the Transcarpathian region, and the annexation of the former almost certainly meant the annexation of the latter to the Kyivan state—that is, if a stable and crystallized Ukrainian colonization existed at the time, which we cannot claim with certainty. The Chronicle entry cited above states that in the second half of his reign Volodymyr lived in peace 'with the surrounding princes,' Bolesław I the Brave of Poland, Stephen of Hungary, and Oldřich⁴⁴ of Bohemia. Volodymyr must have had direct contacts with the Czech state when it ruled Cracow (during the reign of Boleslav II of Bohemia). Perhaps there were conflicts between the two as well, and therein may lie the roots of the report about Volodymyr's campaign against the Croats.⁴⁵ If Volodymyr's state also had direct contacts with Hungary, and if there were political clashes between them (the Chronicle account may hint at such), they could have occurred beyond the Carpathians as well.⁴⁶ Here, too, however, the chronicler may be indulging in a retrospective interpretation from the standpoint of later relations with Hungary.

40. Thietmar, *Chronicon* 7.52.

41. Thietmar, *Chronicon* 6.55.

42. '...he [Bolesław] did not refrain from exacting as much revenge as he could'—Thietmar, *Chronicon* 7.52.

43. Linnichenko (*Vzaimnye otnosheniia*, p. 85) conjectured that the purpose of Bolesław's 1013 campaign was to capture Sviatopolk. It is more likely, however, that Sviatopolk's arrest was the reason for the campaign.

44. 'Andrikh' in *Lavr.*, p. 124; in others, erroneously, 'Andronik' (*Hyp.*, p. 87).

45. About the Czech Croats, see above, pp. 160–62.

46. Szelągowski (*Najstarsze drogi z Polski*) has tried to prove that there was no direct communication between Ukrainian Galicia and the basin of the upper Vistula by tracing the western routes from Ukraine through Hungary. That argument, however, appears very far-fetched.

* * *

I have already noted that in the Chronicle, most of the wars that Volodymyr waged to rebuild the Rus' state are reported at the beginning of his reign, in the first five years of it. However meager and random those reports might be, and however conventional the dating of Volodymyr's campaigns to that period might have been, grouping his wars in the first years of his reign was probably not arbitrary. In later years, two matters preoccupied Volodymyr, relegating everything else to a secondary role. The first was his war with the Pechenegs, of which I spoke,⁴⁷ indicating the great strain it placed on Rus' and the constant threat it posed. The episodes about it related in the Chronicle are only occasional details retained in popular memory about that difficult struggle: 'for there was continuous heavy fighting.' Given the ongoing war, Volodymyr had his hands full just protecting his earlier territorial acquisitions. The second matter, a very important aspect of Volodymyr's activity, arose unexpectedly in 987, out of his relations with Byzantium.

The last preceding reference to these relations recorded in our sources is the treaty of 971 between Sviatoslav and Byzantium. What followed is shrouded in oblivion. We can conjecture that, in concluding the treaty, both sides were insincere and therefore the agreement did not lead to good relations. Byzantium was suspected of having been involved in Sviatoslav's death, and a well-informed contemporary, Yahya b. Sa'id al-Antaki, tells us that, after Sviatoslav's death, relations between Rus' and Byzantium were not amicable.⁴⁸ However, an imminent threat forced Byzantium to turn to Rus' for help. That was not an unusual step, as evidenced by records of various such overtures in the past, beginning from the times of Oleh and including the plea to Sviatoslav to give assistance against the Bulgars. Now, however, Byzantium needed help against internal enemies, who posed an even greater danger. Bardas Phokas (nephew of Emperor Nikephoros Phokas), whom we mentioned in connection with his earlier rebellion, rebelled once again. Emperor Basil II, the grandson of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, who ruled jointly with his brother Constantine after the death of John Tzimiskes, had sent Bardas Phokas against Bardas Skleros, who had proclaimed himself emperor in Asia Minor immediately after the death of Tzimiskes (976). Phokas had overthrown Skleros and had assumed an all-powerful role in Asia Minor. When his relations with Emperor Basil deteriorated, Phokas proclaimed himself emperor, in September 987. His rebellion succeeded, and by the end of that year his armies stood on the Bosphorus. It was in the face of this threat that Basil turned to his powerful neighbor, Volodymyr.

Volodymyr agreed to help, but demanded that the Byzantine co-rulers give him their sister in marriage. Basil agreed on the condition that Volodymyr adopt Christianity, and Volodymyr

47. See above, pp. 183–84.

48. Rozen, *Imperator Vasiliu Bolgaroboitsa*, p. 177. However, this information, noted in passing, may very well be a general description of Rus'-Byzantine relations, and we should not place undue weight on its significance. Some scholars, including Uspenskii, have tried to find indications in Byzantine sources that Volodymyr initially supported the Bulgars against Byzantium, until he himself entered into an alliance with the Byzantine Empire. In fact, however, there is no evidence of this. Uspenskii cites use of the term 'Scythian' by Leo the Deacon (10.8) in his description of events under 986 ('Scythian vernacular' [literally 'Scythian custom'], 'of the Scythian sword') and believes that these Scythians were in fact the Rus'. But Uspenskii himself admits (*Obrazovanie vtorogo bolgarskogo tsarstva*, p. 123) that in one passage Leo applies the name 'Scythian' to the Bulgars. Clearly, therefore, the passage cannot be regarded as proof. On the reason why Volodymyr's campaign against the Bulgars cannot be applied to the Danubian Bulgars, as Uspenskii and others claim, see above, p. 370.

consented to do so. Agreement must have been reached at the end of 987 or, at the latest, in the first months of 988, because in the spring or summer of that year Volodymyr sent an auxiliary force to Basil, which enabled Basil to defeat Bardas Phokas and drive him from the coast. The following spring, in the battle at Abydos, in which the Rus' troops also took part, Phokas was killed.⁴⁹ The Rus' contingent, probably made up of soldiers of various nationalities—Slavs, Northmen, and others—remained in Byzantium. Two contemporaries, a Syrian, Yahya b. Sa'id al-Antaki, and an Armenian, Stephen of Taron (Asoghik), write that the same contingent took part in Byzantium's Asian campaigns of 999–1000. Stephen of Taron also relates that this was the same military force that Emperor Basil had requested from the emperor of Rus' when he gave him his sister in marriage. It was then, states Stephen of Taron, that Rus' 'believed in Christ.' According to him, the Rus' force numbered 'six thousand foot soldiers, armed with spears and shields.'⁵⁰ From that time on, until the last quarter of the eleventh century, a 'Rus', or 'Varangian,' corps became a customary unit in the Byzantine army. These Varangians served as the imperial guards. Their place was later taken by other western soldiers, in particular Englishmen, who assumed the Varangian name.⁵¹

Once he had obtained Volodymyr's assistance and succeeded in defeating Phokas, Basil was in no hurry to keep his promise to give his sister in marriage to Volodymyr. The Byzantines believed that their emperor was infinitely superior to all other rulers in the world, no matter how powerful or famous. The Rus' prince, despite his power, was not held in great esteem in Byzantine diplomatic circles. A Byzantine court manual from the mid-tenth century reveals that the Rus' prince was to be addressed with less ceremony than the Khazar kagan, let alone the Bulgarian emperor.⁵² To marry 'a daughter born in the purple [Porphyrogennite] of the Byzantine emperor who was also born in the purple' to a northern barbarian was regarded as

49. The question has been raised whether Volodymyr merely sent troops or whether he himself led the campaign to Byzantium. The latter possibility originates from the account of Ibn al-Athir (see below). The same is related by al-Makin b. al-'Amid and the Latin translation of Skylitzes. It is very likely, however, that these are inaccuracies introduced by compilers, similar to others found in al-Makin. Yahya and Skylitzes in Kedrenos do not say anything about Volodymyr's coming with his army. Yahya's account is especially important because it leaves no room to suppose that Volodymyr himself took part in the campaign, even if the reports of Ibn al-Athir and al-Makin were deliberate corrections rather than errors. Vasil'evskii ('Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 2') saw an allusion to Volodymyr's participation in the campaign in the text of Michael Psellos, but, in my opinion, without any grounds whatsoever. Uspenskii agreed that Volodymyr made an expedition to Constantinople, but that he did so later and not with an auxiliary force. That is a completely arbitrary conjecture (to be sure, Uspenskii expressed it very unclearly; see his review of Rozen, pp. 308–9). Bert'e-Delagard ('Kak Vladimir osazhdal Korsun') believes that Volodymyr set out at the head of his forces and that that was the reported campaign 'to the cataracts.' Volodymyr waited for the Greek princess on the lower Dnipro, and when she failed to arrive, he turned his army against Cherson. The princess arrived after he had captured Cherson, and Volodymyr then sent his troops to Byzantium. That, however, is in complete contradiction to our sources.

50. Yahya in Rozen, *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa*, p. 40; Stephen of Taron in Russian translation by Emin, *Vseobshchaia istoriia Stepanosa Taronского*, pp. 200–201.

51. See the comprehensive study on this subject by Vasil'evskii, 'Variago-russkaia i variago-angliiskaia družina' (reprinted in his *Trudy*, vol. 1).

52. The Rus' prince was addressed as follows: 'Letter from Constantine and Romanos, Christ-loving Roman emperors to the Rus' prince' (Γράμματα Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ῥωμανοῦ τῶν φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα Ῥωσίας), and a seal the size of two gold coins was attached. The same degree of ceremony was used to address the Hungarian prince and the Pecheneg prince. But the same letter addressed to the Khazar kagan bore a seal the size of three gold coins, and carried the added inscription: 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, the one and true God. Constantine and Romanos, his faithful-in-God Roman emperors, to the Most Noble and Most Glorious Kagan of Khazaria'—Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis* 2.48.

so dishonorable that it could be contemplated only in the face of the gravest danger. Now that the danger had passed, the emperor began to put off the unpleasant matter.

To force him to fulfill his promise, Volodymyr found the Achilles' heel in Byzantine-Rus' relations: Byzantium's Crimean possessions. As we have already seen, in the middle of the tenth century, during Ihor's reign and later, during Sviatoslav's, the Byzantine throne carefully guarded its interests against Rus' claims to its Crimean territories, which the Rus' had approached from the north and east, from the Khazar lands. Now Volodymyr decided to take advantage of this weak spot. He marched into the Crimea, surrounded its capital, Cherson, and after a long and difficult siege, captured it. The narrative in the Chronicle and a second, independent account known as the 'Cherson (Korsun) Legend,' which preserved certain wholly authentic details about the war alongside poetic and other literary elements, relate that Volodymyr surrounded the city and, in an attempt to take it by guile, ordered a bank of earth to be thrown up against its walls. But the ploy failed because the Chersonites burrowed under the walls and stole away the earth. A plan to starve the city and force it to surrender also failed, and the siege went on for six months with no success. Then one inhabitant's betrayal made it possible to cut off the water supply to the besieged city, forcing it to surrender.⁵³ The 'Cherson Legend' names a Varangian called Zhbern as the traitor. He shot an arrow into Volodymyr's camp with the message that boatmen were bringing water and provisions into the city. Volodymyr closed off the supply route with a ditch and thus forced the city to surrender. The Chronicle repeats the account of the message sent by arrow to Volodymyr, but identifies the traitor as Anastas [Anastasios], later a cathedral priest in Kyiv, where Volodymyr took him after Cherson surrendered. According to the Chronicle's account, which is probably the more credible of the two, Anastas revealed the location of the city's water supply lines, which Volodymyr blocked so as to cut off water to the city and force it to surrender.⁵⁴ The chronology in the Byzantine sources indicates that Cherson was captured sometime in the summer of 989.⁵⁵

Volodymyr's show of force produced the desired effect. The emperor received the unhappy news of Cherson's capture amid very difficult circumstances. After the death of Bardas Phokas, Bardas Skleros had once again gained the upper hand and had started another rebellion, while the Bulgars were pressing from the north. After the death of Tzimiskes, Shishman's son Simeon [Samuel] overran eastern Bulgaria, occupied it, and launched an assault on Byzantine possessions during Phokas's rebellion. At almost the same time that Cherson fell to the Rus', the Bulgarian forces captured Berroia, a Byzantine border stronghold in the theme of Thessalonike, and began to threaten Thessalonike itself, Byzantium's most important city after

53. A valuable commentary on the accounts about the siege of Cherson has been provided by Bert'e-Delagard in his 'Kak Vladimir osazhdal Korsun'; see also Golitsyn, 'Rechnoi i morskoi voennyi pokhod.' Bert'e-Delagard's remarks are valuable because of his detailed knowledge of the theater of war and the topography of old Cherson and its vicinity, though in most cases it is difficult to agree with his treatment of sources.

54. The two parallel episodes contained in the 'Cherson Legend' and in the Chronicle must be regarded as reworkings of the same subject. It is difficult to accept them both, as Bert'e-Delagard does. He believes that first, Volodymyr was warned by Zhbern, which allowed him to interrupt the food supply, that then he began to build the bank of earth against the city walls, and that, finally, Anastas advised him to cut off the water mains.

55. According to a contemporary, Leo the Deacon (10.10), the pillars of fire seen in the sky on 7 April 989 (Yahya in Rozen, *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa*, pp. 28–29) foretold trouble, and, indeed, the Rus' took Cherson, and the Bulgars captured Berroia. In view of the fact that in Leo, the appearance of a comet on 27 July 989 foretells an earthquake (which occurred in October of that year), some scholars conjecture that Cherson was taken before the second comet appeared. See Vasil'evskii, 'Russko-vizantiiskie otrvyki. 2,' pp. 156–58; Rozen, *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa*, pp. 214–15.

Constantinople. Basil had no choice but to ‘cast pride from his heart.’ He opened negotiations with Skleros and showered him with various favors.⁵⁶ He was also forced to fulfill his promise to Volodymyr. The princess Anna was dispatched to Cherson, where she was married to Volodymyr, who then returned Cherson to Byzantium: ‘He gave Cherson back to the Greeks as a bride-gift for the empress,’ according to the Chronicle.

Such is the history of these events as revealed by combining the accounts in Ukrainian sources with those contained in the works of Byzantine and Arab authors. These latter sources provide the important information that discord arose between Basil and Volodymyr after their initial agreement and that Volodymyr, though he had already sent Byzantium an auxiliary force, seized Cherson,⁵⁷ but they do not tell us what prompted Volodymyr’s action. However, the principal foreign source, Yahya, distinguishes between the agreement concerning Volodymyr’s marriage and the wedding itself and states that Rus’ aid came following the agreement, not after the wedding. Also, the Ukrainian sources tell us clearly that Anna was given in marriage to Volodymyr only after the Cherson campaign.⁵⁸ In light of this, there can be no doubt that it was the delay in fulfilling the agreement regarding the marriage, which the Byzantine court found so disagreeable,⁵⁹ that was the cause of Volodymyr’s war with Byzantium.

In the midst of all these events, Volodymyr’s baptism apparently took place without much notice. Not only do foreign sources contain no detailed reports of the event,⁶⁰ but, what is even more unusual, a variety of reports about it circulated in Rus’ at the end of the eleventh century: ‘Now those who do not really know say that he was baptized in Kyiv, and others have said in Vasyliv, and still others tell it differently,’ states the Chronicle, and then assures us that Volodymyr was baptized in Cherson after the arrival of his betrothed. However, a different source—the ‘Old

56. Agreement with Skleros was reached in September 989—Yahya in Rozen, *Imperator Vasillii Bolgaroboitsa*, p. 25. Obviously, relations with Volodymyr had not yet been established, or the emperor would not have demeaned himself thus before a rebel.

57. Skylitzes in Kedrenos, 2: 444, in a reference to the part the Rus’ played in the war against Phokas, explains it thus: ‘For he [the emperor—M.H.] concluded an alliance with them and made their leader, Volodymyr, his brother-in-law through a marriage to his own sister.’ Read literally, it would appear that Volodymyr sent troops after his wedding, but such a parenthetical passage cannot be expected to provide exact details. Zonaras is even less explicit. Ibn al-Athir is more categorical: the emperors ‘asked him [Volodymyr—M.H.] for help and gave him their sister for a wife. But she did not want to marry a man of a different religion, so he adopted Christianity, and this was the beginning of Christianity in Rus’. After he married her, he went against Bardas Phokas, and they fought.’ But if we take into account the fact that Ibn al-Athir was compiling together different accounts, it is not difficult to see how he could have confused the agreement regarding the marriage before troops were sent with the actual wedding itself, which took place afterwards. Yahya is very clear about the agreement: ‘The emperor of Rus’ married the sister of the [Byzantine] emperor on condition that he be baptized.... The emperor sent him his sister. When the matter of the marriage was decided, the host of the Rus’ emperor came....’ As we see, the account is detailed, but, if misread in any way, it can be understood to mean that Volodymyr sent his troops after the wedding had taken place. That is how al-Makin, who utilized Yahya, presented it. Small wonder that in Ibn al-Athir, the matter is presented similarly. Hence we cannot attach any significance to these references. Given the clear information in Rus’ sources that Volodymyr’s marriage took place after his campaign against Cherson (see below), they must be rejected.

58. Local sources—the account about Volodymyr’s baptism in the Chronicle and the *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr* or its source—which are independent of each other and contradict each other on other points, agree on this point.

59. ‘It is an unheard-of thing that a porphyrogennite, that is, a daughter born in the purple of one born in the purple, should be joined to a foreigner’ was Constantinople’s response to a similar request from Otto the Great during the reign of Nikephoros (Liutprand, *Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam*, p. 350).

60. The Byzantines who write of Volodymyr’s marriage to the princess—not only Leo the Deacon and Psellos, but also Skylitzes in Kedrenos and Zonaras—remain silent about his baptism and that of Rus’.

Life of St. Volodymyr' (included in the monk Iakiv's *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr*), or, rather, the chronological list of Volodymyr's deeds included in it—clearly states that Volodymyr took Cherson 'in the third year' after his baptism. According to this *Life of St. Volodymyr*, the sole purpose of the Cherson campaign was to obtain Christians to preach and priests to baptize the land of Rus'. Its chronological list is no less reliable a source than the account in the Chronicle, whose author gives us no surety that his version is any more authentic than the versions of those who 'tell it differently.' When we also consider that, in light of the emperor's delaying tactics and excuses, Volodymyr would have had to do everything in his power to make certain that the Byzantine court had no pretext to justify such postponement (and Volodymyr's paganism would have headed the list), we are forced to conclude that Volodymyr was baptized before his show of military might to Byzantium, that is, before marching on Cherson.

The chronology of events leads to the same conclusion. The Chronicle relates Volodymyr's baptism under 988, but that entry is an amalgamation into one pragmatic account of events that occurred over a period of years; therefore, it cannot be relied upon to provide exact dates. The chronological list in Volodymyr's *Life* states that he was baptized ten years after the death of Iaropolk (who died in 978, according to that account), and that he lived for twenty-eight years after his baptism (d. 1015). This gives us the year 987. Cherson was taken in the summer of 989, according to Byzantine sources. According to the list in Volodymyr's *Life*, that event occurred in the third year after Volodymyr's baptism, i.e., in 989. As we see, the calculations in the list and in foreign sources are almost identical and corroborate one another. We can therefore conclude, with complete confidence, that Volodymyr was baptized before he attacked Cherson—in fact, quite a while before that event. Was it exactly two full years before that campaign, as the *Life* states? Judging by the sources cited above, that is not very likely, because the interval between Phokas's uprising and the capture of Cherson was not two years.⁶¹ But the list's calculations can be justified if we accept that Volodymyr was baptized at the beginning of [January style] 988 (987 according to the March style calendar),* and that the list's author reconciled years from the creation of the world with the years in between events, and in so doing, as often happened, counted incomplete years.⁶²

At his baptism, Volodymyr was given the name Basil (Vasyl), in honor of his future brother-in-law.

We do not know exactly where Volodymyr was baptized.⁶³ Earlier we noted that some claimed he was baptized in Kyiv, others said that it was in Vasyliv (modern Vasylkiv), and still others, that it was elsewhere. The simplest and most likely answer is probably Kyiv. The notion of Vasyliv, a town that may have taken its name from Volodymyr's new name, is very attractive, and perhaps it was just such a conjecture that gave rise to the report in the eleventh century that Volodymyr was baptized there.

61. To support the calculation, scholars move the Byzantine co-emperors' agreement with Volodymyr to the end of 986, to precede Phokas's rebellion. But Yahya tells us that the Byzantine co-rulers asked Rus' to provide them with assistance after Phokas had rebelled.

* [The March style calendar began the new year on 1 March rather than 1 January.—Eds.]

62. The point of departure for the calculations is also uncertain, as I show in Note 11, because we do not know whether Iaropolk actually died in 978. That date is only important, however, when it serves as the basis for the list's calculations. An error in it becomes meaningless if we accept the hypothesis that the list's author set the date of Volodymyr's baptism based on his count of years from the creation of the world. Moreover, other errors in the calculations are possible. At all events, the most important fact remains unchanged—namely, that Volodymyr's baptism occurred before his campaign against Cherson, and that it was separated from that campaign by a period of time.

63. For the bibliography on the date and circumstances of Volodymyr's baptism, see Note 12.

The baptism took place without great pomp or ceremony. Yet we have no reason to think that it was conducted *in secret*, as some scholars still believe, giving that as the reason why our sources are so uncertain regarding the event.⁶⁴ No significant grounds for such secrecy have been established.

* * *

Our early bookmen quite naturally presented Volodymyr's baptism as motivated solely by religious and moral considerations. 'The visitation of the Most High came down upon him,' says the earliest of them, Ilarion, in his *Sermon on Law and Grace*, '...and reason shone forth in his heart, so that he understood that the idols were vain and deceitful and false, and he sought the one God, the creator of all things visible and invisible.' The same approach is taken by the monk Nestor (in the *Lesson on the Life and Murder of the Blessed Passion-Sufferers Borys and Hlib*), who alludes to some sort of 'spona' (obstacle, misfortune) that God had set before Volodymyr so as to bring him to his senses and cause him to convert to the true faith: 'a divine manifestation did cause this Volodymyr to become a Christian.' The same general allusions to divine enlightenment and the influence of the Holy Spirit are repeated in other ancient documents. They are also the dominant theme of the Chronicle's account, which, until recently, served as the principal source for modern historiography, and therefore deserves special attention. In it, Volodymyr is depicted as an ardent champion of paganism and a notorious womanizer and debaucher, yet God's grace is upon him. Missionaries of various religions come to him and each attempts to persuade him to adopt his faith: Muslim Bulgars, 'Germans from Rome,' Khazar Jews, and, finally, a Greek 'philosopher.' However, Volodymyr refuses to be persuaded. He decides 'to find out about all faiths.' After conferring with his boyars and the 'town elders,' he sends out ten men to study the various religions. They observe the different rituals, and, upon their return, praise the Greek faith to Volodymyr. In support of their account, the boyars cite the example of the late princess Olha, who 'was wiser than all people,' and so Volodymyr decides to adopt Christianity. Yet, apparently for the sake of form, he marches on Cherson, forces the co-emperors to give him their sister in marriage, and announces his readiness to be baptized. Even though during the siege of Cherson Volodymyr swears to be baptized if he succeeds in taking the city, and even though the Greek emperors send their sister to him in return for his promise to adopt Christianity, he continues to vacillate. Only a miracle, in which his eyes are miraculously healed, finally leads him to be baptized. After his baptism in Cherson, he marries the Byzantine princess and returns to Kyiv, taking with him priests and many sacred objects from Cherson. Upon his return, he orders all pagan idols to be destroyed. He then assembles all the inhabitants of Kyiv at the Dnipro, and has the entire populace baptized.⁶⁵

64. Skulj ('Drei Fragen aus der Taufe') recently went so far in his conjectures as to claim that not only was Volodymyr's baptism a secret, but so, too, was the Byzantine co-emperors' agreement with him and their promise to give him their sister in marriage. He also thinks that Volodymyr's campaign took place with the emperors' connivance: the purpose of the Cherson diversion was to justify such a dishonorable action as the marriage of an emperor's daughter to Volodymyr in the eyes of the Byzantine populace; by betraying the city to Volodymyr, Anastas acted in accordance with the wishes of the emperors; and so on.

65. *Hyp.*, pp. 56–80.

The historical inaccuracy of this account has now been fully demonstrated. We have seen that, in fact, the initiative in Volodymyr's relations with Byzantium came from Byzantium rather than from Volodymyr, and that Volodymyr's marriage was not the culmination of his baptism, but the reason for his adoption of Christianity. In psychological terms, Volodymyr's conduct, as related by the Chronicle, is quite implausible.⁶⁶ The Chronicle combines various legends and various motivations for Volodymyr's baptism and layers them one on top of another, so that they interfere with and contradict one another. All the arguments of the Greek missionary, which clearly should have persuaded Volodymyr to accept Christianity, produce no results because Volodymyr puts the matter to a council of his boyars, which leads to his decision to send envoys to investigate the various faiths yet again. The motif of the envoys accumulates various arguments in favor of the Greek faith, but all these measures result in yet another boyar evaluation, which returns to the point that in itself could have convinced Volodymyr, without any need for further testing—that is, the example of the wise Olha (the motivation for Volodymyr's baptism cited by Iakiv in his *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr*). Thus, the campaign against Cherson that follows serves no purpose other than being a means to implement a firm decision already made (just as in the 'Old Life,' Volodymyr asks God to 'grant' him this city so that he might take from it priests and teachers of Christianity 'to my land'). Yet the subsequent history of the campaign clearly shows that Volodymyr had not reached a firm decision. The account introduces motifs from other versions of the event, in which the Cherson campaign serves Providence as a means of bringing Volodymyr to adopt Christianity quite independently of his intentions or plans. He avoids baptism until the very end, but illness and a miraculous cure finally bring him to Christ.

In the ancient tradition, the motif of the role of Providence in Volodymyr's baptism against his own will or intentions probably evolved on the basis of folk and poetic accounts of his love of women—his eroticism, to use current terminology. Only a few traces of this earlier Volodymyrian epos are reflected through the prism of the writings of church bookmen.⁶⁷ The account in the Chronicle describes Volodymyr's monstrous sexual appetite, which required not tens but hundreds of women, so that, not content with his harems, he also took the wives and daughters of his subjects.⁶⁸ Various fragments of old legends and songs describe his 'wooing'—the steps he took to seize a wife from various high and unattainable houses, measures that reveal a harsh and cruel streak and end with the prince's abuse of the proud beauty who had once rejected him. That is how he woos Rohnid (in the account cited above), the princess of Polatsk. After she rejects him, he seizes her by force: taking the city, he kidnaps Rohnid, dishonors her in front of her parents, and then kills her father. In the 'Cherson Legend,' he sends 'his voivode Oleh,' to the 'prince of Cherson' to ask for his daughter's hand. The prince mocks the 'pagan's' proposal, and so Volodymyr marches on Cherson, lays siege to it

66. Golubinskii discussed this aspect in detail in his analysis of the Chronicle account.

67. Golubinskii (*Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1: 146) tried to justify Volodymyr's hundreds of concubines by arguing that they were slaves kept for sale. In fact, what we have here is poetic hyperbole, which requires no justification.

68. Contemporary epics (*byliny*) retained only weak echoes of the theme. For example, in the epic about how Dunai tried to obtain for Volodymyr the hand of the daughter of the Lithuanian king, the proposed marriage takes second place to another episode: Dunai's duel with a *polianitsa*, the sister of Volodymyr's betrothed. In most variants of this epic, the Lithuanian king rejects Volodymyr's suit, and in some versions he speaks of him with contempt (e.g., Gil'ferding, *Drevnii Novgorod*, p. 102; *Belomorskie byliny*, p. 79); Dunai forces the king to give his consent by defeating him and his people. Other variants bear no trace of this principal theme, and the king immediately consents to the marriage. For literature on this subject, see above, p. 332, fn. 14, and the special study by Loboda, *Russkie byliny o svatovstve*.

for nine months, and, after capturing the city, ravishes the princess whose hand he had sought.⁶⁹ Afterwards he scorns her and gives her in marriage to the Varangian Zhbern, who had helped him capture the city, while he himself sets his sights even higher, at the Byzantine emperor's daughter. He sends Oleh and Zhbern to Constantinople to ask for the imperial princess's hand, and to deliver the threat that, if his suit is rejected, he will do to Constantinople what he has done to Cherson. When he succeeds in inducing the co-emperors to give him their sister, he plans to 'commit an offense' with her, as well, but Providence intervenes by rendering him blind, thus compelling him to be baptized. 'He was tempted by woman but ultimately he found God's grace,' concludes one variant, summarizing the leading motif of the story—namely, that Providence led Volodymyr to the true faith and salvation through his lust for women.

Leaving aside such spiritual, Providential interpretations of Volodymyr's conversion, we need to seek out more realistic and concrete motives for Volodymyr's actions as a ruler and a politician. So far, we have seen Volodymyr in the roles of politician and statesman in the full sense of these terms—in fact, he showed himself to be outstanding in those roles, in measures that go beyond our own history. Over the span of several years, he succeeded in rebuilding a disintegrated Rus' state. He then went on to unite that weakly connected system of lands by dynastic links, thus making it significantly stronger than it had been earlier. Consequently, without wholly disregarding the moral elements that might be involved, we need to look for the same state-building considerations in his other very important attainment—the adoption of Christianity. In such consummate politicians, reasons of state always lie at the heart of every undertaking.

We have seen that the initiative for an alliance originated in Byzantium. To Byzantium's request for assistance, Volodymyr responded with a request for the hand of the Byzantine princess. This seemingly modest request assumes its real significance when we view it from the perspective of tenth-century society. Not only did both Old and New Rome (Byzantium) regard themselves as above all other states and nations—as superpowers, as it were—and centers of the universe, but this view was shared by the 'barbarian' peoples. To them, Byzantium was the epitome of brilliance, glory, and culture, and the Byzantine emperor was the unattainable pinnacle of power, might, influence, and prestige, somewhat resembling Louis XIV in the eyes of contemporary Europe's greater and lesser potentates, only much more so. The Byzantine emperor represented the tradition of 'eternal Rome' and was surrounded by an aura of high culture, splendor, might, and unattainable magnificence. He was separated from mere mortals by a wall of elaborate ceremony and ritual, magically combining the ancient, classical, and Oriental elements that were inexpressibly alluring to the barbarian imagination. Hence, the barbarian rulers vied with one another in soliciting the Byzantine court, in the hope of garnering some of its splendor for themselves. Like planets that shine with the reflected light of the sun, they wanted to acquire some of that world center's glow for themselves, with which to shine before their barbarian subjects and raise their own prestige, power, and authority in their eyes. This was no mere childish desire for bright toys. The manner in which the barbarian states were organized made it a prime necessity that the prestige of the ruler's authority be raised, inasmuch as that prestige in primitive systems was usually low. It was with this purpose in mind that the

69. The 'Cherson Legend' describes the incident in particularly harsh detail: 'He seized the prince and princess of Cherson and took their daughter to his tent. He tied the prince and princess to the tent pole and committed an offense with their daughter before their eyes. Three days later, he ordered the prince and princess killed and gave their daughter to the boyar Zhbern.' The texts are in Shakhmatov, 'Korsunskaja legenda,' pp. 46–48.

barbarian kings and princes did their desperate best to obtain Byzantine regalia, titles, and princesses. There was hardly a European country whose insignia did not contain some 'Roman' crown or something else of the sort. Rus' was no exception.

The Byzantine polyhistorian Nikephoros Gregoras (fourteenth century) reported that some Rus' ruler (ὁ Ρωσικός) had allegedly been given the title of seneschal (τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης) in the time of Constantine the Great.⁷⁰ Clearly that would not have been possible in Constantine's time, but the report may harken back to some episode in which such a title was conferred on a Rus' prince of long ago.

Emperor Basil's grandfather, Constantine Porphyrogenetos, discussed in great detail how to avoid granting requests of this sort to barbarians. The advice is so characteristic of Rus'-Byzantine relations that it is worth citing here, especially because Constantine includes the Rus' among those aspiring to Byzantine honors. 'Should they ever require and demand, whether they be Khazars, or Turks [i.e., Hungarians—M.H.], or again the Rus', or any other nation of the northerners and Scythians, as frequently happens, that some of the imperial vesture or diadems or state robes (ὄτολαί) should be sent to them in return for some service or office performed by them, then thus you shall excuse yourself: "These robes of state and the diadems, which you call *kamelaukia*, were not fashioned by men but,...when God made emperor the former Constantine the great, who was the first Christian emperor, He sent him these robes of state by the hand of His angel, and the diadems,...and charged him to lay them in the great and holy church of God...called St. Sophia." From the Hagia Sophia they could never be removed nor passed on to anyone.'

'To meet another sort of demand, monstrous and unseemly,' continued the emperor, 'seemly and appropriate words discover and seek out. For if any nation of these infidel and dishonorable tribes of the north shall ever demand a marriage alliance with the emperor of the Romans, and either to take his daughter to wife, or to give a daughter of their own to be wife to the emperor or to the emperor's son, this monstrous demand of theirs also you shall rebuke with these words, saying: "Concerning this matter also a dread and authentic charge and ordinance of the great and holy Constantine is engraved." That prohibition forbids the emperor to intermarry with foreign and especially infidel and unbaptized peoples—with the sole exception of the Franks, added the emperor, in view of Otto's marriage to a Byzantine princess. Should anyone cite the fact that Emperor Romanos gave his granddaughter in marriage to the Bulgarian tsar Boris, he should be told that Romanos was an uneducated and illiterate fellow who had not been brought up at the palace, and that he was greatly disgraced because of that marriage and continues to be reviled.'⁷¹

As we see, Constantine included a reference to the Rus' princes, who had already earlier made demands for insignia from Byzantium. There is nothing strange in the fact that in the process of building the Rus' state, Volodymyr also sought some Byzantine cement for his structure. He wanted to become the Byzantine emperor's brother-in-law and to bask in the aura of the Byzantine court. We know that he ordered coins to be struck bearing his portrait in the regalia of an emperor. Although proof is lacking, we can safely assume that as a result of his familial relationship with the Byzantine court, he probably received a Byzantine title and some

70. Nikephoros Gregoras 7.5.1 (vol. 2, p. 239).

* [In the Ukrainian original Hrushevsky paraphrases part of this passage. The quotations given here are taken from the English translation by Moravcsik and Jenkins, pp. 67, 71.—Eds.]

71. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 13.

Byzantine insignia. That brings us to a legend that is very interesting from the standpoint of cultural history—the legend of the so-called regalia of Monomachos. I must digress about it briefly here.⁷²

A legend that Byzantine imperial regalia had been transferred to Rus' circulated widely in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its most popular version, which was compiled in literary form by Russian authors in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and subsequently adopted by the rulers of Muscovy as the basis for their right to the imperial title,⁷³ relates that Volodymyr Monomakh, following the example of earlier campaigns against Byzantium, sent an army against the Greeks that devastated the Byzantine lands. The terrified Byzantine emperor, Constantine Monomachos, dispatched envoys to Kyiv bearing gifts and an imperial crown. The envoys crowned Volodymyr Monomakh with this wreath, and he later handed down the imperial regalia to his descendants. According to some versions of the legend, Volodymyr instructed his heirs to safeguard the regalia, but not be crowned with them until such time as God sent a 'tsar.' That tsar turned out to be Ivan IV, who used the legend to justify taking the imperial title.⁷⁴

The legend is undoubtedly of fairly recent vintage, for it contains many anachronisms, both in the titles of the envoys and in the name of the emperor. Constantine Monomachos died when Volodymyr Monomakh was only two years old (hence some later compilations correct Constantine's name to Alexios Komnenos). The beginning of the legend can be found in the *Tale of the Destruction of the Rus' Land*, compiled in the second half of the thirteenth century. In it, the emperor (Manuel) sends gifts to Volodymyr Monomakh so that he will 'not take Constantinople from him.'⁷⁵ Over the following centuries, the tale acquired its subsequent form.

In addition to this version, which was ultimately incorporated into Muscovite literature, there were others. One relates that Volodymyr Monomakh obtained the regalia from the Genoese governor of the city of Caffa during a campaign to the Crimea.⁷⁶ Another account claims that St. Volodymyr was crowned with an imperial crown: in that narrative his war against the Greeks is transformed into a campaign against Constantinople.⁷⁷

72. The most important works on this topic include: Obolenskii, *Sobornaia gramota dukhovenstva*; Vel'tman, 'Tsarskii zlatoi venets'; Makarii [Bulgakov], *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 2: 288; D. Prozorovskii, 'Ob utvariakh pripisyvaemykh Vladimiru Monomakhu'; idem, 'Po voprosu o regaliakh'; Ternovskii, *Izuchenie vizantiiskoi istorii*, 2: 155ff.; Vasil'evskii, 'Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 1'; Regel, *Analecta*, p. LVIIff.; Tolstoi, 'O drevneishikh russkikh monetakh'; D. Beliaev, *Byzantina*, 2: 216; Zhdanov, *Russkii bylevoi épos*, chap. 1; Kondakov, *Russkie klady*, 1: 60ff.; Tolstoi and Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti*, 5: 40ff. The studies by Regel and Zhdanov are particularly interesting. See also my *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli*, p. 126, and the polemics with Kondakov concerning Monomakh's cap indicated below, p. 387 [ZNTSh 95 (1910): 196ff.]. In addition, on literary aspects, see A. Veselovskii, 'Pamiatniki literaturnykh povestvovatel'noi,' p. 409ff.; idem, 'Razyskaniia v oblasti russkogo dukhovnogo stikha'; Pypin, *Istoriia russkoi literatury*, vol. 2, chap. 1.

73. In 1551, it was carved on the imperial throne in the Moscow cathedral.

74. For the earliest redaction of this version, by Spiridon Savva, see Zhdanov, *Russkii bylevoi épos*, appendix 4. For variants in the conclusion of the legend, see Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskogo*, vol. 2, note 220; and Zhdanov, *Russkii bylevoi épos*, p. 127.

75. *Slovo o pogibeli*, p. 24.

76. Herberstein, *Zapiski o Moskovii*, p. 37 (cf. p. 16); Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 188. This same story is repeated by Petrus Petrejus, Ant. Gerera, and de Hieronimus de Marinis in Zhdanov, *Russkii bylevoi épos*, p. 120.

77. *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii*, pp. 437, 474, 504, 527; and texts in Zhdanov, *Russkii bylevoi épos*, pp. 62–63.

When we compare all the known variants of the legend, it becomes clear that they all evolved from the original legend about how Volodymyr the Great obtained the imperial insignia by waging a campaign against the Crimea. This initial legend gave birth to two versions: one spoke of a campaign to the Crimea (which was later modernized, so that Cherson and the Greeks were replaced by Caffa and the Genoese); and the second told of a campaign against Constantinople, in which the name of 'old Volodymyr' was replaced by that of his famous great-grandson and namesake who was also related to the Byzantine royal family and had fought a war with Byzantium.⁷⁸ The original version about Volodymyr the Great was thus transposed to Volodymyr Monomakh, a circumstance that serves as additional evidence of its early origins.⁷⁹

This literary conclusion is in full agreement with historical events. We have already seen that the Rus' princes had requested imperial insignia from Byzantium. It is very likely that when Volodymyr was given the hand of the Byzantine princess in marriage, he also received some sort of insignia—not an imperial stemma (which would have been less probable), but perhaps a caesar's crown, with which he was crowned. Such an interpretation is, a priori, quite possible, and there have been efforts to substantiate it with factual evidence.

An attempt has been made to decipher a passage scratched out in the patriarchal charter of 1561, confirming the right of the Muscovite tsars to their title, to read as a reference to Volodymyr the Great's coronation. However, the reading remains dubious.⁸⁰ On the other hand, some scholars have recently tried to prove that the most important of 'Monomakh's' regalia, the crown (or so-called cap of Monomakh), if the later segments are discounted, is in fact a Byzantine crown from approximately the eleventh-twelfth centuries. If this were so, two possibilities would arise: either that the cap belonged to Volodymyr the Great and was later attributed to his namesake Volodymyr Monomakh, the ancestor of the Muscovite dynasty, which preserved the relic; or that it was the crown of Volodymyr Monomakh, and that is why the name of Monomakh replaced the name of Volodymyr the Great in the legend. In any case, the Byzantine genealogy of the crown remains uncertain, and there are those who claim that it is of Eastern origin and, moreover, of a later date.⁸¹ All these arguments are thus hypothetical. There is, however, a third fact not open to question—Volodymyr's portrayal in imperial regalia on his coins. But their value as evidence is poor, because the Byzantine coins that served as Volodymyr's models bore imperial portraits. Thus, from the historical standpoint, Volodymyr's coronation remains hypothetical, albeit very probable.

78. For a discussion of this war, see my *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli*, p. 127.

79. Zhdanov came to this conclusion in *Russkii bylevoi épos*, p. 123ff. He believed, however, that the marriage of the emperor was an echo of Volodymyr's marriage (idem, pp. 144–45). He thought that the point of transition from Volodymyr the Great to Volodymyr Monomakh was Volodymyr Iaroslavych's expedition during the reign of Constantine Monomachos. But that emperor's name could easily have appeared because of his namesake, Monomakh of Rus'.

80. Regel, *Analecta*, pp. LXX–LXXI; and, in opposition, Miliukov, *Glavnye techeniia russkoi istoricheskoi mysli*, p. 157, fn. 2, and Zhdanov, *Russkii bylevoi épos*, p. 142.

81. Kondakov defended the Byzantine provenance of the crown. Ultimately, he dated it to the twelfth century on the basis of certain minor technical details, but did not spell out his reasons for doing so (idem, *Russkie klady*, p. 75). His conclusions elicited a number of objections: Sobolevskii ('Monomakhova shapka i tsarskii venets') regarded it as a version of a prince's cap. Anuchin ('Arkheologicheskoe znachenie "Monomakhovoi shapki"') defended the possibility that it was of Oriental workmanship. Finally, Filimonov ('O vremeni i proiskhozhdenii') stated categorically that the cap was of Arab origin, made in Cairo and sent in 1317 to Khan Öz Beg, who gave it as a gift to Kalita. As far as I know, Filimonov's work has not yet been published in its entirety, and so it is difficult to assess his reasoning.

* * *

Let us now return to our original subject.

Emperor Basil made Volodymyr's baptism a condition of his marriage to the Byzantine princess. Yahya relates that Basil even demanded that Volodymyr baptize his entire nation. This additional information may have been derived from a later source, although there would have been nothing improbable about a request of that sort. Neither condition would have posed a problem for Volodymyr. Christianity was the most important component of Byzantine culture and, also, to some degree, of its state organization. Hence, in drawing closer to Byzantium and adopting its institutions and culture, it would have been quite natural and logical to become like it in this very important respect as well, by adopting Christianity. It is difficult to imagine Volodymyr, highly skilled politician that he was, failing to appreciate, at least to some extent, the political significance of introducing a new religion to the peoples of his realm, with their diverse but primitive and poorly developed forms of religious expression—a new religion marked by a high level of culture, rich content, developed forms, and a strong hierarchy, namely, a religion that would have to rely on princely rule for support and thus would bind with new cultural ties the diverse peoples and regions of his state. To be sure, this does not mean that all moral considerations should be completely rejected: from what we know of Volodymyr after his baptism, it is clear that his belief in the new religion was sincere. However, we cannot ignore the political aspects of the religious issue; on the contrary, we must assume that they lay at the heart of his decision to adopt Christianity.

The religious issue was made easier by the fact that Christianity was not completely new to Rus'. As a people that engaged in trade and traveled widely, the Rus' must have had contact with Christianity for centuries. The bands of merchants who spent months in Constantinople, 'near St. Mamas,' in the Greek cities in the Crimea, and in Tmutorokan; the Rus' who as early as the beginning of the tenth century served as mercenaries in Byzantium or campaigned there as auxiliary regiments; and, finally, even the Rus' troops that plundered Byzantine possessions—all would have had ample opportunity to become closely acquainted with Christianity. In light of the influence that Byzantine culture exerted over the adaptive Slavic character, and given the weakness and underdeveloped state of the Slavic religion, the Rus' may easily have fallen under Christianity's influence. The *Lives* (of Stephen of Sougdaia and of George of Amastris) cite miracles to convey the impression that Christianity made on Rus' brigands. Is it not likely that this influence and these impressions, in more ordinary and everyday forms, would have been felt in all spheres where the Rus'-Slavic world encountered the world of the Greeks?

As early as the second half of the ninth century, Ibn Khurradadhbih wrote that Rus' merchants [trading in Muslim lands] claimed to be Christians,⁸² and we have no reason to doubt him. Some of them may indeed have been Christians by then.

Similarly, there is no reason to reject the information that a significant number of the Rus' were converted to Christianity following the campaign of 860 through the efforts of the Byzantine administration and hierarchy. Prince Askold himself was probably baptized. Patriarch Photios reports sending a bishop to Rus',⁸³ and there was a bishopric in Rus' Tmutorokan.⁸⁴

We can date the presence of a sizable community of Christian Rus' in Kyiv from the 860s

82. Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik*, French translation, p. 116.

83. See above, pp. 308, 311.

84. See below.

onward and assume that this community played a significant role in the later spread of Christianity and Christian culture. As has been justly noted, the rapid development of Christianity, an ecclesiastical stratum, and Slavic literature from the time of Volodymyr could not have occurred had not large Christian communities already existed in Rus' in the tenth century.⁸⁵ The Chronicle refers to the Church of St. Elias in the Podil section of Kyiv on the Pochaina River in the first half of the tenth century.⁸⁶ Interestingly enough, that Kyivan church was dedicated to the very saint who in the religious belief of the Slavs and the Rus' took the place of Perun, the god of thunder, a fact pointing to an adaptation of the new religion to ancient beliefs.

In Ihor's treaty of 944 with Byzantium, the Christian Rus' stand alongside the pagan Rus'—in fact, they are named first. There must, therefore, have been many Christians in Kyiv, among the prince's retinue, in court circles, and among the upper strata in general. This explains the fact that Ihor's wife, Olha, was herself baptized. Leaving aside the question of where her baptism took place, we must acknowledge that she became familiar with Christianity at home, in Kyiv. Journeying to Constantinople in 957, she took her own priest, Hryhorii, with her. The Chronicle relates that Sviatoslav did not wish to be baptized, despite his mother's attempts to persuade him, but he did not prevent the spread of Christianity. 'However, if anyone wanted to be baptized, it was not forbidden, but he would be ridiculed,' notes the chronicler, perhaps relating recollections of actual events. There are references to Christians in Kyiv during the first years of Volodymyr's reign. The Chronicle tells the story of the son of a Varangian Christian who was chosen to be killed as a sacrifice to the idols: when the father opposed the act, both father and son were killed.⁸⁷ Recent excavations near the Church of the Tithe have uncovered a large Christian cemetery near the royal court that predated Volodymyr's time.

The chronicler believes that the first Christians in Kyiv were Varangians: 'For many of the Varangians were Christians,' he explains in connection with the reference to the Church of St. Elias. It is not difficult to understand how he arrived at that conclusion. According to the chronicler, the princely retinue that swore to abide by the 944 treaty with Byzantium in the Church of St. Elias was Varangian, as were the Christian martyrs described above who were killed during Volodymyr's reign.⁸⁸ In reality, however, Christianity could not have been

85. Lamanskii, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla,' chap. 25.

86. The Primary Chronicle calls it a *sbornaja cerkvi*, obviously a translation from the Greek καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία in the original text of the treaty of 944. The treaty speaks of a parish, public church (in contrast to a private church). The difficulty arises in that the treaty also speaks of the oath that the Christian Rus' took in the Church of St. Elias. We do not know whether the reference is to one church or to two churches of St. Elias, one in Kyiv and the other in Constantinople, where the authorized representatives were to have taken their oath at the signing of the treaty. I believe that the reference is to a single church, the one in Kyiv, and that the treaty outlines the ceremony for ratifying the treaty in Kyiv. Whatever the case may have been, only the Church of St. Elias in Kyiv is certain, because it is indicated by detailed topographical information in the Chronicle.

87. *Hyp.*, pp. 54–55; cf. above, p. 249. Lamanskii thinks that there was then an assault on Christians in Kyiv which strained relations between Byzantium and Rus', as Yahya reported. I believe that if such an assault had occurred, the Chronicle would have told us more about it than just the episode describing the killing of a Varangian. There were other causes for the strained relations with Byzantium.

88. The Chronicle's view that the Varangians were Kyiv's first Christians was taken even further by Golubinskii (*Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 1, chap. 2). Golubinskii regarded the Varangians as the teachers of Christianity among the Rus'. His theory found support from Malyshevskii, who developed the view even further in his review (p. 52) of Golubinskii's work and in his *Variagi v nachal'noi istorii*. For views opposing this theory, see Lamanskii, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla,' chap. 12.

confined exclusively to the Varangians. If the Varangians who came to Rus' and fought alongside the Rus' against the Greeks came into contact with Christianity and converted to it, then the Rus' themselves must have begun doing so even earlier, because they encountered Christianity even more frequently. Hence, there must have been many more Christians among the Rus' than among the Varangians.

In Kyiv, then, the ground for conversion to Christianity was well prepared, and there were Christians among the ruling dynasty. Volodymyr himself must have known Christians, especially as he had probably spent his childhood at Olha's court. Hence there was nothing extraordinary about his conversion to Christianity. Much more significant was the fact that after changing his own religion, he made every effort—be it under pressure from Byzantium (as Yahya maintains) or on his own initiative—to establish the new religion throughout his realm, as well as, in all likelihood, to strengthen its position. As I have already stated, this undertaking was motivated by important political considerations.

Information about the measures Volodymyr applied to ensure the spread of Christianity is very scant and unreliable. What we know for certain is that he did indeed engage vigorously in spreading Christianity throughout his realm, even in the face of a certain amount of resistance. Ilarion, who probably witnessed some of Volodymyr's measures, testifies unequivocally that after his baptism Volodymyr 'achieved even more: he commanded throughout all his land that his people be baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Trinity be glorified loudly and clearly in all the towns; ...and not one single person resisted this pious command. For if some were baptized not for love, then [they were baptized] in fear of Volodymyr's command, since his piety was coupled with power. And at one and the same time, all our land began to glorify Christ with the Father and with the Holy Spirit.' The 'Old *Life of St. Volodymyr*,' together with the monk Iakiv himself, is equally categorical. They state that Volodymyr 'baptized all the land of Rus' from one end to the other,... he dug up and cut down idolatrous temples and shrines and destroyed idols,... and he adorned all the land of Rus' and all the towns with holy churches.'

The Chronicle describes these events in much greater detail. As soon as Volodymyr returned to Kyiv from Cherson, he immediately ordered all pagan idols to be destroyed: some were hacked to pieces, others were set ablaze. The idol of Perun was tied to the tail of a horse and dragged from the 'hill' into the Dnipro. As the idol was being dragged, twelve men beat it with staves. When the idol was thrown into the Dnipro, Volodymyr ordered it pushed away from the river's banks until it had gone through the rapids. As soon as it passed through the rapids, it was cast up on a sandbank 'that came to be known as Perun's Sandbank, as it is to this day.' Volodymyr then sent his men throughout Kyiv, summoning everyone without exception to come to the river to be baptized, and the people gladly and joyfully did his bidding, in the belief that the new faith must be good if the prince and his boyars had adopted it. The following day Greek priests from Cherson and Constantinople who had arrived with the princess baptized the

In addition to the Chronicle, Golubinskii cited the Saga of Óláfr Trygvasson, which narrates how, after having been baptized in Greece, Óláfr brought a bishop from Greece to Rus' and persuaded Volodymyr and his wife Allogia (i.e., Olha) to be baptized—see *Antiquités russes*, vol. 1 (it contains three redactions of this saga). However, we know the saga in its much later versions (thirteenth century), and, in light of the tendency of all sagas to exaggerate the role and importance of their heroes, its information carries very little weight, especially because one of the redactions—the *Heimskringla* version—makes no mention of Óláfr's role in the baptism of Rus'. Golubinskii, in the second edition of his work (*Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 256), no longer attached special significance to the saga.

populace in the Dnipro. Volodymyr later ordered that churches be built on the sites where the idols had stood: 'And he began to establish churches with priests in the fortified towns, and to bring people to be baptized in all the fortified towns and villages.'⁸⁹

Some elements in the Chronicle's account are obviously based on local legend and contain a grain of truth. Nestor also describes a mass baptism in Kyiv, in the *Lesson on the Life and Murder of the Blessed Passion-Sufferers Borys and Hlib*,⁹⁰ and it is probably safe to assume that one did indeed take place. The Novgorod Chronicle relates the destruction of idols in that city to the accompaniment of public derision.⁹¹ But the account in the Chronicle also contains elements that cannot be accepted. Regardless of how widely known Christianity was in Kyiv, and regardless of the extent to which Volodymyr relied on his power, as noted by Ilarion, it would have been a strange and maladroit action on the part of Volodymyr to summon the populace to the river to be baptized without any prior preparation. And to destroy the pagan idols before the people had been converted to Christianity would have been sheer provocation. The Chronicle account assumes that Volodymyr's boyars were baptized earlier, and that is very likely: it would have been easier to persuade the court than the whole city to be baptized. We must assume that Volodymyr spent some time preparing and persuading his people to convert to the new religion. None of this was connected in any way with his campaign against Cherson, which had presented itself unexpectedly and, in all probability, had only one purpose—to force Emperor Basil to send his sister to be married to Volodymyr. According to the Chronicle, it was only after his Cherson campaign that Volodymyr received priests to perform the baptism, and the 'Old Life of St. Volodymyr' makes it appear that Volodymyr could not obtain priests and teachers of Christianity for his people anywhere else than in Cherson. In fact, however, he had such people in Kyiv, and, moreover, he could have obtained as many such people as he wanted from Greece and from Bulgaria, without needing to wage war against the Greeks. Instead, he could have begun preparing the people to accept the new faith from the moment that he decided to be baptized.

If we reject a direct link between the spread of Christianity and the Cherson campaign as lacking adequate grounds, we automatically lose the basis for the date of the baptism of Kyiv. The year 988, under which the Chronicle records the entire story, beginning with the campaign against Cherson, may indeed have been the year in which the Kyivans were baptized, but we cannot be certain of that. Clearly Volodymyr could have started preparing his boyars and the people of Kyiv for conversion to Christianity immediately after he himself had been baptized, and within the span of a year he could have succeeded in organizing a mass baptism. That this event took place shortly after Volodymyr's own baptism seems to be confirmed by the fact that our sources link the baptism of Rus' directly with Volodymyr's own baptism, and there is no indication of a long interval between the two events. And that is all that can be said on the subject at this time.

89. *Hyp.*, p. 81.

90. Nestor's entire account is narrated as a series of miracles. Volodymyr's baptism is described as the result of a miracle: 'God set some obstacle to his being a Christian, as He had done to Plakidas of old' (later in the text he calls it 'a divine manifestation'). After being baptized, Volodymyr 'commanded all his boyars and all the people to be baptized,' and this, too, happens immediately: 'Hear the miracle full of grace: yesterday he was ordering everybody to bring sacrifices to idols, but today he commands them to be baptized....' Just as miraculously, no one opposed his orders, 'but as if long since instructed, they hastened, rejoicing, to baptism' (*Skazaniia o sviatykh Borise i Glebe*, pp. 6–7).

91. *Novg. I*, p. 65.

Despite all the preparations, not everyone, of course, went to be baptized as gladly and joyfully as the Chronicle would have us believe. That would indeed have required the kind of miracle that Nestor assumes occurred. Ilarion, for his part, refers to fear as an influencing factor. That fear played a role is certain, although it is unlikely that Volodymyr would have thought it prudent to resort to harsh repressions. Moreover, such measures would have been impossible to carry out beyond the larger towns.

In the larger towns, with their greater concentrations of princely retinue and merchants engaged in international commerce, the ground for Christianity was in large measure prepared, in the same way as it was in Kyiv. That would have been particularly true of towns along the great Greek route—the towns close to the Black Sea coast and such large commercial centers as Pereiaslav and Chernihiv. There may even have been churches in these towns. Having baptized the people of Kyiv, Volodymyr probably immediately set about introducing Christianity in these large centers as well, to the extent that he had sufficient forces—namely, preachers and religious personnel in general—to do so. We have direct reports about this only from Novgorod, however. There, too, idols were destroyed and the idol of Perun was cast into the water amid great ridicule, but there is no reference to a mass baptism. A report in the so-called Ioakim's Chronicle, which enjoys some popularity in scholarly literature, relates that Novgorod was baptized by force and that the people tried to defend themselves against Dobrynia, who had been sent there for that purpose, but he crushed their opposition by setting fire to the town. This gave rise to the saying: 'Putiata [Volodymyr's chiliarch—M.H.] baptized with the sword and Dobrynia with fire.'⁹² But Ioakim's Chronicle bears traces of a very late hand, and the information it provides is not very reliable. In any event, there is no mention of a mass baptism anywhere other than in Kyiv.

That fact is significant. Kyiv was the largest center of the princely retinue and the merchant stratum. Here the ground for Christianity had been prepared to a greater degree than anywhere else, and the influence of the prince and his court was strongest. The things that could be done here were much more difficult, perhaps even impossible, to do in other towns, especially those that had weak and only recently established ties with Kyiv. Most likely, the communities of converts shrank in size as one moved farther away from Kyiv and from the Christian world and encountered ever smaller 'Rus' colonies among the inhabitants. Similarly, the influence of the new religion was weaker 'in the provinces,' as one moved farther away from the larger population centers. The distant Viaticians, who had no large commercial centers, remained pagans as late as the latter half of the eleventh century. They maintained the pagan burial ritual, and sometime at the end of the eleventh century or in the first half of the twelfth they killed St. Kuksha and his disciple, Nikon, who preached Christianity in their land.⁹³ Judging from the hagiographical literature, the first two bishops in Rostov were wholly *in partibus*. The third, St. Leontii, succeeded in converting a portion of the town's inhabitants to Christianity only in the latter half of the eleventh century by assembling the children and teaching them the Christian faith. But he suffered a great deal and, in some versions, is even reported to have been martyred. Not until later was Bishop Isaia credited with Christianizing the Rostov land.⁹⁴ Leaving aside such remote corners of Volodymyr's realm, we also have telling evidence of how

92. *Novg. I* in *PSRL*, 3: 65; *Novg. III* in *PSRL*, 3: 207; the narrative of Ioakim's Chronicle in Tatishchev, *Istoriia rossiiiskaia*, 1: 38–40.

93. *Hyp.*, p. 8; *Paterik*, pp. 96–97.

94. *Paterik*, p. 90; Makarii [Bulgakov], *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 2: 27–29; Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 199.

weak Christianity was in Novgorod. When a sorcerer (*volkhv*) 'blasphemed the Christian faith' in Novgorod in the 1070s, only the prince and his retinue came to the defense of the bishop, whereas 'the people sided with the sorcerers.'⁹⁵

In all probability, in Ukraine, too, Christianity was initially the religion of the upper strata—boyars, members of the retinue, and inhabitants of the larger towns—and encompassed the general mass of the population very slowly, particularly the inhabitants of regions farther removed from the centers of civilization. At the end of the eleventh century, the monk Iakiv, who apparently lived in the Pereiaslav and Kyiv regions and probably had the population of these regions in mind, reported to the metropolitan that the common folk believed that marriage in the Church was only for the boyars and princes: they themselves married without the Church's blessing. Very likely the metropolitan's observation in the same document that human sacrifices were being brought to 'demons, bogs, and wells' also applied to the Ukrainian lands, as did his reports of dual worship—pagan beliefs and rites, disguised in Christian forms, that exist to this day.⁹⁶ The chronicler does relate that Volodymyr 'began to bring people to be baptized in all the fortified towns and villages.'⁹⁷ When we take into account, however, that oral sermons would have been the only form of proselyting among these simple people, and when we imagine how difficult it would have been to train the necessary number of preachers for such a mission, we must regard the Chronicle's report about the villages with some skepticism, except, perhaps, when these villages belonged to the prince and were situated near large towns.⁹⁸ Beyond the borders of the larger cultural centers, Christianization of the masses must have proceeded very slowly, and it could not have occurred in Volodymyr's time. It must have proceeded over long centuries, through the combined efforts of the rulers and the church hierarchy, and, to an even greater degree, through the powerful influence of Christianity itself, as a higher and more evolved religion having set forms and rituals.

* * *

Considering the preponderance of religious subjects in our ancient writings, there is a remarkable dearth of information in the oldest Chronicle and in other accounts of Volodymyr about the beginnings of the organization of the Rus' Church and the role of the princes in this endeavor. Having related that Volodymyr brought priests to Rus' from Cherson, the Chronicle tells us nothing whatsoever about the organization of the Church's ecclesiastical hierarchy until the appointment of the famous Ilarion as metropolitan. In the entry for the year 989, the Novgorod Chronicle (the so-called Novgorod I Chronicle) contains a general reference to the baptism of 'all the land of Rus,' followed by the statement that a metropolitan was installed in Kyiv, an archbishop in Novgorod, and bishops, priests, and deacons in other towns.⁹⁹ The reference to the archbishop of Novgorod reveals that the entry is from a later period, because the archbishops of Novgorod appeared only in the twelfth century, and there is no mention of any metropolitans from Volodymyr's reign in the list of metropolitans included in the same redaction of the Chronicle. The first metropolitan named on the list is Feopempt, in the 1030s.

95. *Hyp.*, p. 127.

96. Ioan II, *Canons*, § 15, 30 (*RIB*, 6: 7–8, 18). Also see vol. 3, chap. 4, of this *History*.

97. *Hyp.*, p. 81.

98. The unequivocal passages in the 'Old Life of St. Volodymyr' and Iakiv's *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr* about the baptism 'of all the land of Rus'' probably do not mean the Rus' state in the broader sense.

99. *Novg. I*, p. 65; under the same year, also in *Pskov. I* in *PSRL*, vol. 4, and in *Novg. II* in *PSRL*, vol. 2.

Other compilations of the Chronicle contain even more glaring anachronisms in accounts of the founding of a metropolitanate by Volodymyr. They confuse the baptism of Rus' by Volodymyr with the first conversion of the Rus' at the time of Patriarch Photios and Emperor Basil I, and they report that Volodymyr accepted a metropolitan from Patriarch Photios. The chief source of this confusion was Volodymyr's *Church Statute*, beginning with its earlier versions,¹⁰⁰ which reveals just how muddled the accounts of the origins of the Rus' hierarchy are.

The names of the first metropolitans were unknown at the time the chronicles were written and they remain unknown to us.¹⁰¹ Most of the secondary compilations¹⁰² name Leontii as the first metropolitan, and state that Volodymyr accepted him 'from Patriarch Photios.' However, we know Leontii's name only from the polemical literature. Some manuscripts of a polemical work against the Latins bear his name: Λέοντος μητροπολίτου τῆς ἐν Ῥωσίᾳ Πρεσθλάβας—'Leontii, metropolitan of Pereiaslav in Rus'. Not only do we not know the exact date of his metropolitanate, but some scholars suspect that he was, in fact, the Bulgarian metropolitan (of Preslav in Bulgaria).¹⁰³ Later catalogues (from the fifteenth century) name Mykhail as the first metropolitan, and the list of metropolitans preceding Ilarion reads as follows: Mykhail, Leontii, Ioan, Feopempt, Kyryl, Ilarion. In Kyiv we encounter the later tradition (seventeenth century) about the relics of 'the first metropolitan Mykhail' that are now in the Monastery of the Caves, but it is difficult to establish whether the name of this metropolitan appeared in the lists as a result of the Kyivan story of the relics, or vice versa. The only thing we can accept as certain is that Mykhail's name appeared first in the list of Kyivan metropolitans owing to the confusion we described earlier regarding the baptism of Rus' in the ninth century rather than in the tenth century. Some compilations of the Chronicle relate that the first metropolitan sent to Rus' by Patriarch Photios, immediately after the first baptism of Rus', was Mykhail.¹⁰⁴ Encountering the older tradition that named Leontii as the first metropolitan, later chroniclers listed Mykhail as either the first metropolitan or the second, following Leontii.¹⁰⁵

100. Volodymyr's statute is in a manuscript of the *Nomocanon*, written in about 1282 (Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 5ff.). Suvorov has stated that the statute was a later addition, but so far that has not been verified.

101. For the most important literature, see Makarii [Bulgakov], *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1: 32ff.; Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 277ff.; Malyshevskii, 'Kievskie tserkovnye sobory'; Lebedintsev, 'K voprosu o kievskom mitropolite'; Pavlov, 'Dogadka o proiskhozhdenii' (includes Lebedintsev's 'Primechaniia k "Dogadke"'); Shakhmatov, 'Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody,' chap. 5; idem, 'Korsunskaiia legenda,' chap. 8.

102. *Voskr.* in *PSRL*, 7: 313; *Sophia. I* in *PSRL*, 5: 72; *Tver.* in *PSRL*, 15: 114; and other chronicle compilations.

103. Shakhmatov, 'Odin iz istochnikov,' pp. 72–73.

104. Mykhail (Michael) is named as the metropolitan sent during Photios's patriarchate in Kopystyn's'kyi, *Palinodiia*, p. 971; in the *Hustynia Chronicle*, p. 253; and in the later *Life of St. Volodymyr* in Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 37. Lebedintsev ('Primechaniia k "Dogadke,"' pp. 32–33) argued that the source of that information was the Serbian translation of George the Monk, where the bishop sent by Photios is called Michael. Pavlov ('Dogadka o proiskhozhdenii,' p. 23) suggested a different explanation—that Michael's name appeared in the Rus' context because Michael Synkellos, author of the confession of faith presented to Volodymyr and included in the Chronicle, was taken to be a Rus' metropolitan who had purportedly given Volodymyr this confession. Earlier, Shakhmatov had put forward the view that Michael was named as the first metropolitan in the Muscovite Metropolitan Chronicle compilation of the beginning of the fifteenth century and that from that time his name had entered into later compilations. In his 'Korsunskaiia legenda' (p. 67), Shakhmatov suggests that the name of Michael/Mykhail as the first metropolitan appeared in the 'Cherson Legend' back in the eleventh century, and was transposed from there into some versions of Volodymyr's *Church Statute*. He also accepts Golubinskii's view that this was indeed the name of the metropolitan sent to Rus' in the ninth century, but that he preached among the (hypothetical) 'Tauric Rus'.

105. E.g., *Novg. I*, p. 443; *Voskr.* in *PSRL*, 7: 239; etc.

I have dwelt on this matter at some length in order to show how hazy our knowledge is about the beginnings of the organization of the Church during Volodymyr's reign. There are no contemporary reports about Rus' metropolitans until the reign of Iaroslav. Works from the eleventh-twelfth centuries contain only the names of the three metropolitans or archbishops mentioned above: Ioan (ca. 1020s), Feopempt (in the 1030s), and Ilarion (installed in 1051).¹⁰⁶ Leontii's title, 'Metropolitan of Pereiaslav,' led to the supposition that initially the metropolitan see was not in Kyiv, but in Pereiaslav,¹⁰⁷ since the Chronicle also speaks of Iefrem, bishop of Pereiaslav, in the second half of the eleventh century, and titles him metropolitan. One of the manuscripts of the Chronicle (the Laurentian) adds the following explanation: 'for formerly there was in Pereiaslav a metropolitan see.'¹⁰⁸ This gave rise to the theory that during Volodymyr's reign, the metropolitan see was in Pereiaslav, and that it was Iaroslav who transferred it to Kyiv when he built the Cathedral of St. Sophia. Additional confirmation of this theory seems to be that in their accounts of the cathedral's construction, some later chronicle compilations report that Iaroslav 'established a metropolitan see' in Kyiv.¹⁰⁹ Others go even further, claiming that no metropolitan see existed in Rus' until Iaroslav's reign and that it was Iaroslav who established such a see.¹¹⁰

The older sources, however, provide no grounds on which to base such conjectures. The old Chronicle states only that Iaroslav built a metropolitan church in Kyiv, that is, the Cathedral of St. Sophia.¹¹¹ It does not say that he founded the metropolitanate as an institution, and there is nothing to indicate that there was no metropolitan see in Kyiv before Iaroslav. The Chronicle's *argumentum a silentio* is of no significance because it tells us nothing at all about hierarchical matters. On the other hand, the contemporary Thietmar of Merseburg refers unambiguously to the 'archbishop' of Kyiv in connection with the Kyivan campaign of 1018. To be sure, this source is quite remote,¹¹² but the 'Old *Life of St. Volodymyr*' (included in Iakiv's *Memorial and Encomium*), which is highly regarded in more recent scholarly literature, also speaks of metropolitans during Volodymyr's reign, moreover, in such a manner that it is difficult to interpret the document to mean anyone other than the metropolitans of Kyiv.¹¹³

106. *Skazaniia o sviatykh Borise i Glebe*, p. 26; *Hyp.*, pp. 108, 109.

107. On this subject, see Makarii [Bulgakov], *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1: 37–38; T. Barsov, *Konstantinopol'skii patriarkh i ego vlast'*, p. 423; Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 328ff.; Malyshevskii, 'Kievskie tserkovnye sobory'; Lebedintsev, 'Gde zhili pervye kievskie mitropolity'; Shakhmatov, 'Odin iz istochnikov,' pp. 72–73.

108. *Lavr.*, p. 202. Other manuscripts of this redaction do not contain the gloss, nor do later secondary compilations, with the exception of the *Nikon.*, which repeatedly elaborates on it: 'And the metropolitans of Kyiv and all Rus' lived there many times, and bishops were installed there' (in *PSRL*, 9: 116). Other chronicles, on the other hand, change Iefrem's odd title to that of bishop: e.g., *Voskr.* in *PSRL*, 7: 5, and the Khlebnikov copy of the Hypatian Chronicle (*Hyp.*, p. 146).

109. *Sophia. I* in *PSRL*, 5: 127; *Voskr.* in *PSRL*, 7: 330; *Nikon.* in *PSRL*, 9: 80; *Tver.* in *PSRL*, 15: 147; and others.

110. Thus Shakhmatov in 'Korsunskaiia legenda,' p. 68.

111. *Hyp.*, p. 106.

112. Thietmar, *Chronicon* 8.16. Rus' metropolitans of the eleventh century were called archbishops not only by Thietmar, but also in other ancient documents, e.g., Nestor's *Lesson on the Life and Murder of the Blessed Passion-Sufferers Borys and Hlib* and in the title of Leontii's polemical treatise. [They were called archbishops in one of the manuscripts of Leontii's treatise.—Eds.] This prompted Golubinskii to theorize that initially the Rus' Church was headed by an archbishop who was independent of the patriarch (in the Byzantine Church, an archbishop was a prelate with autocephalous authority and therefore ranked higher than a metropolitan), and that it did not lose its independence until a later time, after which the primate of the Rus' Church held the lesser title of metropolitan.

113. Volodymyr 'solemnly celebrated the Lord's holidays by setting up three tables: the first for the metropolitan, bishops, monks, and priests; the second for paupers and the poor; and the third for himself, his boyars, and all his men'

The tradition of a metropolitanate in Kyiv under Volodymyr emerged early and became firmly established by the thirteenth century. All the secondary compilations of the Chronicle and all other sources that speak about the establishment of a hierarchy under Volodymyr locate it in Kyiv, and there are no allusions to Iaroslav founding a metropolitan see or transferring it from Pereiaslav to Kyiv.¹¹⁴

Nor can we ignore the fact that in the fourteenth century, when the Patriarchate of Constantinople considered moving the residence of the Rus' metropolitans to Muscovy, there was no mention of moving the metropolitan see from Kyiv, even though such a precedent would have been very advantageous for Constantinople. Obviously, Constantinople regarded Kyiv as an age-old metropolitan see.¹¹⁵ That the bishops of Pereiaslav at one time held the title of metropolitan is not in doubt. If Bishop Iefrem's title of metropolitan was only honorary in the second half of the eleventh century, as is generally acknowledged, that could have been the case earlier as well, without affecting the position of the bishop of Kyiv as the primate of the Rus' Church. It should be noted that Yahya speaks in the plural of 'metropolitans and bishops' sent to Volodymyr in Rus' to baptize the population.¹¹⁶ Perhaps that information is authentic and several metropolitans were sent to Rus' at the same time.

As we have seen, however, we lack precise information about when the first metropolitans appeared in Rus' and when the organization of the Church began. We cannot accept the Chronicle's dates of 989 or 991 for the foundation of the church organization, because the entries for these years are overly summary in nature, bear indications of being later additions, and, moreover, contain conflicting information. Clearly, Volodymyr needed bishops when he set about baptizing Rus', and the Byzantine authorities had no reason to hinder him in this endeavor at that time. Thus, if Byzantium sent several bishops to Rus', there is no reason why it could not have sent a metropolitan or even several metropolitans to serve the Rus' Church. The Chronicle makes no mention of bishops in its account of how Volodymyr baptized Rus', but it appears from Yahya's account that numerous 'metropolitans and bishops' were sent to Rus' even before the Byzantine princess went there. Although we cannot rely too heavily on the accuracy of the details in Yahya's report, we can reasonably accept the likelihood that a metropolitanate and several bishoprics were founded in Rus' during Volodymyr's reign, and that that probably happened very shortly after the question of the Christianization of Rus' arose (perhaps even before the campaign against Cherson).

We also lack reliable data to resolve the issue of which bishoprics were founded during Volodymyr's reign and how many of them there were. Scholars did not begin to pose this question until the sixteenth century, and then they were unsuccessful in answering it (nor was it possible for them to be successful). According to them, bishops were installed during Volodymyr's reign in Novgorod, Chernihiv, Rostov, Volodymyr,¹¹⁷ and Bilhorod (near Kyiv),

(Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' pp. 15, 21). The writer was clearly referring to feasts held in Volodymyr's residence in Kyiv.

114. Volodymyr's *Church Statute*, in a thirteenth-century manuscript, reads: 'Volodymyr has taken Leontii as the first metropolitan for Kyiv' (Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 65).

115. Decree of 1354, in *RIB*, 6 (supp.): 63–70 = *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1: 351ff. Lebedintsev rightly drew attention to this circumstance in his 'Gde zhili pervye kievskie mitropolity.'

116. Yahya in Rozen, *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa*, p. 24.

117. We do not know which town of Volodymyr they had in mind, but since Vladimir on the Kliazma did not yet exist at that time, it must have been Volodymyr in Volhynia.

and Metropolitan Leontii 'installed bishops in many other towns.'¹¹⁸ That conjecture now usually serves as the basis for various surmises about the number of bishoprics in Volodymyr's time. To those listed above are added Tmutorokan, Polatsk, and Turiv.¹¹⁹ Quite obviously, all of this is purely theoretical in nature. A tradition about bishops in Volodymyr's time exists only in the case of Novgorod (in the Novgorod Chronicle), and perhaps also with respect to Rostov (in the *Life of St. Leontii* from approximately the twelfth century). The names of the first bishops of Chernihiv, Volodymyr, and Bilhorod, which we encounter in later compilations, are of dubious value. Contemporary sources contain no mention of provincial bishops until the latter half of the eleventh century. There is little doubt that many bishops were installed in Volodymyr's time, and various sources report this: Ilarion's *Sermon*,¹²⁰ the Chronicle, and the *Life of St. Volodymyr*. In light of what has been said above about the spread of Christianity, it is quite probable that bishops were installed in all the larger administrative, trade, and cultural centers of Volodymyr's realm. Apart from Kyiv, these centers included Novgorod, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav. Tmutorokan had a bishop even earlier.¹²¹ Rostov has a local tradition, as I have already mentioned. The possibility of bishoprics in Volodymyr and Bilhorod cannot be excluded, but they fall into the realm of conjecture. For the most part, the system of bishoprics was established by the middle of the eleventh century, with only a few added later. Of this latter group, the only sees we know with certainty to have been founded later are Smolensk (1137), Riazan (between 1187 and 1207), Vladimir on the Kliazma (1226), and Uhrovska-Kholm (during the reign of Danylo). To these we can add with a high degree of probability the Halych and Peremyshl sees. The other ten bishoprics—in addition to Kyiv there were Bilhorod, Iuriev, Volodymyr, Turiv, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Polatsk, Novgorod, and Rostov—must have been founded by the middle of the eleventh century. It is impossible to determine which of them were established during Volodymyr's reign and which appeared under Iaroslav.¹²²

An indication of Volodymyr's measures to make material provisions for the Rus' Church is found in the information about the tithe he endowed to the Church of the Mother of God in Kyiv. The Chronicle states that when the church was completed, Volodymyr said: 'I give to this Church of the Holy Mother of God a tithe from my own property and from my fortified towns.'¹²³ The so-called *Church Statute* of Volodymyr describes this as follows: 'From the revenues of the princely courts, every tenth squirrel pelt; from commerce, revenues of each tenth week; and from the households, a share of each crop every year.'¹²⁴ The reference is obviously to the endowment of the metropolitan see of Kyiv, which was to receive a tenth portion of the income of the princely household and of the income from commerce and the law courts of all Rus', namely, from the entire Kyivan Principality. The fact that we later encounter

118. Nikon. in *PSRL*, 9: 85; *Kniga stepennaia tsarskogo rodosloviia*, p. 114.

119. Filaret [Gumilevskii], *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1: 113; Makarii [Bulgakov], *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1: 40; Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 333.

120. 'Bishops, priests, and deacons became the shepherds of Christ's flock.'

121. The *notitia* of bishoprics from the eighth century published by de Boor ('Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatumum,' p. 531) includes ὁ Τουμάταρχα.

122. See, in particular, the survey of bishoprics in Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 664ff.

123. *Hyp.*, p. 85; *Novg. I*, p. 72.

124. Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' p. 66. The statute itself has survived only in later versions, but some practices described in it undoubtedly date to Volodymyr's reign. See the literature on this subject in vol. 3, chap. 3, of this *History*. Shakhmatov ('Korsunskaiia legenda,' p. 70) recently conjectured that the statute was part of a special version of the *Life of St. Volodymyr* in the so-called 'Cherson Legend.'

the allocation of a tenth of the prince's income as a customary form of endowing bishoprics in other Rus' lands (Novgorod, Smolensk) suggests that in Volodymyr's time, the tithe had become a general formula for endowing eparchies. It is not clear whether this form of endowment was suggested directly by biblical practice or whether it reflected some influence of Western Church organization, for we know very little about Western influences on Rus' in that period.¹²⁵ The great difference between the tithe introduced in Rus' and its counterpart in the Western Church would suggest that there was no influence. In Rus' the tithe was not a universal tax, but a contribution from the prince's revenue, which only bishoprics received.

In addition, we later encounter real estate owned by eparchies or other ecclesiastical institutions, but it has not been possible to determine when those endowments were made.

* * *

As part of his effort to promote the spread of Christianity, Volodymyr supported aspects of cultural life that were an integral part of that religion—arts and letters. In Byzantium, as in the West, both education and art served primarily a religious purpose. Christianity was thus also a key, as it were, to the civilization of the age. Given Volodymyr's attitude to Byzantine culture in general, it is difficult to determine his underlying motive—was it to ensure the widest possible spread of Christianity, or was it to embrace Byzantine culture as such, which was founded on Christianity? In either case, the result would have been the same.

Unfortunately, in this respect, as well, our sources offer only general, summary references. They are unanimous in reporting that after the baptism of the people of Kyiv, Volodymyr began building churches, but they provide few details. The Chronicle states that Volodymyr 'ordered churches to be built of wood and situated in the places where idols had stood.' Thus the Church of St. Basil, Volodymyr's patron saint, was built in Kyiv on the site where idols of Perun and other pagan deities had stood, near the prince's court. The Chronicle also reports that he began 'to establish churches with priests in the fortified towns.' Other sources speak of these events in even more general terms (Ilarion; the *Life of St. Volodymyr*; the *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr*). Only with respect to the construction of the Church of the Mother of God in Kyiv does the Chronicle provide some details.¹²⁶ It relates that this church was built by master builders brought from Byzantium expressly for the purpose; that Volodymyr gave to it icons, church vessels, and crosses that he had taken from Cherson; and that he appointed priests from Cherson to serve in it.

In reading this account, we need to keep in mind how widespread the Cherson legend was in Rus'. As I have already mentioned, there were many artifacts from Cherson in the Rus' state, some of which were quite mistakenly said to originate in Cherson.¹²⁷ Consequently, we need to exercise care when dealing with reports about various Chersonian sacred objects. Other details contained in the Chronicle are of far greater interest to us. Both the chronicler and the author of the *Life of St. Volodymyr* note that the Church of the Mother of God was built of stone. About other churches built soon after the baptism the Chronicle reports that Volodymyr

125. On Western influences, see Suvorov, *Sledy zapadno-katolicheskogo tserkovnogo prava*, and idem, *K voprosu o zapadnom vliianii*, which is a response to Pavlov's criticism. Golubinskii also acknowledged a Western influence in Volodymyr's introduction of the tithe in Rus', in the second edition of his *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt: 505–6.

126. *Hyp.*, p. 83.

127. See above, p. 216, fn. 169.

'ordered them hewn'—in other words, built of wood. That marked the beginnings of stone architecture in Rus'. Furthermore, the master builders needed to accomplish the task were brought from Byzantium, which meant that Byzantine church architecture was also adopted.

There is no reason to dismiss these important cultural and historical details contained in the Chronicle, but they must not be read too literally. Stone buildings existed in Kyiv earlier: the Chronicle makes mention of a stone tower that was a princely residence during Olha's reign, thereby regarding it as preceding Volodymyr's time.¹²⁸ The Byzantine master builders could have come to Rus' earlier as well. But because of the new religion, Byzantine art became predominant for a long period of time, overshadowing the Eastern influences that had earlier competed with it here.

The Church of the Mother of God was clearly meant to serve as the metropolitan's cathedral, and it did so until a new metropolitan cathedral—the Cathedral of St. Sophia—was built, during the reign of Iaroslav. That is the only possible explanation for its rich endowment. Because of the nature of Volodymyr's endowment, it was called the 'Church of the Tithe.' This church no longer stands; it was destroyed in 1240. Excavations of its foundations in the nineteenth century show that the church was very large. Its internal, central nave was not much smaller than that of the later Cathedral of St. Sophia.¹²⁹ However, it had a simpler plan, similar to those later used in smaller churches. The new Church of the Tithe built in the nineteenth century on the old foundations does not occupy the whole area of the original church, nor does it reflect the style and appearance of the ancient structure. Recent excavations of the old foundations, which have revealed the remains of the old floor, frescoes, etc., give some impression of the appearance of the original building.

In all probability, Volodymyr built other stone churches as well, but we cannot be certain which churches these were. The various accounts we have are to varying degrees unreliable.

That Volodymyr also wanted to introduce Byzantine secular art in Rus' is indicated by the detail related in the Chronicle that he ordered four bronze figures of horses and two bronze statues—*kapyshcha*¹³⁰—to be taken from Cherson to Kyiv and had them placed near the Church of the Tithe and the princely palace.¹³¹

In the Chronicle's account of Volodymyr's services to Christianity, we have a single reference to his endeavors in the sphere of education: he 'began to take children of prominent subjects and to set them to the study of book learning.' It has been justly pointed out that the reason for taking the children of 'prominent subjects'—that is, those from the higher stratum of society, from the best families—was not to educate clerics, who emerged from other than aristocratic circles, but had a broader purpose, namely, to introduce the Byzantine system of education and cultural upbringing among the local aristocracy. In short, it was Volodymyr's overall goal to make Rus' part of the contemporary, civilized world that was personified by Byzantium. Nor were these endeavors in vain. The very first generation produced among its students a man who embodied the Byzantine culture of his day—Metropolitan Ilarion, author of an encomium for Volodymyr.

128. *Novg. I*, p. 10; *Lavr.*, p. 54; *Hyp.*, p. 35. The passage exists in several variants, all of which include mention of the stone residence.

129. According to plans drawn in the first half of the nineteenth century, the central nave of the Church of the Tithe measures 20 by 38 meters, whereas the total dimensions of the old foundation measured 33 by 46 meters. The old sections of St. Sophia measure 33 by 30 meters. The findings of new excavations have not yet been published.

130. For the meaning of this term, see Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlia slovaria*, s.v.

131. *Hyp.*, p. 79.

Book learning and scholarship were not completely unknown in Rus'. The existence of sizable Christian communities before Volodymyr meant that the foundations of scholarship and education already existed.¹³² But the organization of the Church and princely patronage of education must have substantially increased interest in it and promoted its development on a far larger scale than before. Because of the lack of specific information in our sources, the question of how instruction was organized remains unclear and controversial, and I discuss it at greater length elsewhere.¹³³ Teaching was probably 'collective,' that is, in schools modeled on Byzantine institutions that employed teachers—*didaskaloi* and *maistores*—under the auspices of cathedrals and larger churches. The higher state academy in Constantinople, which consisted of several professors and was headed by a rector, was in decline between the second half of the tenth century and the middle of the eleventh. Hence it could not have served as a model for Volodymyr's time, but only, perhaps, for the Greek missions of earlier times, about which we know nothing.¹³⁴

Another element of Byzantine culture introduced in Rus' by Volodymyr was coinage.¹³⁵ No coins were minted in Rus' before him.¹³⁶ During Volodymyr's reign there appeared gold and silver coins modeled on contemporary Byzantine currency (patterns on the coins of Basil and Constantine were copied). Like the Byzantine *solidus*, these gold coins (sg. *zolotnik*ѣ) each weighed approximately 1/72 of a Byzantine pound. On one side they bore the image of the Savior and, on the other, a very crude figure of Volodymyr sitting in imperial regalia and holding a cross. Next to the figure was a heraldic device and the inscription 'Vlamirъ [Vladimirъ—M.H.] on the throne.' One coin—not wholly reliable on that account—bears a different inscription: 'Vladimirъ and this is his gold.' The gold coins are rare, although the ones we do have are different issues and so there must have been quite a few of them. Silver coins with Volodymyr's name have survived in large numbers (several hundred). There are several types, and scholars debate whether all of them belonged to the old Volodymyr or to younger princes of the same name. The first type is very similar to the gold coins and there is no doubt that these coins belonged to Volodymyr. They have different weights, and the inscriptions on them read: 'Vladimirъ on the throne' or 'Vladimirъ and this is his silver' and variations of these phrases. Other coins with Volodymyr's name on them differ in the representation of the figure of the prince (on some, especially those of so-called type IV, it is represented far less crudely) and, even more so, by the fact that instead of the image of the Savior on the obverse, they contain a heraldic device around the inscription 'Vladimirъ on the throne,' with 'and this is his silver' on the reverse.¹³⁷ The origin and meaning of the heraldic device has not yet been

132. Lamanskii has theorized ('Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla') that Slavic letters were brought to Rus' by St. Cyril in the 860s.

133. In vol. 3, chap. 4, of this *History*.

134. On contemporary Byzantine schools, see Skabalanovich, 'Vizantiiskaia nauka.' See also I. Sokolov, 'O narodnykh shkolakh.'

135. See the principal works by Tolstoi: *Drevneishie russkie monety*, and 'O drevneishikh russkikh monetakh.' Cf. also Chernev, 'Zametki o drevneishikh russkikh monetakh'; idem, 'O nezhinskikh srebrennikakh'; idem, 'Zametki o neizdannyykh i redkikh monetakh'; L[eopardov], *Dva-tri vozrazheniia*; Kunik, 'Izvestie o naidennom v 1858 godu,' and his 'Izvestie o naidennom v Pol'she'; and Bartolomei, 'O drevnosti monet.'

136. Apart from the controversial question about the Bulgarian coin of Sviatoslav—see Note 11.

137. In my view, the attribution of gold and silver type I coins to Volodymyr is confirmed by two facts: first, their similarity to the issues of his contemporaries, Basil and Constantine (Tolstoi makes a rather convincing case that the imperfect form of Volodymyr's figure can probably be explained by the fact that the half-length portraits of these

deciphered. It appears on other artifacts of the time, such as the bricks in the Church of the Tithe. Owing to their crude execution in comparison with Byzantine models, the matrices of all Volodymyr's coins are believed to be the products of coiners in Rus'.

That is practically all that we know about Volodymyr's measures to transplant Byzantine culture into Ukraine. Clearly, it is very little, in light of the important role that these measures played in the cultural history of the Ukrainian people, for whom they were a turning point. During the first centuries of its historical life, Ukraine occupied the middle ground between the culture of the Orient and that of Byzantium, which was itself an amalgam of classical and Oriental influences. In the second half of the tenth century, Ukraine spontaneously turned away from the East toward Byzantium. Eastern trade and cultural influences were declining, partly of their own accord and partly because of Rus' campaigns in the East. At the same time, Rus' was drawing closer to Byzantium, both in the political and cultural spheres. Volodymyr deliberately and energetically pushed Rus' in that direction. This was the period when Germany, steeped in Western Roman culture, was overwhelming the West Slavs with its cultural and political influences. Rus', on the other hand, was entering the cultural sphere of Eastern Rome, that is, of Byzantium. That was quite natural; Byzantium was closer geographically, and its culture, both material and spiritual, was immeasurably more advanced. Metaphorically speaking, Byzantium was at the peak of a hot, bright day, while over Germany a pale dawn was just rising. Moreover, Byzantine culture was more familiar, for it was permeated not only by Oriental elements, with which Ukraine had had direct contact, but also by Slavic ones. At the time, no one could foresee that Western culture would evolve and Byzantine civilization would decline. Politically and culturally, Byzantium was then at the zenith of its power and glory.

Turning toward Byzantine culture was thus natural in the situation in which Rus' then found itself. In light of today's circumstances, appraisals of the consequences of that choice differ dramatically: some regard the turning to Byzantium rather than to the West as a very positive development, while others view it as a fatal step that adversely affected the fate of East Slavic culture. The first view is widespread among Russian Slavophiles, the second among advocates of Western culture and Catholicism. In my opinion, in and of itself the choice was neither positive nor negative. It is clear that ultimately we derived no special advantages from the choice, but neither was it harmful to us. As a foundation for subsequent cultural development, Byzantine culture was no worse than Romano-Germanic culture. Contemptuous views of 'Byzantinism' in scholarship are now a thing of the past. The fact that Byzantine culture deteriorated into 'Byzantinism' among the East Slavs can be blamed not on the culture itself,

emperors on coins were the models for it); and second, the Pskov treasure, which included a fragment of a type I silver piece among the fragments of other coins dated to no later than the first years of the eleventh century. Silver coins of this type were found in the Kyiv hoard in 1877 (there were more than a hundred of them). Other types of coins bearing Volodymyr's name belong to the category of the 'Nizhen silver coins' (a large find near Nizhen in 1856). Chernev argued that these must have been Chernihiv coins, for no examples of the type were found in the Kyiv region. His theory is not particularly convincing, but the possibility that the coins belonged to some other Volodymyr does exist. Count Tolstoi defends the theory that these were St. Volodymyr's coins by demonstrating that type II and type III coins were found together in hoards with coins from the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries—the Shvan and Mohyliv hoards—and all were present in the Nizhen hoard. The coins found in the Shvan and Mohyliv hoards did, indeed, date no later than the first quarter of the eleventh century, and that is an important fact. The chronology of types is determined by the fact that some coins were reissues: there is a coin bearing a type II stamp superimposed on a type I stamp, and a coin with a type III stamp over a type II stamp. However, deciphering Volodymyr's name on the type II coins requires so much conjecture that the reading is highly unreliable.

but rather on the conditions that prevented the adoption of Byzantine culture in its entirety, with all its noble aspects, and later inhibited the evolution of these positive characteristics. Moreover, the adoption of Byzantine culture did not entail a rejection of Western culture. As we shall see, in later centuries Ukraine, particularly its western parts, drew ever closer to Western values, and the Byzantine foundations of its civilization did not prevent it from adopting elements of Western civilization.

From the standpoint of the historical process, it is sufficient to conclude that in contemporary conditions, the turning of Rus' toward Byzantine culture was completely natural.

* * *

Our principal source, the Chronicle, provides very little information about the second half of Volodymyr's reign. For many years there are no entries, particularly from the year 1000 onward. There is nothing unusual about this. Not knowing the exact date of each event, the chronicler summarized the events that filled the second half of Volodymyr's reign under several years (988, 996–97). This period of Volodymyr's rule was marked by his crucially important, many-sided and intensive state-building. The Chronicle provides some examples of this work, while other aspects of it must be deduced by supplementing the Chronicle's account from a combination of other sources.

Volodymyr concentrated above all on Christianizing Rus' and transplanting Byzantine culture into his realm. We have already stated that Volodymyr had grandiose plans. Christianity was only one element in the cultural evolution of Rus' that Volodymyr set as his goal, but it was such an important element that it dominated that evolution. The short description of this process contained in the Chronicle and narrated in several lines—the Christianization of towns and villages, the building of churches, and the schooling of children—belied an intensive and difficult program that lasted many years and must have consumed much of Volodymyr's energy and attention.

The short account in the Chronicle about Volodymyr's sons, whom he installed in the various Rus' domains, is also quite significant. The seats that these sons were sent to occupy were not empty, which means that the policy caused an upheaval in the internal organization of the state. As Volodymyr's sons matured, earlier administrative relations were gradually replaced by a system of dynastic ties. At the same time, there would have been important work to do in other areas of internal organization. We have only vague echoes of that work. Thus, we learn in passing from the Chronicle that Volodymyr 'consulted' with his retinue 'about the administration of the land, about the laws of the land, and about wars.' The Chronicle gives an example of the matters that were subject to such 'consultations.' As robbers increased in number, the bishops asked Volodymyr why he did not punish them. Volodymyr replied: 'I fear sin.' To this the bishops responded: 'You have been placed by God to punish evil men and to show mercy to good men. It is proper for you to punish a robber, but only after an investigation.' Volodymyr then abolished exaction of wergild (monetary fines) and began to punish (execute) the robbers. But when the bishops and elders (notables of the land) told him that because much warfare had to be conducted there was a need for wergild in weapons and horses to be paid, Volodymyr heeded their counsel and restored the old custom of monetary fines.¹³⁸

138. 'And Volodymyr lived according to the rules of his grandfather and father' ends this passage in the Chronicle (*Hyp.*, p. 87). I believe that, in this context, these words apply specifically to the judicial system, although if read

The Chronicle account is meant to illustrate the pious mental state of the prince, the transformation of a former sinner. But it casts light on the reforms that Volodymyr—with the help of his retinue, his lieutenants in the countryside, and the clergy, as the new educated stratum—introduced with a firm hand in the internal administration of the Rus' lands, so as to meet new political and cultural needs. Although we cannot determine their exact nature, we can be certain that such reforms were introduced.

Yet another aspect of Volodymyr's domestic policy must be examined here.

The Chronicle, the *Life of St. Volodymyr*, and the later epic tales (*byliny*) provide a great deal of information about Volodymyr's feasts, which have become an epic characteristic of his age.¹³⁹ The Chronicle and the *Life* regard them as another display of Christian charity, whereas scholars view them as a manifestation of the humane, noble side of Volodymyr's character. Perhaps, however, these festivities served a more fundamental purpose.

Let us recall that these famous feasts were held 'every day' and 'whether the prince was there or not,' which means that their purpose was not the prince's amusement. Also, these feasts were attended not only by the retinue, but also by the general populace. To church celebrations Volodymyr invited 'the elders from all towns and many commoners.' It is probable that the 'town elders' not only sat in council with Volodymyr, but also participated in his feasts.¹⁴⁰ Both the councils and the banquets provided an opportunity for representatives of society to mingle with members of the retinue and the clergy. During the feasts, relations among all these elements were strengthened and antagonisms were lessened. Despite a lack of direct evidence, we can be fairly certain that strong antagonisms did exist between the different strata. From the political standpoint, then, the money expended on these feasts, though needed for the fighting of 'many wars,' was not wasted.

The intensive work on the internal organization of the state was conducted in the midst of 'continuous heavy fighting' against the Pechenegs, which made it necessary for Volodymyr to gather forces from the entire realm in the south. Rather than repeat what I have already said about this elsewhere,¹⁴¹ here I will recall only that at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, the Kyivan state was virtually blockaded by the Pechenegs. The struggle against them placed a great strain on the realm. Despite all the effort involved, this war was waged with varying degrees of success and often entailed personal danger to Volodymyr. In order to protect the threatened regions, a large network of fortifications was built along an extensive defense line, and the southern frontier was forcibly colonized.

It is easy to understand that with these two matters—the internal organization of the state and the ongoing war in the steppes—to occupy him, Volodymyr had neither the desire nor the means to take on the states neighboring Rus'. In relations with them, he must have pursued a defensive policy aimed at preserving earlier gains. There were no major wars during this period. This is confirmed by our Chronicle, which, apart from the wars with the Pechenegs, reports only

independently they might be a general characterization.

139. Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' pp. 15, 21; *Hyp.*, p. 91.

140. The Chronicle relates that Volodymyr's daily feasts were held for 'boyars, bodyguards, heads of a hundred, heads of a ten, and distinguished men' (*Hyp.*, pp. 86–87). Applying the terminology of the beginning of the twelfth century, when compilation of the Chronicle was being completed, this would mean only the princely retinue. Yet it is doubtful, a priori, that in the tenth century 'boyars, heads of a hundred, and heads of a ten' included only the princely retinue. In light of the general thrust of Volodymyr's policies, too, it is unlikely that the festivities were meant only for members of the princely retinue.

141. See pp. 183–84.

a single campaign after 988—against the Croats in 993.¹⁴² In reality, however, other wars must have been fought during the time, such as those against Bolesław in 992 and 1013, which I discussed earlier. Volodymyr's sons, too, campaigned against the various peoples neighboring on their individual domains. Still, there were probably no major wars during this part of Volodymyr's reign, or we would certainly have some record of them.

External enemies were not the sole threat to the integrity of Volodymyr's realm. On occasion his own subjects took up arms against the system he had established. The dynastic ties that served Volodymyr as a foundation for that system strengthened his realm, but did not safeguard it fully from instability and disturbances. Volodymyr's final years were darkened by revolts led by his sons. Earlier in this volume, I described the plot against Volodymyr by one of his older sons, Sviatopolk of Turiv. Thietmar, our only source on this incident, relates that Sviatopolk was preparing to rise against his father at the instigation of his father-in-law, Bolesław I the Brave of Poland, but Volodymyr learned of the plan and imprisoned him. Sviatopolk was later released, and he was at liberty in Kyiv before his father's death. He probably had no domain of his own, or perhaps he had Vyshhorod as his residence and source of income; in any event, there is evidence of close ties with and support for Sviatopolk among the residents of Vyshhorod.

Iaroslav, another of Volodymyr's elder sons, was next to move against his father. The Chronicle explains that previous lieutenants in Novgorod were obliged to make annual payments of a thousand hryvnias to the Novgorod garrison (sent there from Kyiv, apparently) and to send two thousand to the prince in Kyiv. Iaroslav was supposed to do the same, but he stopped all payments to Kyiv. Volodymyr decided to subdue his disobedient son by force of arms and began to make preparations: he ordered that roads be cut through the forests for his troops and bridges built across rivers and marshes. Iaroslav, not backing down at this prospect of war, brought in a large number of Varangians from abroad, as his father had once done, in Iaropolk's time. But nothing came of this campaign: 'God did not give joy to the Devil,' as the Chronicle says. Volodymyr died in the midst of the preparations, and the bloody feuds that ensued came after his death.

Volodymyr was not very old when he died, probably not yet sixty.¹⁴³ Moreover, death took him unprepared, creating very serious problems for his realm.

It appears that Volodymyr intended one of his youngest sons, Borys, to succeed him: before his death he summoned Borys to Kyiv from Rostov. But the measures necessary to secure Borys's position in Kyiv were not taken. Moreover, at the time of Volodymyr's death, Borys was away from Kyiv: he had been entrusted with the command of troops sent against the Pechenegs, who had invaded the Pereiaslav domain.¹⁴⁴ In Kyiv, instead, was Sviatopolk, who had quarreled with his father. At the same time, in Novgorod Iaroslav was readying for war. After Volodymyr's death these circumstances gave rise to serious conflicts that shook the realm.

Volodymyr died on 15 July 1015 at his court in Berestove (on the banks of the Dnipro, near the site where the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves now stands). His death was kept secret for several days because of the unstable situation. Then his body was taken to the Church of the Tithe and placed in a marble sarcophagus next to his wife Anna, who had died in 1011.¹⁴⁵ The

142. *Hyp.*, p. 83.

143. The calculation is based on the statement that after the death of Ihor, Volodymyr's father was still 'a child.'

144. *Hyp.*, p. 80.

145. *Hyp.*, pp. 89–90; Thietmar, *Chronicon* 7.52. Skylitzes in Kedrenos, however, gives a later date for the death

Church of the Tithe, together with the tombs of the Rus' princes buried there, was destroyed in 1240 during the sack of Kyiv. Sources claim that during the restoration of this church in 1635, during the tenure of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, Volodymyr's bones were found in the ruins of the original church, 'in a marble tomb, where they had been placed long ago.' However, we have no precise information about the characteristics that led contemporaries to determine that it was indeed the tomb of Volodymyr, and today the grave itself no longer exists. Mohyla planned to move Volodymyr's remains with great ceremony to the Cathedral of St. Sophia and he requested the Muscovite tsar to send a new sarcophagus for that purpose, but Muscovy did not do so. Thus Volodymyr's tomb and his remains (apart from several bones, preserved in various places as relics) have disappeared.¹⁴⁶

* * *

Despite Volodymyr's services to Christianity, which were praised and compared with Constantine's attainments by all who wrote about him in the eleventh century, his canonization came rather late. There are certain intimations in the Chronicle and in the 'Old *Life*' that there was some opposition to proclaiming Volodymyr a saint. The *Life* defends Volodymyr against the charge that he had not worked any miracles, and the Chronicle reproaches the people for not rendering 'honor commensurate with his contributions' as it appeals to them to pray for Volodymyr so that God would glorify him (with a miracle). The lack of miracles was certainly the principal reason for the delay in Volodymyr's canonization. It is also likely, however, that the canonization was hampered by contemporary ascetic views of Christian sainthood, which were irreconcilable with the recollection of Volodymyr's exuberant feasts and the memory of this 'benevolent prince' in general. He began to be venerated as a saint when that tradition became weaker; the first references to him as an acknowledged saint date to the latter half of the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁷

The old comparison of Volodymyr to Constantine is very apt. The similarity between them is not confined to their services to Christianity. Constantine, too, was above all a politician, and his measures on behalf of Christianity were politically motivated. He was the creator of a new political order that revived the Roman Empire. The same, *mutatis mutandis*, can be said of Volodymyr.

He began by rebuilding a disintegrated realm and simultaneously worked at binding it together with closer internal ties. Until then, the only unifying factor had been the merchant and retinue stratum, which circulated like blood through the arteries of the whole system of the Rus' state, holding it together and maintaining it by the homogeneity and uniformity of its interests. These interests required that that system be as widespread and as unified as possible. Volodymyr created additional and new unifying factors.

of Volodymyr's wife.

146. *AluZR*, 3: 29; Kal'nofois'kyi, *Teratourgema lubo cuda*, p. 4; Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, 2: 426ff.; Zakrevskii, *Opisanie Kieva*, 1: 281ff. Mohyla's statement about a marble tomb negates the theory that the tomb of red slate discovered in the foundations of the Church of the Tithe in 1824 could be the tomb of Volodymyr found by Mohyla. Volodymyr's remains are now preserved in various places: his head is at the Monastery of the Caves in Kyiv; his hand, at the Cathedral of St. Sophia; his lower jaw, at the Cathedral of the Dormition in Moscow.

147. Malyshevskii, 'Kogda i gde'; Golubinskii, *Istoriia kanonizatsii sviatykh*, pp. 63–64; idem, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 185–86.

Foremost among these factors was the establishment of a system of dynastic ties. Volodymyr was determined that the lands of the Rus' state be ruled by the sons of a single father, the members of a single dynasty. Later, this gave rise to the conviction that Volodymyr's dynasty had a monopoly and exclusive right to rule the lands of his realm; that all the lands of Volodymyr's state were the patrimony of Volodymyr's dynasty; that all the princes had to exhibit solidarity in defending the unity of this patrimony; and that that was in their interest, because each prince, by his birth and by his belonging to the dynasty, had the right to a domain in this patrimony. All this laid the basis for a vital, if weak, centripetal tendency (I say weak because we should not exaggerate the significance of the tendency, inasmuch as each prince attempted to break away his domain and become independent of the Kyivan prince).

Religious and cultural bonds also played an important role. Volodymyr established a new religion in his realm and did his utmost to ensure that it spread throughout the land. The spread of Christianity was accompanied by the spread of Byzantine culture. Throughout the entire country, both this religion and this culture depended on the power of Volodymyr and, later, on that of his dynasty. Therefore, the supporters of that religion and culture had also to be supporters of the dynasty, defenders and advocates of its rights and importance. Thus, Christianity served the same purpose in Kyivan Rus' as it did in Constantine's empire and, subsequently, in various other barbarian states, where it was imposed from above by the ruler. The supposition that there was an attempt to instill in Rus' the same notion of rule by divine right as existed in Byzantium is more problematical, because that would have required a very intimate knowledge of the workings of Byzantine society. In any event, those principles did not take hold in Rus' to any significant degree.

We must also not overlook the role played by the new law that was evolving from the old customary law (primarily Rus', Polianian) to meet the needs of the new state organization (for instance, the matter of wergild under Volodymyr).¹⁴⁸ Modified to suit the way in which the state was governed, Kyivan customary law was popularized over the centuries by the ruling dynasty and the retinue throughout the lands of Volodymyr's realm and became the foundation of local laws and practices. We encounter various legal provisions instituted by the Kyivan princes in the northern manuscripts of the *Rus' Law*. Later still, we find the same legal principles in local legal documents in the various 'lands' that had once belonged to the Rus' realm, even though the ties among these regions had long since been broken. The strong influence and survivals of Kyivan law as set forth in the *Rus' Law* that are contained in the Lithuanian Statute serve as the most telling evidence of the tendency noted above. The Lithuanian Statute evolved from the legal practices of the Polatsk land, the most independent of all the regions comprising the Rus' realm and the most isolated from Kyivan influence. Yet the Lithuanian Statute shows that this region, too, was wholly subject to the influence of Kyivan law, as well as that of Kyivan literature and culture.

All these ties were primarily of a normative and cultural nature. They lacked the power to hold Volodymyr's realm together as a strongly consolidated political entity. Nonetheless, they were real, perceptible, influential, and must not be underestimated. Volodymyr's rule was of epochal importance to the evolution of these ties.

Volodymyr's grandfather died the death of an ordinary *Raubritter* (robber knight), in

148. Volodymyr's role as reformer of legal institutions in Rus' was recently discussed by Goetz in *Das russische Recht*, but his conclusions are highly hypothetical in nature and have met with some scepticism in scholarly circles.

retaliation for his 'raids' on the Derevlianian land: '[He] was like a wolf, seizing and plundering,' the Derevlianians say of him in the legend related by the Chronicle.¹⁴⁹ Volodymyr's father died as a chivalrous adventurer in a distant campaign, leaving the memory of a wandering warrior with nominal ties to his own land. Volodymyr died in his own capital, and the people, upon learning of his death, 'gathered in countless numbers and lamented over him: the boyars as the defender of their land, and the poor as their defender and provider.'¹⁵⁰ These three events reflect the evolution of the Rus' state in the tenth century. The warrior princes who forged their state by sheer force were followed by a prince who took it upon himself to lay a foundation of culture under that structure. Therein lies the political significance of Volodymyr's reign and his right to the appellation of 'the Great' bestowed on him by the Galician Chronicle.¹⁵¹

The literary tradition represents Volodymyr predominantly as an apostle of Christianity and retains the memory of his Christian virtues. Both local and foreign sources agree that the once dissolute pagan was later imbued with the spirit of Christianity as a religion of love and mercy. Beginning with Thietmar—who probably relied on what he knew of Volodymyr's reputation in Ukraine and, generally, among the East Slavs, as brought to Germany by the soldiers who campaigned against Kyiv with Bolesław I—the ancient sources, including Ilarion, the Chronicle, the 'Old Life,' and Iakiv's *Memorial and Encomium*, all stress this side of Volodymyr's character.¹⁵² Volodymyr's feasts, whose deeper political purpose I spoke of above, are also credited to him as a virtue. 'Who can recount all your nightly charity and the daily generosity that you showed to the poor, to the orphaned, the sick,' states Ilarion, adding that these 'alms and your generosity are remembered among men.' The Chronicle and the *Life* acquaint us in greater detail with these legends 'among men.' The *Life* describes the festive 'banquets' at Volodymyr's court—he set up three tables: the first for the metropolitan, bishops, and other clergy; the second for paupers and the poor; and the third for himself, his boyars, and all his men (variant: all the people). The Chronicle provides more details: it states that Volodymyr decreed that every beggar and poor man come to the prince's court and take everything he needed—drink, food, and money. Because the weak and sick could not come to the prince's court, Volodymyr ordered carts to be loaded with provisions—bread, meat, fish, vegetables and fruits, mead and kvas—and driven about town. He ordered that inquiries be made on the whereabouts of the weak and the sick who could not come to the prince's court on their own, and that what they needed be distributed to them. Every day, whether the prince was there or not, a feast was held at the court, in the guards' hall, attended by his 'boyars, bodyguards, heads of a hundred and heads of a ten, and prominent men,' and there was an abundance of everything.¹⁵³ On one occasion, when his retinue had become a bit drunk, they began to complain against the prince: 'Woe to us; he made us eat with wooden spoons, not silver ones.' This whim, too, Volodymyr ordered satisfied: 'Through silver and gold I will not find a retinue,

149. *Hyp.*, p. 35.

150. *Hyp.*, p. 90.

151. *Hyp.*, p. 505.

152. Thietmar, *Chronicon* 7.52; Ilarion, *Sermon*, in Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury,' pp. 56–57; Iakiv's *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr*, *ibid.*, pp. 21–22; *Novg. I*, pp. 73–74; *Hyp.*, pp. 86–87.

153. The Chronicle of Pereiaslavl-Suzdalskii elaborated further on this story: 'And there was much meat at these feasts: beef, and fowl, and game, and costly fish, and fruits for dessert, and everything made by human hands, and various wines to drink, and various meads; a vat of pepper was used in the prince's absence, and three vats when the prince was present each week, and a vat is eight barrels' (*Letopisets Pereiaslavlia-Suzdal'skogo*, p. 34).

but through my retinue I will find silver and gold, just as my grandfather and my father sought and found gold and silver through their retinue.' The account underscores Volodymyr's generosity to his retinue, thereby echoing the special retinue tradition.

On special occasions, relates the Chronicle, Volodymyr held feasts for large masses of people. On the feast day of the Transfiguration of the Lord, to which the church in Vasylyv was dedicated (built to commemorate his escape from the Pechenegs), Volodymyr held a large feast. Invited to it were Volodymyr's boyars, lieutenants, and 'elders' from all the towns, 'and many people,' to whom gifts were distributed. Three hundred vats of mead were brewed for the feast, and three hundred silver hryvnias were distributed to the poor. The celebration lasted eight days and was followed immediately by the feast day of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Kyiv, at the Church of the Tithe. And there, again, the prince made 'a splendid holiday,' calling together 'an innumerable multitude of people....and he [Volodymyr] did it this way every year.'

Of all Volodymyr's accomplishments, these feasts are what most captured the popular imagination. In the Volodymyr epic cycle, which has survived in the Russian tradition and, in fragments, in the Belarusian, but which unquestionably originated in the south, everything centers on Volodymyr's court and its 'feast of honor.' They serve as the focal point for the accounts of the various campaigns by Volodymyr's epic heroes (*bogatyri*), while Volodymyr himself plays a wholly passive role, confined to setting various tasks for his heroes, who carry them out for the benefit of the Rus' realm:

At the little sun Volodymyr's [palace]
 a little feast lasted into the third day.
 The sun was moving toward evening
 and the feast of honor was proceeding in joy.
 All were becoming inebriated at the feast,
 All were becoming sated at the feast of honor,
 And all started to brag at the feast of honor.
 The little sun Volodymyr, occupant of the throne of Kyiv, said:
 'There is nothing for the little sun Volodymyr to brag about.
 Tributes to the khan have not been sent
 for twelve years, and for thirteen years,
 and for thirteen years and a half.'
 Three mighty *bogatyri* of Rus' sat next to him—
 the old Cossack, Iliia Muromets,
 the young Dobrynia, son of Nikita,
 and Mikhail Potyk, son of Ivan.
 Said Volodymyr, occupant of the throne of Kyiv:
 'O you three mighty *bogatyri* of Rus'!
 Old Cossack Iliia Muromets,
 Go to the Stone Horde,
 to the great land of the Stone Horde!
 Send tributes [to the khan]
 for twelve years, for thirteen years,
 for thirteen years and a half.
 O young Dobrynia, son of Nikita!
 Do not go to the great land:
 Not to the great land,
 but to the Golden Horde,
 and send tributes [to the khan] there

for twelve years, for thirteen years,
for thirteen years and a half.
O third mighty *bogatyř*, Mikhail Potyk, son of Ivan!
Go to the Podilian land
and send tributes [to the khan] there
for twelve years, for thirteen years,
for thirteen years and a half!¹⁵⁴

Despite all the profound changes that this *bylina* tradition underwent on Russian soil,¹⁵⁵ it may well be that it retained a true recollection of the later years of Volodymyr's reign, when his attention focused on his realm's domestic and cultural affairs and he entrusted military matters to his sons and boyars.

154. *Bylina* about Mikhail Potyk in Gil'ferding, *Onezhskie byliny*, 1: 33. [The English translation here is by Bohdan Strumiński.—Eds.]

155. See Khalanskii, 'Velikorusskie byliny kievskogo tsikla,' and V. Miller, *Ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti*.

Notes

1. Greek Colonization of the Northern Coast of the Black Sea

There exists a large body of literature on the Greek colonies along the northern coast of the Black Sea. Listed below are only the most important or the most recent [up to 1913] publications on this subject (for a selection of lesser works, see the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume).

GENERAL WORKS. The monograph of Boeckh in vol. 2 of *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum* (= *CIG*) (1843), chap. 11; Köhler, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vols. 1–2: *Serapis oder Abhandlungen betreffend das griechische und römische Altertum* (1850); Uvarov, *Issledovaniia o drevnostiakh Iuzhnoi Rossii i beregov Chernogo moria* (1851–53); Këne, *Opisanie muzeuma kniazia V. Z. Kochubeia (sostavleno po ego rukopisnomu katalogu) i issledovaniia ob istorii i numizmatike grecheskikh poselenii v Rossii* (also in French: Koehne, *Musée de feu du prince Basile Kotchoubey et recherches sur l'histoire des colonies grecques en Russie*, 1856); Muralt, 'Les colonies de la côte nord-ouest de la mer Noire depuis le Danube jusqu'au Boug' (1849); Bekker, 'Bereg Ponta Evksinskogo ot Istra do Borisfena, v otnoshenii k drevnim ego koloniiam' (1853); Thirion, *De civitatibus, quae a Graecis in Chersoneso Thaurica conditae fuerunt* (1884); Bürchner, *Die Besiedelung der Küsten des Pontus Euxeinus durch die Milesier. Historisch-philologische Skizze* (1884); Hertzberg, *Kurze Geschichte der altgriechischen Kolonisation* (1884); Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. 2, § 286–89, 419 (1884); Tolstoi and Kondakov, eds., *Russkie drevnosti v pamiatnikakh iskusstva*, vol. 1 (1889); Kulakovskii, *Proshloe Tavridy. Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk* (1906); Stern, 'Die griechische Kolonisation am Nordgestade des Schwarzen Meeres im Lichte archäologischer Forschung' (1909); Latyshev—a number of larger and smaller articles in his collection *История. Изыскания в области истории, археологии, географии и эпиграфики Скифии, Кавказа и греческих колоний на побережье Черного моря* (1909).

ON THE AGE OF MITHRIDATES. Meyer, *Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos* (1879); Niese, 'Straboniana. VI: Die Erwerbung der Küsten des Pontus durch Mithridates V. VII: Die letzten Tyrannen Athens' (1887); Reinach, *Mithradates Eupator, König von Pontos* (1895); Strazzula, *Mitridate VI, gli Sciti ed il regno Bosporano fino al 62 d. C.* (1903); Domaszewski, 'Die Entwicklung der Provinz Moesia' (1891); Premerstein, 'Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien' (1898); Rostovtsev, 'Rimskie garnizony na Tavricheskome poluostrove' (1900), and, in a second edition, Rostowzew, 'Römische Besatzungen in der Krim und das Kastell Charax' (1902); Filow, 'Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diokletian' (1906); Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. 5, chap. 7 (1885).

ON TYRAS. Bekker, *Grazhdanskii byt tiritov (rassuzhdeniia)* (1849); Brun, *Chernomor'e. Sbornik issledovaniu po istoricheskoi geografii Iuzhnoi Rossii (1852–1877 g.)*, vol. 1 (1879); Shtern, 'O poslednikh raskopkakh v Akkermane' (1901; explains the location of ancient Tyras); Kochubinskii, 'Tura (Tiras)-Belgorod-Akkerman i ego novaia lapidarnaia nadpis' ot 1454 goda' (1901).

ON OLBIA. Latyshev, *Issledovaniia ob istorii i gosudarstvennom stroe goroda Ol'vii* (1887); Hirst, 'The Cults of Olbia' (1902), Russian translation with additional material by Latyshev, 'Ol'viiskie kul'ty' (1908); Rostovtsev, 'Mifradat Pontiiskii i Ol'viia' (1907). On more recent

finds and excavations, in addition to *Otchety Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi komissii*, see also the reports by Shtern, 'O poslednikh raskopkakh i nakhodkakh v Ol'vii' (1900), Farmakovskii, 'Sklep Evrisivii i Arey v Ol'vii' (1902); idem, 'Raskopki nekropolia drevnei Ol'vii v 1901 godu' (1903); idem, 'Raskopki v Ol'vii v 1902–1903 godakh' (1906).

ON CHERSONESE. Këne, *Issledovaniia ob istorii i drevnostiakh g. Khersonesa Tavricheskogo* (1848); Becker, *Die Herakleotische Halbinsel in archäologischer Beziehung* (1856); Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle: Constantin Porphyrogénète* (1870)—the excursus on Cherson on p. 484ff.; Brun, *Chernomor'e. Sbornik issledovaniï po istoricheskoi geografii Iuzhnoi Rossii (1852–1877 g.)*, vol. 1 (1879); Latyshev, 'Èpigraficheskie dannye o gosudarstvennom ustroistve Khersonisa Tavricheskogo' (1884); Mal'mberg, *Opisanie klassicheskikh drevnostei, naidennykh v Khersonese v 1888 i 1889 godakh* (1892); Oreshnikov, *Obozrenie monet, naidennykh pri khersoneskikh raskopkakh v 1888 i 1889 godakh* (1892); Bert'e-Delagard, 'Nadpis' vremeni imperatora Zenona, v sviazi s otryvkami iz istorii Khersonesa' (1893); idem, *Raskopki Khersonesa* (1893); idem, 'O Khersonese' (1907); Schneiderwirth, *Zur Geschichte von Cherson in Taurien* (1897); Selivanov, *O Khersonise Tavricheskom* (1898); Brandis, 'Chersonesus Taurica' (1899); Bobrinskii, *Khersones Tavricheskii. Istoricheskii ocherk* (1905); *Pamiatniki khristianskogo Khersonesa*, vols. 1–3 (1905–11); reports about the 1899–1907 excavations by Kostiusenko-Valiuzhinich in *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi komissii* for the years 1901–9 (see bibliography).

ON PANTICAPAEUM AND THE BOSPORAN KINGDOM. Ashik, *Bosporskoe tsarstvo s ego paleograficheskimi i nadgrobnymi pamiatnikami, raspisnymi vazami, planami, kartami i vidami*, vols. 1–3 (1848); *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au Musée impérial de l'Ermitage* (1854); Leont'ev, 'Arkheologicheskie razyskaniia na meste drevnego Tanaisa i v ego okrestnostiakh'; Gërts, 'Arkheologicheskaia topografiia Tamanskogo poluostrova' (1898); idem, 'Istoricheskii obzor arkheologicheskikh issledovaniï i otkrytii na Tamanskom poluostrove s kontsa XVIII stoletiiia do 1859 g.' (1898); Zabelin, 'Ob"iasnenie Strabonovykh svidetel'stv o mestnostiakh Bospora Kimmeriiskogo' (1878); Oreshnikov, *Bosfor Kimmeriiskii v èpokhu Spartokidov po nadpisiam i tsarskim monetam* (1884); Latyshev, introduction to vol. 2 of *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae (= IPE)* (1890), later reprinted in Russian in his *Ποντικά. Izbornik nauchnykh i kriticheskikh statei* (1909); Panachovnyi, 'Starodavni hrets'ki kol'onii bospors'ki v mezhakh teperishn'oi Kubans'koi oblasti ta sumizhnykh z neiu mist'st' (1892); Ortmann, *De regno Bosporano Spartocidarum* (1894); Mel'nikov-Razvedenkov, 'Bospor Kimmeriiskii v èpokhu Spartokidov' (1896); Kulakovskii, 'K istorii Bospora Kimmeriiskogo v kontse VI veka' (1896); Brandis, 'Bosporos' (1897); Mordtmann, *Historische Bilder vom Bosphoros* (1907). On more recent systematic excavations in Kerch [1899–1908], see the reports by Dumberg and Shkorpil in *IzAK*; on Tanais excavations, see *IzAK*, vol. 25.

ON THE PONTIC TRADE IN PARTICULAR. Preller, 'Über die Bedeutung des Schwarzen Meeres für den Handel und Verkehr der alten Welt' (1864). Specifically on the fish trade: Köhler, 'Ταριχος ou recherche sur l'histoire et sur les antiquités des pêcheries de la Russie méridionale' (1832); also Bonnell, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Rußlands (von den ältesten Zeiten bis um das Jahr 400 n. Chr.)*, 1 (1882): 97–99, where additional bibliography is provided. On the grain trade, see the long work by Perrot, 'Le commerce des céréales en Attique au quatrième siècle avant notre ère. Athènes et le royaume du Bosphore Cimmérien' (1877); Mishchenko, 'Torgovye snosheniia Afinskoi respubliki s tsariami Bospora' (1878); also Latyshev, *Issledovaniia ob istorii i gosudarstvennom stroe goroda Ol'vii* (1887), chap. 1. In addition to the articles by Stern that have already been cited, see his 'Relations commerciales entre l'Égypte et les colonies grecques au bord septentrional de la Mer Noire' (1909).

The Black Sea trade is also the subject, in part, of the well-known work by Sadowski, *Drogi handlowe greckie i rzymskie przez porzeczka Odry, Wisły, Dniepra i Niemna do wybrzeży Morza Bałtyckiego* (1876), usually referred to in the German translation by Kohn: *Die Handelsstraßen der Griechen und Römer durch das Flußgebiet der Oder, Weichsel, des Dniepr und Nieman an die Gestade des Baltischen Meeres* (1877). This book, however, does not live up to its reputation, for it contains much conjectural and misleading material.

Epigraphic materials have been compiled by Latyshev in *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* (= IPE), vols. 1, 2, and 4 (1885–1901; with more extensive commentaries in idem, *Drevnosti Iuzhnoi Rossii. Grecheskie i latinskie nadpisi, naidennye v Iuzhnoi Rossii v 1889–91, ... 1892–94, ... 1895–98 godakh* [1892, 1895, 1899]), and idem, *Sbornik grecheskikh nadpisei khristianskikh vremen iz Iuzhnoi Rossii* (1896). For recent finds, see Latyshev, 'Ėpigraficheskie novosti iz Iuzhnoi Rossii (nakhodki 1901–1903 godov)' (1904). The texts of Greek authors dealing with the Ukrainian coast of the Black Sea have also been collected by Latyshev in *Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis. Izvestiia drevnikh pisatelei grecheskikh i latinskikh o Skifii i Kavkaze*, vols. 1–2 (1893–1906). Numismatic materials have been collected most fully in Burachkov, *Obshchii katalog monet, prinadlezhashchikh èllinskim koloniam na severnom beregu Chernogo moria*, vol. 1 (1884), and the more recent work by Podshivalov, 'Monety tsarei Bosfora kimmeriiskogo, dinastii Spartakidov i Akhemenidov' (1889). Ceramics: Shtern, *Muzei Imperatorskogo Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, vols. 1–3 (1897–1906); the terracottas of Theodosia, Olbia, and Panticapaeum, vol. 3: 'Feodosiia i ee keramika' (1906). For many smaller studies and materials, see *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, *Trudy VI Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda*, and *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi komissii*.

For minor works on the Crimea, see the index in A. Markevich, *Taurica. Opyt ukazatelii sochinenii kasaiushchikhsia Kryma i Tavricheskoi gubernii*, vols. 1–2 (1894–1902); on the Caucasian coast, see the earlier work by Miansarov, *Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica* (1874).

Editor's addition: Hrushevsky's selective treatment of the basic works on the history of the North Pontic Greek colonies, along with his concise summary of the history of this region and its major centers up to the Byzantine period (here, pp. 62–79; in the Ukrainian original, pp. 84–105), corresponds to the state of research in his time. This research is best represented by the work of Minns and that of Stern, which appeared almost at the same time: E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks: A Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge, 1913); E. Stern, 'Die politische und soziale Struktur der griechischen Kolonien am Nordufer des Schwarzmeergebietes,' *Hermes* 50 (1915): 161–224; also idem, 'Die griechische Kolonisation am Nordgestade des Schwarzen Meeres im Lichte archäologischer Forschung,' *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* 9 (1909): 139–52. Hrushevsky carefully followed the results of archaeological research and new source publications, including those on epigraphy (primarily Latyshev's editions of Greek and Latin inscriptions).

Hrushevsky perceived that the principal product supplied to the metropolis by the Greek Black Sea colonies was not dried and salted fish, but grain. Subsequent research has greatly enriched our knowledge of the North Pontic lands, but Hrushevsky's concise summary of their history (here, pp. 62–79; in the Ukrainian original, pp. 84–105), while less complete, has not been superseded. As evidence one can point to the similar treatment of this theme in the competent explanation by R. Werner, 'Die Frühzeit Osteuropas,' in *Handbuch der Geschichte Rußlands*, ed. M. Hellmann, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 153–71 and 194, which includes an extensive bibliography, as does H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die Römische Kaiserzeit*, 5th ed. (Munich, 1977), pp. 88–101. See also the basic work by M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922; Russian ed., 1918); also idem, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941); idem (Rostowzev), *Scythien und der Bosporus*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1931), and a recently published second volume (Stuttgart, 1993), containing the commentaries and

contributions of G.W. Bowersock, who noted that recent archaeological findings confirm Rostovtzeff's conclusions; C. M. Danoff, 'Pontos Euxeinos,' in *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. A. F. Pauly and G. Wissowa, supp. 9 (1962): 950–1140; V. Gaidukevič, *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1971; the 1974 reprint is an expansion of the Russian original, 1949); C. Roebuck, *Ionian Trade and Colonization* (New York, 1959); V. Lapin, *Grecheskaia kolonizatsiia Severnogo Prichernomor'ia: Kriticheskie ocherki otechstvennykh teorii kolonizatsii* (Kyiv, 1966); *Materialy po arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ia: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (Kyiv, 1983); A. Maslennikov, *Naselenie Bosporskogo gosudarstva v VI–II vv. do n.é.* (Moscow, 1981); O. Pritsak, 'The Role of the Bosphorus Kingdom and Late Hellenism as the Basis for the Medieval Cultures of the Territories North of the Black Sea,' in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, ed. B. Kiraly (New York, 1979), pp. 3–21.

For the copious Russian-language literature on this subject, especially archaeological works (Ukrainian-language contributions are rare, although the place of publication is Kyiv), see the multivolume series, *Sovetskaia arkheologicheskaia bibliografiia* (published since 1965), which includes all publications since 1918.—A. Poppe

2. Works on the Scythia of Herodotus

There exists a separate body of literature devoted to explaining Herodotus's reports about Scythia and the Scythian question in general. I shall cite only the most important of these: Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* (1837); Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf Ptolemäus*, vol. 3, pt. 2: *Skythien und das Land der Geten oder Daker nach den Ansichten der Griechen und Römer* (1846); K. Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande. Ein Beitrag zur alten Geographie, Ethnographie und Handelsgeschichte* (1855); *Drevnosti Gerodotovoï Skifii. Sbornik opisaniï arkheologicheskikh raskopok i nakhodok v chernomorskikh stepiakh* (1866, 1872); Zabelin, *Istoriia russkoi zhizni s drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 1 (1876); Bonnell, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Rußlands* (1882); Sayce, *Herodotos. I–III. The Ancient Empires of the East: A Series of Essays* (1883) (Mishchenko took issue with Sayce's skeptical views in such articles as 'Byl li Gerodot v predelakh Iuzhnoi Rossii?' [1886] and 'Ne v meru strogiï sud nad Gerodotom' [1888]); Mair, *Das Land der Skythen bei Herodot. Eine geographische Untersuchung* (1885); Lappo-Danilevskii, 'Skifskie drevnosti' (1887); V. Miller, *Osetinskie étiudy*, vol. 3, excursus 2 (1887); Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden' (1888); Hauvette, 'Géographie d'Hérodote' (1889); Tolstoi and Kondakov, eds., *Russkie drevnosti v pamiatnikakh iskusstva*, vol. 2 (1889); Krauth, 'Das Skythenland nach Herodotos' (1890); and idem, 'Die Sieben Flüsse Skythiens nach Herodots Bericht' (1894). In addition to the already cited works by Mishchenko, see also his articles 'Étnografiia Rossii u Gerodota' (1896), 'Izvestiia Gerodota o vne-skifskikh zemliakh Rossii' (1896), 'Gerodotovskie vsheedy' (1898), and subsequent ones; Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti gotoslavianskikh otoshenii* (1899; the excursus about Scythia, p. 228ff., is particularly comprehensive concerning the Gerrhus River); Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1 (1904); Westberg, 'Zur Topographie des Herodot' (1904, 1906). See also the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume. In Ukrainian scholarly literature, a great deal on the Scythians has been written by Partyts'kyi, who wrote from a 'Slavic' standpoint (see his *Velyka slovianska derzhava pered dvoma tysiachamy lit*, 1889, and his *Starynna istoriia Halychyny*, 1894).

A listing of the various theories about the ethnic stock of the Scythians would be lengthy but of little interest. The earlier view that the Scythians were of Ural-Altai stock, advanced by Niebuhr, Boeckh, and Neumann (the principal work in this category), was criticized by Schiefner, in 'Sprachliche Bedenken gegen das Mongolentum der Skythen' (1856), and by V. Miller, in *Osetinskie étiudy*, vol. 3 (1887). Among the more recent defenders of the Ural-Altai

theory, see the work by Nagy, *A Skythák* (1909). The Scythians were regarded as a mixed population by G. Müller, Vámbéry, Mishchenko, Latyshev, and also, in part, by V. Miller. The view that the Scythians were of Iranian origin, based primarily on ethnic similarities, had been comprehensively advanced even earlier, by Zeuss in *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* (1837), p. 285ff. The linguistic links between the Scythians and the Iranians were demonstrated in detail by Müllenhoff in 'Über die Herkunft und Sprache der pontischen Skythen und Sarmaten' (1866), reprinted with additions in vol. 3 of his *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (1900). Subsequent important contributions to this question were made by Professor V. Miller of Moscow, who based his conclusions on his studies of the Ossetians: *Osetinskie étiudy*, vol. 3 (1887); 'Épigraficheskie sledy iranstva na Iuge Rossii' (reprinted in abridged form in *Osetinskie étiudy*), and his ethnological work, 'Cherty stariny v skazaniakh i byte osetin' (1882). Miller, however, regarded only the Sarmatians and the western, sedentary Scythians as unquestionably Iranian, and considered the eastern, nomadic Scythians to be a separate group, although he found all evidence of this latter group's Ural-Altai origin unreliable. In any event, indications in the history of culture and art of close ties between the Scytho-Sarmatian population and the Iranians of the Near East have been documented by Tolstoi and Kondakov, in *Russkie drevnosti v pamiatnikakh iskusstva*, vol. 2. Other works that must be included here are the aforementioned study by Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den Skythischen Norden,' and his 'Ethnologisch-linguistische Forschungen über den Osten Europas' (1883); Soltau, *Zur Erklärung der Sprache des Volkes der Skythen* (1887); Sobolevskij, 'Einige Hypothesen über die Sprache der Skythen und Sarmaten' (1905); and the study by Marquart, 'Über einige skythisch-iranische Völkernamen' (1906).

Editor's addition: The Scythians, a people of Iranian origin (cf. M. Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, Leipzig, 1923; reprinted in idem, *Schriften*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1971), are of interest to Hrushevsky as inhabitants of the Black Sea steppes, i.e., future Ukrainian territory. However, Hrushevsky is far from regarding them as ancestors of the Proto-Slavs (e.g., the Scythian-Plowmen), as some do nowadays. Even when considering hypotheses about the Slavic identity of the Neuri and the Budini, generally accepted in the literature, Hrushevsky maintains a critical distance (amply justified from today's perspective), indicating the fabulous character of Herodotus's narrative, which yields little or nothing of value. The Scythian problem and the bibliography on the subject are discussed in H. Lowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1963), pp. 98–123, and in his article 'Scytia,' in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 3 (1967): 267–68, and vol. 5 (1975): 101–22. See also C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 64, 207. For a cautious attempt to depart from the exaggerated or completely fantastic interpretations of Herodotus's account, see A. Neikhardt, *Skifskii rasskaz Gerodota v otechestvennoi istoriografii* (Leningrad, 1982), and A. Rusianova, 'Do pytan'ia pro podorozh Herodota v Skifiiu,' *Arkheolohiia* (Kyiv), 1993, no. 4, pp. 14–23.

Challenging widespread current opinion, A. D. Kimball Armayor, in 'Did Herodotus Ever Go to the Black Sea?,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82 (1978): 45–62, sides with some nineteenth-century authors in questioning Herodotus's presence on the northern shore of the Black Sea.—A. Poppe

3. The Realm of Hermanaric and the Burg of the Goths on the Dniro

Thus far, very little has been done to arrive at an accurate interpretation of Jordanes' legend about Hermanaric's realm. To be sure, Koepke (*Deutsche Forschungen. Die Anfänge des Königtums bei den Gothen* [1859], p. 104ff.) and, later, Bessel ('Gothen' [1862], pp. 156–57) already tried to distinguish between the elements in the legend that were derived from the folk saga and those that were the products of the literary reworking of this tradition by Cassiodorus and Jordanes. Both Koepke and Bessel believed the catalogue of peoples to have been a later

literary elaboration on the words of the legend that Hermanaric had conquered many northern peoples. In their opinion, the Heruli and the Slavs-Venedi were the only exception, based on the assumption that the saga may have made mention of them. Unfortunately, this sound and critical approach to the legend of Hermanaric, as well as the skeptical commentaries by W. Grimm (*Die deutsche Heldensage* [1867], p. 8), Šafařík (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1, sec. 18.7), and Pallmann (*Die Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 1 [1863]: 46ff.), were not developed further in scholarship. Although they recognize the incongruities in the Hermanaric legend, scholars still refuse to abandon the account and, moreover, they attempt to rectify it by offering various corrections and artificial explanations. This is the position taken, for example, by: Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 2 (1881): 2ff.; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2 (1887): 83; Dahn, *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, 1 (1881): 230; L. Kauffmann, *Deutsche Geschichte bis auf Karl den Großen*, 1 (1880): 102–3; Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii*, vol. 1 (1899); Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (1903), p. 378; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgange der Völkerwanderung* (1904), p. 99ff.; idem, *Allgemeine Geschichte der germanischen Völker bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts* (1909), p. 88ff.; and others. For a general overview of the Hermanaric legend and works dealing with it, see Paul, ed., *Grundriß der germanischen Philologie* (1900), chap. 14, § 39–43; Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensagen* (1898). Even today, scholars continue to focus their efforts on decoding the distorted names of conquered peoples. Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* [1837], p. 688ff.) was the first to recognize the names of the Vepsians, Meria, Mordva, and Cheremis in Jordanes' *Vasina*, *Merens*, *Mordens*, and *Imniscaris*, and he interpreted the endings *-ens*, *-ans* as Gothic suffixes signifying the plural. Later investigators took the same path, largely accepting Zeuss's interpretation and attempting to correct other names on the list. Thus Koskinen (*Finnische Geschichte von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, 1874) read *Tiudos* in *Aunxis* as 'the Chud on the Aunus' (Aunuksenmaa) between lakes Ladoga and Chud. This interpretation was accepted by Müllenhoff, but rejected by Snellman (*Itämeren Suomalaiset isenäisyttensä aikana*, 1894). Müllenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2 [1887]: 74ff.) read *Goltescytha* to refer to the Scuti in Adam of Bremen—that is, the Slavic Chud—and *Broncas* to refer to Perm (Biarimia, Gothic *Bermans*). Marquart read *Rogastadzans* as the Gothic translation of Ptolemy's *Ῥόβοσκοι*—the inhabitants of the Volga region (Rha). At one time, some scholars even believed *Navego* to be Novgorod.

A new approach was suggested by Grienberger, in his 'Ermanariks Völker' (1895). He concluded that the list was a fragment or quotation from some lay and that it contained not only names but also epithets. He cited additional examples to support his theory, and his attempt to restore the rhythmic wholeness of the quotation is made in the same unpretentious spirit:

scýthathiudos ínaxungis
 uasinobrocans mérens mórdens
 ímnicàns rógastádzans
 áthalà ubegénascolda.

He translated the passage as: 'The Scythian peoples, who ride on wagons, inhabitants of meadows, the Meria and Mordva [Grienberger is prepared to accept these as epithets as well—M.H.], the inhabitants of the plains—desert dwellers, peoples who are obliged to provide military assistance.' His interpretation is of secondary importance; what is valuable is his

conclusion that most of the words in the series are epic names and that the whole passage is a poetic fragment. This gives rise to the question: was the prototype of this phrase linked with Hermanaric? It may have been, but that association might just as easily have appeared later, in the literary version of the Hermanaric legend. Secondly, to what extent are we justified in believing that the real peoples whose names may appear in the passage were, in fact, under the rule of the Goths at any time—during Hermanaric’s reign, or at any other time—or, at least, that they were included in the account because of a recollection of wars and conflicts with the Ostrogoths, as opposed to appearing out of thin air, on the basis of hearsay or for purposes of embellishment, as in the case of the various real and legendary peoples in the later legend of Alexander? Unfortunately, more recent researchers have not considered these aspects of the question, and Grienberger’s interesting attempt, like the earlier examples of healthy scholarly skepticism, has failed to make the proper impression on them. Although they admit the profound influence that the later poetic elaborations exerted on the Hermanaric legend as presented by Jordanes, they nonetheless blindly uphold the tradition of the political might of Hermanaric and, as I have already stated, focus primarily on attempting to decipher the names of the peoples recorded in the legend as being subject to him, rather than on criticism of the tradition bearing on this point.

Most of the information regarding Hermanaric’s ‘capital on the Dnipro’ is contained in the *Hervararsaga* in *Antiquités Russes d’après les monuments historiques des Islandais et des anciens Scandinaves*, 1 (1850): 196, and, in a more recent edition, *Norrøne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Inhold* (1873). It features Hlōðr, the illegitimate son of King Heiðrekr, who ruled over Reiðgotaland as far as the Harvaðafjöll (interpreted to mean the Croatian or Carpathian Mountains, var.: *havaða*—‘steep mountains’) and whose capital was the ‘Dnipro burg’ [Danparstaðir]. After Heiðrekr’s death, Hlōðr demanded of Heiðrekr’s son and heir, Angantýr (Angantheow), half of his patrimony: ‘[half] of the renowned forest that is named Myrkviðr [dark forest—M.H.], the hallowed grave that stands near the road [variant: in the land of the Goths—M.H.], the fair stone in the Dnipro places [steads], half the fortresses owned by Heiðrekr.’ But this saga is quite late, possibly dating to the twelfth or thirteenth century (it has a number of variants, consists of earlier and later parts, and the exact time of its compilation is not known, although the fact that it is of later date is not in question). To be sure, *Atlakviða*, the old lay about Attila, also speaks of ‘the Dnipro places [steads], the renowned forest the people call the Dark Grove’ (*Antiquités russes*, 1: 35), but these words are viewed as a later interpolation, and there are several reasons for that. The later lay about Hlōðr and Ongenþeow, based on the *Hervararsaga*, offers a more detailed description: ‘The renowned forest, called the Dark Grove, the hallowed grave that stands in the land of the Goths, the renowned stone that stands in the Dnipro places [steads].’ But, as we see, these descriptions are also confined to general characteristics that can be applied to Kyiv, its caves and hills (supposedly, Askold’s tomb), only hypothetically. In addition, Vigfússon (‘Place of the Hamtheow Lay’) made a correction in one verse of the *Hamðismál*—a lay that he believes, based on its content, could have dated to the eighth or ninth century, even though its language indicates a later date—by changing the word *diüpa* (*djuþr* ‘deep’) to *Danpar*, and read it as: ‘they saw the halls of the Goths and the terraced banks of the Dnipro.’ But this correction is much too arbitrary to mean anything. It is thus obvious that all these references to the ‘Dnipro burg’ are much too general to be read with any certainty to mean Kyiv, whereas the few, somewhat more detailed (though still very general) suggestions of Kyiv only appear in later materials, from the time when the city was already known throughout the contemporary world. Indeed, it is that very circumstance

that may have prompted the bards to believe the 'Dnipro burg' to be Kyiv. (Let me add that a grammatical analysis of the expression 'Danparstaðir' indicates that this was not a burg on the Dnipro, but rather a burg belonging to some mythical personage called Danpar, or even Danpr; it may have been associated with the Dnipro River only because of the high sound similarity.)

Because this tradition is very scant and general, for a long time scholars were content to include a general reference to the 'Danparstaðir' and made no attempt to indicate its location in any greater detail—see *Antiquités russes*, 1: 112, and Kunik's article, 'Über einige slawische Benennungen des Purpurs, der Sonne und des Bernsteins' (1869), p. 520. It was only the proponents of the Gothic theory who, in an attempt to link the Goths with Kyivan Rus', put forward the interpretation that the reference was to Kyiv: tentatively proposing this reading in his excursions in Dorn, 'Kaspil,' p. 55, Kunik conjectured that perhaps Danparstaðir was Kyiv ('Danparstaðir...Dnipro burg, Kyiv?'). He was followed by Brun, *Chernomor'e. Sbornik issledovaniï po istoricheskoi geografii Iuzhnoi Rossii (1852–1877 gg.)*, 2 (1880): 289, cf. 291; Budilovich, 'K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii slova Rus' (1897); Antonovich and Armashvskii, *Publichnye leksii po geologii i istorii Kieva* (1897), p. 36; Kulakovskii, *Karta Evropeiskoi Sarmatii po Ptolemeiu* (1899), p. 31; Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* (1899), pp. 245–46; Prášek, 'Herodot a pravlast Slovánů,' p. 60; Khalanskii, 'K istorii poeticheskikh skazanii ob Olege Veshchem' (1902); and others. The Icelandic scholar Vigfússon devoted a special study to this question: 'Place of the Hamtheow Lay' (1886). He argued that the 'Dnipro burg' was Kyiv, and that it was the capital of Giferic* and Hermanaric (he accepted Jordanes' tale of Hermanaric's realm in its entirety). His views were subjected to fundamental criticism by Dashkevich, 'Pridneprov'e i Kiev po nekotorym pamiatnikam drevne-severnoi literatury' (1886), A. Veselovskii, 'Kiev—grad Dnepra' (1887, repr. 1888), and Heinzl, 'Über die Hervararsaga' (1887). This subject has been briefly revisited by Sharovol'skii, 'Drevne-skandinavskoe skazanie o bitve gotov s gunnami i ego istoricheskaiia osnova' (1906), and Rozhnetskii, 'Iz istorii Kieva i Dnepra v bylevom épose' (1911). Rožniecki also believes it possible that the 'Dnipro burg' was Kyiv at the time of the Goths. I examined this hypothesis regarding Hermanaric's capital primarily because it figures in the Gothic theory (which I discuss in Excursus 2).

Editor's addition: Hrushevsky's critical observations on the exaggerated treatment of the tradition about Hermanaric, king of the Goths, whose rule extended over the territory of today's Ukraine, correspond to subsequent and current research: A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1963), pp. 396–404; V. Budanova, 'Ėtnicheskaia struktura gosudarstva Germanarikha,' *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii* 178 (1984): 34–40; T. S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington, 1984); H. Wolfram, *Die Goten: Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts*, 3d rev. ed. (Munich, 1990); *Peregrinatio Gothica III. Symposium*, ed. E. Straume and E. Skar, Universitets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter, 14 (Oslo, 1992); V. Bierbrauer, 'Archäologie und Geschichte der Goten vom 1.–7. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Bilanz,' *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994): 51–171.

Concerning source studies, Hrushevsky was also more skeptical of the later legendary tradition than was the author of a critical study of those popular medieval tales: C. Brady, *The Legends of Ermanaric* (Berkeley, 1943).—A. Poppe

* [Vigfússon uses the name 'Giferic' but may in fact be referring to the Gothic ruler Geberich.—Eds.]

4. The Question of the Antae

I explored the question of the Antae earlier, in a separate study: 'Anty. Uryvok z istorii Ukraïny-Rusy' (1898). The principal findings of that work were included in the first Ukrainian-language edition of this volume, and I am repeating them here without any significant changes. The works on the subject that have appeared during the last decade, including the most recent attempt to examine this question by Niederle ('Antové' [1910]), have not put forward anything that compels me to revise the views that I expressed earlier. Because I plan to devote a separate article to this subject, here I shall confine myself to several observations concerning the two principal theories about this people: one holds that the name of the Antae was a political designation, whereas the other considers it to have been an ethnic term.

The view that the name 'Antae' was a political identification was put forward by Kunik, in 'O vremeni, v kotorom zhil izrail'tianin Ibragim ibn-Iakub' (1878), p. 147. Kunik states very categorically that the Antae were dynasts of Asiatic, perhaps Circassian, stock who subjugated the Black Sea Slavs, as a result of which these Slavs differ from other Slavs. Because of Kunik's authoritative tone, this view began to circulate, despite the fact that it was completely unfounded. I encountered it, with a reference to Kunik, in Schieman, *Rußland, Polen und Livland bis ins 17. Jahrhundert* (1886), pp. 18–19, and in Denis, 'L'Europe orientale: Slaves, Lithuaniens, Hongrois. Depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin de l'XI^e siècle' (1892), p. 691, who obviously adopted it from Schieman. Wirth, citing Denis, included it in his *Geschichte Asiens und Osteuropas* (1905; see pp. 249–50, in particular). Making no attempt to familiarize himself with the information available about the Antae, he found a name of high sound similarity for these Asiatic Antae in the Udae and believed them to be the ancient Budini, Uti, Ούτίοι, the later Utiguri, Uldini, Euduseni, etc. According to Wirth, in Slavic pronunciation the name of the Udae sounds similar to that of the Antae, and he no longer regards them as a dynasty, but as a Circassian tribe that had wandered west and subjugated the Slavs (pp. 147, 149, 182, 191–92, 251–53, 272). There is no point in attempting to disprove such groundless speculations; suffice it to say that Wirth's work as a whole is fantastical to the point of absurdity. The Byzantine authors unequivocally called the Antae Slavs, identical in all respects to the South Slavs, and their leaders had indisputably Slavic names. There are, thus, no grounds for regarding them as a foreign dynasty, and, moreover, there is absolutely no evidence of the existence of any such foreign ruling dynasty. The complete absence of a political organization and the lack of strong rule, which is clear from Prokopios's account, make it impossible to accept this theory even in its most restrained form, which claims that the name 'Antae' was political in nature ('most likely some kind of political union of several tribes'), as suggested by Potkański in 'Lachowie i Lechici' (1898), p. 24. Indeed, no political organization among the Antae can be discerned.

The second theory has a much longer history.

Zeuss was the first to express the view that the division into Sclaveni and Antae corresponds to the linguistic division of the Slavs into two large groups—western (or, as he calls it, northwestern) and northeastern-southern ('Russen und Südölker'). He saw a parallel to this in the division of Slavdom into the Slavs and the Liakhs (Poles) in the Primary Chronicle: 'Thus the Slavs and the Liakhs bear the same relation to each other as the Sclaveni and the Antae of antiquity, the difference being that today the Slavs are located in the east, while at that time the Sclaveni (= Slavs) were situated in the west' (Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* [1837], p. 604). This conclusion was accepted by Roesler ('Über den Zeitpunkt der slavischen Ansiedlung an der unteren Donau' [1873], p. 90) and, later, by Krek (*Einleitung in die slavische*

Literaturgeschichte [1887], pp. 205–6; for a somewhat different opinion expressed in another part of his work, p. 330, see below). According to this view, the Antae comprised the Rus' plus the South Slavs, whereas the Sclaveni were the West Slavs. But this interpretation is not borne out by the facts. The only circumstance that seems to confirm this interpretation (it was pointed out by Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, sec. 25.7) is that in his account of the migration of the Heruli to Denmark, Prokopios (*De bello Gotthico* 2.15) identified the tribes to the north of the middle Danube as Sclaveni (Σκλαβηνοί). But that is not very significant and may only indicate that Prokopios used Σκλαβηνοί as the general name for all Slavs except the Antae, or, what is even more likely, that he believed these northern Slavs, with whom he could not have been very familiar, to be a kindred people of those that occupied the Pannonian banks of the Danube. Some scholars separate the South Slavs from the Antae and regard the name Antae as the designation for the entire East Slavic group. Krek (p. 330) tended toward this view by identifying the Antae and the Sclaveni as the Rus' Slavs and the West Slavs, respectively. The thesis that the Antae were the East Slavs has been articulated even more clearly by A. Pogodin (*Iz istorii slavianskikh peredvizhenii* [1901], p. 27), in contradiction to my view. Ultimately, this is also the view expressed by Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* [1903], p. 2). These scholars do not dwell on the difficulties connected with viewing the Antae as the whole eastern branch of the Slavs, even though Šafařík (*Slovanské starožitnosti*) recognized the problem when he wrote that we do not know how far north the name of the Antae reached. It is hardly likely that the Greeks had in mind the entire Slavic population when they used the name 'Antae,' inasmuch as they probably did not know this people in their entirety. They certainly did not include the northern tribes of the East Slavic family. The Antae of the Black Sea coast, of whom they wrote, included only the southern tribes. Niederle is of the same opinion in his 'Antové,' and the fact that he finds it necessary to polemicize with me there (p. 11) is due only to an obvious misunderstanding.

Just as Zeuss and others apply the name 'Antae' too broadly, so others (e.g., Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1 [1901]: 15) read it too narrowly, believing it to have encompassed only the Ulychians and Tivertsians along the Black Sea coast. There is no evidence that these tribes occupied the whole Antae territory, which extended to the Don. Moreover, why should these two Rus' tribes, in particular, be united under one name?

Finally, let us examine the conjectures of Marquart, who has devoted considerable attention to the Antae in his latest works and put forward a number of bold theories. Some of these are quite new, while others have been expressed in earlier works. However, he has not attempted to combine them into a single whole, and some of his views contradict one another. Because of the interest provoked by Marquart's bold 'raids' into the realm of eastern European history of the fourth to ninth centuries (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903), I will examine his theories in some detail, especially as we need to return to them frequently. As noted in the text, Marquart regards Jordanes' report that the Antae occupied the territory between the Dnister and the Dnipro as a recounting of an account by Ablabius, the semimythical source of Cassiodorus, which may have been written at the beginning of the sixth century. Marquart thinks that in Ablabius's time, the Antae may indeed have lived only between the Dnister and the Dnipro, and that they probably moved across the Dnipro only later, in the time of Prokopios (*ibid.*, p. xxv). They correspond to the Ulychians, Tivertsians, and Dulibians; these literary names gradually supplanted and displaced the name of the Antae (pp. 193–94). Reflecting on their distribution, Marquart is now ready to accept that the Antae expanded as far as the Dnister and the Dnipro in the Black Sea region only after the Goths had migrated to Moesia, at the end of the seventh and during the eighth centuries

(p. 194). He applies the account in the Chronicle of the war between the Dulibians and the Obry-Avars to the Antae. The similarity in their names suggests to him that the Dulibians (only a part of them, surely) subsequently migrated into the middle Danube region. He believes that Justinian's negotiations with the Obry-Avars ended with their resettlement to Dacia. Elsewhere, however, he expresses the view that it was the Avars who probably resettled the Ukrainian Dulibians in the middle Danube region, and that these Dulibians became the nucleus of the Czech state (the Kingdom of Dulaba described by al-Mas'udi) (*ibid.*, pp. 123–27; *idem, Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften* [1898], p. 78). The similarity of the names of Mezamer and Kelagast, Antae chieftains at the time of the Avar attack, to Bezmer and Gostun, Bulgar officers in the well-known register of Bulgar princes, suggests to him that in the mid-sixth century (554–58), before the arrival of the Avars, the Antae ruled the Proto-Bulgarian Onoguri (*Die Chronologie*, p. 80; *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 147). They did so, according to Marquart, in the new Antae settlements in Dacia. Moreover, Marquart identifies al-Mas'udi's state of the Valinana as the Antae and King Majak as Mezamer. He claims that Majak is the diminutive form of Mezamer and that the Valinana are the Volhynians, that is, the Dulibians from the Buh region, which is the later name of the Antae (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 147). Thus, the Antae are represented as a world power, responsible for some sort of political ferment. Their princes rule over the Bulgars, and they found the later Czech Kingdom. In later Arab tradition, their state remains a key political center that unites all the Slavic tribes under its rule. All that is very attractive, but rests on very thin evidence—Menander's account of Mezamer. Mezamer is not at all suited, however, to the role Marquart has assigned to him. In the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume, I subjected Menander's account of Mezamer to careful scrutiny; the reader will find my analysis, largely unchanged, on p. 281 of this edition. Mezamer was not a powerful ruler, but merely an influential and able man belonging to some ruling clan. Powerful rulers do not serve as envoys. Mezamer does not fit the role of the Bulgarian ruler and even less that of the king of Slavic peoples. Thus, Marquart's tantalizing fantasies evaporate like smoke.

Editor's addition: The thesis of the Slavic origin of the Antae and their association with the archaeological area of the middle Dnipro during the sixth and seventh centuries (the so-called Penkivka culture) has remained vital to the present day. See V. Sedov, 'Anten,' *Enzyklopädie zur Frühgeschichte Europas* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 28–32; *Arkheologija Ukrainoi SSR*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1985), pp. 153–67; *Otechestvennaia ènsiklopediia: Istorii Rossii s drevneishikh vremen do 1917 g.*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1994), p. 96. Considering the Irano-Alanic origins of the name, some researchers continue to associate the Antae with the Slavs. G. Vernadskii, in *Zven'ia russkoi kul'tury* (Berlin, 1938), believed that the Slavs had adopted this name from their conquerors, the Caucasian Alani, who were called Antae. I. Rusanova, *Slavianskie drevnosti VI–IX vv.* (Moscow, 1967), considers the Antae to be slaviced Alani. H. Łowmiański (*Początki Polski*, vol. 1 [1963]: 402–12) maintains that the Goths gave the name 'Antae' to the Dnipro Slavs. In addition to Hrushevsky and the three aforementioned scholars, see G. Schramm, 'Venedi, Antes, Sclaveni, Sclavi. Frühe Sammelbezeichnungen für slavische Stämme und ihr geschichtlicher Hintergrund,' *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 43 (1995): 161–200. B. Struminskyj, 'Were the Antes Eastern Slavs?,' *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4, pt. 2 (1979/80): 786–96, argues that the Antae were 'north Pontic Goths.' The fact that the Antae are no longer mentioned in the sources after the beginning of the seventh century allows one to hypothesize that 'Antae' was not an ethnonym, but denoted a territorial and political connection with the slaviced ruling stratum known by that name. B. Zasterowa (1971) speaks of an Alano-Slavic federation. For a critical assessment of the current state of research, see Z. Hilczar-Kuratowska, 'Antowie,' *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 7, pt. 2 (1984): 368–69, and C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 10–14, 151–53, 180–81. On the settlement of the East Slavs, see also Goehrke, 'Ostslavische Landnahme, Binnenkolonisation, und Herrschaftsbildung im Spiegel der Regionalgeschichte: Ein Überblick über ausgewählte neuere Literatur,' *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 44, no. 1 (1996): 86–98. For excerpts from sources, with a bibliography, see 'Antes,' in *Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa*, ser. A, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 110–11.—A. Poppe

5. The Literature on East Slavic Settlement

The fundamental work on the history of East Slavic settlement during the period of the Primary Chronicle [up to the beginning of the twelfth century] is still N. Barsov's *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii. Geografiia Nachal'noi (Nestorovoi) letopisi* (1885). Relying above all on a very careful and intelligent reading of the Chronicle's entries, the author at the same time gave a great deal of weight to geographic and topographic evidence—the names of rivers and settlements. However, he sometimes went too far, seizing on very remote and chance similarities in sound. As a result, this method became somewhat discredited and was subsequently applied by only a few scholars. It was used to good effect and comprehensively by Korsakov in his valuable monograph, *Meria i Rostovskoe kniazhestvo* (1872). Its value was held in high esteem by Filevich in his *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, vol. 1 (1886, the only volume to appear), in 'O razrabotke geograficheskoi nomenklatury,' and in the discussion in *Trudy X Arkheologicheskogo s"ezda v Rige 1896 g.* (1900), 3: 89; however, his application of it was such that it failed to inspire anyone. Some justified cautionary observations are found in Sobolevskii, 'Nazvaniia naselennykh mest i ikh znachenie dlia russkoi istoricheskoi étnografii' (1893).

Barsov's work served as a point of departure for a whole series of monographs published in Kyiv on the history of individual lands, which devoted considerable attention to the history of early colonization. These include: Golubovskii, 'Istoriia Severskoi zemli do poloviny XIV stoletia' (1881); Bagalei, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli do poloviny XIV st.* (1882); Golubovskii, *Pechenegi, torki i polovtsy do nashestviia tatar* (1884; he devotes a great deal of attention to the southern colonization on the boundary with the steppes); Molchanovskii, *Ocherk izvestii o Podol'skoi zemle do 1434 g.* (1885); Andriiashev, 'Ocherk istorii Volynskoi zemli do kontsa XIV st.' (1887); M. Grushevskii, *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli ot smerti Iaroslava do kontsa XIV veka* (1891); Dovnar-Zapol'skii, *Ocherk istorii Krivichskoi i Dregovichskoi zemel' do kontsa XII stoletia* (1891); Golubovskii, *Istoriia Smolenskoi zemli do nachala XV st.* (1895); P. Ivanov, *Istoricheskie sud'by Volynskoi zemli s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XIV veka* (1895); Danilevich, *Ocherk istorii Polotskoi zemli do kontsa XIV stoletia* (1896); Liaskoronskii, *Istoriia Pereiaslavl'skoi zemli s drevneishikh vremen do poloviny XIII stoletia* (1897); A. Grushevskii, 'Ocherk istorii Turovo-Pinskogo kniazhestva X–XIII vv.' (1901). As might be expected, among these twelve monographs some are more solid than others, but the strongest aspect of each is usually its historical and geographical analysis (e.g., the monographs by Andriiashev, Liaskoronskii, and Golubovskii on the Smolensk region).

Owing to the influence of the late Antonovych, to whose initiative we owe the series of monographs, the authors of these works, especially those written since the 1890s, took pains to include the results of archaeological findings to supplement their historical and geographical investigations. This lead was also followed by Professor V. Zavitnevych of the Kyiv Theological Academy in his works, beginning with his first, programmatic, as it were, study: Zavitnevich, 'Oblast' dregovichei kak predmet arkheologicheskogo issledovaniia' (1886). I, too, tried to use archaeological materials to define the tribal boundaries, but I must admit that it was premature to do so both on my part and that of others. As later archaeological investigations showed, what we were prepared to accept as characteristic ethnic features, on the basis of which we defined ethnic borders, later proved much less reliable than we had assumed. Further study began to reveal identical forms on different tribal territories. Moreover, because these archaeological investigations remain fragmentary and unsystematic, it is now clear that at this stage it is premature to speak of tribal funerary customs or of distinct tribal cultural and ethnic types. The best evidence of this is the survey of archaeological findings conducted by Spitsyn in

'Obozrenie nekotorykh gubernii i oblastei Rossii v arkhelogicheskome otnoshenii' (1895–99), and in his 'Razselenie drevne-russkikh plemen po arkhelogicheskim dannym.' Spitsyn argues in favor of tribal types, but his works demonstrate how far the material must be stretched to fit the theory when attempting to apply the tribal system to the available archaeological materials.¹

Almost simultaneously with Spitsyn's works there appeared another study that attempted to explain the ethnic system of the East Slavs on the basis of linguistic and dialectological evidence. I have in mind Shakhmatov's 'K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii i russkikh narodnostei' (1899). In itself, his idea is not novel. The notion that modern Ukrainian dialects correspond to the ancient tribal divisions had already been expressed very clearly in Mikhal'chuk, 'Narechiia, podnarechiia i govory Iuzhnoi Rossii v sviazi s narechiami Galichiny' (1877) [in a series edited by P. Chubyn's'kyi]. However, we still have no study that sets out to explore in detail the degree to which the territories of the various tribes correspond, or fail to correspond, to modern dialect groups. In the cited work, Shakhmatov attempted to construct his own theory, fitting both modern dialectology and ancient ethnography—often very arbitrarily—to reflect his conclusions. His principal thesis is that political organizations—the states existing in the fourteenth century and later—played a decisive role in destroying the old tribal units and forming the basis of new 'nationalities.' See my review of this thesis in *ZNTSh* 8 (1895): Bibl., 9–14. Shakhmatov's grouping of tribes in the tenth and eleventh centuries is discussed below.

Editor's addition: G. Goehrke offered some sound observations on publications dealing with East Slavic settlement and colonization in his 'Ostslavische Landnahme, Binnenkolonisation und Herrschaftsbildung im Spiegel der Regionalgeschichte,' *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 11, no. 1 (1966): 86–98. A substantial work that continues the research of N. Barsov (mentioned by Hrushevsky) is A. Nasonov, *Russkaia zemlia i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1951). For a geography of East Slavic settlement utilizing the copious writings on the subject, see H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 60–95. On the sites and directions of Slavic colonization, see D. Machinskii and M. Tikhanova, 'O mestakh obitaniia i napravleniakh dvizheniia slavian I–VII vv. n.é. po pis'mennym i arkhelogicheskim istochnikam,' *Acta Archeologica Carpathica* 16 (1976): 59–94. Given the intensification of excavational research during the course of the twentieth century, works based primarily or entirely on archaeological material have come to dominate the field. Among major items, one should mention the synthesis by I. Lapushkin, *Slaviane Vostochnoi Evropy nakanune obrazovaniia drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1968); I. Rusanova, *Slavianskie drevnosti VI–IX vv. mezhdru Dneprom i Zapadnym Bugom* (Moscow, 1973); V. Sedov, *Vostochnye slaviane v VI–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982). The current state of research is reflected in the collective work, *Arkheologia Ukrainskoi SSR*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1986).

B. Tymoshchuk (*Vostochnoslavianskaia obshchina VI–X vv. n.é.*, Moscow, 1990, 189 pp.) offers a remarkable arrangement of the results of archaeological research on thirty-six East Slavic settlement clusters from the sixth to the tenth centuries located in the upper basin of the Prut and Dnister Rivers (in the Ukrainian part of Subcarpathia). He depicts the transformation of extended-family-based communities (sixth and seventh centuries) through landtilling communities (eighth and ninth centuries) to neighbor (peasant-and-prince-dependent) communities of the tenth and eleventh centuries. For an attempt to determine social, ethnic, and religious origins, see A. Motsia, *Naseleennia pivdenno-rus'kykh zemel' IX–XIII v. za materialamy nekropoliv* (Kyiv, 1993). A lucid and complete critical survey of research on early East Slavic colonization is provided in C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 5–102.

For a cartographic depiction of the spread of the Ukrainian language (391 maps), including three historical maps on the period from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries, see *Atlas ukrains'koï movy*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1984); I. Teslia and Ie. Tiut'ko, *Istorychnyi atlas Ukraïny* (Montreal, New York, and Munich, 1980); P. Magocsi, *Ukraine: A Historical Atlas*, maps by G. Matthews (Toronto, 1985; rev. ed., 1987).—A. Poppe

1. The gaps in our knowledge are revealed in the map Spitsyn published in Spitsyn and N. I. Veselovskii, 'Zapiska ob issledovanii sobstvenno russkikh kurganovykh drevnostei' (1901), p. 407. Even in the lands featured on the map, much of the archaeological research has been very superficial.

6. The Theory of the Early Settlement of Russians in the Dnipro Region

This theory bears M. Pogodin's name because he articulated it most clearly. Yet Pogodin did no more than take to the extreme the logical conclusions that flowed from the view that there existed a close link between Kyivan Rus' and the Muscovite state, a view that long before him had become deeply rooted in Russian circles and in the tradition of Russian writings. That explains why Pogodin's theory and its new variant as expressed by Sobolevskii have met with almost no opposition among Russians, and why Ukrainians have been virtually alone in disputing it.

M. Pogodin admits that he reached his conclusions on the basis of the claims made by Sreznevskii and P. Lavrovskii that the Old Rus' documents contain no Ukrainian linguistic features. He had thought differently earlier in his career, in the 1840s (see his *Issledovaniia, zamechaniia i lektsii o russkoi istorii*, 3 [1846]: 317), but, influenced by the authority of philologists, he accepted the aforementioned surmise and went on to argue that the Kyivans were not Ukrainian. As additional evidence for the argument, he cited the lack of *byliny* in Ukrainian poetry and the lack of Ukrainian traits (!) in the characters of the southern princes and boyars. He solved all this by claiming that the 'Kyivan Great Russians' migrated north after the Mongol-Tatar devastation and their place was taken by Ukrainians 'from the Carpathian Mountains,' who arrived 'after the Tatars'—obviously very soon after the Tatar invasion, though Pogodin does not designate the time in any detail. The paper in which Pogodin put forward his theory (written in 1851, in the form of a letter to Sreznevskii, and published in 1856 as 'Zapiska o drevnem iazyke russkom' in *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po Otdeleniiu russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti*; reprinted that same year in vol. 7 of his *Issledovaniia, zamechaniia i lektsii o russkoi istorii* [1856], pp. 410–42) is of a general nature. In it, the author expresses general views without attempting to elaborate on them in detail and at the same time makes even bolder conjectures regarding the beginnings of Slavic language as a whole. Most of the article is devoted to his philological arguments (very dilettantish and naive), whereas the historical grounds for his hypothesis are presented only in response to the criticism leveled at him by Maksymovych.

Maksymovych fervently disputed Pogodin's conclusions in two series of articles: 'Filologicheskie pis'ma k M. P. Pogodinu' (1856), and, in response to Pogodin's reply, 'Otvetye pis'ma M. P. Pogodinu' (1857). In them, he attacked primarily Pogodin's philological views, while to the latter's theory about the Ukrainian migration he devoted the article 'O mnimom zapustenii Ukrainy v nashestvie Batyevo i naselenii ee novoprishlym narodom' (1857). He was soon joined by O. Kotliarev'skyi, in the latter's 'Byli-li malorussy iskonnyimi obitateliami polianskoi zemli ili prishli iz-za Karpat v XIV veke?' (1862; reprinted in vol. 1 of his *Sochineniia*), while Pogodin's theory was supported by P. Lavrovskii (one of its spiritual fathers) with philological arguments: 'Obzor zamechatel'nykh osobennostei narechiia malorusskogo v sravnenii s velikorusskim i drugimi slavianskimi narechiiami' (1859), and 'Po voprosu o iuzhnorusskom iazyke. Otvetye na pis'ma g. Maksimovicha k g. Pogodinu o narechii malorusskom' (1861). Maksymovych responded with a new series of articles, 'Novye pis'ma k M. P. Pogodinu o starobytnosti malorusskogo narechiia' (1863; all three series are reprinted in vol. 3 of his *Sobranie sochinenii*), and that concluded the first stage in the history of this question. The discussion clearly posed the historical character of the matter, namely, the unfounded nature of the hypothesis on the migration of the 'Kyivan Great Russians.' Maksymovych's great achievement was that without access to all available materials, he nevertheless established the valid view.

The philological aspect of this question, however, was not adequately resolved, because the material at the disposal of both sides was still too limited. Moreover, Slavic dialectology was then in its infancy. It is for that reason that Pogodin's theory was revived precisely from the linguistic standpoint. This was done by the philologist Sobolevskii, who was then a professor at Kyiv University. In 1882 he read a paper at the Kyiv Historical Society entitled 'Kak govorili v Kieve v XIV i XV vv.?' (published in 1888). He argued that his observations had revealed that those written documents which he regarded as Kyivan lacked Ukrainian phonetic characteristics (which he found in documents he regarded as Galician-Volhynian), and, on that basis, he revived Pogodin's hypothesis. Only his linguistic arguments were new; the historical aspects of Sobolevskii's theory were taken ready-made from Pogodin, the only difference being that Sobolevskii dated the Ukrainian occupation of the Dnipro region to the sixteenth century. This was logical in his context, but it reduced the whole theory ad absurdum (Pogodin was well aware that this settlement could not have occurred as late as the sixteenth century).

Sobolevskii's paper raised a storm in the Kyiv Historical Society. Papers disputing his views were presented by V. Antonovych, M. Dashkevych, and P. Zhytets'kyi, while V. Naumenko, F. Mishchenko, O. Levyts'kyi, P. Holubovs'kyi, I. Luchyts'kyi, and S. Golubev (all Ukrainians, with the exception of Golubev) presented shorter commentaries. Unfortunately, neither Sobolevskii's paper, including what he added in responding to his opponents (no one supported him during the discussion), nor the opposition papers were published. Only short résumés of their contents appeared, in *ChIONL* 2 (1888): 216–18, 226–27. Sobolevskii was stronger in the realm of eleventh-twelfth century philology than his opponents. He cited, albeit one-sidedly, materials in manuscript that he had personally and carefully studied; his opponents did not possess this information. However, Sobolevskii's theory sustained serious blows in the sphere of historical knowledge, especially from Antonovych, who, even before the discussion, had published a study in which he rejected the notion of the depopulation of Kyiv and the Kyiv region (Antonovich, 'Kiev, ego sud'ba i znachenie s XIV po XVI stoletie [1362–1569],' [1882]; reprinted in vol. 1 of his *Monografii po istorii Zapadnoi i Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, 1885). Responding to Sobolevskii's theory, Antonovych argued that Ukraine was colonized from north to south, as reflected in tax registers from the middle of the sixteenth century. Sobolevskii continued to defend his theory, and went on to elaborate it in such works as *Ocherki iz istorii russkogo iazyka* (1884), *Leksii po istorii russkogo iazyka* (1888), and in shorter studies: 'Istochniki dlia znakomstva s drevnekievskim govorum' (1885), 'K voprosu ob istoricheskikh sud'bakh Kieva (po povodu "Monografii" V. B. Antonovicha)' (1885), his review of Iablonovskii, 'Naselenie Ukrainy v XVI veke' (1893), and other works.

At the time, Jagić also expressed his opposition to the philological aspects of Sobolevskii's theory (Iagich, *Chetyre kritiko-paleograficheskie stat'i* [1884], written in response to Sobolevskii, *Ocherki iz istorii russkogo iazyka*; Iagich, *Kriticheskie zametki po istorii russkogo iazyka* [1889], in response to Sobolevskii, *Leksii po istorii russkogo iazyka*). Jagić's well-founded criticism compelled Sobolevskii to revise some parts of his theory. But Sobolevskii gained an important ally in Shakhmatov, who firmly backed the theory that the Derevlunians, Polianians, and Siverianians were Russians in his 'K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii' (1894). Jagić received support in defense of the Ukrainian character of the Kyiv dialect from his students Mochul'skii ('K istorii malorusskogo narechii: Zhitie sv. Savvy Osviashchennogo po pergamennoi rukopisi 13 v.') and Kolessa ('Dialectologische Merkmale des südrussischen Denkmals "Žitije sv. Savy"'). The published papers of Potebnia include his criticism of Sobolevskii's theory (Potebnia, 'Otzv v o sochinenii A. Sobolevskogo "Ocherki iz istorii

russskogo iazyka,” 1896). Jagić himself later returned to this question in his ‘Einige Streitfragen’ (1898). Finally, Kryms'kyi published a long (and unfinished) critical article: Krymskii, ‘Filologiiia i Pogodinskaia gipoteza’ (1898–99; published separately in 1904). How this subject was viewed by philologists who were not involved in the discussion can be seen from the introductory lecture of the Kyiv linguist Loboda, who firmly rejected Sobolevskii’s theory (‘Russkii iazyk i ego iuzhnaia vetv'. Vstupitel'naia leksiia,’ 1898). Finally, heedful of the criticism—probably that contained in Jagić’s last article, in particular—Shakhmatov abandoned Pogodin’s theory in a revised edition of the 1894 paper cited above (‘K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii i russkikh narodnostei,’ 1899). He acknowledged that both the Derevlians and the Polianians were Ukrainian tribes, and, concerning Kyiv, he wrote: ‘in any event, we find no reason not to regard the population of Kyiv as being south Rus', even though in Kyiv itself it was mixed with other Rus' tribes’ (p. 25). Only Sobolevskii himself has refused to back down with respect to any part of his ‘hypothesis,’ and has angrily railed against the ‘Ukrainophiles’ for refusing to accept his theory (‘K istorii malorussskogo narechiia,’ 1910).

Sobolevskii’s attempt to revive Pogodin’s theory ‘on a solid foundation’ did not find much support among historians. Ukrainians were not alone in their opposition to it; other historians, focusing close attention on the history of the Dnipro region in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, also took a position in contradiction to this theory: Zotov, ‘O chernigovskikh kniaziaxh po liubechskomu sinodiku i o chernigovskom kniazhestve v tatarskoe vremia’ (written in 1884, but not published until 1893); Vladimirskii-Budanov, ‘Naselenie Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii ot poloviny XIII do poloviny XV v.’ (1886; a work that is directed primarily against Polish theories but that also opposes Pogodin’s theory, though with restraint); Liaskoronskii, *Istoriia Pereiaslavl'skoi zemli s drevneishikh vremen do poloviny XIII stoletiiia* (1897). Recently Spitsyn, in his ‘Istoriko-arkheologicheskie razyskaniia’ (1909), criticized some conjectures and arguments about the migration of the Dnipro population to the northeast, especially those put forward by Professor Kliuchevskii, who supported Pogodin’s theory fully in his *Kurs russkoi istorii*, 1 (1904): 344ff. My *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli ot smerti Iaroslava do kontsa XIV stoletiiia*, chap. 6 (‘The Kyivan land from the invasion of the Mongols to the end of the fourteenth century’), gives a detailed analysis of this question. It remains the fullest exploration of the matter from a historical standpoint, and I recommend that the reader consult it for some secondary arguments and details. A general overview of this issue appears in volume 3, chapter 2, of this *History*. I merely want to add a few remarks about the theory of the Siverianians as Russians, which has emerged more recently on the basis of the earlier theories of Pogodin and Sobolevskii and is supported by such authoritative figures as Jagić and Shakhmatov.

I cannot treat the notion that the Siverianians were Russians as anything other than a concession by Jagić and Shakhmatov to Pogodin’s theory. This is very evident in the case of Jagić. Rejecting the notion of the Polianians as Russians on the grounds that it is difficult to imagine such a Russian wedge on the right bank of the Dnipro amidst a Ukrainian settlement (apparently this argument later convinced Shakhmatov as well), he nevertheless writes: ‘Across the Dnipro, the vast expanse eastward and northward may have been an arena for another southeastern group of tribes or dialects. This I admit readily. The Siverianians of the earliest Chronicle may also have differed linguistically from the settlers of the right bank of the Dnipro’ (‘Einige Streitfragen’ [1898], p. 30).

As we see, the respected scholar does not supply any grounds for this notion; he merely allows that such a possibility is conceivable. In fact, Jagić simply divides the controversial territory between the supporters and opponents of Pogodin’s theory without putting forward any

evidence. Shakhmatov attempted to produce some grounds. He pointed to the political distinction of the Siverianians from the Polianians as evidence of their ethnic separateness: 'We have no grounds to suppose that the Siverianians were a kindred tribe of the Polianians and other south Rus' tribes. The political history of Chernihiv, on the one hand, and of Pereiaslav, which became the patrimony of the Vladimir-Suzdalian princes, on the other, clearly indicates, in my opinion, that the Siverianians and the Polianians could never have created a common tribal center, or later—when Rus' was disintegrating into regions—formed a common region' (Shakhmatov, 'K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii' *RFV* 32: 25). This, of course, is a weak argument. The fact that they were politically distinct does not prove that they belonged to two different ethnic groups. The best evidence of this is Pereiaslav itself, which continually strove for political independence from the Siverianians and for that reason placed itself under the rule of the Suzdalian princes, with whom the Chernihiv princes were always clashing over frontiers. Pereiaslav's goal was purely political: to separate itself politically by placing itself under the rule of a distant dynasty, which would not annex it to one of its neighboring principalities (see vol. 2, chap. 5, of the present work). The other arguments produced by the authors in support of the theory that the Siverianians were Russians are no more convincing. I shall not discuss them here, because I have analyzed them in detail in my paper 'Spirni pytannia starorus'koï etnografii' (1904). (Cf. also my remarks addressed to Jagić in a letter responding to his query, which he included in his 'Einige Streitfragen' [1898], p. 30, and in my review of Jagić's article in *ZNTSh* 26 [1898]: 6).

Shakhmatov regarded the entire population on the left bank of the Dnipro as Siverianian. In his more recent study of the Viaticians ['Iuzhnye poseleniia viatichei,' 1907], Shakhmatov has abandoned this view and has therefore not needed to defend the hypothesis of the 'middle-Russian' origin of the Siverianians. I believe that other philologists, once they reject the theory of the Kyivans as Russians, will also leave the Siverianians in peace, and this will be the end of the hypothesis that the eastern parts of modern Ukrainian territory were once populated by tribes of the Russian group.

Editor's addition: Hrushevsky's polemical comments were inspired by the Ukrainians' continuing struggle for the right to use their own language, euphemistically termed 'West Russian' in the Russian Empire and relegated to the status of a vernacular, while the written language (literary and thus official) was—and was meant to remain—Russian. The views of Hrushevsky's principal opponent, the eminent linguist A. Sobolevskii, were based on linguistic research: given the Ukrainian people's lack of independent statehood, these views took on a Russian great-power political coloration. Sobolevskii based his observations on the development of East Slavic dialects and primarily on phonetic and morphological data. Twentieth-century research has demonstrated the need to take account of lexical, syntactic, and other aspects of language as well. Contrary to Sobolevskii's views, East Slavic paleodialectology (beginning with the work of T. Lehr-Spławiński in 1921 and that of R. Avanesov in 1949) allows one to distinguish two large language areas, northern and southern, among the East Slavs during the early Middle Ages. By and large, these areas correspond to the later Russian and Ukrainian territories (the latter extending from the Dnipro region, including Kyiv, to Volhynia and Galicia). See G. Shevelov, 'Zur Chronologie der Entstehung der ukrainischen Dialekten im Lichte der historischen Phonologie,' *Zeitschrift für Slawische Philologie* 40 (1978): 285–310; A. Issatschenko, *Geschichte der russischen Sprache*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg, 1980). Complex linguistic problems and efforts to define the boundaries of dialects and tribal speech have been further complicated by the phenomenon of bilingualism: for many centuries, Old Church Slavonic was the literary language of all East Slavs. For English-language literature on these problems, see the following works: D. Worth, 'On "Diglossia" in Medieval Russia,' *Die Welt der Slawen* 23 (1978): 371–93; O. Pritsak, 'A Historical Perspective on the Ukrainian Language Question,' in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, ed. R. Picchio and H. Goldblatt with the assistance of S. Fusso, vol. 2: *East Slavic* (Columbus, Ohio, 1984), pp. 1–8; B. Struminskij, 'The Language Question in the Ukrainian Lands before the Nineteenth Century,' *ibid.*, pp. 9–47; H. Lunt, 'The Language

of Rus' in the Eleventh Century: Some Observations about Facts and Theories,' *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1989): 276–313; idem, 'History, Nationalism and the Written Language,' *Slavic and East European Journal* 34 (1990): 1–29; H. Birnbaum, 'Orality, Literacy and Literature in Old Rus', in his *Aspects of the Slavic Middle Ages and Slavic Renaissance Culture* (New York, 1991), pp. 131–80. On the Siverianians between the Desna and the Donets, see H. Łowmiański, 'Siewerzanie,' *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 5 (1975): 175–78, including an extensive bibliography.—A. Poppe

7. The Literature on the Western Boundary of Ukrainian Settlement

On the Polish-Ukrainian boundary in Galicia, see D. Zubryts'kyi's old but not yet obsolete (or, at least, not yet replaced by a better) study: Zubrzycki, *Grenzen zwischen der russinischen und polnischen Nation in Galizien* (1849), p. 23; Czoernig, *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie*, 1 (1855): 49ff.; idem, *Große ethnographische Karte des Kaiserstaates* (1855), sheet 2, and a smaller edition of 1866; Golovatskii, *Narodnye pesni Galitskoi i Ugorskoj Rusi*, vol. 1 (1878), introduction; idem, 'Karpatskaia Rus' (istoriko-ětnograficheskii kurs)' (1875; not very interesting from the scholarly standpoint); D[obrianskii], 'O zapadnykh granitsakh Podkarpatskoi Rusi so vremen sv. Vladimira' (1880; after Zubryts'kyi, there is not much new here about the Polish-Ukrainian boundary); Verkhrats'kyi's interesting monograph on the Zamishantsi dialect, 'Hovor zamishantsiv' (1894); Potkański, 'Granice biskupstwa Krakowskiego' (1900). Potkański promised a more detailed study in the future, but has not produced it. Instead, Zakrzewski has announced a study of this question in his outline, 'Studia nad starożytnościami polskimi' (1910).

Much has been written about the Polish-Ukrainian boundary between the Vistula and the Buh, but it was frequently marred by a publicistic element, which often discredited the facts themselves. I shall list only the most important works on the northern Ukrainian boundary. For historical ethnography, see N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii* (1885), chaps. 5 and 6; Kryzhanovskii, *Russkoe Zabuzh'e* (1911); Longinov, *Chervenskie goroda* (1885); Pleszczyński, *Bojarzy międzyrzeccy* (1893); Ploshchanskii, *Proshloe Kholmskoi Rusi po arkhivnym dokumentam* (1899–1901); Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, 1 (1896): 239; Potkański, 'Kraków przed Piastami,' *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie* (1898), p. 106; Velychko, *Narodopysna karta ukraïns'ko-rus'koho narodu* (1896); Mikhal'chuk, 'Narechiiia, podnarechiiia i govory Iuzhnoi Rossii v sviazi s narechiiiami Galichiny' (1877); A. Grigor'ev, 'O malorusskikh govorakh Sedletskoj gubernii' (1902); Sobolevskii, 'Ocherki russkoi dialektologii' (1892); Karskii, 'Materialy dlia izucheniia severno-malorusskikh govorov, a takzhe perekhodnykh ot belorusskikh k malorusskim (Poles'e)' (1898); idem, *Belorussy* (= *Vvedenie v izuchenie iazyka i narodnoi slovesnosti*, vol. 1, 1903). Of the works on the Kholm (Chełm) region, see Frantsev, *Karty russkogo i pravoslavnogo naseleniia Kholmskoi Rusi s statisticheskimi tablitsami k nim* (1909); Dziewulski, *Statystyka ludności gubernii lubelskiej i siedleckiej wobec projektu utworzenia gubernii chełmskiej* (1909); Sobolevskii, *Kholmskaia Rus' v ětnograficheskomoj otoshnenii* (1910); Szelągowski, *Kwestia ruska w świetle historii* (1911).

On the Ukrainian settlement south of the Carpathians, aside from the works already named, see Sreznevskii, 'Rus' Ugorskaia. Otryvok iz opyta geografii russkogo iazyka' (1852); Bidermann, *Die ungarischen Ruthenen, ihr Wohngebiet, ihr Erwerb und ihre Geschichte* (1862–67); Roesler, *Römische Studien* (1871), chap. 7; Vasil'evskii, 'Vizantiia i Pechenegi (1048–1094)' (1872), pt. 2 (supp. 2); Uspenskii, *Obrazovanie vtorogo bolgarskogo tsarstva* (1879), supp. 5; Kochubinskii, 'O russkom plemeni v dunaiskom Zales'e' (1891); Píč, *Zur*

rumänisch-ungarischen Streitfrage (1886), and, especially, his and Amlacher's 'Die dacische Slaven und Csergeder Bulgaren' (1888); Filevich, *Istoriia drevnei Rusi*, 1 (1896): 143ff.; idem, 'Otchet o zagranichnoi komandirovke na letnee vakatsionnoe vremia v 1895 g.' (1896); Sobolevskii, 'Kak davno russkie zhivut v Karpatakh i za Karpatami?' (1894); Kulakovskii, 'Gde nakhodilas' Vichinskaia eparkhiia Konstantinopol'skogo patriarkhata?' (1897), p. 327ff. (about Danubian Rus'); A. Petrov, *Predely ugrorusskoi rechi v 1773 g. po ofitsial'nym dannym* (1911); idem, 'Kogda vznikli russkie poseleniia na ugorskoï "Dol'nei zemle"?' (1911).

On modern Hungarian Rus': A. Petrov, 'Zametki po étnografii i statistike Ugorskoï Rusi' (1892; repeated in *Materialy dlia istorii Ugorskoï Rusi*, vol. 4, 1906); critical observations by Hnatiuk, 'Hungaro-Ruthenica' (1899); Hnatiuk, 'Rusíni v Uhrách' (1899); Tomashiv's'kyi, 'Uhors'ki Rusyny v svitli uriadovoï uhors'koï statystyky' (1903); idem, 'Prychynky do piznannia etnografichnoï terytorii Uhors'koï Rusy, teper i davniishe' (1905); idem, 'Etnografichna karta Uhors'koï Rusy' (1910). Shorter works are listed by Frantsev in 'Obzor vazhneishikh izuchenii Ugorskoï Rusi' (1901).

Many recent works deal exclusively with the western Ukrainian-Slovak boundary. I shall list the most important of these: Mišik, 'Akej viery sú Slováci' (1895); idem, 'Vselico zo Spiša' (1896); Sobolevskii, 'O granitse russkikh i slovakov v Ugorshchine' (1895); Broch, *Studien von der slovakisch-kleinrussischen Sprachgrenze im östlichen Ungarn* (1897); Hnatiuk, 'Rusyny priashivs'koï eparkhiï i ikh hovory' (1900); idem, 'Slovaký chy Rusyny? (Prychynky do vyiasnenia sporu pro natsional'nist' zakhidnykh Rusyniv)' (1901); Niederle, *Národopisná mapa uherskýkh Slováků na základě sčítaní lidu z roku 1900* (1903); idem, 'K sporu o ruskoslovenské rozhraní v Uhrách' (1903); idem, 'Ještě k sporu o ruskoslovenskou hranici v Uhrách' (1904); Budilovich, 'K voprosu o plemennykh otnosheniakh v Ugorskoï Rusi' (1903); Czambel, *Slovenská reč a jej miesto v rodine slovanských jazykov* (1906).

On the other hand, there has been less attention in recent years to the traces of Ukrainian settlement in Transylvania, which intrigued scholars in the 1880s and 1890s and had some impact on the theory of the Carpathians as the original home of the East Slavs. In 1802, Wolf published a brochure entitled *De vestigiis Ruthenorum in Transylvania*, in which he described the remnants of Ruthenians in the villages of Reussdörflein [Rosszcsúr, Rusciori], Nagy-Cserged [Cserghid] and Kis-Cserged [Cserghizel], and Bongárd [Baumgarten, Bungard]. Wolf counted a total of 130 families. His reviewer in the *Siebenbürger Provinzialblätter*, vol. 2 (1807), raised this number to 200. These remnants were discussed by M. Bel and J. Benkö in the eighteenth century, and by J. Eder at the beginning of the nineteenth century (for information about them, see Filevich, 'Otchet o zagranichnoi komandirovke na letnee vakatsionnoe vremia v 1895 g.' [1896], and his *Istoriia drevnei Rusi* [1896], chap. 1; also Kochubinskii, 'O russkom plemeni v dunaiskom Zales'e' [1891], p. 37). When Nadezhdin visited Transylvania at the beginning of the 1840s, he no longer found these Ruthenian families there, but he discussed the significance of the settlements for the history of Rus' settlement, in 'Zapiska o puteshestvii po iuzhnoslavianskiam stranam' (1842): 'I have been convinced by indisputable evidence that the Rus' expansion proceeded in a southwesterly direction, on both sides of the Carpathians, as far as the Danube, long before the arrival of the Magyars in Pannonia.' As evidence of this, he cited the Transylvanian Ruthenians, and he believed that this Danubian Rus' served to explain the legends in the chronicles about the migration of the Slavs from the Danube region, the voyage of Kyi, and so forth (*ibid.*, pp. 103–5). However, the Normanist theory, as expressed by Kunik in *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven* (1844; chap. 5), excluded the Hungarian

Ruthenians from the history of Old Rus' settlement. Šafařík's theory (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, sec. 30) that the Transylvanian Slavs were Bulgars also had the effect of removing this Rus' settlement from consideration. When Miklosich published the texts from Cserged for the first time ('Die Sprache der Bulgaren in Siebenbürgen,' [1856]), he claimed that they were Bulgarian, but he later abandoned that claim and identified the Cserged texts as a document in the language of the 'Dacian Slavs': see his 'Geschichte der Lautbezeichnung im Bulgarischen' (1884), pp. 125–26 (where Eder's texts are published), as well as idem, *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, 3 (1856): 201, and idem, *Altslovenische Formenlehre in Paradigmen mit Texten aus glagolitischen Quellen* (1874). In 1859, Lamanskii published his *O slavianakh v Maloi Azii, v Afrike i v Ispanii*, in which he expressed general observations opposing Kunik's view. But the question of the mysterious Rus' settlement in Hungary did not arise again until 1871, when Roesler's *Romänische Studien* appeared. Following Roesler's lead, the notion of an Old Rus' settlement on the Danube was put forward by Vasil'evskii, 'Vizantiia i Pechenegi (1048–1094)' (1872), pt. 2 (supp. 2); Uspenskii, *Obrazovanie vtorogo bolgarskogo tsarstva* (1879), supp. 5; and Grot, *Moraviia i mad'ary s poloviny IX do nachala X veka* (1881), chap. 2. Kochubinskii, 'O russkom plemeni v dunaiskom Zales'e' (1891), Píč (*Zur rumänisch-ungarischen Streitfrage* [1886]), and Píč and Amlacher, 'Die dacische Slaven und Csergeder Bulgaren' [1888]) attempted to ground these conjectures about the Rus' settlement of Transylvania on facts. However, the Rus' theory was opposed by the Bulgarian hypothesis, which held that the Bulgars were the only Slavic element in the Transylvanian population and that the surviving Transylvanian Ruthenians were so named as the result of a misunderstanding (Miletich). Indeed, the fact that the language of the last Transylvanian 'Ruthenians' proved to be Bulgarian confused the issue. But the question of the Rus' settlement of Transylvania should probably be explored independently of these remnants. For example, Jagić, who expressed considerable skepticism regarding the Rus' theory in his review of Filevich's work (*ASP* 19 [1897]: 237), admitted in a later study that the Rus' and the Bulgars came together in Transylvania ('Einige Streitfragen' [1900], pp. 22–23).

Editor's addition: Concerning the western boundaries of East Slavic settlement, there is no substantial difference between Hrushevsky's views and those of present-day researchers, although our knowledge has been augmented in detail by recent research, including archaeological excavations. The purposes of scholarship have also been served by the diminution of publicistic controversy. Those taking part in the academic disputes of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth lacked the extensive source base that now permits researchers to make more penetrating observations. Archaeological research does not reveal distinct boundaries in material culture along the Polish-Rus' border, but rather a profound interpenetration of these cultures between the seventh and tenth centuries. Nor is there any subsequent extensive correlation between material culture and the written records or linguistic evidence of following centuries. A convincing account of the borderlands based on data of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is M. Korduba's 'Zakhidne pohranyche Halyts'koï derzhavy mizh Karpatamy a dolishnym Sianom,' *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 138–40 (1925): 154–245 (with map). For a recent account of conditions farther north, see A. Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego: Województwo bełskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w.* (Warsaw, 1993), 388 pp. (with maps). On the political border, see G. Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens: Politische Entwicklung, kulturelle Bedeutung und geistige Auswirkung*, vol. 1 (Cologne, 1955). See also A. Nowakowski, *Górne Pobuże w wiekach VIII–XI: Zagadnienia kultury* (Łódź, 1972), and the important review of this book by K. Myśliński, in *Roczniki Historyczne* 42 (1976): 181–85; M. Parczewski, *Początki kształtowania się polsko-ruskiej rubieży etnicznej w Karpatach: U źródeł rozpadu Słowiańszczyzny na odłamy wschodni i zachodni* (Cracow, 1991). For evidence on archaeological settlement, see M. Kuchinko, 'Pivdenno-zakhidni mezhi rozselennia skhidnykh slov'ian u IX–XIII st.,' *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1973, no. 9, pp. 88–105, as well as his articles on the same subject in *ibid.*, 1970, no. 12, pp. 78–83, and 1976, no. 7, pp. 106–12.

As Hrushevsky surmised, the Slavic settlement of Transylvania, dating from the seventh century, was a complicated matter, given the assimilation of the Slavs with the autochthonous population. Every branch of the Slavs participated in the settlement of Transylvania. During the eighth and ninth centuries, the region was colonized primarily from the south, while the infiltration of the East Slavs from the north most probably took place during the tenth and eleventh centuries. For a summary of the current state of research, see W. Swoboda, 'Siedmiogród (Transilvania),' *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* (henceforth SSS), vol. 5 (1975): 159–64; A. Wędzki, 'Karpaty,' SSS, vol. 2 (1964): 377–79; and E. Dąbrowska, 'Węgiersko-Słowiańskie stosunki,' SSS, vol. 6 (1977): 390–92. On the southern borderlands, see J. Pasternak, *Ruské Karpaty v archeologii* (Prague, 1928); the collection of papers entitled *Naseleňnia Prykarpattia i Volyni za doby rozkladu pervisnoobshchynnoho ladu ta v davn'orus'kyi chas*, ed. O. Chernysh (Kyiv, 1976); and S. Peniak, *Rann'oslov'ians'ke i davn'orus'ke naseleňnia Zakarpattia VI–XIII st.* (Kyiv, 1980).—A. Poppe

8. On Ukrainian Anthropology and Ethnology

Anthropological studies of the modern Ukrainian type are still very incomplete and few in number. Even more important, they do not include Polisia, the region of Ukraine least affected by non-Slavic influences (see my review of Gil'chenko, 'Materialy dlia antropologii Kavkaza' [1897], Bibl. p. 54). Consequently, all descriptions of the Ukrainian type are still subject to serious reservations.

Russia's most distinguished anthropologist, Anuchin, described the Ukrainian physical type as follows: the most significant difference between the Ukrainians and the Belarusians and Russians of central Russia is that Ukrainians are on the average one to four centimeters taller (according to military statistics from 1874–83). A second distinguishing characteristic of Ukrainians is a higher percentage of dark hair (60 to 90 percent), dark eyes (although blue eyes are not uncommon), and darker skin tone, as compared with the Belarusians and Russians and even more so compared with the Poles. Ukrainians have somewhat longer legs (especially in the thigh). The head, both in absolute terms and in proportion to height, is small (as is the endocranium), as are the forehead and nose, while the lower third of the face is relatively larger. As to shape, short and broad skulls (brachycephalic) are somewhat more predominant than among the Poles and Russians. Sometimes one sees rather high and prominent cheekbones, widely spaced eyes, and a rather low bridge of the nose (Anuchin, 'Malorossy,' 1896).

The Ukrainian anthropologist Vovk (Volkov, 'Ukraintsy v antropologicheskom otnoshenii,' 1906; in German—'Die Ukrainer in anthropologischer Beleuchtung,' 1908) described the average Ukrainian as tall, short-headed, dark-haired and dark-eyed, with a straight and narrow nose, rather short arms, and so forth. The physical characteristics that Vovk regarded as most important (tall stature, short-headedness, a dark complexion) become less prevalent as one moves from the southwest to the northeast.

Based on the research that has been conducted so far, Hyl'chenko (Gil'chenko, 'Materialy dlia antropologii Kavkaza. III: Kubanskie kazaki, antropologicheskii ocherk,' 1897) concluded that the distinguishing features of Ukrainians were tall stature, light skin, dark hair, and light-colored eyes. At the same time, he noted that the incidence of the dark type ranges widely (from 6 to 39 percent). As far as height and brachycephalism were concerned, he held that more study was required, especially in light of the great variations in the Ukrainian type between different localities. He believed the fair type to be stronger and more apt to survive, because of a broader chest, and regarded it as the original type.

Having collected a rather large body of data primarily in the southern Kyiv region, Talko-Hryniewicz, in 'Charakterystyka fizyczna ludu ukraińskiego na podstawie własnych przeważnie spostrzeżeń' (1890), also concluded that the fair-haired type predominated (57 percent) over the dark-haired (42 percent), and pure blonds (45 percent) over brunets (25 percent).

The first to make a serious study of the Slavic type on the basis of archaeological materials was Bogdanov, who considered the original Slavic type to have been narrow-faced and long-headed (leptoprosopic dolichocephalism). His works include: 'Materialy dlia antropologii kurgannogo perioda v Moskovskoi gubernii' (1867); 'Opisanie kurgannykh cherepov Smolenskoii gubernii nakhodiashchikhsia v kraniologicheskom sobranii Obshchestva liubiteli estestvoznaniia' (1879); 'Kurgannye cherepa oblasti drevnikh severian (sudzhanskoe dlinnogolovoe naselenie po reke Psle)' (1879); 'Cherepa iz starykh moskovskikh kladbishch' (1879); 'Drevnie kievliane, po ikh cherepam i mogilam' (1880); 'Kurgannye zhiteli Severianskoi zemli po raskopkam v Chernigovskoi gubernii' (1880); 'Doistoricheskie tveritiane po raskopkam kurganov' (1880); 'Drevnie novgorodtsy v ikh cherepakh' (1880); 'K kraniologii smolenskikh kurgannykh cherepov' (1886). On the study of skulls from earlier periods, see his 'O mogilakh skifo-sarmatskoi epokhi v Poltavskoi gubernii i o kraniologii skifov' (1880), discussed on p. 43, fn. 77, above. Bogdanov gathered the results of his research and presented them in 'Quelle est la race la plus ancienne de la Russie centrale?' (1892). However, Bogdanov's studies had a weakness in that they were sometimes based on a very small amount of material, and, above all, in that he relied on skulls uncovered during excavations conducted by others; not being an archaeologist himself, he paid little attention to the criteria used to identify the burials in which the skulls had been found as Slavic (as a result, his measurements of Siverianian and Kyivan skulls constitute his most valuable contribution, because they are based on the most reliable material). His observation that the long-headed type predominated in ancient Slavic burials has been confirmed by more recent finds of remains in East Slavic graves. In addition to Bogdanov's works, the following publications report anthropological measurements made on the territory of Ukraine: Antonovich, *Raskopki v strane drevlian* (1893); idem, 'Raskopki kurganov v zapadnoi Volyni' (1901); Gamchenko, *Zhitomirskii mogil'nik. Arkheologicheskoe issledovanie zhitomirskoi grupy kurganov* (1888); idem, 'Gorodishche i mogil'niki r. Korchevatyi' (1897); idem, 'Raskopki v basseine r. Sluchi (mezhdru m. Miropol' i s. Ulkha)' (1901); Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan, proizvedennye v 1897 i 1898 gg.' (1901); Pokrovskii, 'Antropologicheskie dannye o tipe cherepov iz volynskikh kurganov' (1902, a résumé; the results are presented in Mel'nik, 'Raskopki v zemle luchan'); Talko-Hryncewicz, 'Przyczynek do poznania swiata kurhanowego Ukrainy' (1900); Derevlianian and 'Polianian' burials—the measurements of the latter are tainted because they include the remains from burials of some Torks, called Karakalpaks ['Black Hats']); M. Popov, 'Anatomicheskoe issledovanie kostei, naidennykh pri raskopkakh kurganov v Khar'kovskoi gubernii' (lecture 2, bones from the Nytsakha grave; 1902). More general works, in addition to Bogdanov's paper at the International Archaeological Congress in Moscow cited above, include: Niederle, *O původu Slovanů. Studie k slovanským starožitnostem* (1896); idem, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 1 (1902), chap. 2; Sergi, 'De combien le type du crâne de la population actuelle de la Russie centrale diffère-t-il du type antique de l'époque des kourganes?' (1899); Tal'ko-Grintsevich, 'Opyt fizicheskoi kharakteristiki drevnikh vostochnykh slavian. Paleoëtnologicheskii ocherk' (1910).

In his *O původu Slovanů*, Niederle declared quite categorically that archaeological and anthropological data has shown that the original Slavic type was long-headed and that historical documents provide evidence that the Slavs were fair-haired. Buttressed by rather solid arguments, his claim provoked a lively discussion. Niederle included an overview of the principal issues in the discussion in his *Slovanské starožitnosti*, p. 87ff. Among the leading arguments against this claim that were put forward in the debate was that it had yet to be demonstrated that the long-headed skeletons were Slavic. The burials with cremated remains

may very well be the remains of a short-headed population. With respect to complexion and hair color, the research of Minakov is noteworthy: 'O tsvete i forme volos iz kurganov srednei Rossii' (1899). Minakov argued that the samples of hair that he saw (he had samples from twenty graves, from Moscow, Iaroslavl, and Kostroma gubernias) were all dark, and that there were no light-colored samples of hair at all. These arguments, however, were not sufficient to lay to rest the theory of the Slavs as a fair-haired and long-headed people, because Minakov's studies were based on materials gathered on Finnish territory. As Niederle, in defending his theory of dolichocephalism, justly pointed out, there is no evidence that in addition to the long-headed population there was a short-headed one on the same territory that might be regarded as Slavic. Indeed, if in the course of their dispersion the Slavs had assimilated an indigenous long-headed race, surely there would be clear evidence of such a group in the burial finds of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Yet that is not the case. We cannot assume that all the remains of such a group were cremated, because both funerary rituals existed among the Slavs. Moreover, once the period in which cremation was practiced ended, we should immediately find strong evidence of the existence of a short-headed population. Generally speaking, Niederle defended his theory rather successfully in his overview in *Slovanské starožitnosti*. However, in so doing, he focused solely on the numerical preponderance of the fair-haired and long-headed type among the Slavic population. In other words, there is no evidence from any period that there existed a uniform, anthropological, Slavic type. At the same time, the evolution of the Slavic type remains unclear. The transition from the long-headed type, albeit only as a dominant rather than an exclusive group, to the modern short-headed population is a question that has not been resolved to this day. Herein lies the principal difficulty associated with the theory of dolichocephalism.

Following is the more important literature on marital and family relationships among the Slavs and in Old Rus' that has not been cited in the text. The earlier literature on these subjects was listed in the second Ukrainian-language edition of this volume, so I add only the following here: Bogišić, *Pravni obiçaje u Slovena* (1867), and his *Zbornik sadašnjih pravnih obiçaja u južnih Slovena* (1874); Zabelin, *Domashnii byt russkikh tsarits v XVI i XVII st.* (1869; introduction) (= *Domashnii byt russkogo naroda v XVI i XVII st.*, vol. 2); Shpilevskii, *Semeinye vlasti u drevnikh slavian i germantsev* (1869); Shashkov, *Ocherk istorii russkoi zhenshchiny s pribavleniem stat'i 'Russkaia prostitutitsiia'* (1871), reprinted in his *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 1 (1898); Hanel, 'Věno v právu slovanském' (1871); A. Smirnov's studies about East Slavic common family law and marriage in *Ocherki semeinykh otnoshenii po obychnomu pravu russkogo naroda*, vol. 1 (1878), and his article 'Narodnye sposoby zakliuchenii braka' (1878); Chernov, 'Ob obychnom semeistvennom i nasledstvennom prave krest'ian v Khar'kovskoi i Poltavskoi gubernii' (1881); Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (1885); Kovalevskii, 'Nekotorye arkhaischeskie cherty semeinogo i nasledstvennogo prava osetin' (1885); idem, *Pervobytnoe pravo* (1886), vol. 1—clan, vol. 2—family; idem, *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété* (1890); idem, *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia, Being the Ilchester Lectures for 1889–1890* (1891; Russian translation: 'Étiudy o sovremennom obyçae i drevnem zakone Rossii. Étiud I i II,' 1903); Volkov, 'Rites et usages nuptiaux en Ukraine' (1891–92), first published in Bulgarian: 'Svadbarskite obredi na slovianskite narodi' (1890–94); Zhelobovskii, 'Sem'ia po vozzreniiam russkogo naroda, vyrazhennym v poslovitsakh i drugikh proizvedeniiakh narodno-poëticheskogo tvorchestva' (1891, and, separately, 1892); Krek, *Zur Geschichte russischer Hochzeitsbräuche* (1893); Okhrimovich, 'Znachenie malorusskikh svadebnykh obriadov i pesen v istorii razvitiia sem'i' (1891–92; unfinished), and his commentaries, 'Znadoby dlia piznannia narodnykh zvychaiv ta

poqliadiv pravnykh' (1895); Krauss, *Die Zeugung in Sitte, Brauch und Glauben der Südslaven* (1899–1902);* Rhamm, 'Der Verkehr der Geschlechter unter den Slaven in seinen gegensätzlichen Erscheinungen' (1902); Mr. H. and Z. Kuzelia, *Dytyna v zvychaiakh i viruvanniakh ukrains'koho naroda* (1906); Kuzelia, 'Boikivs'ke vesilie v Lavochnim Stryis'koho povita' (1908). In addition, we should include here the relevant chapters in courses of the history of Rus' law, especially Leontovich, *Istoriia russkogo prava* (1869); Vladimirkii-Budanov, *Obzor istorii russkogo prava* (1888); and Samokvasov, *Issledovaniia po istorii russkogo prava* (1896). Literature on common law appears in Iakushkin, *Obychnoe pravo. Materialy dlia bibliografii obychnogo prava* (1875–96).

Editor's addition: Hrushevsky's treatment of anthropological and ethnological questions reflects the state of research in his time: see L. Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, 1902, presented with some stronger emphases by F. Volkov (Kh. Vovk), 'Antropologicheskie osobennosti ukrainskogo naroda,' in F. Volkov, M. Grushevskii [et al.], eds., *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem*, vol. 2 (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 427–54. A basic work by T. Alekseeva, *Étnogenez vostochnykh slavian po dannym antropologii* (Moscow, 1973), makes use of the abundant anthropological material discovered by archaeologists and of modern research. Similar in character is V. Diachenko, *Antropologichnyi sklad ukrains'koho narodu* (Kyiv, 1965), reviewed by T. Alekseeva in *Voprosy antropologii* 22 (1966): 182–83. Ethnic developments, including the tribal division of the Slavs, are discussed with reference to Ukrainian territory in H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1964), esp. pp. 228–51, 340–70. This work includes an extensive bibliography. For a discussion based on archaeological research, which also takes account of written sources, see I. Lapushkin, *Slaviane Vostochnoi Evropy VIII–pervoi poloviny IX v.* (Leningrad, 1968). Extensive information, chronological tables, and an ample bibliography are to be found in the reference work by V. Baran, E. Maksimov, A. Smilenko et al., *Étnokulturnaia karta territorii Ukrainsskoi SSR v I tysiacheletii n.é.* (Kyiv, 1985).

In the last third of this century, fundamental changes have occurred in historical anthropology. Instead of somatological tests (i.e., physique, the color of skin, hair, and eyes), genetic polymorphism (ABO-blood groups, Rhesus-method, serum protein, etc.) has been taken into account. New classifications allow for identifying relatively small and genetically dependent populations, but such explorations need large and systematic research and evaluation of a complete burial ground. Ukrainian researchers, who are very active in this field, have worked out a European map of main blood serological areas (E. Danilova, *Gematologicheskaia tipologii i voprosy étnogeneza ukrainskogo naroda*, Kyiv, 1971). At present, anthropological researchers working on the ethnogenesis of the Slavs are still far from resolving the issue: see A. Wierciński in *Slavia Antiqua* 20 (1973): 15–27, and N. Tsvetkova, 'Antropologicheskii material kak istoricheskii istochnik,' in *Slaviane: Étnogenez i étnicheskaiia istoriia*, ed. A. Gerd and G. Lebedev (Leningrad, 1989), pp. 18–25. On the basis of the available physical distinctive indicators, it can be assumed that the linguistic slavization of eastern Europe encompassed anthropologically different sections of the population.

Taken as a whole, Hrushevsky's conclusions—that in the anthropological sense the East Slavs show no similarity of shape, that the evolution of the Slavic anthropological type remains unclear, and that, given the still narrow source base, every conclusion must be treated with great caution—correspond closely to the views discussed by C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 80–87, 217–19. The ethnological issues of East Slavic origins and peculiarities are also taken into consideration with critical competence by Goehrke (see *ibid.*, pp. 48–102).

For an attempt to establish an unbroken connection from the Scythians through the Cherniakhiv culture to the Polianians (ignoring the Goths), see T. Konduktorova, 'Antropologicheskie materialy Cherniakhovskoi kul'tury Ukrainy,' in the collection of papers, *Mogil'niki Cherniakhovskoi kul'tury* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 163–204. V. Bierbrauer finds a Gothic core in the Cherniakhiv culture (see his 'Archäologie und Geschichte der Goten,' pp. 98–121; cited in the editor's addition to Note 3, above). Despite the opinions of those who question all ties between the Cherniakhiv culture and the Slavs, the assumption of some presence of Slavs among the multiethnic bearers of Cherniakhiv culture seems legitimate. The state of research is summarized in *Arkheologiiia Ukrainsskoi SSR*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1986), pp. 70–100. See also

* [The original contains the ambiguous phrase 'from/with Κρυπταδία.'—Eds.]

the work of P. Somogyi, 'Bemerkungen zur Ethnogenese der Thrakischen Goten des Theoderich Strabo,' *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 102 (1994): 165–171, who emphasizes that the bearers of the Cherniakhiv culture came from different cultures and that Goths were interspersed among them.—A. Poppe

9. Reports from the Seventh to Ninth Centuries That Are Questionable or Mistakenly Applied to the Rus'

In addition to the accounts cited in the text, many other reports have been applied to the ninth-century Rus'. Following is an overview of these accounts.

The earliest such account, which has now been rejected as applying to Rus' history, is found in the history of al-Tabari (more precisely, in the Persian reworking of his chronicle by Abu 'Ali Muhammad Bal'ami, from the second half of the tenth century, since al-Tabari's text had not yet been found), and deals with a seventh-century Caucasian Rus'. During a campaign led by 'Umar's military commander, Shahriyar, against the Khazars (643), the king of Derbend (Bab al-Abwab) recognized the overlordship of the Arabs and concluded a treaty with them according to which he undertook to fight the Rus' instead of paying tribute: 'I live between two enemies—the Khazars and the Rus'. The latter are enemies of the whole world and especially the Arabs. We alone know how to fight them; instead of paying tribute, we shall fight the Rus' ourselves with our own weapons and prevent them from leaving their land'—in Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i russkikh (s poloviny VII veka do kontsa X veka po R. Kh.)* (1870), p. 74.

Scholars first learned of this Rus' in the 1820s, but it was not until 1841 that the account was put into circulation by Dorn in his 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker, aus morgenländischen Quellen' (1840). Kunik argued in a long excursus (in his *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven*, 2 [1845]: 84) that this Rus' was Turkic. He generally continued to uphold this view in his first supplements to *Kaspil*, p. 53 (see Dorn, 'Kaspil,' 1875). In the 1860s and 1870s, the anti-Normanists tried to prove that this Rus' was Slavic: Lamanskii, *O slavianakh v Maloi Azii, v Afrike i v Ispanii* (1859), p. 142; Gedeonov, 'Otryvki iz issledovaniia o variazhskom voprose' (1862); Ilovaiskii, 'O mnimom prizvanii Variagov' (1871), p. 371, and idem, 'Eshche o normanizme' (1872), p. 125. Garkavi (in *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i russkikh (s poloviny VII veka do kontsa X veka po R. Kh.)*, p. 77) took a skeptical view of this account, but Dorn continued to defend it resolutely in his 'Kaspil,' p. 20. In his later supplements to 'Kaspil' (p. 579ff.), Kunik elaborated further on Garkavi's skeptical view (he also included a history of this question). While al-Tabari's text remained unknown, this issue continued to be unclear, although, of course, even had al-Tabari's text contained a reference to Rus', that would not have automatically ensured that his account was reliable. If Rus' had indeed been such a powerful enemy of the Arabs in the seventh century, we would undoubtedly have found references to it in other sources. Al-Tabari, who lived at the time of the Rus' campaigns into the Caspian coastal regions at the beginning of the tenth century (he died in 922 or 923), could have transposed this information to the seventh century under the influence of his experiences. Finally, in 1874, Dorn found al-Tabari's text of this report in Constantinople. It contained no mention of Rus'. Shahriyar reported only that he was dealing with a fierce enemy and with various peoples, and, further in the text, named only the Alani and Turks ('Kaspil,' introduction, pp. XLIV and LV). The name of the Rus' had been inserted by the Persian compiler under the influence of the Rus' campaigns of the tenth century, and the reference had no historical value. 'Tabari's Rus' was

thus discarded from history. In the new editions of their studies, Gedeonov and Ilovaiskii omitted any reference to it.

The report of Theophanes the Confessor about the 'Rus' ships' in 773 has also been rejected. Once cited frequently, it was even referred to as recently as 1871, by Ilovaiskii in the first edition of his 'O mnimom prizvanii Variagov,' p. 21. Ilovaiskii, however, abandoned this account in his new edition of the same study, *Razyskaniia o nachale Rusi* (1882), p. 17, and in 'Eshche o normanizme,' p. 504. Relating the sea campaign of Emperor Constantine V Kopronymos against the Bulgarian Kingdom, Theophanes the Confessor stated: εἰσελθὼν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ ῥούσια χελάνδια ἀπεκίνησε πρὸς τὸ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν Δανουβῖν ποταμόν ('He boarded the scarlet ships of war himself and set out in order to sail to the river Danube,' ed. de Boor, 1: 446—in which the editor went even further and wrote 'Ρούσια with a capital 'P'). Obviously, the chronicler was speaking of '*chelandia* painted red (ῥούσια),' or heavy cargo ships, similar to those described by Constantine Porphyrogenetos as ἀργάρια ῥούσια ('scarlet barges'—*De administrando imperio*, chap. 51). That is how Anastasios the Librarian (ninth century) translated Theophanes' text: 'ingressus et ipse in rubea chelandia' ('And he boarded the scarlet ships of war himself,' ed. de Boor, 2: 295). It was I. Goar (d. 1653) who translated Theophanes to read 'Russorum chelandia.' This was the translation that appeared in the Bonn Corpus edition (1839–41). Thence it made its way through various histories, even though Bayer corrected it in his 'Origines Russicae' (1741), and cited the above passage from Constantine. Kunik related this long odyssey of the Rus' ships in Dorn's 'Kaspil' (pp. 362–71, 682), and his explanation has probably rid the history of Rus' of these 'red *chelandia*' for good.

In the first Ukrainian-language edition of this volume (pp. 244 and 414), I described the account of the voyages of the 'northern Scythians' on the Black Sea in the *Taktika* of Emperor Leo VI (*Tactica Leonis*, 1863) as the earliest reference to Rus' campaigns. I did so because recent scholars had attributed this work to Leo III the Isaurian (d. 741): Zachariae von Lingenthal, 'Wissenschaft und Recht für das Heer vom 6. bis zum Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts' (1894), p. 487; Schenk, 'Kaiser Leons III Walten im Innern' (1896), p. 298; Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)* (1897), p. 636. However, even there I noted that in places, the *Taktika* contains information that is clearly from the ninth century. Kulakovskii focused even more attention on this circumstance in his article, 'Lev Mudryi ili Lev Isavr byl avtorom Taktiki?' (1898), and regarded the view of Zachariae von Lingenthal and Schenk as completely mistaken. In light of this, Leo's account has now been dated to the end of the ninth century.

Uspenskii has tried to attach yet another reference to Rus'—an attack by some pagan people on the suburbs of Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Theophilos (Theophanes Continuatus 4.7), linking it, in his 'Patriarkh Ioann VII Grammatik i Rus'-Dromity u Simeona Magistra' (1890), with Symeon Logothete's account of 'Πῶς σφοδρὸς (Leo the Deacon 7.13). All of this is extremely hypothetical.

Still circulating in scholarly literature, despite its highly dubious character, is the reference to the Rus' in Cherson in the Pannonian legend of St. Cyril. It relates that St. Cyril (Constantine) in Cherson 'found there a Gospel and Psalter written in Rus' letters, and he found a man who spoke that language, and having spoken with him, he received the force of it, compared

* ['Scarlet' is distinctive, as opposed to 'black.'—Eds.]

it with his own language, discerned the various letters, vowels and consonants, and, praying to God, soon began to read and speak [that language]' (*Life of St. Cyril*, published by Miklosich in *Die Legende vom heiligen Cyrillus*). The most frequent interpretation of this passage has been that it refers to the Gothic translation of the Gospel. Because the legend describes the Gospel as written in the Rus' language, the Normanists claim that the Varangians, having assimilated with the Crimean Goths, used their books, and that the passage, in fact, refers to the Varangians. The proponents of the Gothic theory, on the other hand, believe that it is the Goths who are called 'Rus' here and argue that the reference is to the Crimean Goths. See Golubinskii, *Sviatye Konstantin i Mefodii pervouchiteli slavianskie* (1885); idem, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1 (1901): 49; Pastrenek, *Dějiny slovanských apostoľů Cyrilla a Methoda* (1902), p. 52; Shestakov, *Očerki po istorii Khersonesa v VI–X vekakh po r. Khr.* (1908).² Both interpretations are highly suspect, as Lamanskii rightly demonstrates in his 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla kak religiozno-épicheskoe proizvedenie i kak istoricheskii istochnik' (December, 1903), p. 374ff. (for his part, Lamanskii, like Sreznevskii and Budilovich before him, regards the passage as a reference to the Rus'-Slavs). However, the account in the legend is itself highly dubious and could be of a much later date. A number of scholars believe it to be an interpolation—Gorskii, Bodianskii, Metropolitan Makarii [Bulgakov], Gil'ferding, Kunik, Wattenbach. Those who oppose this view (Budilovich, Vasil'evskii) point out that these words appear in all the codices of the legend. But the legend is itself filled with confusing elements and purely legendary motifs of obviously later origin, so that even if the reference to Rus' books is regarded as part of the original text, it cannot be treated as a serious source on relations in the latter half of the ninth century, despite the presence of certain archaic details relating to Cyril's mission. See the critical analysis of this legend in the work by Lamanskii cited above, and in I. Franko's *Sviatyi Klyment u Korsuni. Prychynky do istorii starorus'koi legendy* (1904), p. 219ff.

On Marquart's sixth-century Rus', see Excursus 2, below.

Editor's addition: Hrushevsky's rejection of dubious reports about the Rus' has been fully vindicated by subsequent research. Al-Tabari's mention (in Bal'ami's Persian relation of the 960s) of 'al-Rus' under the year 643 is a later interpolation (see Fr. Kmiotowicz, 'Tabari,' *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 6 [1977]: 11), even though A. Novosel'tsev (*Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoe znachenie*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 364–65) claims that al-Tabari's source mentioned Rus'.

The report of Theophanes the Confessor does not refer to 'Rus' ships but to scarlet (i.e., royal) ones: see I. Chechurov, *Vizantiiskie istoricheskie sochineniia* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 46, 68, 143–44.

Hrushevsky's view that the *Tactica*, with its mention of Rus' campaigns, should be attributed to Leo VI (the Wise; d. 912), not to Leo III (d. 741), has proved well founded. His critical attitude to the hypothesis concerning the Rhos-Dromitai was also amply justified: this subject still admits of many interpretations. See A. Vasiliev, 'The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951): 187–95; C. Mango, 'A Note on the Rhos-Dromitai,' in *Festschrift S. P. Kyriakides* (Thessalonica, 1953), pp. 456–62; cf. also A. Markopoulos, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischer Byzantinistik* 23 (1974): 89–99 (in French); A. Karpozilos, 1983 (in Greek), and idem, 'Rhos-Dromity i problema pokhoda Olega protiv Konstantinopolia,' *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 49 (1988): 112–18.

Hrushevsky did not accept the Rus' (i.e., Slavic) provenance of the Gospel and Psalter that Constantine (St. Cyril) found on his visit to Cherson in the 860s. Yet, even today, frivolous attempts are made to derive evidence of 'Proto-Rus' and Slavic writings from chapter 8 of *Vita Constantini*: see E. Georgiev (1963) and A. Lvov (1976); also G.

2. For earlier bibliography on this question, see Arkhangel'skii, *Svv. Kirill i Mefodii i sovershennyi imi perevod sv. Pisaniia* (1885), supp., p. 25.

Pivtorak, 'Vynyknennia pysemnosti u skhidnykh slov'ian za suchasnymi naukovymi danyymi,' *Movoznavstvo*, 1984, no. 6, pp. 9–21. Thanks to the efforts of A. Vaillant (1935), R. Jakobson (1944), D. Gerhardt (1953), and H. Lunt (1962), it has been shown that the original reading in the *Vita Constantini* was not 'rus'kyi,' but 'surs'kyi.' There are ample paleographic and philological grounds for such a 'Syriac' interpretation, which is historically plausible. See R. Jakobson, 'Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church,' *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 69–70; D. Gerhardt, 'Goten, Slaven oder Syrer in alten Cherson,' *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 4 (1953): 78–88; R. Auty, 'The Gospel and Psalter of Cherson: Syriac or Russian?,' in *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1967), pp. 114–17.

For some early reports applied to Rus', see O. Pritsak, 'At the Dawn of Christianity in Rus': East Meets West,' *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988–89): 87–113; W. Treadgold, 'Three Byzantine Provinces and the First Byzantine Contacts with the Rus',' *ibid.*, pp. 132–44; A. Kazhdan, 'Kosmas of Jerusalem,' *Byzantion* 61 (1991): 396–412. Also see Bartol'd, 'Novoe musul'manskoe izvestie o russkikh' (1896), in his *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1963), pp. 805–9 (discussion of Muhammad 'Awfi), and *idem*, 'Arabskie izvestiia o rusakh' (1940), in his *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1963), pp. 810–58 (best detailed survey).—A. Poppe

10. The Rus' Campaign against Constantinople in the Year 860

SOURCES. (1) Cumont, ed., *Anecdota Bruxellensia. 1: Chroniques byzantines du manuscrit 11376* (1849). This includes a chronicle dating from Julius Caesar to Romanos III (eleventh century) that contains a date of the Rus' campaign and the report that the Rus' were defeated: 'On June 18, eighth indiction, in the year 6368 [= 860], in the fifth year of his [i.e., Michael III's—M.H.] rule, there came the Rhos with two hundred ships. Through the entreaties of the Mother of God, praised by all, they were overwhelmed by the Christians, utterly defeated, and made to disappear' (p. 33). This report of the defeat of the Rus' was defended by de Boor (see below), who argued that it was a contemporary account. However, it contradicts the account of Photios and the Venetian annals and is unreliable. (2) The homilies of Photios have been published several times: in *Lexicon Vindobonense* (1867); in C. Müller, *FHG*, vol. 5 (1870); in the journal *Ekklesiastikē Alētheia* (1881); in Kunik, 'O trekh spiskakh Fotievnykh besed 865 goda' (1906). A translation on the basis of these editions appeared in my *Vyimky z zherel do istorii Ukraïny-Rusy* (1895), p. 22ff.; and a bibliography appeared in Kunik's posthumously published article, 'O trekh spiskakh.' (3) Symeon Logothete, or Pseudo-Logothete, and the compilations based on his chronicle: Symeon Logothete, *Chronographia* in *CSHB*, p. 674, Leo Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, p. 123, and George the Monk Continuatus (Muralt ed., pp. 736–77). On Symeon's chronicle and its compilative redactions, see Patzig, 'Leo Grammaticus und seine Sippe' (1894); Vasil'evskii, 'Khronika Logofeta na slavianskom i grecheskom' (1895); de Boor, 'Die Chronik des Logotheten' (1897). De Boor began publishing a critical edition of the text of George the Monk (1904) and has announced a separate volume of George the Monk Continuatus. (4) The Venetian Chronicle: John the Deacon's *Chronicon Venetum* (written ca. 1009), *MGH*, 7: 18, is interesting in that it reports a different figure for the number of ships, citing 360 instead of the 200 given by Greek sources, and concludes: 'thus the aforementioned people returned to their own country.' cursory references to the Rus' attack occur in the biography of Patriarch Ignatios by Niketas (David) Paphlagon, in *PG*, 105: 375 [sic], 516, 525. Scholars also link the attack with an allusion in the letter from Pope Nicholas I to Emperor Michael III (*PL*, 119 [1880]: 954), but that is questionable.

The earlier literature on this campaign, which concentrated mainly on the date of the campaign, became obsolete after Cumont's discovery. The most important of these older works are the following: Kunik, *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven*, chap. 10, and Rozen, ed., *Izvestiia al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i slavianakh*, excursus 2;

Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 1 (1901), chap. 1. More recent works include: Vasil'evskii, 'God pervogo nashestviia russkikh na Konstantinopol' (1894), p. 258ff.; de Boor, 'Der Angriff der Rhos auf Byzanz' (1895); Loparev, 'Staroe svidetel'stvo o Polozhenii rzy Bogoroditsy vo Vlakhernakh v novom istolkovanii, primenitel'no k nashestviu russkikh na Vizantiu v 860 godu' (1895); Vasil'evskii's response to the above, 'Avary, a ne russkie, Feodor, a ne Georgii. Zamechanie na stat'iu Kh. N. Lopareva' (1896), which demonstrates that the account cited by Loparev does not apply to the 860 campaign, but, rather, to an Avar attack in the seventh century; A. Vasil'ev, *Vizantiia i Araby*, 1 (1900): 189ff.; Lamanskii, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla kak religiozno-épicheskoe proizvedenie i kak istoricheskii istochnik' (1903), in which the author focuses specifically on the question of the defeat of the Rus' (he disproves the cited view of de Boor) and the duration of the siege, rejecting the view that it lasted more than a year, which is based on the date of the freeing of Constantinople, cited in the *Synaxarion* under 7 July. Another interesting conjecture suggested by Lamanskii is that the Rus' were sent to attack Constantinople by the Arabs (*ZhMNP* 347 [June 1903]: 359; and 350 [December 1903]: 383), but the notion is not confirmed by our sources and is not very probable.

Finally, let me note that Rus'-Byzantine relations in the 860s are depicted in a series of Byzantine miniatures on Rus'-Byzantine subjects. The Madrid Codex of John Skylitzes from the fourteenth century contains miniatures that depict a Byzantine bishop-missionary before the Rus' prince (miracle with the Gospels), followed by the Rus' fleet (Ihor's campaign), Olha's audience with the emperor, and a number of illustrations of Sviatoslav's war with Byzantium, and a second series that deals with the campaign of Volodymyr Iaroslavych (for a short description, see Kondakov, *Russkie klady. Issledovanie drevnostei velikokniazheskogo perioda*, 1 [1896]: 212). Another such series of Byzantine miniatures is found in the Vatican Codex of the *Chronicon* of Constantine Manasses, also from the fourteenth century (Sviatoslav's Bulgarian war). These miniatures have not received much attention and have not even been published in their entirety (Schlumberger's publications [see below] contain the largest collection of them), and it is therefore difficult to say anything definitive about their historical value. However, the authenticity with which the Rus' are represented in them is quite dubious. We should also mention the Slavic miniatures contained in later manuscripts. The largest collection of these has recently been published in the Radziwiłł Manuscript of the Chronicle: *Radzivilovskaia ili Kenigsbergskaia letopis'* (1902). See the article on these miniatures by Sizov, 'Miniatiury Kenigsbergskoi letopisi (arkheologicheskii etiud)' (1905).

Editor's addition: Hrushevsky's brief critical survey of the sources and writings on the campaign of 860 found its development in the detailed study by A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946). For an English translation of two 'Rus' homilies of Photios, with a useful commentary, see C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 74–110; see also J. Wortley, 'The Date of Photius' Fourth Homily,' *Byzantinoslavica* 31 (1970): 50–53. For a summary of research on the campaign, its preparation, and the attendant historical circumstances, see Fr. Tinnefeld, 'Der furchtbare Blitzschlag aus dem fernsten Norden: Der Angriff der Rhös auf Konstantinopel im Jahre 860,' in *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 19 (Uppsala, 1981), pp. 243–50.

For more information about the miniatures on Rus' subjects in the Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes, mentioned by Hrushevsky but unpublished in his time, see *Skylitzes Matritensis*, vol. 1: *Reproducciones y miniaturas*, ed. S. Estopañan (Barcelona, 1965), which includes a brief description of each miniature. For studies of the miniatures, see A. Bozhkov, *The Miniatures of the Madrid Manuscript of Johannes Scylitzes* (Sofia, 1972; in Bulgarian); I. Ševčenko, 'Sviatoslav in Byzantine and Slavic Miniatures,' *Slavic Review* 24 (1965): 709–13 (with figures; reprinted in idem, *Byzantium and the Slavs*, Cambridge, Mass., and Naples, 1991, pp. 231–40). At the turn of the nineteenth century, the

Madrid manuscript was dated to the fourteenth century; now it is conventionally regarded as a work of the mid-twelfth century. See I. Ševčenko, 'The Madrid Manuscript of the Chronicle of Skylitzes in the Light of its New Dating,' in *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 117–30. For the Slavic miniatures from the reign of Sviatoslav in the Radziwiłł Chronicle (a fifteenth-century manuscript), see the new two-volume edition published in St. Petersburg in 1994. The first volume contains facsimile reproductions in color, and the second presents a printed original text with descriptions of the miniatures and textological and iconographic commentaries.—A. Poppe

11. Sviatoslav's Greco-Bulgarian Wars and the Chronology of the Events of the 960s and 970s

The literature on the Rus'-Bulgarian-Byzantine war is quite extensive. Apart from general histories, see the old monograph (or collection of excerpts from sources) by Chertkov, 'Opisanie voiny velikogo kniazia Sviatoslava Igorevicha protiv bolgar i grekov v 967–971 godakh' (1843); Sreznevskii, 'Sledy glagolitsy v pamiatnikakh X veka' (1858), pp. 341–45 (concerning the year of Sviatoslav's death on the basis of Leo the Deacon). This group also includes the special studies about the year of Sviatoslav's death by Lambin, 'O gode smerti Sviatoslava Igorevicha, velikogo kniazia kievskogo' (1876); Kunik, 'Zametka o godakh smerti velikikh kniazei Sviatoslava Igorevicha i Iaroslava Vladimirovicha' (1876); Vasil'evskii, 'Zametka k stat'e N. P. Lambina o gode smerti Sviatoslava' (1876). Lambin and Vasil'evskii examine critically the chronology of Sviatoslav's war against John I Tzimiskes; Lambin defends the year 972, while Kunik and Vasil'evskii argue in favor of 973. See also: Belov, 'Bor'ba velikogo kniazia kievskogo Sviatoslava Igorevicha s imperatorom Ioannom Tsimiskhiem' (1873); Drinov, 'Iuzhnye slaviane i Vizantiia v X veke' (1875), p. 91ff.; K. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (1876), chap. 10; Vasil'evskii, 'Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 4. Zapiska grecheskogo toparkha' (1876); Couret, 'La Russie à Constantinople: premières tentatives des Russes contre l'Empire grec 865–1116' (1876); Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle—Nicéphore Phocas* (1890), and idem, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle (969–989)* (1896); Srkulj, *Die Entstehung der ältesten russischen sogenannten Nestorchronik mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Svjatoslav's Zug nach der Balkanhalbinsel* (1896); Westberg, 'Die Swjatoslaw-Chronologie von 967–973,' in his 'Ibrâhîm's-ibn-Ja'kûb's Reisebericht über die Slawenlande aus dem Jahr 965' (1898), in which he defends the chronology of the Chronicle and the year 973 as the date of Sviatoslav's death; Znoiko, 'O posol'stve Kalokira v Kiev' (1907), and idem, 'O pokhodakh Sviatoslava na Vostok' (1908); Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh* (1908), chap. 4. Mention should also be made in this context of Sviatoslav's Bulgarian coins. These coins were discovered in the 1830s. They bear a figure of Sviatoslav on one side and, on the other, the image of the Savior with the inscription: 'Svjatoslavъ cr blgarm' (tsar of the Bulgars). Two theories have been advanced: some scholars believed this image to represent the Bulgarian tsar Svetoslav (1296–1322), while others thought it to be Sviatoslav of Kyiv. The latter view was first put forward by the Russian numismatist Savel'ev, 'Primechanie o slavianskikh monetakh s imenem Vladimira, Sviatoslava i Iaroslava' (1849), followed by Egger, 'Die Münzen der Bulgaren' (1869), p. 110ff., and Chernev, 'Zametki o drevneishikh russkikh monetakh' (1888), p. 79ff. (includes a bibliography of works dealing with this question). They point to the primitive coinage and the similarity to Symeon's coins, and explain the image of the Savior on a pagan ruler's coin as part of Bulgarian tradition in coinage.

The sources for the history of Sviatoslav's campaign are Leo the Deacon, John Skylitzes, the Chronicle, and several secondary materials. Leo the Deacon of Kaloë (in Asia Minor) was

born around the year 950 and took part, as a deacon, in the Bulgarian campaign of Emperor Basil II (986). Several years later, he described contemporary events, beginning with the death of Constantine Porphyrogenetos and ending with the death of John Tzimiskes (959–75), in ten books of his *History*, which, as the sole contemporary source of its period, is exceptionally important. The work is distinguished by its overall accuracy and considerable objectivity (though it has a discernible Byzantine bias—see Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)* [1897], p. 267). Leo the Deacon's *Historiae libri decem* is published in vol. 11 of the *CSHB* and in *PG*, vol. 117. This work is the primary source for the history of the Rus'-Byzantine war. Writing his universal history in the eleventh century, Skylitzes used Leo the Deacon as his source, although he made use of other sources as well. His account of the war between Rus' and Byzantium is generally very similar to Leo's, but it contains certain details not found in Leo. It appears likely that in some places both authors made use of the same source but abridged it differently. This portion of Skylitzes' work became part of the chronicle of Kedrenos almost without changes (Kedrenos wrote at the end of the eleventh century or at the beginning of the twelfth). We are compelled to rely on Kedrenos's work for Skylitzes' history, because the Greek original of Skylitzes has not been published to date (there exists only a Latin translation, *Compendium historiarum*, published in 1570). George Kedrenos is published in *CHSB* and in vol. 122 of *PG*. On the relationship of Skylitzes and other chroniclers to Leo the Deacon, see Wartenberg, 'Leon Diakonos und die Chronisten' (1897). On the series of miniatures depicting Sviatoslav's war in the Madrid Codex of Skylitzes, see Note 10, above.

Clearly, we cannot complain about a shortage of sources on Sviatoslav's Bulgarian war. Nonetheless, certain aspects of that war remain unclear, especially its chronology. I shall list the principal difficulties and explain how I view them. According to the Chronicle, the campaign began in 967. However, as we have seen from Ibn Hawqal's account, in 968 Sviatoslav was at war in the Volga region. Among the Byzantine authors, Leo the Deacon dates Kalokyros's mission to 965/66 (indiction 9), while Skylitzes in Kedrenos dates it to 966/67 (indiction 10) and Sviatoslav's arrival to August 968 (indiction 11); Leo does not provide a more exact date for Sviatoslav's arrival. I shall not discuss here why there is a difference in dates between Leo the Deacon and Skylitzes in Kedrenos, but I believe that in light of the circumstances associated with Sviatoslav's campaign in the text of the account, we should accept the date cited by Skylitzes in Kedrenos. This does present a difficulty, however, because Skylitzes in Kedrenos reckons time according to indictions and years of reign, and that creates contradictions when we compare the following dates: indiction 7 July—the second year of Nikephoros' reign (2: 361), indiction 10 June—the fourth year of Nikephoros' reign (2: 372). Hence, there must be an error either in the year of his reign (967) or in the indiction (968). But inasmuch as the count by indictions of Skylitzes matches his count by years since the creation, while his reckoning by the years of the reign of Nikephoros does not agree with the dates given by Leo the Deacon, it is probably safer to accept the date of the indiction. Thus, Sviatoslav arrived in Bulgaria in 968.

Determining the dates for the interval during which Sviatoslav returned to Kyiv presents another difficulty. The Chronicle reports this to have been 968–70, which leaves less than two years for the Bulgarian and Greek campaigns. It is possible that the Chronicle's chronology in this instance is based on the date of Olha's death. In the *Encomium for Princess Olha*, Monk Iakiv relates that Olha died fifteen years after her baptism, on 11 July 969. This corresponds to the dates of the baptism and death of Olha reported in the Chronicle (except that this would mean that she died in the fifteenth year after her baptism, rather than fifteen years after it). But

the question remains to what degree the calculation in the *Encomium* is independent of the chronology of the Chronicle (cf. above, p. 343). We do not know the exact date of Olha's baptism, and if we assume that it occurred during her journey to Constantinople, the Chronicle's date of the event is wrong (therefore, to count fourteen years from Olha's actual journey to Constantinople to her death, as does Vasil'evskii, only compounds the confusion). Thus, in and of themselves the dates in the Chronicle and in the *Encomium* tell us nothing certain. Of the Byzantines, only Skylitzes in Kedrenos speaks of an interruption in Sviatoslav's war. Recalling Sviatoslav's campaign and the devastation he wrought during the fifth year of Emperor Nikephoros's reign, the author writes that the Rus' returned home 'and again in the sixth year of his reign they campaigned against Bulgaria and they committed similar and even worse things than they had done before' (Skylitzes in Kedrenos 2: 372).³ Clearly, then, the interval did not last two years. If we consider the fact that before his death Nikephoros engaged in serious preparations for war, owing to Sviatoslav's victories (Nikephoros was killed in December 969), it becomes obvious that Sviatoslav must have returned to Bulgaria at the beginning of 969. That would correspond to the Chronicle's dating, to the extent that it, too, reports that Sviatoslav returned to Rus' during the second year of the Bulgarian war. Sviatoslav's stay in Kyiv must have lasted only a few months.

We now come to the third, and greatest, difficulty—the year of Tzimiskes' campaign against Sviatoslav. Leo the Deacon tells us unambiguously that it occurred in the third year of Tzimiskes' reign, in 972, because Tzimiskes celebrated his wedding immediately before the campaign, at the end of the second year of his reign (Leo the Deacon 7.9). That would mean that Sviatoslav died in the spring of 973, as some scholars believe. However, Sviatoslav's treaty with the Greeks, which put an end to this war, is dated July 971, indiction 14, in the Chronicle, and Sviatoslav's death is reported under 972. This is fully confirmed by the chronology given by Yahya b. Sa'id al-Antaki (who wrote in the first half of the eleventh century and probably made use of earlier Greek sources for Byzantine events; for more on Yahya, see p. 445 below). According to Yahya, Tzimiskes was at war in Bulgaria in 971, but by the fall of 972 he was already in the east (he crossed the Euphrates in September-October 972)—Yahya, pp. 181–84. The information provided by Skylitzes in Kedrenos (2: 392) is of no significance. That source reports Tzimiskes starting a campaign against the Rus' during the second year of his reign (i.e., in 971), but it is not clear whether the date refers to his preparations or to the campaign itself, and inasmuch as the second year of his reign ends in December 971, it completely changes the calculations. John Zonaras, as no more than a compiler, has no significance here at all (he clearly dates the campaign to the second year of the emperor's reign). We are thus faced with a definite discrepancy. On the one hand, we have Leo the Deacon, a contemporary (to be sure, very miserly with exact dates), and, on the other, Yahya (very generous with dates). The issue could be decided very simply by the date of the treaty between Tzimiskes and Sviatoslav. But a question arises here: could this date have been inserted on the basis of the Chronicle's chronology or, perhaps, changed? I think that to be improbable. Ihor's treaty bears no date and the chronicler did not deem it necessary to add one, while in Sviatoslav's treaty we have the year and the indiction. That would mean admitting the possibility of a conscious falsification. Moreover, in the chronology of the Kyiv and Suzdal

3. Shakhmatov pointed out the notation in the margin of the Bulgarian translation of Manasses: 'Twice in two years the Rus' conquered the Bulgarian land during the same Emperor Nikephoros's reign' (*Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, p. 121).

versions, where Iaropolk's reign is dated as beginning in 973 (972 in the Novgorodian version), the date of the treaty is problematic rather than helpful, because it is difficult to account for a whole year (between Sviatoslav's return and Iaropolk's accession to the throne).

In light of everything said above, I believe it likely that the war began in 968, that there was a short interval at the beginning of 969, and that Sviatoslav waged his last campaign in 971 and died in 973. However, in view of all the difficulties I have described, these dates can only be regarded as probable. I have discussed them only because there is a large body of literature on this question.

The chronology of the first years of Volodymyr's reign in Kyiv also contains a number of uncertainties. We have two different calculations, one in the Chronicle and another in the *Life of St. Volodymyr* included in Monk Iakiv's *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr*, and the two do not agree. The Chronicle states that Iaropolk reigned in Kyiv for eight years, whereas the *Life* tells us that Volodymyr ascended the Kyivan throne in the 'eighth year' after the death of his father. These two accounts might be seen as being in agreement, if we suppose that the Chronicle count does not cover a full eight years. But, as a result, the Chronicle dates the beginning of Volodymyr's reign to 980, while the *Life* dates it to June 978: 'Prince Volodymyr installed himself in Kyiv on 11 June 6486 (978), in the eighth year after the death of his father, Sviatoslav. Prince Volodymyr was baptized in the tenth year after the murder of his brother Iaropolk.' At the same time, both the Chronicle (p. 10) and the *Life* state that Volodymyr reigned thirty-seven years in Kyiv (according to the *Life*, he was baptized 'in the tenth year' after the death of Iaropolk and lived another 'twenty-eight years' after his baptism), and both agree that he died in 1015. We should also add that in the Novgorod I Chronicle, the beginning of Iaropolk's reign is given as 972, that is, the same year as the death of Sviatoslav, while other chronicles date it to 973, even though that is absurd, because Sviatoslav's death, inasmuch as it occurred in the spring, had already been dated to the new year (the winter Sviatoslav spent in Biloberezhia [at the mouth of the Dniro] is recorded under 971: 'When spring came [the year 972 is inserted here, counting from 1 March—M.H.], Sviatoslav went to the rapids,' where he was killed). This gives the impression that a year had passed between Sviatoslav's death and the beginning of Iaropolk's reign, whereas the two occurred at the same time, because Iaropolk already reigned in Kyiv, and the Chronicle merely records the formal aspect of this, and not some new fact.

It is quite obvious that this chronology is based on a count of the number of years in each reign: eight years in Iaropolk's case and thirty-seven in Volodymyr's. Yet, only forty-three years and four months passed between Sviatoslav's death, sometime in March 972, and Volodymyr's, in July 1015. Some scholars have tried to account for the discrepancy by arguing that the length of Iaropolk's reign should, in fact, be counted not from Sviatoslav's death, but from the time of Iaropolk's accession to the throne, which they date to 970. This gives them a full forty-five years until the death of Volodymyr, and places Iaropolk's death in 978, as reported in the *Life* (Srkulj recently calculated it thus in *Die Entstehung der ältesten russischen sogennanten Nestorchronik mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Svjatoslav's Zug nach der Balkanhalbinsel*, 1896). However, 970 as the year in which Iaropolk's reign began is not very probable, and, according to this calculation, it should be dated to 969. Yet the *Life* clearly states that Volodymyr installed himself in Kyiv in the eighth year after the death of his father. Obviously, the time of the reign was not counted in full years: Iaropolk died in the eighth year of his reign (if we accept the date given in the *Life*, 11 June, he would have died seven years and two or three months after his accession), and Volodymyr died in his thirty-seventh year on the throne (reigning thirty-six

years and one month, according to the *Life*). But in that case, if we accept 972 as the year of Sviatoslav's death, we have to date Iaropolk's death to the summer of 979. Clearly, like the year of Sviatoslav's death, this date is no more than probable.

Where did the exact day of Iaropolk's death come from? Obviously, it could only have come from a contemporary church record, but how did it come to be entered there? As we know, the so-called Ioakim's Chronicle, published by Tatishchev, depicts Iaropolk as a supporter of Christianity. However, Ioakim's Chronicle is a very dubious source (some regard it as a complete fabrication), and the report has little value. Nonetheless, it is quite possible that Iaropolk was sympathetic to Christianity. He had been raised by Olha and, as the older son, may have been more influenced by her. He was also married to a Greek Christian. Shakhmatov tried to derive the date of his death from an account about the death of the Varangian martyrs, which allegedly occurred on 12 July 978, but his attempt was unsuccessful, and, in my opinion, his reasoning is overly contrived (*Razyskaniia o drevneishikh letopisnykh svodakh* [1908], p. 26). I find equally unconvincing his hypothesis that the chronology in the *Life* is based on the chronology of an earlier version of the Chronicle, the so-called 'Oldest Compilation' from about 1039 (based on this reasoning, Shakhmatov included in his reconstruction of the 'Oldest Compilation' the chronological table contained in the *Life* of the events after Volodymyr's baptism). In light of what we know thus far, we are compelled to conclude only that the chronology and accounts in the *Life* and the *Memorial and Encomium* are independent of those in the Chronicle. The relationship between the *Life* and Iakiv's *Memorial and Encomium*, and whether or not the *Life* in the *Memorial and Encomium* is independent of the Chronicle, remain unclear and contradictory issues: see Sobolevskii, 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury, posviashchennye Vladimiru sv.' (1888); Nikol'skii, *Materialy dlia povremennogo spiska russkikh pisatelei i ikh sochinenii (X–XI vv.)* (1906); Shakhmatov, 'Korsunskaiia legenda o kreshchenii Vladimira' (1906), and idem, *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, chap. 2; other works in Nikol'skii, op. cit. As to the authorship of Iakiv, a monk from the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves and candidate for superior after the death of Feodosii, author of the *Epistle to Prince Dimitrii* and canonical questions to Metropolitan Ioan, the attribution remains doubtful; cf. the works of Shakhmatov cited here, in which on one occasion he agrees with this view but, on another, rejects the authorship of Iakiv—we must admit that the basis for the attribution is very weak.

Editor's addition: Hrushevsky's critical account of Sviatoslav's campaign helped define a chronology generally corresponding to that established by subsequent research; see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), pp. 292 and 295–97. After Hrushevsky, this topic, including its various controversial aspects, was explored by V. Zlatarski (1927), P. Mutafchiev (1931), Fr. Dölger (1932), and P. Karyshkovskii, who devoted several papers to it (1951–55). In English, the subject was discussed by A. Stokes in his 'The Background and Chronology of the Balkan Campaigns of Svyatoslav Igorevich,' *Slavonic and East European Review* 39 (1960): 44–57; idem, 'The Balkan Campaigns of Svyatoslav Igorevich,' *ibid.* 41 (1962): 446–96.

A. Sakharov's compilation, *Diplomatia Sviatoslava* (Russian ed., Moscow, 1982, 238 pp.; Bulgarian ed., 1984), is an unprofessional piece of work. Sakharov maintains that *Toparcha Gothicus* is a source for Byzantine-Rus' relations in Sviatoslav's time (pp. 112–16). At the same time (p. 117) he quotes I. Ševčenko's study, 'The Date and Author of the So-Called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971): 117–88 (28 plates), without realizing that this analytical paper, already a classic, argues that the *Toparcha Gothicus* is a forgery dating from the early nineteenth century.

Mindful of the complicated nature of the evidence, Hrushevsky attempted to establish the chronology of events in Kyiv between Sviatoslav's death and Volodymyr's accession to power. Both the evidence and the chronology remain controversial today.—A. Poppe

12. The Baptism of Volodymyr and Rus'

The existing writings on the date and circumstances of Volodymyr's baptism are quite extensive. Leaving aside earlier works, which for the most part rely on the Chronicle tradition, the real point of departure for this body of works is the study 'Obrashchenie vsei Rusi v khristianstvo Vladimirom,' published by Golubinskii in 1877 and included as chapter 2 in his *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1880). Golubinskii took a very skeptical approach to the account in the Chronicle, but did not avail himself of foreign sources to reconstruct events, relying, instead, mainly on Monk Iakiv's *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr*. By contrast, Vasil'evskii, in his 'Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 2. K istorii 976–986 gg.' (1876), draws on Byzantine and Arab accounts, including al-Makin, who relied on Yahya. Subsequently, in 1883, Rozen published excerpts from Yahya himself, along with an important commentary, in his *Imperator Vasiliia Bolgaroboitsa. Izvlecheniia iz letopisi Iakh"i Antiokhiiskogo*. The approach of the 900th anniversary of the baptism of Rus', which was to be celebrated in Russia, drew particular attention to these issues and especially to the year of Volodymyr's baptism. Following are the most important works from those years: N. Barsov, *Konstantinopol'skii patriarkh i ego vlast' nad russkoiu tserkov'iu* (1878), chap. 6; the review by Malyshevskii (1882) of Golubinskii's *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, and the review by Uspenskii (1884) of Rozen's *Imperator Vasiliia Bolgaroboitsa* (Uspenskii's review is, in fact, an independent study in its own right, containing an analysis of sources and a number of hypotheses); Linnichenko, 'Sovremennoe sostoianie voprosa ob obstoiatel'stvakh kreshcheniia Rusi' (1886; accepts Rozen's principal ideas and polemicalizes with Uspenskii; accepts 989 as the year of both Volodymyr's baptism and the baptism of the whole of Rus'); L[ebedintsev], 'Kogda i gde sovershilos' kreshchenie kievlian pri sv. Vladimire' (1887; presents a traditional view); Zavitnevich, 'O meste i vremeni kreshcheniia sv. Vladimira i o gode kreshcheniia kievlian' (1888, in connection with Lebedintsev's article) and in *Vladimirskii sbornik v pamiat' deviatosotletii kreshcheniia Rossii*, published by the same academy (1888), which also contains articles by other authors on this question; Sobolevskii, 'V kakom godu bylo kreshchenie Rusi?' (1889), and his polemics with Zavitnevich (Sobolevskii, 'V kakom godu krestilsia sv. Vladimir,' 1888). Sobolevskii defended the tradition of the Chronicle account, whereas Zavitnevich relied on Iakiv's chronology and accepted the years 987 and 990.

LATER WORKS. Regel, ed., *Analecta byzantino-russica* (1891), pp. XXI–LXXIIff.; Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle (969–989)*, vol. 1 (1896), chap. 11; Lamanskii, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla kak religiozno-épicheskoe proizvedenie i kak istoricheskii istochnik' (1903–4); Shestakov, *Ocherki po istorii Khersonesa v VI–X vekakh po r. Khr.* (1908). Also in this group are a number of works that treat the tradition of Volodymyr from a historico-literary standpoint. In addition to the already cited works by V. Miller (*Ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti* [1897]), Zhdanov (*Russkii bylevoi épos. Issledovaniia i materialy* [1895]), Khalanskii ('Materialy i zametki po istorii drevne-russkogo geroicheskogo éposa' [1903]), and Loboda (*Russkie byliny o svatovstve* [1904]), which focus on the poetic tradition, these include Sobolevskii's above-mentioned 'Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury, posviashchennye Vladimiru sv.' (1888; a collection of texts with introductory articles), as well as such newer works as: Nikol'skii, 'K voprosu ob istochnikakh letopisnogo skazaniia o sv. Vladimire' (1902); idem, *Materialy dlia povremennogo spiska russkikh pisatelei i ikh sochinenii (X–XI vv.)* (1906); idem, 'Materialy dlia istorii drevnerusskoi dukhovnoi pis'mennosti' (1907); Shakhmatov, 'Odin iz istochnikov letopisnogo skazaniia o kreshchenii Vladimira' (1908); idem,

'Korsunskaiia legenda o kreshchenii Vladimira' (1906); idem, *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh* (1908), chap. 5; Srkulj, 'Drei Fragen aus der Taufe des heiligen Vladimir' (1907); Bert'e-Delagard, 'Kak Vladimir osazhdal Korsun' (1909). (The latter two works were written primarily in response to Shakhmatov's 'Korsunskaiia legenda,' as was Shestakov's review [1908] reprinted in the supplements to his *Ocherki*).

The principal source for the factual history of these events in more recent works has been Yahya, whose name was known earlier but whose account was not available until it was published by Rosen. Yahya b. Sa'id was a Melchite Christian from Egypt, a physician by profession who later lived in Antioch. He was related to the patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychios (d. 939/40), and continued the latter's Arabic chronicle, titled the 'Jeweled Necklace,' ending with the year 857/58. Yahya wrote the first version of his chronicle before 1014/15 and then rewrote it, also in Arabic, and took it further, but we do not know how far (we do not have the latter portion, but it probably went as far as 1031). For Byzantine events in the second half of the tenth century, many of which are included with precise dates, Yahya must have used some local Greek sources unknown to us.

After the publication of Yahya's texts, the account of Rus'-Byzantine relations by the thirteenth-century Arabic author al-Makin (d. 1273) lost significance, because it became apparent that he had merely abridged Yahya. On the other hand, the account of Ibn al-Athir (also from the thirteenth century, d. 1233) contains elements that could not have been taken from Yahya, but the source of which is unknown. Al-Makin's text was published in Leiden in 1625, whereas Ibn al-Athir's was published by C. J. Tornberg beginning in 1851. Passages from these texts appeared in translation by Kunik, in his 'O zapiske got'skogo toparkha' (1874), p. 147; in Vasil'evskii, 'Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 2. K istorii 976–986 gg.' (1876); and in Rozen's notes to *Imperator Vasiliia Bolgaroboitsa* (1883), p. 199ff.

Byzantine sources contain only short references and offer very little of interest, compared to the information provided by Yahya and Ibn al-Athir. Thus Michael Psellos, who wrote in the latter half of the eleventh century, mentions only the assistance lent by Volodymyr (of interest is Psellos's remark that the emperor was aware that his people disliked him). The text of his *Chronographia* was published by Sathas in *Bibliotheca Graeca mediae aevi*, 4 (1874): 10. When relating the war with Bardas Phocas, Leo the Deacon makes no mention of Rus' (10.9). Skylitzes in Kedrenos (2: 444) and, following him, John Zonaras, 17.7, in L. Dindorf, ed. (1865–75), 6: 114, refer to Volodymyr's help, his marriage to the Byzantine princess, and the assistance he sent, but in a form so brief that it is difficult to determine from these accounts which came first, Volodymyr's assistance or his marriage to the princess.

In terms of our own Ukrainian sources, for a long time all interpretations relied on the Chronicle account. Voicing harsh criticism of this account, Golubinskii cited the *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr* ascribed to a 'monk Iakiv' as a more reliable and independent source. His high regard for the *Memorial and Encomium* was opposed by Sobolevskii, who regarded it as a later work based on the *Life of St. Volodymyr*. Following a lengthy interval after the publication of the above two works, the literary tradition on Volodymyr was examined by Nikol'skii and, especially, by Shakhmatov, who made a particularly careful study of it in his 'Legenda o kreshchenii Vladimira.' These more recent works name the following ancient works devoted to Volodymyr, in addition to the Chronicle:

The 'Old *Life of St. Volodymyr*'—as Sobolevskii called it—that is included in the *Memorial and Encomium* is known as a separate text only in later manuscripts, dating from the sixteenth century, and was published by Sobolevskii in his collection of texts ('Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi literatury, posviashchennye Vladimiru sv.' [1888]).

In the form in which we know it today, the *Memorial and Encomium for Prince Volodymyr* by Monk Iakiv is a rather mechanical composite of several portions: in addition to the 'Old *Life of St. Volodymyr*,' it contains the *Encomium for Prince Volodymyr* and the *Encomium for Princess Olha*. For a bibliography, see above, p. 444. This text has been published many times.

The 'Synaxary *Life of St. Volodymyr*' is known in an abridged redaction from manuscripts of synaxaries from the fourteenth century. The text is in Sobolevskii's collection. The various manuscripts contain different additions and interpolations. Thus, the longer version, included in Sobolevskii's collection as item number 5, contains an interpolation from the 'Cherson Legend,' or the so-called '*Life of Particular Composition*' (p. 72). On this 'Synaxary *Life*,' apart from the works named above, see also Shakhmatov's short article, 'Kak nazyvalsia pervyi russkii sviatoi muchenik?' (1907).

The *Life* from the collection of festival sermons, also called the 'Ordinary *Life*,' known in manuscripts from the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, was published in Sobolevskii's collection as item number 3. A separate redaction of this *Life*, containing interesting variations, is contained in the sixteenth-century Belarusian manuscript (in the library of the Chudov Monastery in Moscow), to which Shakhmatov devoted a separate chapter in his translation ('Korsunskaiia legenda o khreshchenii Vladimira' [1908], chap. 6).

The 'Tale of How Volodymyr, after Capturing Cherson, Was Baptized,' known in many manuscripts from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries—some of which contain the name 'Feodosii the sinner,' as the author or compiler calls himself at the end of the text—was published in Nikol'skii, 'Materialy dlia istorii drevnerusskoi dukhovnoi pis'mennosti' (1907).

Finally, the 'Cherson Legend,' or the '*Life of Particular Composition*,' is a very interesting, highly legendary narrative about Volodymyr, found by Zhdanov and Khalanskii in a seventeenth-century chronicle manuscript in the St. Petersburg Public Library. It was published in a fuller version by Shakhmatov ('Korsunskaiia legenda,' chap. 7) from another seventeenth-century manuscript in the Pligin Collection (now in the library of the Academy of Sciences), where it constitutes a separate entry, entitled 'The Life of the Great Prince Volodymyr, the Autocrat of the Rus' Land.'

The filiation of these narratives and their chronology have not been established absolutely, and there is a very wide range of opinions among scholars on this subject. Thus, for example, Metropolitan Makarii [Bulgakov], Golubinskii, and others regard the 'Ordinary *Life*' as the prototype for the narrative of the Chronicle, and the *Memorial and Encomium* as an independent work written in the eleventh century. By contrast, Sobolevskii considers the account in the Chronicle to be the prototype for the 'Ordinary *Life*,' while Shakhmatov believes that the 'Ordinary *Life*' is a reworked variant of the account in the Chronicle, influenced by the 'Old *Life*' and the 'Synaxary *Life*.' If Shakhmatov is correct, the 'Ordinary *Life*' becomes further removed in terms of derivation, whereas Sobolevskii views the 'Synaxary *Life*' as an excerpt from the 'Ordinary *Life*.' Nikol'skii regards the 'Tale of How Volodymyr...' as the source of the Chronicle's account. Shakhmatov, on the other hand, considers the 'Tale' to be an excerpt from the Chronicle narrative, but with some borrowings from the 'Cherson Legend.' I have already discussed the divergence in views regarding the *Memorial and Encomium* attributed to 'Iakiv' (p. 443).

In general, despite great progress made in recent years (especially Shakhmatov's investigations), the rich manuscript tradition has not yet been studied in its entirety. It would, therefore, be futile to try to settle these questions once and for all and to determine the

interrelationships in the tradition with complete certainty and in detail. The main question remains the composition of the Chronicle account. Compared to it, the 'Old *Life*' (included in the *Encomium*) and the 'Cherson Legend' (the '*Life* of Particular Composition'), which Shakhmatov attempted to reconstruct in his 'Korsunskaiia legenda' (p. 46ff.), are characterized by marked excesses. However, the question regarding their origin ultimately and inevitably leads to the question concerning the account of the Chronicle.

Studies of the baptism story in the Chronicle, beginning with Golubinskii's, clearly show that this is a compilation containing illogical and contradictory elements. What we have is an obvious contamination of various accounts of the baptism, probably derived from several written works, which we can discern in the accumulation of the various motives and various paths that led Volodymyr to be baptized. Justly pointing out these illogical and contradictory aspects, Shakhmatov regards the Chronicle narrative as a combination of two sources. One source is the first redaction of the Chronicle (the so called 'Oldest Compilation' [from about 1039]), which described Volodymyr as having been baptized in Kyiv under the influence of the missionary's sermon and with the support of his boyars, who cited the example of Olha. Shakhmatov reconstructed this version, omitting the test of faiths conducted by Volodymyr's envoys and the account of the campaign against Cherson. The second source is the story of Volodymyr's baptism in Cherson, known as the 'Cherson Legend,' which Shakhmatov attempts to reconstruct on the basis of the narrative in Pligin's manuscript, supplementing it with other elements from the Chronicle and other tales. He inserts into it a short report of the test of faiths conducted by envoys and other episodes—see his 'Korsunskaiia legenda,' p. 110ff. In Shakhmatov's view, there was no factual basis to the account in the earliest version of the Chronicle. It was a purely literary work, a reworking of the Bulgarian narrative about the baptism of the Bulgarian prince Boris, adapted in places to fit local conditions. The tale about Volodymyr's baptism in Cherson had a firmer historical basis, although his baptism in Cherson itself was not a historical fact, and the tale used legendary and poetic sources in describing the war—the *bylina* about Volodymyr's proposal of marriage. According to Shakhmatov, this story, which I have called the 'Cherson Legend' for the sake of brevity, emerged among the Cherson priests at the Kyiv cathedral, descendants of the clergy brought back from Cherson, as a way of underscoring the close ecclesiastical ties between Rus' and Byzantium. Because it contained more factual material, it superseded the account in the first redaction of the Chronicle in the latter work's subsequent reworkings.

Despite the wealth of tradition that Shakhmatov relied on and the ingeniousness of his conjectures, I do not regard this question as settled by his hypotheses. I find unconvincing his notion that the account in the first version of the Chronicle was so meager that the author was unable to find anything in the existing tradition about Volodymyr's baptism and therefore had to turn to the Bulgarian account of Boris. In my opinion, Shakhmatov does not offer evidence of such slavish copying of the Bulgarian source, even though Srkulj hastened to agree with his conjecture. Nor do I find convincing his notion that orthodox Greek-Rus' clerics of the cathedral chapter would adopt popular poetic works about Volodymyr's proposal of marriage as the basis of the account of his baptism, works that are not consonant with Christian motifs and which they had not reworked. Finally, a very important element is left out of Shakhmatov's reconstruction—namely, the story of the envoys dispatched from Kyiv to investigate the different religions. It does not fit in the Cherson episode, where Shakhmatov inserts it, because the Byzantine court had not yet received any assurances from Volodymyr and had simply latched on to the hope of his baptism as a circumstance that might somehow justify the marriage

of the princess to Volodymyr: 'when the Lord will convert him [Volodymyr] for your sake.' Prior to this, there is no place for any thought by Volodymyr regarding the Christian faith; all he wants is to win the princess. Even after her arrival, he tries to avoid receiving baptism, and it takes a heavenly miracle to compel him to be baptized.

It should be noted that Volodymyr's 'finding out about all faiths,' no matter how much it resembles a literary device in the tale in the Chronicle, has parallels in foreign sources. The Jewish manuscripts collected by Firkovich contain one such report, in the form of an entry under the year 986 about envoys from Kyiv visiting the Khazar kagan to inquire about his faith: it was published by Khvol'son, 'Vosemnadtsat' nagrobnykh evreiskikh nadpisei iz Kryma,' in *Sbornik statei po evreiskoi istorii i literature*, vol. 1, vyp. 1 (1866), pp. 68–76. Professor Garkavi has pronounced this entry a fabrication; indeed, Firkovich's collection has proved to contain many fabrications: see Garkavi, 'Po voprosu o iudeiskikh drevnostiakh, naidennykh Firkovichem v Krymu' (1877), and his *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim* (1876). Although this entry is defended by other Hebrew scholars (Berkhin, 'Evreiskii dokument o posol'stvakh Vladimira sv. dlia ispytaniia ver' [1884]; cf. the note by Golubovskii, 'K stat'e g. Berkhina "O posol'stvakh Vladimira sv. dlia ispytaniia ver"' [1885]), it remains very doubtful, even without taking into account its dubious source—namely, Firkovich's collection. Much more important is another report, a Persian one, contained in the 'Collection of Anecdotes' by Muhammad 'Awfi from the thirteenth century. Citing the ancient description of the Rus' (in Ibn Rusta and others) as a people whose only occupation was war, this account states that after converting to Christianity, the Rus' were no longer able to fight, but because they had no other means of survival, they ultimately decided to adopt the Muslim faith, and the emperor 'Buladmir' sent envoys to Khwarizm to announce his intention. The ruler of Khwarizm welcomed them and sent gifts and a Muslim imam to teach the Rus' about the Muslim faith. The Rus' converted to Islam and began to fight once again. This account was published by Hammer-Purgstall, *Sur les origines russes. Extraits des manuscrits orientaux* (1827), but in very corrupt form, without mention of Volodymyr's name, which led many scholars, including Kunik, to formulate various fantastic theories: Kunik, 'Ergänzende Bemerkungen zu den Untersuchungen über die Zeit der Abfassung des Lebens des hl. Georg von Amastris' (1881). The account was published in its original form by Bartol'd in 1895: 'Novoe musul'manskoe izvestie o russkikh.'

The question is, how are we to interpret this report? Are we to assume that this is a literary borrowing, a distorted echo of the account in the Chronicle tale about the envoys sent by Volodymyr to 'find out' [test]? But we know of no other such borrowings by Eastern authors. Or perhaps the account in the Chronicle is true, and Volodymyr, having decided to establish Christianity in Rus' for reasons that we already know, before doing so did, in fact, send out envoys to make such inquiries, for the sake of appearances? There is nothing improbable about this, per se. Whatever the case may be, we need to be careful when dealing with this episode and not simply reject it as a literary fiction.

Srkulj and Bert'e-Delagard have expressed their support for the historical validity of the report about emissaries of various faiths sent to Volodymyr, which Shakhmatov also regards as a literary fiction, but they believe this to be an echo of various legations that came on matters having to do more with politics than religion.

Editor's addition: Hrushevsky's critical observations on the provenance and reliability of the local records, as well as his skepticism concerning A. Shakhmatov's reconstruction of the 'Cherson Legend'—the alleged primary account of Volodymyr's baptism in Cherson—have been confirmed by subsequent research (see A. Poppe, 'Legenda Korsuńska,' *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 3 [1967]: 34–35) and still have currency.

Since Hrushevsky's account was published, a great deal of literature has been produced on the baptism of Volodymyr and Rus', especially around the year 1988, when the millennium of Christianity in Rus' was celebrated. Recent publications, a modest contribution to knowledge on this topic, are noted in the bibliographic section of *Russia Mediaevalis* (vol. 8, no. 2 and subsequent issues). In English, see the extensive bibliographic survey by M. Labunka, 'Religious Centers and Their Missions to Kievan Rus': From Ol'ga to Volodimer,' *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988–89): 159–93. The attempt to reinterpret the events of 986–89 by A. Poppe ('The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 [1976]: 197–244) met with critical responses, in defense of traditional views, from D. Obolensky ('Cherson and the Conversion of Rus': An Anti-Revisionist View,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13 [1989]: 244–56; idem, 'Byzantium, Kiev, and Cherson in the Tenth Century,' *Byzantinoslavica* 54 [1993]: 108–13), and from J. Shepard ('Some Remarks on the Sources for the Conversion of Rus', *Nuovi studi storici* 17 [Rome, 1992]: 59–95). The last three studies exhaustively present the state of research and reflect the current divergence in interpretation of sources and views on the subject.

On the beginnings and organization of the Kyivan Church at the end of the tenth and in the eleventh centuries, see A. Poppe, *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1982), studies 3, 5, 7, and 8.—A. Poppe

EXCURSUS 1

The Earliest Chronicle of Kyiv

Our understanding of the earliest period in our history depends in very large measure on which view we accept of our earliest Chronicle^{*}—its origin, compilation, sources, etc. That view will determine our approach to the overwhelming majority of reports from that period available to us. We need, therefore, to examine the subject in some detail, so that our approach to the information contained in this source may be clearer and better founded.

The earliest Chronicle—also known as the Primary Chronicle, or Nestor's Chronicle—is a compilation made in Kyiv at the beginning of the twelfth century.^{**} We do not have it as a separate work; it is included in those collections of chronicles of which it is a component—usually introductory—part. In its purest form, the Primary Chronicle survived in two collections. One version of it, found in a Volhynian collection of chronicles completed sometime at the end of the thirteenth century, is known as the Southern version. The earliest manuscript of the Southern version is the Hypatian, so named after the St. Hypatios Monastery in Kostroma (northern Russia), where it was preserved. This copy was made (as indicated by the watermark on the paper) no earlier than the 1420s (ca. 1425, it is believed). A second copy, not identical to the Hypatian, is the Khlebnikov Manuscript, which, judging by its paleography, was copied in the sixteenth century. From it, we have several later copies: the so-called Pogodin Manuscript, now thought to have been copied in 1621 in Zhyvotiv in the Bratslav region; the Ermolaev Manuscript, copied from the Khlebnikov in the eighteenth century; and the Naruszewicz (or Cracow) Manuscript, copied from the Pogodin Manuscript. The second, or Northern, version occurs in the Suzdalian collection, completed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The earliest manuscript of it is the Laurentian, named after the monk Lavrentii [Laurentius], the scribe who copied it, probably in Suzdal itself, in 1377. Its later manuscripts are the Radziwiłł (also known as the Königsberg), the Academy (otherwise Troitskii), and the Troitskii, which burned in 1812 and has survived in fragments only up to the year 907. All these manuscripts are from the fifteenth century. In addition, the Primary Chronicle has survived in many other compilations, in forms altered to a greater or lesser degree.

In the earliest manuscript, the Laurentian, the Primary Chronicle is titled: 'This is the tale of bygone years, where the Land of Rus' came from, who first began to rule in Kyiv as prince, and from whence the Land of Rus' came into being.' This title is repeated in other manuscripts and compilations, but with some variations. What is most interesting is that the manuscripts of the Southern version contain the addition, 'Tale...by the monk of Feodosii's Monastery of the

* [In this excursus, Hrushevsky frequently uses 'Chronicle' or 'the earliest Chronicle' to mean the Primary Chronicle; in these instances the editors have inserted the word 'Primary.' The designation *Tale of Bygone Years* is given in instances when Hrushevsky specifically mentions the *Povist' vremennykh lit* as a work relating events up to the time of Sviatoslav. At times, 'Chronicle' is used when it is not fully clear whether Hrushevsky is referring to the entire Primary Chronicle, the *Tale of Bygone Years*, or other component parts.—Eds.]

** [The original has 'eleventh,' a typographical error.—Eds.]

Caves,' while one manuscript, the Khlebnikov, adds a name, 'the monk Nestor.' As we shall see below, in all probability this title applies only to the first, introductory part of the Primary Chronicle. For now, however, let us turn to a consideration of the name of the chronicler.

Nestor's name appears in the title of the Primary Chronicle because ancient tradition held that Nestor, a monk at the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves in the eleventh century, author of the *Life of St. Feodosii* and the *Lesson on the Life and Murder of the Blessed Passion-Sufferers Borys and Hlib*, was also the author of the Primary Chronicle. This tradition was first recorded in the *Kyivan Caves Patericon* (thirteenth century); owing to the *Patericon's* popularity, it became widespread, albeit not universally accepted (for example, the editor of the Nikonian compilation believed Sylvester to have been the author of the Primary Chronicle). Nestor's name appears in the title of several other manuscripts in addition to the Khlebnikov copy (Tatishchev knew of three), and that, coupled with the tradition of the *Kyivan Caves Patericon*, for a time answered, as might have been expected, the question regarding the origin of the Primary Chronicle. It had supposedly been written by an eleventh-century Kyivan monk, the venerable Nestor. At the initial stage of scholarly inquiry into Old Rus' history, this was accepted as undisputed fact. The only uncertainty concerned the point at which Nestor's chronicle ended. In 1775, however, Müller drew attention to Sylvester's colophon under 1116 as signifying the conclusion of the Primary Chronicle. Thus, at the outset everything seemed quite clear. The Primary Chronicle was believed to be entirely the work of Nestor, and that position was taken by Schlözer, the founder of critical scholarship on Old Rus' history. He posited that the first task of scholarship was to restore 'the authentic Nestor' with the help of philological criticism, and for a long time his *Nestor: Russische Annalen in ihrer slawonischen Grundsprache* (1802–9) served as a guide for research in Old Rus' history. Under the influence of Schlözer's view, the initial conjectures about the combinational nature of the Primary Chronicle expressed by P. Stroeve, particularly in the introduction to his edition of the *Sofiiskii vremennik ili ruskaia letopis' s 862 po 1534 god* (1820), went nearly unnoticed.

It was the so-called 'skeptical school,' represented by Professor Kachenovskii of Moscow University and his disciples, that led to a closer analysis of the Primary Chronicle. In a series of articles published in the 1820s and 1830s, they attempted to undermine the reliability of the Primary Chronicle by claiming that it could not have been written in the eleventh century, that the treaties with the Greeks contained in it were fabrications, that it was a later work, and so forth. Although taken in their entirety these views lacked coherence, they did produce some important observations—for example, that Nestor may have been the author of some monastery chronicle, but not of the Primary Chronicle itself. This compelled the defenders of the Primary Chronicle to study it more closely, which resulted in important analyses by M. Pogodin and, especially, by Butkov. Beginning in 1849, there appeared a series of articles by Professor Kazanskii of the Moscow Theological Academy, in which the author argued persuasively against the view that Nestor was either the author or the compiler of the Primary Chronicle, thereby providing fresh impetus for further analytical studies. Kazanskii's arguments were accepted by a number of noted scholars, and the traditional view was seriously shaken, giving rise to questions regarding the Primary Chronicle's component parts, its sources, and the work done by its editors. The last question, in particular, was affected by the battle between the Normanists and the anti-Normanists, which in the 1860s and 1870s touched upon key issues concerning the genesis of the Primary Chronicle. As a result, there appeared several notable works devoted to an analysis of the Primary Chronicle. In his 'Chteniiia o drevnikh russkikh letopisiakh' (1862), Sreznevskii attempted to distinguish sets of old annalistic records in the Primary Chronicle. The

polemic between Gedeonov ('Otryvki iz issledovaniï,' 1862–63) and Kunik ('Zamechaniia,' 1864) about the origin of Rus' demonstrated that the Primary Chronicle's account of the beginnings of Rus' was combinational in nature. In 1868, Bestuzhev-Riumin published his work on the structure of the chronicles, 'O sostave russkikh letopisei do kontsa XIV veka' (1868), in which he contended that the Primary Chronicle was simply an archive made up of various remnants of early literature. He focused in particular on elucidating the compilative character of the work.

By the end of the 1860s, direct work on the Primary Chronicle had ceased, but continuing research in Old Rus' history produced important ideas and observations concerning the Chronicle. These included such significant contributions as, for example, Ilovaiskii's skeptical observations regarding the introductory parts of the Primary Chronicle and the rehabilitation, in passing, by some scholars of entries not included in the Primary Chronicle in its purer versions but found in later compilations. An important turning point in the study of the Primary Chronicle occurred during the 1890s, when Academician Shakhmatov of St. Petersburg published a series of commentaries on the chronology of the Primary Chronicle and on its composition in general. Especially significant was the attention he drew to the second redaction of the Novgorod I Chronicle. He demonstrated unequivocally that the introductory portion of this work is an independent version of the Primary Chronicle, which, moreover, is earlier than those found in the Primary Chronicle's expanded Southern and Northern versions. As a result, it became even more obvious that later, even very late, compilations that had been left out of earlier archaeological plans and editions are sometimes of crucial importance in clarifying questions that arise in connection with the Primary Chronicle—for instance, the second redaction of the Novgorod I Chronicle, of prime importance now but unpublished until 1888, and many compilations that remain unpublished or are available only in old, inaccessible, incomplete, and uncorrected editions. Thus, although the subject of the Primary Chronicle had appeared settled at the end of the 1860s, following the publication of several important studies (by Sukhomlinov, Sreznevskii, Kostomarov, and Bestuzhev-Riumin), it has now been reopened and many new questions, requiring a good deal of textual work before they can be resolved, have arisen. Shakhmatov's latest work (*Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, 1908), a culmination of fifteen years of study of the Primary Chronicle, should serve as a point of departure for the extensive research in this field that is still needed.

I cannot examine all the issues connected with the Primary Chronicle in this overview. Therefore, I shall confine myself to the few subjects that are of greatest importance to us—that is, matters that relate to the structure of the Primary Chronicle, to the time when each of its various sections appeared, and to their historical value. Let us begin with the first of these items.

I have already suggested that the title *Tale of Bygone Years*, etc. (*Povist' vremennykh lit* etc.) cannot be applied to the entire Primary Chronicle, that is, as far as the beginning of the twelfth century. The *Tale of Bygone Years*, as its title states, related only the beginnings of the 'Rus' (i.e., Polianian, Kyivan) land and its first princes ('who first began to rule in Kyiv as prince'). Thus, it was to be an account of events extending not even to the end of the tenth century. Otherwise the title would have included the event epochal for every Kyivan bookman, the baptism of Rus', as does the shorter version (by which I mean the introductory part of the Novgorod I Chronicle): 'and how God has chosen our land in recent times.' On the other hand, the *Tale of Bygone Years* had to include at least the reign of Ihor, because the shorter redaction did not regard Oleh as a prince [of the dynasty].

Of course, it would be interesting to establish with greater precision that portion of the complete text of the Primary Chronicle that is the *Tale of Bygone Years* proper. That is precisely what Sreznevskii tried to do. He pointed out that in the chronological table of princes that appears in the Primary Chronicle under the year 852, there is a difference in the reckoning of years before Sviatoslav and after him: 'From the first year of Oleh to the first year of Ihor, thirty-one years. And from the first year of Ihor to the first year of Sviatoslav, thirty-three years, and from the first year of Sviatoslav to the first year of Iaropolk, twenty-eight years. And Iaropolk ruled eight years, and Volodymyr ruled thirty-seven years, and Iaroslav ruled forty years.' Based on this passage, Sreznevskii surmised that there were three series of reports in the Primary Chronicle: the first, up to the death of Sviatoslav; the second, up to the death of Iaroslav; and the third, following Iaroslav's death. In addition, he noted that after the year 943 there were no more accounts from Bulgarian and Byzantine history. He regarded that fact as evidence that some earlier chronicle broke off with that year. This last observation is no longer valid, inasmuch as a whole series of similar reports has been shown to be derived from George the Monk Continuatus or a chronography based on his chronicle. But even today the notion that one of the versions of the *Tale of Bygone Years* may have ended with the death of Sviatoslav may have something to recommend it, especially as both the Northern and Southern versions seem to have a sort of conclusion here: 'And all the years of the reign of Sviatoslav were twenty-eight. And Iaropolk began to reign.' But the earliest redaction of the *Tale of Bygone Years* may have ended even earlier—for example, with the death of Ihor or with the revenge of Olha—and may not have reached the death of Sviatoslav.

We now know for certain that apart from the expanded redaction of the *Tale of Bygone Years* (I shall use the name *Tale of Bygone Years* to designate the introductory part of the Primary Chronicle, accepting the convention that it ends with the death of Sviatoslav) included in both the Northern and Southern versions of the Primary Chronicle, there exists an older, independent redaction of it in the introductory portion of the Novgorod I Chronicle. This has been demonstrated by Shakhmatov, and it is his great contribution to the study of the subject. In the second redaction of the Novgorod I Chronicle,¹ the dearth of entries up to 1017 has been supplemented by an account that from 945 onward (from the death of Ihor), despite containing lacunae and versions different from those in the expanded redaction of the Chronicle in both its Southern and Northern versions, is nonetheless close to them. The portion up to 945, however, differs from the expanded version to a much greater extent. The chronology of the Novgorodian version is quite different, and there are also key differences in the account itself (as, for example, the story of Askold and Dyr, or the statement that Oleh was not a prince but only Ihor's voivode). It also contains some events not included in the expanded redactions (Ihor's war with the Ulychians). On the whole, the Novgorodian version is much shorter than the expanded redaction and much material is missing from it, thereby allowing us to call it the shorter (or Novgorodian) redaction.²

This poses an important question that has yet to be answered: what is the significance of the differences between the shorter and the longer redactions before 945 and after that year? The

1. In other words, the Novgorod I Chronicle (*Novg. I*) with the introductory additions to the defective Synodal Manuscript.

2. Shakhmatov calls the Novgorodian redaction of the Primary Chronicle the 'Primary Compilation' (*nachal'nyi svod*) [ca. 1095], and the expanded version, the *Tale of Bygone Years*, without distinguishing the introductory part—namely, the *Tale of Bygone Years* proper—from subsequent sections of the Primary Chronicle.

year 945 could hardly have been a cut-off point, because the account under 945 in the shorter redaction, which belongs to that version's second part, is directly tied in with the preceding entry (under 922–45). Nonetheless, there are distinct differences between the two redactions before and after this year. Most striking is the difference in chronology: up to 945, the chronology of the shorter redaction is completely different from that of the expanded redaction, whereas after 945 the two coincide. One possibility is that fewer changes were made after 945 in the shorter redaction of the later *Tale of Bygone Years*, whereas the portion up to 944 was completely reworked and supplemented by new editors whose work we see in the later *Tale*, and that that explains the differences in the texts before 945 and after that year. But another explanation is also possible: that from 945 onward, the second redaction of the Novgorod I Chronicle was supplemented from another source—that is, the editor copied not from the *Tale of Bygone Years* of the shorter redaction, as he did the events up to 945, but from another redaction. This strikes me as the more probable explanation, in light of the difference in chronology, but it is pure conjecture on my part. In time the matter will be clarified through further study of still unpublished Primary Chronicle compilations. So far, there are two redactions of the *Tale of Bygone Years* prior to the year 945, a shorter and a longer one (the latter in two versions, the Southern and the Northern), and also two for the period following 945, a shorter (Novgorodian) and an expanded one (in two versions—Southern and Northern).

Did the shorter version, surviving in the Novgorodian redaction (up to the year 945), come down to us in its original form or was it abridged? In its present form, it appears to be a mere skeleton when compared with the expanded redaction, as is obvious from the following cursory overview:

the shorter redaction:

the Kyivan brothers

campaign against Constantinople

Khazar tribute, Askold and Dyr

arrival of the Varangian princes

Ihor in Kyiv

920 Ihor's campaign against Constantinople

922 Oleh's campaign against Constantinople

the expanded redaction:

general ethnography

Slavic and Rus' ethnography

the route from the Varangians to the Greeks and St. Andrew

the Kyivan brothers

second and third ethnographic survey

Khazar tribute

chronological table

baptism of the Bulgars

arrival of the Varangian princes

Askold and Dyr

campaign against Constantinople

Oleh in Kyiv

Oleh's campaigns

Hungarians

SS. Cyril and Methodius

907 Oleh's campaign against Constantinople

first treaty with the Greeks

<p>922 Oleh's death</p> <p>war with the Ulychians</p> <p>945 death of Ihor, followed by a different redaction, closer to the expanded <i>Tale of Bygone Years</i>.</p>	<p>second treaty with the Greeks</p> <p>912 Oleh's death</p> <p>Ihor's campaign and Byzantine reports on events</p> <p>Ihor's campaign against Constantinople (under 920 in the shorter redaction)</p> <p>second campaign</p> <p>treaty with the Greeks</p>
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The contents of the shorter redaction appear too well planned to be merely an abridgement of something similar in the expanded redaction. There is a cohesiveness to this skeleton. Given the fundamental differences between the two redactions, the notion that the shorter is an abridgement of the expanded redaction with which we are familiar is out of the question. Only a few abridgements (cuts) are of the kind that could have been made if the original redaction were the source. It is obvious that the earlier *Tale of Bygone Years* was written without any indication of years. The few years present in the shorter redaction are later, rather inept, insertions. Thus, the year 854, which is probably meant to indicate the first year of the reign of Emperor Michael III, has been inserted to cover events that range from the story of the three Kyivan brothers to Ihor's campaign against Constantinople. The story of Ihor is mechanically split up under several years. Similarly, the two narratives taken from a Greek source—the raid on Constantinople in the reign of Emperor Michael and Ihor's campaign—are entries inserted later and out of order: the expedition against Constantinople is placed between the story of the three Kyivan brothers and the Khazar tribute (the narrative itself shows the trace of a break: 'after this time these brothers perished'), and Ihor's campaign precedes that of Oleh. The order in which these events are reported indicates that they were added not from the expanded redaction, but independently of it. Other details suggest the same: the narrative about Ihor's campaign is not connected with Askold and Dyr, nor does it contain any material from the *Life of St. Basil the Younger*. There are also linguistic differences.

By comparing the two redactions of the *Tale of Bygone Years*, the expanded and the shorter, it is possible to arrive at an approximate reconstruction of its older redaction. This told of the three Kyivan brothers, the Khazar tribute, the arrival of the Varangian princes in Novgorod followed by Ihor's coming to Kyiv, Oleh's campaign against Constantinople, Ihor's wars with the Ulychians and Derevlunians, and his death. It comprises what Shakhmatov has called the 'Primary Compilation' (*nachal'nyi svod*) [ca. 1095]. In his latest work, Shakhmatov has tried to go even further: by setting aside later additions and changes, he has attempted to establish an even earlier first redaction of the Chronicle, which he calls the 'Oldest Kyivan Compilation' (*drevneishii kievskii svod*) [1039]. According to that hypothesis, based on his analytical work, this redaction would consist of the following:

The legend of the Kyivan brothers, which ends with the words: 'And after these brothers their kin began to rule as princes among the Polianians. And they were at war with the Derevlunians and with the Ulychians.'

The Varangians of the north and their rule among the Slovenians and others (without the invitation to Riuryk and his brothers); their prince Oleh and his campaign against Smolensk and Kyiv, where he encounters Askold and Dyr.

Oleh's campaign against Constantinople and his death.

Ihor—his wars with the Derevlians and the Ulychians, the Derevlian tribute and Ihor's death (in a different form, in which the conflict is described as between Ihor and Mstysha Sveneldovich).

Olha's campaign against the Derevlians (without the story of her revenge) and her administrative measures.

Olha's journey to Constantinople and her baptism; her attempts to persuade Sviatoslav to convert to Christianity.

Sviatoslav—his campaigns against the Khazars, Viaticians, and Bulgars.

The Pecheneg advance on Kyiv and the death of Olha.

Sviatoslav's second Bulgarian campaign and his death.

The fratricidal war between Iaropolk and Oleh, and so forth.

Shakhmatov believes that this chronicle, which was brought up to the year 1037, was written at the metropolitan see in Kyiv ca. 1039, and that later, in the 1070s (in 1073), it was supplemented at the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves by 'the great Nykon.' Circa 1095, new materials were added to it at the Monastery of the Caves, and it was combined with the Novgorodian redaction of the Chronicle of 1039. That is how the 'Primary Compilation,' the earlier redaction of the Chronicle,* came into being, to be followed by expanded redactions of it—one compiled in 1116 and the second in 1118.

Leaving aside the above genealogy of this redaction, which is complex and hypothetical, I shall consider in greater detail Shakhmatov's reconstruction of the first original redaction of the Chronicle [the 'Oldest Kyivan Compilation' of 1039], which I regard as a very valuable effort and one that opens up avenues for further analysis. Shakhmatov's observations regarding traces of later additions and changes in the Primary Chronicle text are often very apt. However, I believe that his efforts at reconstruction have by no means resolved the question of the scope and composition of the first Chronicle.

I am not at all certain that, given the materials available to us at this time, we can hope to arrive at an exact reconstruction of this original Chronicle unless new discoveries are made in the Chronicle tradition. In his attempt, Shakhmatov sometimes stops halfway. For instance, I doubt that anyone will find satisfactory the manner in which he divides the narrative about the Varangians between the Chronicle of Kyiv and its Novgorodian reworking, or the fact that he leaves the story of Askold and Dyr in its present unmotivated form in the Chronicle of Kyiv (in all likelihood, in the initial version the story of Askold and Dyr was connected to the legend about the Kyivan brothers, as has been stated above), and so forth. To be sure, it is difficult to distinguish between the contamination introduced by later editors and that which could have been included in the first redaction by combining various legends (or combining legends with written records). On the other hand, I do not think that the first redaction of the original Chronicle could have encompassed the year 1037, as Shakhmatov believes. As I have indicated above, we need to search for a shorter text of the Chronicle.

* [*Tale* appears in the original.—Eds.]

Inasmuch as we are unable to isolate the unadulterated first text of the Chronicle, we cannot undertake the task of determining the exact time of its writing from its contents. At any rate, the uncertainty and hesitation in the Primary Chronicle's description of key events and relations at the beginning of the tenth century apparent in the earlier redactions (especially the uncertainty regarding Oleh and his relationship to Ihor) indicate that the earliest writing of the Chronicle [the *Tale of Bygone Years*] cannot be dated before the eleventh century.³ Some details in the Chronicle's account clearly suggest that the original Chronicle was prepared in the middle decades of the eleventh century, although we obviously cannot confirm that a given phrase appeared in the *first* redaction of the Chronicle. For example, the phrase 'Dyr's tomb behind the Church of St. Irene' that appears in the shorter redaction suggests a period no earlier than the 1030s–1040s, inasmuch as the part of Kyiv where the Monastery of St. Irene stood was built only after the 1030s. On the other hand, when we read in the shorter redaction's account of the strife between Sviatoslav's sons that Oleh's tomb 'exists to this day' near Ovruch, we are led to conclude that this passage was written before Oleh's remains were transferred to the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Kyiv, which is reported under the year 1044.⁴ In the account of the tribute exacted from the Novgorodians by Oleh, the text as it has survived in the Nikonian Chronicle reads: 'and they still give it today.' In the Novgorod I Chronicle, this became 'and they do not give it,' whereas in the Southern and Northern versions it was corrected to 'and it was given to the Varangians up to the death of Iaroslav.' Hence, the first passage could not have been written any later than the middle of the eleventh century. The same is suggested by the explanation under 945 (in both the shorter and expanded redactions) that Sveneld was 'the father of Mstysha'—an explanation that would have made sense only if the memory of Mstysha were still fresh—as well as by the description of the topography of Kyiv in the story of Olha's revenge, which is based on facts from the second half of the eleventh century: 'And the burg of Kyiv was where the court of Hordiata and Nykyfor is now, while the prince's palace was in the burg where the court of Vorotyслав and Chiudyn is now.' We know of Nykyfor and Chiudyn—both were prominent boyars at the time of Iaroslav's death (they are mentioned in the *Rus' Law*, in *Acad.*, § 18). Hence that explanation, too, must date to this period.

The expanded redactions bear traces of having been prepared at a later time. Thus the ethnographic overview (*Hyp.*, p. 9) and the report about the Hungarians (*Hyp.*, p. 14) contain references to the Cumans, which suggests a period no earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century, since the Rus' did not come into closer contact with the Cumans until the 1060s. The same conclusion is suggested by the statement in this section that the pagan burial

3. It should be noted that the coming of the Varangians to Rus' in the first version of the Varangian theory of the *Tale of Bygone Years*, to the extent that we can reconstruct it, occurred later than in the *Tale's* final version. There is no record of Ihor's long reign, of his minority, etc., in the first redaction. All that local tradition had retained about Ihor fitted easily into the two decades before his death. Into this period falls the legendary campaign of the Rus' against the Greeks, which was later dated to 907. Because in popular tradition earlier events are overshadowed by later ones, the first compiler of the *Tale of Bygone Years* could hardly have imagined that expedition to have taken place before the 940s (prior to the 941 campaign). In light of this, Riuryk's arrival in Novgorod and Askold's in Kyiv would have been dated by the chronicler to some time at the beginning of the tenth century, or, at the earliest, to the end of the ninth century. When the editor or editors of the Chronicle [*Tale* in the original.—*Eds.*] later found written records of the Rus' (accounts by Greek chroniclers and the texts of the treaties), these events were moved back several decades (hence the large number of empty years during Ihor's reign). In the first version, the beginnings of Varangian Rus' were probably dated no earlier than to the very end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.

4. *Novg. I*, p. 26; the Laurentian Chronicle in *Lavrent'evskaia i Troitskaia letopis'*, in *PSRL*, 1: 155.

ritual still survived among the Viaticians, thereby implying that the other tribes had already been converted to Christianity. Finally, we have the exact date of the completion of the Northern version in a colophon under the year 1110: 'I, Sylvester, superior of St. Michael's Monastery, wrote this chronicle in the year 6624, the ninth of this indiction'—in other words, in 1116. We have no such date for the Southern version, but it was completed after the death of Sviatopolk of Kyiv (d. 1113) and Davyd Ihorevych (d. 1112), as is evident from the chronological table under 852 and the mention under 1097 of Davyd's death in the narrative of Vasyl that was incorporated into the Primary Chronicle. In the Southern version, it is very difficult to establish the exact point where the Primary Chronicle ends. The entries under 1110 and 1111 deal with a single campaign against the Cumans, and it seems that the narrative about the death of Sviatopolk also belongs to this section. It is possible that the Southern version was concluded somewhat later than the Northern version.⁵ The shorter, Novgorodian version must be earlier, but nonetheless it also dates to a period no earlier than the end of the eleventh century.

Thus, the Primary Chronicle was the product of intensive work over a period of some sixty years and one that had been redacted several times. How many people worked on it? Unfortunately, it is not possible to answer this question. It may be that a significant portion of the editorial work was done by a single hand: the same author who compiled the earliest redaction of the Primary Chronicle may have worked on expanding it (this is suggested by a certain uniformity of bias—for example, with respect to the origins of Rus', the Rus' dynasty and its dynastic rights—unless we assume that a later editor was persuaded by the views presented in the earlier redaction and went on to develop them into a cohesive system). But a single individual could not have completed the entire redaction, if only because of the time span involved and the various contradictions still present in the text we have today.

I have already mentioned the traditional view that Nestor was the editor of the Primary Chronicle. Kazanskii's arguments have negated that view.⁶ (A further refutation of it was recently made by Shchepkin: Ščepkin, 'Zur Nestorfrage' [1897]). His arguments proved that Nestor, as the author of the *Life of St. Feodosii* and the *Lesson on the Life and Murder of the Blessed Passion-Sufferers Borys and Hlib*, could not have been the author of the Chronicle because it relies on entirely different sources than those used in relating events described in the aforementioned two works. There have been attempts to explain this away by contending that Nestor was the author not of the Primary Chronicle, but of a 'Caves Monastery Chronicle,' which then became a component part of the Primary Chronicle. But this explanation presents the same difficulty: it is precisely the events at the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves—which the Primary Chronicle narrates to the end of the 1080s—that could not have been described by Nestor because they are at odds with the *Life of St. Feodosii*, both factually and in the general interpretation of events at the monastery. If there is anything at all to the tradition of Nestor as a chronicler (this tradition, which emerged rather late, dates to the thirteenth century), at most it permits us to view Nestor as the author of an account about the Monastery of the Caves dating to the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth (this is the most likely), or as one of the Primary Chronicle's last editors. Shakhmatov, who in earlier studies

5. Shakhmatov accepts 1118, but in a more hypothetical sense.

6. The most obvious discrepancy is that Nestor, in his *Life of St. Feodosii*, states that when he entered the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves, Feodosii was no longer alive, whereas the author or editor of the Primary Chronicle, speaking of himself in the first person, writes that upon entering the Monastery of the Caves, he was tonsured by Feodosii.

tried to defend Nestor as the author of the Chronicle, has in his latest work pointed to Nykon, whom Nestor described as a learned and literate man. In Shakhmatov's opinion, Nykon, having served as the monastic superior in Tmutorokan, brought back contemporary reports that he contributed to the Primary Chronicle, together with various earlier Khazar and Tmutorokan legends and traditions. I have no grounds on which to reject that possibility, but I also find no credible evidence of this being Nykon's work.⁷ The wealth of reports about the Monastery of the Caves from the second half of the eleventh century lends probability to the surmise that during this period the Chronicle was worked on by a member of the monastery's brethren and that that person might have been Nykon. It is much more probable—even certain—that one of its later editors was Sylvester, the superior of the Vydubychi Monastery, who signed his name in the colophon under the year 1116, as already described above. He was much too prominent to have served as a mere copyist, but our lack of information about the Vydubychi Monastery makes it impossible for us to regard him as the author who worked on the Primary Chronicle as early as the second half of the eleventh century.

Apart from the third quarter of the tenth century—between the death of Ihor and the baptism of Volodymyr—another point at which the Primary Chronicle, during the various stages of its evolution, could have ended was the 1030s and 1040s. There is a discernible gap here, which is followed by the account of the death of Iaroslav and his dispositions, apparently as an introduction to something else. The other such breaks that Shakhmatov claims occur under 1073 and 1093 are also possible, but they are not quite as definite. The later authors and editors who worked on the Primary Chronicle bridged many apparent gaps. Consequently, our theories about the evolution of the Primary Chronicle must remain general and approximate.

The earliest events in the Primary Chronicle, which might have been described in the 1030s–1040s, were recorded without years (designated as group A in the diagram on p. 460). These events appear in the Novgorod I Chronicle, supplemented by some information from Greek (or Greco-Bulgarian) sources and clumsily arranged under years. The introductory part is dated 854, the events from Ihor's reign are divided into several years, and the rest of the years are left empty. In the second redaction of the Novgorod I Chronicle, this section appears up to the year 944 (in its current form, let us call it B).

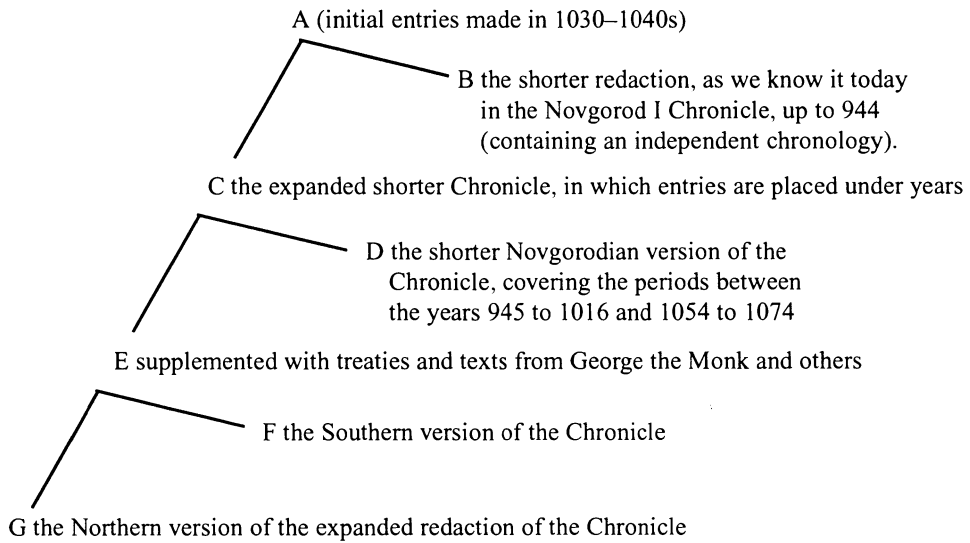
Independently of this redaction, the old [Primary] Chronicle (A) was continued, expanded, revised, and provided with a chronology in several stages during the second half of the eleventh century—in other words, brought to the form that we call the shorter redaction (C) and Shakhmatov calls the 'Primary Compilation.' This appears in fairly unadulterated form in the Novgorod I Chronicle, from 945 to 1016 and from 1054 to 1074. It does not contain the introductory geographic and ethnographic descriptions, the entries taken from George the Monk, the texts of the treaties between Rus' and Byzantium, or some of the legends, such as the final revenge of Olha (the burning of Iskorosten).⁸

7. Even if Nykon were the source of the series of reports from Tmutorokan, they could have been recorded by another chronicler. But rather than being introduced by way of Kyiv's direct link with Tmutorokan, they could have originated with the Chernihiv retinue, inasmuch as the reports spoke of the Chernihiv princes (including accounts about Mstyslav of Tmutorokan). And the Khazar legends described by Shakhmatov contained very few Khazar elements. The legend about the Khazar tribute originated in Kyiv, and not with the Khazars.

8. It is not clear to me whether the Chronicle of Kyiv was combined with the Novgorod one, as Shakhmatov believes, nor do I find any evidence of this. Novgorodian views and a Novgorodian bias, as I have called it, are deeply entrenched in the Primary Chronicle; in various places it quite obviously combines Kyivan legends with Novgorodian ones (the origin of the Kyivan princes, Olha's and Volodymyr's activities, Iaroslav's war with Sviatopolk). It is precisely

These additional reports were later included in the Primary Chronicle, transforming it into what we call the expanded redaction (E). Here, too, the editing was done not at one sitting, but in several stages and perhaps by several individuals. Thus, for example, the ethnographic survey of the Ukrainian tribes in the introduction is repeated three times: the repetition of the introductory phrase ‘when the Polianians were living on their own’ suggests several insertions made at different times. This expanded redaction, which includes entries up to the second decade of the twelfth century, exists in two versions, the Northern and the Southern.

Hence, a stemma of work on the Chronicle could be reconstructed as follows:



We have already indicated, in part, the sources used by the compilers of the Primary Chronicle. Let us begin with the earlier redaction, as we have defined it above (pp. 454–55): the account of the three Kyivan brothers, the Khazar tribute, Askold and Dyr, the arrival of the Varangian princes, Ihor in Kyiv, Oleh’s campaign against Constantinople and his death, and the war with the Ulychians. We should keep in mind that the text may have been abridged in places and that originally these accounts may have been more detailed; nonetheless, here we shall confine ourselves to what we have isolated from the existing compilation of the second redaction of the Novgorod I Chronicle predating 945. Nothing here has been taken from foreign sources, with the sole exception of quotations from the Bible in connection with the Khazar tribute, and nothing whatsoever has been derived from written records. This is a collection of oral transmissions and the editor’s constructions. It is not always possible to isolate these constructions. I will not state categorically that the explanation that Askold and Dyr were Varangians, or that Ihor was Riuryk’s son and Oleh was his voivode, or the story that Ihor came from Novgorod and killed Askold and Dyr were all constructions of the compiler of the Primary Chronicle alone. However, I indicated above that tradition was very weak on these points and

for this reason that I am more inclined to view this not as a contamination, but as a combination that forms the basis of the Primary Chronicle—if not of the *earliest* Chronicle, then of its first redactions.

that in different constructions these accounts and names were arranged in different ways. For that reason, I see a large portion of the author's own constructions in the initial redaction. The oral accounts that can be regarded as historically authentic are those dealing with the three Kyivan brothers, the Khazar tribute, Oleh's campaign against Constantinople, and Ihor's war with the Ulychians. In this redaction, the information added by the contemporary is confined to explanations, e.g., the locations of the tombs of Askold, Dyr, and Oleh.

For subsequent redactions of this portion, up to the beginning of the twelfth century, a number of written accounts, predominantly by foreign authors, were used. These include the *Chronicon* of George the Monk and the continuation of that work [George the Monk Continuatus]. From them were taken, in addition to the history of the Rus' campaign against Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Michael and Ihor's expeditions, the general ethnographic and geographic survey in the introduction, examples from world history—the strange customs of various peoples as compared to the pagan customs of the Rus' tribes (*Hyp.*, pp. 8–9, where this source is cited: 'George says in his chronicle'), and the story of 'sorcery by the casting of spells' in connection with Oleh's death (*Hyp.*, pp. 24–25). The short reports about Greco-Bulgarian events from the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries are also taken from George the Monk, and they were inserted into the Primary Chronicle at the same time that the ordering by years was undertaken.⁹ What remains unclear is the degree to which the Primary Chronicle used the chronicle of George the Monk directly rather than from some historical compilation that relied on his work among other sources, because some chronological misunderstandings on the part of the Chronicle's editors can be explained only by the use of such intermediary compilations.¹⁰ For his chronology, the chronicler used the work of Patriarch Nikephoros called *Χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον* (*Letopisets vskore* or *vkrattse*, as it is called in Slavic translation);¹¹ it is the source of the chronological outline under 852 (as proved by Shakhmatov). In the story of Ihor's campaign of 941, in addition to George the Monk, direct or indirect use was made of the *Life of St. Basil the Younger*, as indicated above (pp. 334–35). The account of Cyril and Methodius (*Hyp.*, pp. 15–16) was taken from some other narrative, one close to the Pannonian *vitae*.

The Rus'-Byzantine treaties comprise a separate category. Two are included in their entirety, and one appears in paraphrases and fragments (under 907).

There are no traces of the use of local written works or of some earlier local annalistic records in this section. Sukhomlinov in his time theorized that our chronicles evolved from paschal tables bearing short annalistic notations, but such short notes belong to later editorial layers in the Chronicle and, thus far, no traces of paschal tables in Old Rus' have been found.

9. For a list of the passages taken from George the Monk, see Sukhomlinov, 'O predaniiakh v drevnei russkoi letopisi' (1861), where the author also identifies other written sources. See, also, Shakhmatov, 'Khronologiya drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodov' (1897).

10. Shakhmatov put forward the hypothesis that the editor of the Primary Chronicle made use of some encyclopedia (probably brought from Bulgaria) that included the chronicle of George the Monk, the chronology in the work by Patriarch Nikephoros, and a biblical apocryphal history whose traces are evident in the Chronicle's account of Volodymyr: see his 'Nachal'nyi kievskii letopisnyi svod i ego istochniki' (1900); cf. also his 'Drevnebolgarskaia entsiklopediia X veka' (1900). This surmise, however, is completely hypothetical, and it seems that Shakhmatov himself no longer supports it.

11. It has been published from an earlier manuscript (thirteenth century) in volume 1 of *PSRL*, and from the Nikonian Chronicle in volume 9 of the *PSRL*. A compilation of fragments with excerpts from George the Monk was published by Belokurov under the title 'Russkie letopisi' (1898).

Sreznevskii tried to prove the existence of annalistic notations made in the tenth century in the Primary Chronicle, but the majority of entries that he described clearly stem from foreign sources or were constructed later. Today only a single entry from the tenth century remains a puzzle—the reference to a comet under 911. The surmises of Lambin and, more recently, of Lamanskii about some larger written works from the tenth century that served as sources for the Primary Chronicle remain wholly theoretical. In his most recent study, Shakhmatov, too, came to the conclusion that there are no traces of any local written sources before the time of Olha.¹²

It is even more difficult to distinguish between the different editorial layers in the second half of the tenth century. In places, there is a strong sense of the presence of foreign sources, but it is extremely difficult—well-nigh impossible—to isolate them. Following his latest analysis of the Chronicle, Shakhmatov postulated that the following written sources were used in the Primary Chronicle:

a Bulgarian chronicle that related the wars of Sviatoslav¹³
 the tale of Princess Olha—her journey to Constantinople, state affairs, and death
 the tale of the Varangian martyrs
 the tale of Volodymyr
 Volodymyr's founding statute for the Church of the Holy Mother of God (of the Tithe)
 the tale of Borys and Hlib.

Of these hypothetical sources, the Bulgarian chronicle can be dismissed as completely improbable. The evidence cited to corroborate such a provenance is of little value. Above all, it is difficult to accept that a Bulgarian source would have contained a portrayal of Sviatoslav like the one found in the Primary Chronicle (which, according to Shakhmatov, was derived from this Bulgarian chronicle). Volodymyr's *Church Statute* may have been included in a tale about him. It is quite possible that the chronicler made use of some literary works or tales about Olha, the Varangian martyrs, Volodymyr, and Borys and Hlib, and he may have done so to a greater degree than Shakhmatov allows. However, in his reconstruction of the 'Oldest Kyivan Compilation' [1039], Shakhmatov assumes that a significant portion of this redaction was lost through deletions made when it was reworked. As a result, he attributes to the original, no longer extant, redaction of the Chronicle, as compared with the Primary Chronicle, various divergences that are found in accounts about Olha, Volodymyr, and other topics appearing in materials other than the Primary Chronicle, thereby significantly minimizing the degree to which these accounts were independent of the Chronicle. Thus, for example, he confines the influence of the 'tale' of Volodymyr to praise of his baptism, and that of the 'tale' of Borys and Hlib to 'a short record in the Vyshhorod church about their slaying, burial, the finding of their relics, their glorification, and the miracles wrought by them.' He does so precisely because he attributes too much to a hypothetical original chronicle, even though he himself believes a priori that the entire body of hagiographical writings found in the Primary Chronicle (often in fragmentary form) cannot be attributed to the chroniclers.

12. See, especially, his summary in chapter 18 of Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh* (1908).

13. He also sees its influence in the chronicler's report that the Greeks thought Oleh to be St. Demetrios when he attacked Constantinople.

Some literary borrowings present in this part of the Primary Chronicle could have appeared there by such an indirect route—by way of the chronicler's use of literary 'tales.' For example, fragments from the *Paleia* [a collection of Old Testament texts], or from a source analogous to it, appear in the 'Philosopher's Sermon.' The not-entirely-orthodox ('semi-Arianistic') confession of faith that it attributes to Volodymyr has recently been found by Nikol'skii ('Materialy dlia istorii drevnerusskoi dukhovnoi pis'mennosti,' 1907) in a separate manuscript dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century entitled 'Writings on Faith' (earlier Sukhomlinov pointed to the confession of faith of Michael Synkellos, which is included in Sviatoslav's *Miscellany* of 1073, but the confession in the Chronicle differs from it).

This part of the Chronicle, too, contains no traces of older annalistic annotations, a conclusion also reached by Shakhmatov. The late Kunik pointed to a series of records that could have been derived from the princely commemoration registers,¹⁴ but these begin with the year 1100 (years of birth and death for members of the dynasty), and none for earlier years have been found.

As I have already stated, the *Tale of Bygone Years* and its continuation was originally in the form of a pragmatic narrative, to which years were added only later. Added at the same time were short entries taken from various local and foreign sources or put together to fit the years. This work was similar to the later Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, which the author also wrote without indicating years, planning, but failing, to do so later (*Hyp.*, p. 544). The narrative was probably prepared in this pragmatic form up to the reign of Iaroslav—for example, up to 1026. I have already indicated the evidence suggesting that in the first part of the Chronicle, the years were inserted at a later date. With respect to the next part of the Chronicle, let me draw attention to the entry under 988.

In devising a chronology, the editor had two key events to guide him. The first was a report about the Rus', that is, about their raid on Constantinople, with a date that had been figured out from Greek sources. That date had been calculated incorrectly, but we are still uncertain just how it had been arrived at, despite Shakhmatov's conjectures.¹⁵ The dates of all early events, up to Oleh's arrival in Kyiv, are based on this dating. The second key date for computing years was the date of Volodymyr's death (1015), which was known from written sources. The editor could have derived some intermediate dates from Byzantine sources (e.g., Ihor's campaign of 941). For the second half of the tenth century, the editor could have found some chronological indicators in the 'tales' about Olha, Volodymyr, and others that were used in the Primary Chronicle—perhaps the year of Olha's death, although in some cases he had only the day and not the year (e.g., the death of Iaropolk). The dates of the treaties between the Rus' and Byzantium could have been used by the editor only to make certain corrections, since, as we have already shown on the basis of the Novgorodian redaction, the treaties were inserted into the Chronicle only after the chronological division had been completed.

Did the editor have some local chronological tables that could have helped him determine the dates of reigns and the sequence of events? That is a very interesting question for our history, but so far we have no answer. Sreznevskii surmised that the editor may have had access to records in which the more important events were described with reference to the reigns of princes. There is, in fact, one such table for Volodymyr's reign, which appears in his 'Old Life':

14. Kunik, *Izvestny li nam* (1896).

15. The most recent is in his *Razyskaniia* (1908), p. 98.

'After his holy baptism, the blessed Volodymyr lived for twenty-eight years. In the second year after his baptism, he advanced to the cataracts; in the third year, he took Cherson; in the fourth year, he founded a stone church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God,' and so on. But this table lacks the characteristic features of having been written in the remote past; like the dates of the chronicles, it could have been the result of subsequent recollections.¹⁶ The expanded redaction of the Chronicle contains a table of reigns under 852, which I cited above. This table conforms to the years of the Chronicle for the reigns of Oleh and of Ihor,¹⁷ and it can be read to fit Sviatoslav and Iaropolk as well, but in the case of Volodymyr, it is definitely one year short. If we take into consideration that the beginnings of certain reigns appear to be recorded under a new year in the Chronicle deliberately, in order to add a year, that suggests that this register served the editor as a model during his final chronologization and that he fitted the facts to the table, rather than that the table was calculated on the basis of the dates in the Chronicle [the *Tale of Bygone Years*]. Above, in my historical overview, I noted facts indicating that the dates in the Chronicle fall behind. Thus Sviatoslav's eastern expeditions, as well as Olha's journey to Constantinople, both actually took place two years later than the dates given for these events in the Chronicle. I also cited certain facts suggesting that Oleh and Ihor each died later than reported in the Chronicle. If we were to acknowledge that in inserting years in accordance with the table, which counted incomplete years, the editor counted whole years, we would have an explanation for the discrepancies. This would explain the difference of two years in the dates for Sviatoslav and Olha, of three years in the case of Ihor, and of four in that of Oleh. If the table were correct, Oleh would have had to die in 915–16. The fact that Olha's journey and Sviatoslav's expeditions are both late by two years suggests another thing as well: that in some table these events were dated by the years of reigns and were incorrect because of miscalculations made when the chronology was inserted into the Chronicle. But the degree to which all these computations are independent of the Chronicle—not only of its final chronologization, but also of its earlier redactions—remains unclear.

In subsequent parts of the Chronicle, events taken from oral transmission include, in addition to those already named above, Ihor's second campaign against Byzantium, the Derevlanian war following Ihor's death (it is of interest that the final episode of Olha's revenge is lacking in the Novgorodian version; it was added in a later redaction), the greater part of the account of Olha's journey to Constantinople (the emperor's courting of her, his embassy to Kyiv), and the story of Sviatoslav. The story of Volodymyr also contains many elements of oral tradition: for example, the wars between Sviatoslav's sons, or Volodymyr's banquets. Some of this is also missing from the shorter (Novgorodian) version: for example, the shorter version states under 993 only that 'Volodymyr went against the Croats,' while in the expanded version the phrase 'Now when he came back from fighting the Croats' is followed by what is unquestionably an

16. Shakhmatov believes that this table was included in the 'Oldest Kyivan Compilation' [1039] and that it served as the source for the 'Old Life.'

17. Sreznevskii thought differently, but he failed to take into account that at the time, both the first and the last year of a reign were usually included in calculations, which added a year to each reign. Thus Oleh ascended the Kyivan throne in 882 and died in 912, which adds up to a total of thirty-one years, as in the table; Ihor began his reign in 913 and died in 945, hence thirty-three years, as in the table. If we consider 945 as the first year of Sviatoslav's reign, we will arrive at twenty-eight years until his death in 972, as in the table. But in all the versions, the entry about the beginning of Sviatoslav's reign is under 946. Perhaps this was an error on the part of the editor. In the case of Iaropolk, by counting from 973 to 980, we also arrive at eight years, but that leaves us one year short in Volodymyr's case.

oral tradition about a youth's battle with a Pecheneg and the founding of Pereiaslav. Another popular tradition, this one about the fermented pudding of Bilhorod, was added under 997 (which is blank in the Novgorodian version). It is difficult to establish with utter certainty whether these are later additions to the expanded redaction or whether these elements had been deleted from the Novgorodian version.

The chronicler clearly made extensive use of eyewitness accounts, but very few are identified as such. Reporting the death of a ninety-year-old boyar named Ian under 1106, the chronicler writes: 'From him I heard many accounts that I have written into this chronicle.' But he does not tell us exactly what he had heard from Ian. Under 1096, we find a story told by Huriata Rohovych, but we cannot be certain whether the editor recorded this account directly from Huriata or by way of a 'tale' or another work.

Songs comprise a separate category. There are distinct traces of them in places, for example, in the description of the battle of Lystven (under 1024): 'And when night came there was darkness, lightning, and thunder and rain.... When the lightning flashed, the weapons would glitter, and they could only see one another's swords, and so they killed one another,¹⁸ and the storm was great and the battle mighty and terrible.' Another example is in the account of the death of Roman Sviatoslavych (under 1079): 'His bones lie there even now—son of Sviatoslav, grandson of Iaroslav.'

The editor's hand is not always obvious, and it is not the same editor's hand throughout. It is most noticeable in the introductory section, which is rife with conjectures and speculation. I shall indicate a few of the most egregious examples of these. One is the story that the original homeland of the Slavs was the Danube region and that they expanded from there under pressure from the Vlachs (*Hyp.*, pp. 3–4, 6–7). Scholars have tried in vain to uncover some historical fact in this narrative. The most likely explanation is that in arriving at this theory, the chronicler was influenced by the expansion of the Vlachs (Romanians) throughout the Danubian lands during his own time. Another such example is the conjecture regarding the apostle Andrew's journey along the Varangian-Greek route to Rome—that is, that Andrew allegedly traveled to Rome through Kyiv. Still another is the history of the migration of other peoples, in which, because of a misunderstanding, the Khazars are cast in the role of the 'White Hungarians.' The story of the invitation of the Varangian princes to Rus', as compared with the short account in the older redaction, has been expanded to support the Normanist theory—for example, after the words 'they went overseas to the Varangians,' the chronicler added, 'For it is so that these Varangians were called Rus', as [now] others are called Swedes, and others Northmen [Norwegians]....' etc., as well as the very telling addition, 'they took with them all the Rus'.' Askold and Dyr are portrayed as somehow linked to Riuryk, and there is a description of their arrival in Kyiv, which is missing from the shorter redaction. The names of Askold and Dyr were similarly added to the account of George the Monk; there is no mention of them in this context in the shorter redaction. The discovery of reports that Oleh was a prince, in contrast to the description of him as Ihor's voivode in the earlier redactions, led to a compromise view according to which Oleh is portrayed as having ruled as Ihor's guardian and relative. Having inserted into the *Tale of Bygone Years* the story of Cyril and Methodius, with its categorical assertion that the Rus' were Slavs ('of the Slavic tongue/nation, from which tongue/nation we Rus' are, too...and the Slavic

18. This phrase 'and they could only see one another's swords, and so they killed one another' is missing in the Hypatian, Laurentian, and other manuscripts; it survives only in later compilations.

nation/tongue and the Rus' is one'), the editor hastened to make that assertion conform to his Varangian theory: 'from the Varangians they were called Rus', while at first they were called Slavs.' In less important matters, the author was less concerned about discrepancies. For example, despite including the story of Andrew's visit to Kyiv, in the story of Volodymyr he let stand the devil's words that there were no apostles in Rus' (*Hyp.*, p. 80).

This analysis of the Primary Chronicle has allowed us to trace how the materials included in the narrative were collected gradually, over decades. At the same time, some materials were discarded in the preparation of each redaction. Some of these discarded materials survived in the shorter redaction of the Chronicle, and some survived in later compilations. It is not always possible to determine why some report or other was not included in the final redactions. Very often this may have been the result of carelessness. For example, missing from the final redactions is the beginning of the story of Ihor—that is, his war with the Ulychians—and all that remains is the continuation of this story—the Derevlianian uprising. During the process of rearranging the annotations it would have been easy to omit some things. But some things may have been deleted deliberately. As long as the Primary Chronicle was viewed as a single work, the deleted items were disregarded (this is especially evident in Karamzin). Today, when we know that the Chronicle underwent a long and slow editorial process, during which a great many changes were made, the materials that were deleted are no less important to us than those that remain. To be sure, we need to distinguish the annotations that in all probability were made in the eleventh and twelfth centuries from later conjectures (as, for example, the derivation of the name *Rus'* from the Rus' River in the Voskresensk Chronicle), as well as from later entries (such as the numerous accounts about epic heroes in the Nikonian Chronicle) and from simple errors (for example, the reported raid by the Prussians [*Prusy*] that was the result of a mistaken reading about an attack by a swarm of locusts—*pruzi*), etc. In this sense, incongruities in later compilations require further critical investigation.

With this I shall end my excursus, adding only a selected bibliography.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE PRIMARY CHRONICLE. The first publication, from the Radziwiłł Manuscript, with abridgements, appeared in 1767: *Biblioteka rossiiskaia istoricheskaia*, vol. 1, with a preface by Schlözer. A new edition (1824) based on the manuscripts of the Northern group, begun by Timkovskii at the beginning of the nineteenth century, reached only the year 1019 (*Letopis' Nestorova po drevneishemu spisku mnikha Lavrentiia*). It was not until 1846 that the Suzdalian Manuscript, which included the Primary Chronicle of the Northern version, was published in the first volume of *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* [= *PSRL*] (*Lavrent'evskaia i Troitskaia letopis'*). The manuscripts of the Southern version were used to publish variants, but the Southern version itself was not published until 1871, when it was issued in two editions: *Letopis' po Ipatskomu spisku* (the entire Volhynian compilation) and *Povest' vremennykh let po Ipatskomu spisku*, a facsimile edition of the Primary Chronicle alone. The second volume of *PSRL* appeared in 1908, and it contained the full text of the Volhynian collection. The Northern version was published several more times—*Letopis' po Lavrent'evskomu spisku* (1872; new edition, 1897)—and, in addition, the Primary Chronicle alone in a facsimile edition—*Povest' vremennykh let po Lavrent'evskomu spisku* (1872)—and in a standard edition in 1910. A new edition of volume 1 of *PSRL* is in preparation. In 1902 the Radziwiłł Manuscript was published in facsimile, along with its numerous illuminations, in two volumes, under the title *Radzivilovskaia ili Kenigsbergskaia letopis'*. In 1876, there appeared a composite text of the Primary Chronicle, with variants and additions from all published chronicle manuscripts: *Svodnaia letopis' sostavlennaia po vsem izdannym spiskam letopisi*.

EDITIONS OF OTHER CHRONICLES AND CHRONICLE COMPILATIONS. These editions include: the earliest Novgorod and later Novgorod chronicles, in volumes 3 and 4 of *PSRL* (1841 and 1848); *Novgorodskaiia letopis' po Sinodal'nomu kharateinomu spisku* (first and second redactions; 1888), and a facsimile edition of the Synodal Manuscript (1875); *Novgorodskie letopisi (tak nazyvaemye Novgorodskaiia vtoraia i Novgorodskaiia tret'ia letopisi)* (*Novg. II* and *Novg. III*, 1879); *Rossiiskaia letopis' po spisku Sofiiskomu Velikogo Novgoroda v prodolzhenie izdavaemykh manuskriptov Biblioteki Akademii nauk* (1795); *Letopisets, soderzhashchii v sebe rossiiskuiu istoriiu ot 6360/852 do 7106/1598 goda* (1781 and 2d ed., 1819; this is the Arkhangelgorod [Ustiug] Chronicle, which is close to the second redaction of the Novgorod I Chronicle); *Sofiiskii vremennik ili russkaia letopis' s 862 po 1534 god*, published by P. Stroev in 1820–21 (two volumes); *Pskovskaia letopis'*, published separately in 1837 by M. Pogodin, and, later, as *Pskovskaia 1-ia letopis'*, *PSRL*, vol. 4 (1848); *Letopisets Pereiaslavlia-Suzdal'skogo, sostavlennii v nachale XIII veka* (closer to the Northern version of the Primary Chronicle, but with some additions), from one manuscript, published in 1851 by Prince Obolenskii, and from another, fragmentary, manuscript published by Belokurov in 1898, entitled 'Russkie letopisi.' In addition to the above chronicles, included in *PSRL* are excerpts from the Sofiia Chronicle in volumes 5 and 6 (*Sofiiskaia 1-ia letopis'*, 1851, and *Sofiiskie letopisi*, 1851–53), the Voskresensk Chronicle (*Letopis' po Voskresenskomu spisku*) in volumes 7–8; the Nikonian Chronicle in volumes 9–13 (*Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi Patriarsheiu ili Nikonovskoiu letopis'iu*, first published as *Russkaia letopis' po Nikonovskomu spisku*, vols. 1–8 [1767–92]); the Tver Chronicle in volume 15 (*Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi Tverskoiu letopis'iu*, 1863; a new edition is in preparation);* *Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi letopis'iu Avraamki*, in volume 16 (1889); *Simeonovskaia letopis'*, in volume 18 (not yet published [1913]); *L'vovskaia letopis'*, in volume 20 (1910); *Kniga stepennaia tsarskogo rodosloviia*, in volume 21 (1908); *Russkii khronograf. 1: Khronograf redaksii 1512 g.*, in volume 22 (1911); *Ermolinskaia letopis'*, in volume 23 (not yet published [1910]). Most of these manuscripts contain an abridged version of the Primary Chronicle. The Voskresensk Chronicle contains a text of the Primary Chronicle that is closest to the expanded version of the Chronicle, and the Nikonian Chronicle is that most replete with deviations.

THE MOST IMPORTANT SCHOLARLY WORKS ON THE PRIMARY CHRONICLE. These works include: Tatishchev, *Istoriia rossiiskaia s samykh drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 1, chaps. 5–7 (1768–69); G. Miller (Müller), 'O pervom letopisatele rossiiskom, prepodobnom Nestore, o ego letopisi i o prodolzhateliakh onoi' (1755); Schlözer, *Probe russischer Annalen* (1768), and idem, *Nestor. Russische Annalen in ihrer slawonischen Grundsprache*, 5 vols. (1802–9, Russian translation by Iazykov, *Nestor. Russkie letopisi na drevneslavenskom iazyke*, 1809–1819, 3 vols.); P. Stroev's introduction to *Sofiiskii vremennik ili russkaia letopis' s 862 po 1534 god*, and his 'O vizantiiskom istochnike Nestora' (1828).

THE PRINCIPAL WORKS BY THE SKEPTICS. These include: Kachenovskii, 'O kozhanykh den'gakh,' (1835); idem, 'Moi vzgliad na Russkuiu Pravdu' (1829); idem, 'O basnoslovnom vremeni v rossiiskoi istorii' (1833); Skromnenko (S. Stroev), 'O nedostovernosti drevnei russkoi istorii i lozhnosti mneniia kasatel'no drevnosti russkikh letopisei' (1834); idem, 'O pervobytnom vide i istochnikakh nyne nam izvestnykh letopisei' (1835); idem, 'Kto pisal nyne nam izvestnye

* [Hrushevsky had in mind the fifteenth-century manuscript of the Tver Chronicle published as *Letopisets Rogozhskii*, in *PSRL*, vol. 15, pt. 1.—Eds.]

letopisi?’ (1835); the preceding are all responses in the polemic with M. Pogodin. On them, see Ikonnikov, ‘Skepticheskaia shkola v russkoi istoriografii i ee protivniki’ (1871; also published separately). For reaction to the arguments by the skeptics, see M. Pogodin, ‘O dostovernosti drevnei russkoi istorii’ (1834); idem, ‘Nestor. Istoriko-kriticheskoe rassuzhdenie o nachale russkikh letopisei’ (1846–56); Butkov, *Oborona letopisi russkoi ‘Nestorovoi’ ot naveta skeptikov* (1840). Also from that period are the following: Pervoshchikov, *O russkikh letopisiakh i letopisateliakh po 1240 god*, 1st ed. (1836); Kubarev, ‘Nestor, pervyi pisatel’ rossiiskoi istorii, tserkovnoi i grazhdanskoi’ (1842); N. Ivanov, ‘Kratkii obzor russkikh vremennikov, nakhodiashchikhsia v bibliotekakh s.-peterburgskikh i moskovskikh’ (1843)—a description of the manuscripts; Polenov, ‘Bibliograficheskoe obozrenie russkikh letopisei’ (1849).

POLEMIC CONCERNING NESTOR’S AUTHORSHIP. This polemic includes the following works: Kazanskii, ‘Eshche vopros o Nestore’ (1849); idem, ‘Dopolnenie k voprosu o Nestore’ (1849); Butkov’s response, ‘Otvét na novyi vopros o Nestore, letopistse russkom’ (1850); Kazanskii’s response, ‘Razbor otveta g-na P. B. na novyi vopros o Nestore’ (1851); idem, ‘Kriticheskii razbor sviditel'stv Paterika Pecherskogo o letopisi Nestora’ (1850), along with Shevyrev’s ‘Zamechaniia na kriticheskii razbor sviditel'stv Paterika pecherskogo o letopisi Nestora’ (1851); Kazanskii, ‘Ob”iasnenie nekotorykh nedoumenii kasatel'no letopisi Nestora’ (1852).

OTHER, MORE DETAILED STUDIES OF THE CHRONICLE. Solov’ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, especially vol. 3, chap. 1 (1893–96); Sukhomlinov, ‘O drevnei russkoi letopisi kak pamiatnike literaturnom’ (1856); idem, ‘O predaniiakh v drevnei russkoi letopisi’ (1861); Kostomarov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii*, vol. 1 (1861); idem, ‘Predaniia pervonachal'noi russkoi letopisi’ (1873), and, subsequently, in vol. 13 of his *Istoricheskie monografii i issledovaniia* (1881); Sreznevskii, ‘Chteniia o drevnikh russkikh letopisiakh. Chteniia 1–3,’ *ZIAN* 2 (1862), and separately (these consist of the first three articles; four additional articles, published in part, were not issued at the time and appeared only later, in *IzORIAS* 8 [1903], bk. 1); Biliarskii, ‘Zamechaniia o iazyke Skazaniia o sv. Borise i Glebe, pripisyvaemogo Nestoru, sravnitel'no s iazykom letopisi’ (1862); Bestuzhev-Riumin, ‘O sostave russkikh letopisei do kontsa XIV veka’ (1868). Léger’s dissertation, *De Nestore rerum russicarum scriptore* (1868), was based on outdated views and ignored the literature and polemics of the 1850s and 1860s; however, in the introduction to his translation of the Chronicle, *Chronique dite de Nestor* (1884), Léger made use of more recent observations. Of the literature published in the 1870s and 1880s, I shall mention the following: many works by Lambin (some still unpublished), especially his ‘Istochnik letopisnogo skazaniia o proiskhozhdenii Rusi’ (1874); Ilovaiskii, ‘Eshche o normanizme’ (1872), chaps. 4 and 5 (reprinted in idem, *Razyskaniia o nachale Rusi*, 1876); M. Pogodin, *Bor’ba ne na zhivot, a na smert’ s novymi istoricheskimi eresiami* (1874); Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi* (1880–81), chap. 2 (an analysis of the story of Volodymyr); A. Markevich, ‘O letopisiakh’ (1883); Arkhangel'skii, ‘Pervye trudy po izucheniiu Nachal'noi russkoi letopisi’ (1886; it covers works up to the 1840s).

THE MOST RECENT STUDIES ON NESTOR AS AUTHOR OR EDITOR OF THE PRIMARY CHRONICLE. Shakhmatov, ‘Neskol'ko slov o Nestorovom Zhitii sv. Feodosiia’ (1896), and my review in *ZNTSh* 17 (1897); Ščepkin, ‘Zur Nestorfrage’ (1897); my own ‘Nestor i litopys’ (1898); Shakhmatov’s response to Shchepkin’s article, ‘Otzyv o sochinenii: Eugen Ščepkin, “Zur Nestorfrage”’ (1898). On the redaction of the Chronicle and its sources, there are the following works by Shakhmatov: ‘O nachal'nom kievskom letopisnom svode’ (1897), and separately; ‘Iskhodnaia tochka letoschisleniia “Povesti vremennykh let”’ (1897); ‘Khronologiiia drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodov’ (1897; my review in *ZNTSh* 21 [1898]);

‘Drevneishie redaktsii “Povesti vremennykh let”’ (1897; the article remains unfinished—the author takes a new and different approach to the questions raised here in a study titled, ‘Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody XIV i XV vekov,’ 1900–1901); ‘Zhitie Antoniiia i Pecherskaia letopis’ (1898); ‘Nachal’nyi kievskii letopisnyi svod i ego istochniki’ (1900); ‘Drevnebolgarskaia éntsiklopediia X veka’ (1900; my assessments of this study in *ZNTSh* 40 [1901], and my assessment in *ZNTSh* 45 [1902]); ‘Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody XIV i XV vekov’ (1900–1901, includes a discussion of the Primary Chronicle in chap. 4; my assessment in *ZNTSh* 59 [1904]). See also Srkulj, *Die Entstehung der ältesten russischen sogenannten Nestorchronik mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Svjatoslav’s Zug nach der Balkanhalbinsel* (1896; a very weak work); Istrin, ‘Odin tol’ko perevod Psevdo-kallifena, a drevnebolgarskaia éntsiklopediia X veka—mnimaia?’ (1903; a response to Shakhmatov’s article). Finally, of Shakhmatov’s recent works, apart from those listed above, there is *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh* (1908).

THE MOST IMPORTANT WORKS ON OTHER MANUSCRIPTS AND COMPILATIONS OF THE CHRONICLE. In addition to the works by Shakhmatov already listed above—‘O nachal’nom kievskom letopisnom svode’ (1897), ‘Drevneishie redaktsii “Povesti vremennykh let”’ (1897), and ‘Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody XIV i XV vekov’ (1900–1901)—see also his ‘Simeonovskaia letopis’ XVI veka i Troitskaia nachala XV veka’ (1900); ‘Ermolinskaia letopis’ i Rostovskii vladychnyi svod’ (1903); and his observations on the Nikonian Manuscript in connection with Likhachev’s book, ‘N. P. Likhachev, *Paleograficheskoe znachenie bumazhnykh vodiannykh znakov* (1899). Other works include: Senigov, *Istoriko-kriticheskie issledovaniia o novgorodskikh letopisiakh i o rossiiskoi istorii V. N. Tatishcheva* (1887); Ianish, ‘Novgorodskaia letopis’ i ee moskovskie peredelki’ (1874); Tikhomirov, ‘O sbornike imenuemom Tverskoiu letopis’iu’ (1876); idem, ‘Neskol’ko zametok o novgorodskikh letopisiakh’ (1892); idem, ‘Obozrenie sostava moskovskikh letopisnykh svodov’ (1895; an analysis of the later sections of the Voskresensk, Nikonian, Sofiia, and Novgorod IV Chronicles); Polenov, ‘Obozrenie letopitsa Pereiaslavskogo Suzdal’skogo’ (1854); Lavrovskii, ‘Issledovanie o letopisi Iakimovskoi’ (1856). On the *Book of Degrees*, see the study by Vasenko, ‘*Kniga stepennaia tsarskogo rodoslov’ia’ i ee znachenie v drevnerusskoi istoricheskoi pis’mennosti* (1904). On Tatishchev’s compilation, see the work by Senigov named above; however, the publication of Ioakim’s Chronicle (*Ioakimovskaia letopis’*) by Tatishchev, as well as his own compilation, need to be critically reappraised. The variants in the later compilations that diverge most radically from the Laurentian Manuscript were collected by Bestuzhev-Riumin in his ‘O sostave russkikh letopisei do kontsa XIV veka’ (1868). Shakhmatov devoted a few pages of his ‘Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody XIV i XV vekov’ (*ZhMNP* 332 [November 1900]: 164ff.) to an attempt to rehabilitate these later compilations. A broader and very interesting comparison of variants from the later compilations and of paraphrases was made by Giliarov in a work entitled *Predaniia russkoi Nachal’noi letopisi* (1877–78; not available until the 1890s),* but this study goes only as far as the death of Olha. For an overview of the manuscripts, see Shilov, ‘Opisanie rukopisei soderzhashchikh letopisnye teksty’ (1910).

MINOR WORKS. See Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii*, vol. 2 (1908).

* [Giliarov’s *Predaniia*, a work of 325 pages, was printed in 1877 or 1878 in about two hundred copies. It was not released by the author, who intended to write a preface. Giliarov died in 1895. A. Kirpichnikov convinced Giliarov’s heirs to make the work available and to distribute it among university libraries. See *IzORlaS* 2 (1897): bk. 1, 63–64.—Eds.]

Editor's addition: The excursus that Hrushevsky devoted to the state of research on the work now commonly known in English as the Primary Chronicle is an important component of his *oeuvre*. It represents his considered opinion of the fundamental written record of the Kyivan era and the information contained in it. Hrushevsky's excursus, though written at the beginning of the twentieth century, has lost little of its scholarly import: his assessment of the accumulated research of the nineteenth century remains valid even from the perspective of our time. Writing at a time when research on the oldest Rus' chronicle was flourishing, Hrushevsky was impressed by the innovative methods and the results of A. Shakhmatov's work on the successive stages of Kyivan historiography during the eleventh century. The broad fascination with the research process that characterized the eminent philologist resonates to this day. A dynamic researcher, Shakhmatov made suggestions and hypotheses in the course of his work that he subsequently abandoned; indeed, he cautioned his students against treating his assumptions as firm conclusions. In this respect, Soviet totalitarianism had an unfortunate effect on the general attitude toward the legacy of the 'eminent bourgeois scholar,' perversely 'canonizing' it. 'Scholarly workers' with sinecures, unencumbered by intellectual baggage and rigorous research methods, and working in a spirit radically opposed to the procedures of the great master of analysis and synthesis, multiplied conjectures and erected structures based on guesswork, devoid of objective foundations, to explain the origins of the Rus' chronicles. Glaring examples are the fantasies of B. Rybakov (cf. his *Drevniaia Rus': Skazaniia, byliny, letopisi*, Moscow, 1963), and A. Kuz'min (e.g., his *Nachal'nye etapy drevnerusskogo letopisaniia*, Moscow, 1977). On the other hand, the need to defend traditional values and the continuity of scholarly research on the historiography of the Kyivan era (note the exemplary works of D. Likhachev and Ia. Lu'ë) against the dominance of obscurantism in scholarship not only enforced compromise, but also imposed the tactic of defending the letter of scholarly expression, thereby threatening it with fossilization. Historians and Slavists working outside the Soviet Union also participated, to varying degrees, in such tendencies.

From this viewpoint as well, a reading of Hrushevsky's contribution, unencumbered by 'subsequent hindsight' and free of subtexts, is a reassuring experience. Hrushevsky's respect for Shakhmatov's achievements is accompanied by a critical attitude to some of his conclusions. To begin, Hrushevsky associates the title *Tale of Bygone Years* mainly with the oldest section of the Primary Chronicle, which, in his view, dates from the mid-eleventh century. This section brings the narrative of events down to the times of Ihor and Sviatoslav (to about 943), in conformity with the sentence that begins the Chronicle: 'This is the tale of bygone years, where the Land of Rus' came from, who first began to rule in Kyiv as prince, and from whence the Land of Rus' came into being.' On this matter, Hrushevsky adopted the views of earlier researchers (M. Kostomarov, in 1862; K. Bestuzhev-Riumin, in 1868). This interpretation was best substantiated by V. Istrin in his polemic with Shakhmatov's views on the beginnings of Kyivan chronicle writing (1923–24). It should be noted, however, that in the Slavic languages, the title *Pověst' vremennykh lët* (or *Tale of Bygone Years*) has become so closely associated with the entire text of the Primary Chronicle that the practice of using it in this manner, whatever the conclusions of current research, has become too firmly entrenched to be changed by anyone.

With his observations on the *Tale of Bygone Years*, Hrushevsky initiated the criticism of Shakhmatov's hypothesis on the existence of the 'Oldest Kyivan Compilation,' dated by him to ca. 1039. V. Istrin also pointed to problems associated with this hypothetical chronicle. Conscious of the defects of Shakhmatov's working hypothesis, D. Likhachev (1947) supplanted it with a hypothetical cycle of six narratives, centering thematically on the beginnings of Christianity in Rus'. According to Likhachev, this cycle originated in the 1040s at the Kyivan metropolitan cathedral. Contrary to Shakhmatov, Hrushevsky did not identify Nestor the hagiographer with Nestor the chronicler. Although this approach continues to arouse controversy, the conflation of the two Nestors can no longer be sustained. Hrushevsky also assigned a larger role in the creation of the Primary Chronicle to the abbot Sylvester, who had previously been considered a mere copyist. On the other hand, Hrushevsky accepted Shakhmatov's 'Novgorodian' arguments for the existence of a chronicle compiled in Kyiv ca. 1095. This thesis is now generally accepted, although there is a rival argument positing the abridgement in Novgorod of the text of the Primary Chronicle itself sometime after 1113, and not of the supposed Kyiv compilation of ca. 1073. Hrushevsky's observation that the Primary Chronicle was the product of several authors has also found broader acceptance. He maintained that this chronicle was created in the course of more than half a century, as historical writing developed at the Kyivan Monastery of the Caves, beginning with humble annalistic notations. Hrushevsky's observation on the need to distinguish testimony of the Kyivan era from the conjectures and fabrications of later compilations, such as the sixteenth-century Nikonian Chronicle, reads today as a warning about 'conjurers' purporting to discover the traces of allegedly vanished primary sources.

For a complete bibliography of research from 1674 to 1959, see R. Dmitrieva, *Bibliografiia russkogo letopisaniia* (Moscow, 1962). An annotated bibliography of research published since 1970 appears in *Russia Mediaevalis* (vol. 1, for 1973, and subsequent volumes). For an account of the Primary Chronicle, see A. Poppe, 'Powieść doroczna,' *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* [SSS], 4 (1970): 259–65, and idem, 'Sylvester,' SSS, 5 (1975): 501–3. For a different appraisal, by D. Tvorogov, see *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevnei Rusi XI–XIV vv.* (Leningrad, 1987), pp. 337–43 (includes a select bibliography).

Aside from the edition in *PSRL*, vol. 2 (1908; reprint, 1962), which was known to Hrushevsky, one should note the edition of the Chronicle text published in *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* (fascicle 1 of volume 1 is the *Povest' vremennykh let*), *PSRL*, vol. 1, 2d ed. (Leningrad, 1926; reprints, 1962 and 1977). A critical apparatus keyed to the text of the 1977 reprint, as well as a complete word list, are to be found in L. Müller, *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, vols. 2 and 3 (Munich, 1977–86), an important aid to identifying the edition of the chronicle with which one is dealing. For an attempt to reconstruct the text of the Primary Chronicle, occasionally cited as a 'canonical text,' see A. Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let* (Petrograd, 1916; reprint, 1969). A conceptually new edition of the Primary Chronicle is being prepared by D. Ostrowski (see his 'Textual Criticism and the *Povest' vremennykh let*. Some Theoretical Considerations,' *HUS* 5, no. 1 [1981]: 11–31). In preparation is a reissue of the 1950 edition of the *Povest' vremennykh let* (a contaminated text) by D. Likhachev, with historiographical additions by M. Sverdlov.

For an English translation, see *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, 2d ed., translated and edited by S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), with an extensive introduction (pp. 3–50) and commentary (pp. 231–87). A new translation by H. Lunt, in preparation for many years, is now near publication.

For a good older account of the development of research on the Rus' chronicles, see the extensive article by M. Korduba, 'Rozwój i obecny stan badań nad latopisami staroruskimi,' *Balticoslavica* 2 (1936): 160–203.

For literature in English, see O. Pritsak, 'Oleg the Seer and Oleg "The Grand Prince of Rus'," in *Collected Essays in Honor of A. Ohlbylyn* (New York, 1977), pp. 389–99; idem, 'The *Povest' vremennykh let* and the Question of Truth,' in *History and the Historic Tale* (Odense, 1985), pp. 133–72; H. Lunt, 'On Interpreting the Russian Primary Chronicle: The Entry for 1037,' *Slavic and East European Journal* 32 (1988): 251–64.—A. Poppe

EXCURSUS 2

The Normanist Theory

We must begin the history of the Normanist theory in historiography with the Primary Chronicle, because its authors and editors, especially those of the final redactions, believed that the Rus' were one of the Varangian peoples and that the Varangians were North Germanic peoples inhabiting the Baltic coast. 'For it is so that these Varangians were called Rus', as [now] others are called Swedes, and others Northmen [Norwegians], Angles, still others Goths [Gotlanders—M.H.], so these [had their own name],' reports the Chronicle. In tenth- and eleventh-century Rus', the name 'Varangians' was applied to the retinues that consisted predominantly or exclusively of Scandinavians. The editor of the Primary Chronicle draws a clear distinction between them and the Slavs and, as the above passage indicates, regards the name 'Varangian' as an ethnic designation, a general name for North Germanic or, more precisely, Scandinavian peoples. He states this very clearly, and as a natural outcome we later encounter the explanation that the Varangian princes were 'Germans' (*Němci*), found in numerous reworkings of the Primary Chronicle,¹ or that they were Swedes, as witnessed by the Novgorodians' attributing their election in 1613 of the Swedish crown prince as their ruler to the fact that the first princes had come from Sweden.² When the study of the history of Rus' began, in the eighteenth century, the Primary Chronicle's account of the origins of the Rus' state was accepted as dogma. Quite naturally, therefore, the 'Varangians-Rus' were believed to be Northmen. Inasmuch as the pioneers in the field were German scholars, or scholars better versed in the Germanic than the Slavic world, they sought parallels or sources of Old Rus' law and institutions, names and terms for traditions, and evidence in the Germanic languages and in the Germanic way of life. From these materials they culled additional confirmation of the things that had originally led the chronicler to his theory, thus providing the Normanist theory with the heavy artillery that gave it a semblance of invincibility. Compounding this were the Slavs' lack of confidence in their own attainments in the political and cultural spheres and the Germans' condescending attitude toward the Slavs. Let me repeat that all of this came about quite naturally, stemming primarily from the Primary Chronicle itself and its canonical authority. Hence the charges leveled by some Russian chauvinists, who regarded the Normanist theory as well-nigh a plot against the Slavs (e.g., Koiyalovich, *Istoriia russkogo samosoznaniia po istoricheskim pamiatnikam i nauchnym sochineniiam* [1884], among others), are completely groundless.

The first scholar in the full sense of the word to turn his attention to the history of Rus', Gottlieb [Theophilus] Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738; he was invited to join the newly founded Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg), was the first to provide scholarly grounds for the Normanist theory and to introduce important evidence from foreign sources. He drew attention

1. See, for example, the list of these in Giliarov, *Predaniia russkoi Nachal'noi letopisi*, p. 107.

2. So we are told by the Swedish historian Widekind in his *Historia belli sveco-moscovitici* (1672), a work that some Normanists take as a point of departure for modern Normanist literature.

to the account in the *Annales Bertiniani* and to the 'Rus' names for the Dnipro rapids cited by Constantine Porphyrogenetos, and he linked the Varangians with the Scandinavian *Væringi* and the Byzantine Βάραγγοι. Without delving further into the matter, he considered these Varangians to be 'nobles from Scandinavia and Denmark, allies and mercenaries of the Rus'. Bayer's studies 'De Varagis,' 'Origines Russicae,' 'Geographia Russiae vicinarumque regionum circiter a. Chr. 948 ex Constantino Porphyrogeneta,' among others, were published in *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum imperialis Petropolitanae*; they were also collected in Klotzius, *Opuscula ad historiam antiquam, chronologiam, geographiam et rem numariam spectantia* (1770). There followed a series of works in the same vein, primarily by German and Scandinavian authors. Foremost among these are the work by Stroube de Piermont (also a member of the St. Petersburg Academy) entitled *Sur l'origine et les changements des lois russiennes* (1756), the first to draw parallels between North Germanic and Rus' law; the works of Schlözer that we have already named; and the work by the Orientalist Frähn, in which the reports of Oriental authors are discussed from the standpoint of the Normanist theory (Frähn, *Ibn Foszlans und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, 1823; also shorter works). Other works include: Bioerner, *Schediasma historico-geographica de Varegis heroibus Scandianis et primis Russiae dynastis* (1743–44); Thunmann, *Untersuchung über die alte Geschichte einiger nordischen Völker* (1772); idem, *Untersuchung über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker* (1774); Krug (the most extreme and consistent Normanist), *Zur Münzkunde Rußlands* (1805); idem, *Kritischer Versuch zur Aufklärung der byzantinischen Chronologie mit besonderen Rücksicht auf die frühe Geschichte Rußlands* (1810); idem, *Forschungen in der älteren Geschichte Rußlands*, vols. 1–2 (1848); Lehrberg, *Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der älteren Geschichte Rußlands* (1816; gives Constantine Porphyrogenetos's names for the Dnipro rapids); and others.

The first attempts to oppose this canonical view had no scholarly merit. A lecture delivered at the Academy of Sciences in 1749 by G. F. Müller entitled 'Origines gentis et nominis Russorum,' in which the speaker espoused the Normanist position, provoked the first attack on the Normanists, by M. Lomonosov. But so unscholarly were Lomonosov's arguments in comparison with the scholarly character of the Normanist theory that they had no impact whatsoever. The Normanists won the field. The 'legislator' of the history of Rus', Schlözer, canonized Normanism in his *Nestor. Russische Annalen in ihrer slawonischen Grundsprache* (1802–9), which served as the model of historical method for a whole generation of historians. Karamzin popularized it in his *Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskogo* (1842–45), which for half a century served as the handbook of the history of Russia not only for the Slavic world, but for the whole of Europe.

A more consequential attack was launched by Ewers (d. 1830), a notable figure in the evolution of the historiography of Rus', in a work entitled *Kritische Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Russen*, vols. 1–2 (1814). His study raised a host of important arguments against the Normanist theory. He pointed out the improbability that recent enemies would have been invited to come and rule [in the land of Novgorod]; he disputed the derivation of names solely from Scandinavian roots and maintained that the Scandinavians were only mercenaries in Rus'; he rejected the derivation of the term *Rus'* from *Ruotsi* and *Roslagen* and cited the silence of northern sources on this matter; and he raised the *argumentum a silentio*, maintaining that it was impossible for the Varangians to have brought Christianity to Kyiv. Disputing the arguments of the Normanists, Ewers insisted that the Rus' had dwelled in the Black Sea region from ancient times. That view was subsequently supported by another scholar from Dorpat, J.

Neumann, in a work entitled *Über die Wohnsitze der ältesten Russen. Sendschreiben an Gustav Ewers* (1825). However, as in the case of later anti-Normanists, the positive aspects of Ewers's work were discredited by the flaws in his attempt to reconstruct the history of Rus' (that is, his conclusions that the Vlachs [*Volokhy*] were Bulgars, that the Kyivan princes were Khazars, and that Askold and Dyr were Hungarians, as well as his attempt to link the biblical Rosh and the Roxolani with the Rus').³ Overall, the critical aspects of his study did not have the impact that they could—and should—have had.

More sensational, though less fundamental, was the attack waged by the skeptical school of Kachenovskii. This school argued that the chronicles were compiled during the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, and therefore considered the history of the origins of Rus' presented in the Chronicle to be mythical. The skeptics were joined by proponents of the Slavic theory, i.e., those who held that the Varangians were Baltic Slavs: Maksimovich, *Otkuda idet russkaia zemlia, po skazaniu Nestorovoi povesti i po drugim starinnyim pisaniiam russkim* (1837); Venelin, *Skandinavomaniia i ee poklonniki ili stoletnie izyskaniia o variagakh* (1842); and others. The arguments presented in these works, however, were very weak.

These attacks on the Normanist theory from various sides were countered by two scholars, academicians from St. Petersburg, who thereafter became the patrons of the Normanist theory: M. Pogodin, in his dissertation *O proiskhozhdenii Rusi. Istoriko-kriticheskoe rassuzhdenie* (1825; a revised version, entitled 'Proiskhozhdenie variagov-Rusi,' appeared in vol. 2 of his *Issledovaniia, zamechaniia i leksii o russkoi istorii*, vols. 1–7 [1846–56]); and Kunik, in his two-volume *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch Finnen und Slawen* (1844–45). These two works, especially that by Kunik, are still the most comprehensive presentations of the Normanist theory. Both scholars assumed the burden of continuing to defend the Normanist position. However, Kunik, as an erudite well-schooled in methodology, understood that 'it is not enough merely to cite the "venerable" Nestor—partly because the founder of the Norman origin of the Rus' state presented the tradition 250 years after the event, and partly because his narrative contains some flaws, which have been exploited by some, even if rather arbitrarily.' Recognizing the significance of the arguments against Normanism, and aware of the theory's weaknesses, Kunik continually sought new evidence to support the Normanist view. Setting aside the Primary Chronicle, he turned to Byzantine and Western sources and discussed the accounts of Arabic authors from the Normanist standpoint (see Kunik's commentaries in Dorn's 'Kaspii. O pokhodakh drevnikh russkikh v Tabaristane, s dopolnitelnymi svedeniiami o drugikh nabegakh ikh na pribrezh'ia Kaspiiskogo moria' [1875], his *Razyskaniia* accompanying the text of al-Bakri edited by Rozen [1878–1903], and others; he later steered Westberg, his student, along the same path), and fitted reports about the Rus' prior to 860 to his theory. See his studies on the kagan in 839 in 'Zamechaniia' (1864), and in *Razyskaniia* (1903), no. 4; also see his studies on the Rus' of St. George of Amastris and St. Stephen of Sougdaia (Surozh) in 'Der Raubzug und die Bekehrung eines Russenfürsten, nach der Biographie des Bischofs Georg von Amastris' (1845), in 'Ergänzende Bemerkungen zu den Untersuchungen über die Zeit der Abfassung des Lebens des hl. Georg von Amastris' (1881), and in 'O zapiske gotskogo toparkha (po povodu novykh otkrytii o Tamanskoi Rusi i krymskikh gotakh)' (1874). Acknowledging, based on Gedeonov's evidence, the composite nature of the Primary Chronicle, Kunik shifted

3. However, the connection between the Rus' and the Roxolani continued to be made even later, not only by Illovaiskii, but also by Antonovych (in Antonovich and Armashevskii, *Publichnye leksii po geologii i istorii Kiev, 1897*) and others.

the emphasis from historical evidence to linguistic and ethnological indications: he began to stress the Slavs' 'fear of water' and the division of peoples into seafaring and landbound. In the end, apparently having lost hope of being able to defend the Normanist position, he put forward a Gothic theory (Dorn, 'Kaspii' [1875], p. 430ff.). M. Pogodin, on the other hand, believed wholeheartedly in the Primary Chronicle, although his scholarship was rather inferior. Characteristic of that stand was his opposition to any corrections in the chronology of the Primary Chronicle, especially to moving back the year in which Riuryk was invited [to the land of Novgorod]. That, in his opinion, would make it necessary for Ihor to have been born earlier, whereas he was a child in arms at the time of his arrival in Kyiv with Oleh. In light of his absolute faith in the Primary Chronicle, M. Pogodin regarded everything in the traditional history of the beginnings of Rus' as 'clear and simple,' even after Gedeonov's criticism of the evidence that the Normanists cited (see his 'G. Gedeonov i ego sistema o proiskhozhdenii variagov i Rusi' [1864], p. 459).

Following the publication of the works by M. Pogodin and Kunik, the Normanists once again held sway. In a revised version of his study published in 1846, Pogodin expressed the belief that the problem of the beginnings of Rus' 'has the least chance of being revised because of any new findings' (*Issledovaniia, zamechaniia i lektsii o russkoi istorii*, vols. 1–7 [1846–56], vol. 1, chap. 7). The pleiad of historians who came to the fore in the 1840s (I. Beliaev, Kavelin, Solov'ev, and others) believed the Normanist question to be settled. But less than twenty years later, attacks on the Normanist theory resumed with even greater force. For in reality, of course, things were not at all so 'clear and simple.' Pogodin himself was strongly impressed by the work of a Slavist from St. Petersburg, Lamanskii. In his *O slavianakh v Maloi Azii, v Afrike i v Ispanii* (1859), Lamanskii comprehensively criticized Kunik's *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven* (1844–45). Kostomarov, then very popular in Russia, created a considerable stir with his claim that the Rus' originated in Lithuania, in the Nemunas River basin (published in a study entitled 'Nachalo Rusi,' 1860), and with his resulting public dispute with M. Pogodin. Kostomarov later abandoned his very weak theory,⁴ but in wider circles the reputation of Normanism was completely shaken. The Russian satirical magazine *Iskra* published an interesting cartoon in connection with the Normanist dispute: Riuryk and his brothers were depicted standing in the prisoner's dock as vagrants of unknown origin ('who do not remember their family roots'), and the court asked them and the public to return to the court in exactly one thousand years for a decision in the case (the dispute took place just before the millennium of the founding of the Rus' state, when a monument to commemorate the event was being raised in Novgorod).

Of far greater importance, though it made no impression outside the narrow circle of specialists, was Gedeonov's 'Otryvki iz issledovaniia o variashskom voprose s predisloviem i zamechaniiami A. Kunika' [1862–63], pts. 1–3 (most of these 'fragments,' revised and supplemented, were published separately in 1876 in two volumes under the title *Variagi i Rus'*). It was the most solid work in opposition to the Normanist theory to appear up to that time. Written with appropriate erudition, it provided detailed criticism of all the evidence on which the Normanist theory was based. Gedeonov argued emphatically that the name *Rus'* stemmed from the southern lands, and he rejected the Normanists' derivation of the name from the Finnish

4. This did not prevent others from later championing the same theory. See, for instance, the papers by Vissendorf ('O mestopolozhenii variashskoi Rusi') and Liatskii at the Ninth Archaeological Congress.

Ruotsi or Swedish *Roslagen* as improbable. Calling attention to the lack of traces of Norse elements in the Rus' language, law, etc., and to the nonsensical statements to which Normanism led on this subject (*reductio ad absurdum*), he reminded his readers once again of the *argumentum a silentio*. Gedeonov's most important contribution to the debate was his exposition of the system and composite nature of the Primary Chronicle, even though he himself accepted the legend in the Chronicle about the invitation extended to the princes and considered the Varangians to have been Baltic Slavs, as did Zabelin, whose *Istoriia russkoi zhizni s drevneishikh vremen* appeared shortly afterwards (vol. 1 in 1876, vol. 2 in 1879). The Baltic theory was the weak link in Gedeonov's work, and it did much to weaken his criticism of Normanism. Everyone who accepted the Chronicle's legend while disputing the Normanist theory fell into the same trap, for any support that the legend could offer was only to Normanism (in all likelihood, the Chronicle's author had also arrived at the theory primarily because of the role played by the Northmen in Rus' in the tenth and eleventh centuries). By rejecting the Normanist theory but continuing to accept the legend of the invitation to the Varangians, the authors of various 'Baltic,' 'Lithuanian,' 'Finnish,' and other theories were left hopelessly adrift. Their helpless attempts to reconstruct Rus' history only served to cast the Normanist theory in a better light, inasmuch as that position was at least based on facts not in dispute.

Nonetheless, Gedeonov's work did have a major influence in scholarship. It seemed that the extreme Normanism of Krug, with his *Norrena* (language of the Northmen), Scandinavian mythology, and Scandinavian way of life in Rus', had been routed for good. The significance of Normanism's historical evidence had been undermined, and the Normanists were forced to make a number of concessions. Normanism was shaken even further by the publication, from the end of the 1850s onward, of a number of serious studies which, though not directly concerned with the Normanist theory, were written from a clearly anti-Normanist position. These included Lange, *Issledovaniia ob ugolovnom prave Russkoi Pravdy* (1859–60); Kotliarevskii, *O pogrebal'nykh obychaiakh iazycheskikh slavian* (1868); Khvol'son, ed., *Izvestiia o khazarakh, burtasakh, bolgarakh, mad'iarakh, slavianakh i russkikh Abu ali Akhmeda ben Omar ibn Dasta, arabskogo pisatel'ia nachala X v.* (1879); Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i russkikh* (1870).

Beginning in 1871, the Normanist theory came under attack from the Moscow scholar Ilovaiskii. His studies included: 'O mnimom prizvanii variagov' (1871); 'Eshche o normanizme' (1872); numerous shorter polemical commentaries (all are collected in his *Razyskaniia o nachale Rusi*, 1876; 2d ed., supplemented with later polemics, 1882); *Dopolnitel'naia polemika po voprosam variago-russkomu i bolgaro-gunnskomu* (1886); *Vtoraia dopolnitel'naia polemika po voprosam variago-russkomu i bolgaro-gunnskomu* (1902); a résumé (in more popular form), 'Otkuda poshla Russkaia zemlia,' in vol. 2 of his *Sobranie sochinenii*. Thereafter, Ilovaiskii made it his special task to combat Normanism and the legend of the Chronicle at every opportunity. To be sure, the anti-Normanists may often have wished for a less energetic but more cautious advocate. The philology with which Ilovaiskii hoped to counter the Normanists' philology was often appalling, his research methods were very weak, and he slashed through rather than resolved questions (e.g., he corrected *Sueonum* to *Slavorum* in a report from 839). His own hypotheses (that the Roxolani were the Rus' and that the Huns and Bulgars were Slavs, and so forth) were even less apt than the Normanist theory, and the promulgation of these views in combination with anti-Normanism did not help the latter. But Ilovaiskii's energy and his dissemination of anti-Normanist views in textbooks had an impact. More important, Ilovaiskii, unlike the overwhelming majority of anti-Normanists, did not confine himself to interpreting the

Primary Chronicle to serve his own ends, but rejected the legend altogether, arguing that the invitation was the invention of a later author. This was a new variant on Kachenovskii's skepticism, a logical conclusion drawn from the observations about the systematic character of the Primary Chronicle that Gedeonov had made so unequivocally, even though he did not accept Ilovaiskii's view that the legend in the Chronicle was unreliable. Thus 'Nestor's' canonical position was seriously shaken.

The battle against these attacks on the Normanist theory was waged by M. Pogodin in a number of articles, collected in 1874 under the telling title *Bor'ba ne na zhivot, a na smert' s novymi istoricheskimi eresiami*. Pogodin and Kunik together polemicized with Gedeonov (in *Zapiski Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. 6 [1864]: M. Pogodin, 'G. Gedeonov i ego sistema o proiskhozhdenii variagov i Rusi' [1864]; Kunik, 'Zamechaniia' [1864]). Apparently, Pogodin's polemics did not persuade anyone. Even his ally, Kunik, did not find his arguments satisfactory (Dorn, 'Kaspii' [1875], pp. 456–58). Kunik understood the difficulties that the Normanist theory presented, even though he stuck by it and the tradition of the Primary Chronicle.⁵ His polemical-satirical article, 'Otkrytoe pis'mo k sukhoputnym moriakam (aux marins d'eau douce),' addressed to Kostomarov in 1877 and printed that same year, was not released [for publication] by him. [It appeared in 1903.] He left unfinished his *Razyskaniia*, which was published as an addition to the texts of al-Bakri (the first volume appeared in 1878; the second was published posthumously in 1903). At the end of the 1870s, Kunik interrupted this line of inquiry, the results of which had already been published in part, leaving unpublished several articles ('Dopolneniia k "Variagam i Rusi" Gedeonova,' 'Galindo i chernomorskaia Rus'). Thereafter he did not produce any larger work on these questions, although they continued to interest him until his death in 1899. He obviously encountered a number of difficulties and uncertainties that required preliminary study, a critical explication of the material, and so forth. He sought, but was unable to find, new facts to support traditional Normanism 'since Russian scholarship, at least, has acknowledged that it is impossible to resolve the Varangian-Rus' question in purely historical terms,' as he wrote (in Dorn, 'Kaspii' [1875], p. 460). Indeed, the fate of Kunik's excursions was no better than that of Pogodin's *Bor'ba* (1874). 'Despite much that is good, fundamental, and helpful' (as he himself once wrote of Pogodin's *Bor'ba* [1874] [Dorn, 'Kaspii' (1875), p. 457]), Kunik's writings were unable to help the Normanist theory. His proposed division of peoples into seafaring and landbound did not appeal to anyone's imagination, especially as Kunik himself made much of Slavic maritime campaigns in the seventh century. Norse names did even less to support the legend about the invitation to the Varangians than did historical evidence, which Kunik set aside. The presence of a seafaring Rus' in the south before 862, which Kunik denied, was subsequently confirmed by Vasil'evskii in his study of the legend of St. George of Amastris ('Russko-vizantiiskie otryvki. 8. Zhitie Georgiia Amastridskogo,' [1878]; reprinted as an introduction in idem, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia. 2. Zhitia svv. Georgiia Amastridskogo i Stefana Surozhskogo. Vvedeniie i grecheskie teksty s perevodom; slavianorusskii tekst*, 1893). Vasil'evskii's study proved that the *Life of St. George of Amastris* belongs to the first half of the ninth century. It was followed by de Goeje's new edition of Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik wa'l-mamalik* (in *BGA*, vol. 6 [1889]), which pushed back Ibn Khurradadhbih's report about the Rus' several score years earlier, and by Vasil'evskii's study of the *Life of St. Stephen of Sougdaia*.

5. Kunik presented his views on the origins of Rus' history, which were faithful to this tradition, in his posthumously published *Razyskaniia* in Rozen, *Izvestiia al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i slavianakh*, 2 (1903): 105ff. Small wonder that it gave him great satisfaction to call the Normanists 'Nestorites.'

Nor could the situation be influenced by the talented and scholarly work of the prominent linguist Thomsen. His *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State* (1877) comprised three lectures delivered at Oxford in 1876 (German translation, by Bornemann, *Der Ursprung des russischen Staates*, 1879; Russian translation, by Ammon, 'Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva,' 1891). Praised in scholarly circles, especially in the West, where the Normanist theory continued to be accepted, Thomsen's book remains a useful handbook even today. Yet as merely a reexamined and corrected compilation of the old evidence in support of the Normanist position, it added nothing new and did not go beyond Kunik's earlier dissertation.

Thomsen's monograph was the last devoted specifically to the Normanist view. Following it, none of the Normanists had the courage or energy to produce a new version of the Normanist theory in light of all the attacks that had been made against it. On the other hand, as I have already stated, the inept and unscholarly conjectures of some anti-Normanists (Ilovaiskii, Zabelin, and Gedeonov himself) rapidly discredited anti-Normanism as well. The Normanist theory had been dealt a serious blow, but with the result that the origins of Rus' remained unexplained. When the late Kliuchevskii published his studies about the beginnings of the social and political organization of Rus' (*Boiarskaia дума drevnei Rusi*—articles published in *Russkaia mysl'* in 1880 that later appeared in abridged form as a book [1882] with the same title), he tried to portray these beginnings independently not only of the Normanist theory, but also of the legend in the Chronicle. The monographs on the individual lands of Old Rus' that began to appear in Kyiv in 1881 either regarded the legend as unreliable or rejected it altogether. Some embraced the Gothic theory that had been put forward—albeit very cautiously—by Kunik (in Dorn, 'Kaspil' [1875], p. 430ff.).

Even though Thomsen had earlier warned that the Gothic theory 'involves a confusion that cannot be sufficiently deprecated' (*The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State* [1877], lecture 1), it raised expectations for a time, in the 1890s. Budilovich's attempt to develop this view at the Archaeological Congress of 1890 ('K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii slova Rus'') was met with interest and high hopes (see, for example, the report in Bagalei, 'VIII Arkheologicheskii s'ezd v Moskve 1890' (1890), pp. 475–76 and elsewhere). But these hopes were quickly dashed when the 'confusion that cannot be sufficiently deprecated' became apparent, and it became clear that the theory's proponents were unable to provide more than ambiguous hints. Such was the character of Uspenskii's lecture ('Vopros o gotakh') at the Ninth Archaeological Congress (1893). His paper offered even less than had been presented by Budilovich, and the interest in the Gothic theory aroused by Budilovich quickly evaporated. Interestingly, neither paper was published and, as a result, the Gothic theory, in any greater detail, did not even become part of the literature on this subject.⁶

Indeed, the Gothic theory had no prospects whatsoever. The derivation of the name *Rus'* from the Gothic **hrôdh* 'glory'—the key element or the *pièce de résistance* of the Gothic theory, put forward by Kunik and supported by later Gothicists—runs into innumerable difficulties, as Braun demonstrated in his special study, 'Gipoteza prof. Budilovicha o gotskom proiskhozhdenii nazvaniia Rus' (1892), and, later, in the book *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* (1899, p. 2ff.). Braun showed that the names *Hrôdhigutôs* 'Glorious

6. An expanded report on Budilovich's paper appeared in Budilovich, 'K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii slova Rus'', *ZhMNP* 269 (1890).

Goths' and *Hródhgotaland* 'Glorious Gotaland,' from which scholars sought to derive the term *Rus'*, are unknown in history, and that the transmutation of **hrôdh* into *Rus'* violates linguistic norms.⁷ Vasil'evskii, in his study of the *Life of St. Stephen of Sougdaia* (*Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia. 2. Zhitiiia svv. Georgiia Amastridskogo i Stefana Surozhskogo*, 1893) tried to attribute to the Crimean Goths 'all the reports about Rus' and the Rus' [people] up to the middle of the ninth century,' but his arguments were so vague that it was necessary to decipher what he meant. Indeed, it is very difficult to accept the notion that the small colonies of Christian Goths, well-known in Byzantine circles, were the same heathen barbarians who waged the Rus' campaigns—not to mention the fact that there is no evidence whatsoever that the Crimean Goths were ever known by the Rus' name.

Subsequently, the noted German Orientalist, Marquart, tried to approach the question in a different form and from a different angle, in his *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (1903). Leaving aside any attempt to derive the term *Rus'* from the Goths, he raised various doubts (from the linguistic standpoint) regarding the origins of the name *Rus'* as put forward by the Normanists, and he proposed a different hypothesis. He theorized that the Greek 'P̄ōç was derived from *Hrôs*, the old name of the Heruli, which had supposedly survived in local tradition and was later transferred to the Scandinavian adventurers. He based his theory on a list of tribes along the Black Sea and in the Caucasus contained in the *Syriac Chronicle* of Zacharias of Mytilene, a Syrian author of the mid-sixth century. In addition to various historical peoples cited from various sources and listed alongside the Alani, the work names as their neighbors residing in the hinterland various fabled peoples—dwarfs, people with the heads of dogs, and Amazons. It also describes the relations of the Amazons with the neighboring *Hrôs*, who 'have long limbs, who have no weapons, and whom horses cannot carry on account of their (long) limbs.' The history's German translators regarded the term as a general description, derived from the Greek ἥρωες ('heroes'), but Marquart saw it as the name of a people, from which 'P̄ōç was later derived, and believed that these people were the Heruli. To Marquart, the large bodies of these people and their unfamiliarity with riding horseback pointed to their Germanic origin, while their proximity to the Alani and the Amazons suggested that they were the easternmost of the Germanic tribes along the Black Sea, the Heruli. He also connected the name *Hrôs* to Jordanes' Rosomoni (see p. 107–8, fn. 225, above), claiming that later, when the Northmen-Vikings appeared in the region (in the ninth century), this old name of the Heruli was applied to them because of their physical resemblance to the Heruli invaders (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 353ff.)

I have described this hypothesis because of the prestige attached to the name of its author. Owing to that prestige, the theory raised certain hopes, especially among those who were somewhat further removed from the question. But that expectation could not survive the harsh light of criticism. The gap between, on the one hand, the real Heruli, who left this region following their defeat by the Huns and of whom only small groups could have remained, and, on the other, the Syrian author's reference and the appearance of the 'P̄ōç in the ninth century; the lack of certainty surrounding the term *Hrôs* and the lack of any evidence that it actually existed; the high degree of improbability that this name was passed on to the Vikings who appeared on the Dnipro route, whereas the *Hrôs* were supposedly located in the Caucasus

7. However, Braun admits as possible Kunik's derivation of the Finnish *Ruotsi* from **hrôdh*. But this combining of the old Normanist theory with the Gothic one is scarcely of any help to either theory.

region—all these matters combined make Marquart's highly artificial and complicated hypothesis very improbable.⁸ Aware of the weaknesses in his theory, Marquart himself vacillated between it and another conjecture—that the sixth-century *Hrô's* were the Scandinavian Rus', who, he claimed, were even then able to travel the Volga route to the coast of the Sea of Azov, because they had learned of these lands from the Heruli who had emigrated from the region (*sic*).

The notion that the Rus' were Goths is now probably a closed issue. The Gothic theory survives in the hypothesis that the Goths played a significant role in the sociopolitical and cultural evolution of East Slavdom. Kunik put forward this hypothesis quite distinctly in his 'Otkrytoe pis'mo k sukhopotnym moriakam (aux marins d'eau douce),' and there expressed the notion that many traces that had been derived from the Northmen should be derived from the Goths. But his letter was not published at the time of its writing, and therefore it had no influence in wider circles. The theory of Gothic influences was proffered again in 1899, by Braun, in his *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii*. Rejecting the derivation of the Rus' from the Goths, Braun nevertheless attributed to them extraordinary influence on Slavic culture in general and on Rus' culture and sociopolitical evolution in particular, citing the 'Gothic era' as one of the most important moments 'in the history of the pre-Riuryk period' (pp. 18–21, cf. p. 355). But he did no more than promise to prove all this, and it is evident from what we have seen thus far that much in his presentation is greatly exaggerated. Even Braun's teacher and supporter, A. Veselovskii, was forced to curb the sweeping assertions of his student in his favorable review of Braun's book, 'Iz istorii drevnikh germanskikh i slavianskikh peredvizhenii' (1900). It is even more difficult to attribute such a role in the cultural and political history of Rus' to the Goths than it was to the Northmen. The expectations of the Normanists that all that they had failed to derive from the Northmen could be derived from the Goths are unlikely to be met.

With the collapse of the Gothic theory of the origins of Rus', there has recently been a revival of the Normanist theory. A number of works that have appeared in recent years give this impression. I have in mind Braun's *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* and his shorter works, particularly his 'Friand i Shimon, synov'ia variazhskogo kniazia Afrikana' (1902); the article by Roźniecki entitled 'Perun und Thor: Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik der russischen Mythologie' (1901), in which the author, a student of Professor Thomsen, presents a revised Normanist theory, and his more recent 'Iz istorii Kieva i Dnepra v bylevom épose' (1911); the works by Westberg, influenced by Kunik—'Ibrâhîm's-ibn-Ja'kûb's Reisebericht über die Slawenlande aus dem Jahr 965' (1898; also in a new edition, entitled *Kommentarii na zapisku Ibragima ibn-Iakuba o slavianakh*, 1903), 'Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa' (1899), and 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov o Vostochnoi Evrope' (1908); Shakhmatov's 'Skazanie o prizvanii variagov' (1904), and others. If to this list we add works by other researchers published during the same time that also underscore the Normanist position markedly, if only in passing (Lamanskii's about SS. Cyril and Methodius, 'Slavianskoe zhitie sv. Kirilla kak religiozno-épicheskoe proizvedenie i kak istoricheskii istochnik'; Khalanskii's about the Oleh tradition, 'K istorii poëticheskikh skazanii ob Olege Veshchem'; and others), we see what is in fact a rebirth of Normanism, which might be termed neo-Normanism. Moreover, the scholars who have entered the field under this banner are often imbued with great Normanist

8. Cf. Kulakovskii's critical observations on Marquart's hypothesis: 'Novye domysly o proiskhozhdenii imeni Rus' (1906).

fervor. Rejecting the Gothic theory, Braun proclaims the Normanist theory to be absolute fact, an axiom. Rożniecki regrets that the Normanists have left the field of battle to the anti-Normanists and, in the spirit of extreme Normanism, lists the arenas of future battles. Westberg, less cautious than his teacher Kunik, rejects arbitrarily all evidence that does not serve the Normanists, or substitutes the northern, Scandinavian Rus' for the southern Rus'—for example, he proclaims the reference to the Rus' in Ibn Khurradadhbih to be a later gloss, he believes al-Mas'udi's 'Rus' Sea' to be the Baltic Sea, and he claims that Scandinavian pirates were responsible for the rout of Bulgars and Khazars described in Ibn Hawqal's account (Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa,' 1899). Pipping, followed by Korf, resurrects the old views of Krug regarding the widespread use of the Scandinavian language even in the remote Derevlianian forests, etc.

This Normanist fervor, this canonization of the Chronicle tradition and of the Varangian doctrine, does not bode well for scholarship. Such canonization precludes fruitful scholarly progress. Writing in 1875 about *Βαραγγομαχία*, as he called it, Kunik bitterly denied the charges leveled against the Normanists that the Normanist theory had done serious harm to the study of Rus' history (Dorn, 'Kaspil' [1875], p. 461). Yet, whereas accusing the Normanists of a 'German plot' is absurd, the charge that Normanism was harmful to the investigation of Rus' history is quite just. The 'clear and simple' Normanist legend obscured the beginnings of the sociopolitical life of Rus' before 862. It relieved the historian of the need to search for traces of social evolution within the people themselves, because history began 'in a vacuum'—from the arrival of the Northmen. Gedeonov was right when he wrote (in *Variagi i Rus'* [1876], 1: VI): 'Could anyone begin the difficult task of studying, from the Slavic standpoint, for example, the language, legal features, religious beliefs, etc., in the treaties of Oleh, Ihor, or Sviatoslav, when the specter of Normanism, looming over him, insisted: "Treaties are a Scandinavian characteristic; they were written in Greek and Swedish; the formula 'we are of Rus' stock' means 'we are Swedes'; Perun and Veles are the Scandinavian Thor and Odin." If you want to know something about clothing and armor, they produce for you the Norman Bayeux tapestry; if you want to know something about everyday life or religion, they give you Scandinavian sagas.' The legend in the Chronicle became a veritable Procrustean bed for the facts from the beginning of Ukrainian history. Schlözer vetoed Askold's Rus'; the legends of St. George of Amastris and St. Stephen of Sougdaia were moved up in time because there could have been no Rus' on the Black Sea before 860. And the most objective and authoritative Normanist, Kunik, in his posthumously published works, argued emphatically that the Slavic Rus' were not seafaring before Askold because they feared water!

These distortions went much deeper—to the very heart of things. Given its unprecedented beginnings, the history of Rus' differed fundamentally from the history of other peoples. Universal laws of evolution could not be applied to Rus', as M. Pogodin clearly stated in the introduction to his *Drevniaia russkaia istoriia do mongol'skogo iga* (1871). This gave birth to the Slavophile theory that political rights had been renounced and that there had been no struggle in the history of Rus', the theory of the age-old passivity of the Slavic ethnos and its need for foreign creative elements. The negative consequences of the earlier polemic—the discrediting of the Normanist legend—are significant from this standpoint. The legend of the Chronicle can be accepted on faith or rejected, but it cannot be the sole basis for a reconstruction of history. One must search for deeper roots in the people themselves, in their way of life, laws, culture, etc. Thus, the a priori canonization of the Varangian doctrine constitutes a serious step backwards.

Having reviewed the history of the Normanist theory, let us summarize it and examine the building blocks upon which it stands. Let us begin with the historical evidence.

In the continuation of the *Annales Bertiniani* (the author is believed to be Prudentius Galindo, the bishop of Troyes, d. 861), under the year 839, the official French court chronicle recounts, as we already know,⁹ the arrival in Ingelheim of envoys to Louis I the Pious, who ‘said they—meaning their whole people—were called Rus’ and who had come to Emperor Theophilus from their king ‘who is called *chacanus* [kagan]’: ‘He [Theophilus] also sent with them [the envoys] some men who said they—meaning their whole people—were called Rus’, and had been sent to him by their king, who is called kagan, for the sake of friendship, so they claimed’ (‘...misit etiam cum eisdem quosdam, qui se, id est gentem suam Rhos vocari dicebant, quos rex illorum chacanus vocabulo, ad se [Theophilus—M.H.] amicitiae, sicut asserebant, causa direxerat’). Theophilus asked Louis to allow the envoys to pass through his lands on their return home, because the route they had taken to see Theophilus led ‘through primitive tribes that were very fierce and savage,’ and Theophilus feared to send them back along it. In questioning these Rus’ envoys, Louis learned that they were Swedes—‘When the emperor investigated more closely the reason for their coming here, he discovered that they belonged to the people of the Swedes’ (‘quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans, comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum’)—and suspected that they might be spies (France was then being harassed by the Northmen). He therefore detained them in an attempt to make certain that their intentions were indeed peaceful.¹⁰

For a broader commentary on this text, see Kunik, *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven* (1845), 2: 197ff.; Gedeonov, *Variagi i Rus’* (1876), vol. 2, chap. 18; Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State* (1877), lecture 2; also, Gutzeit, *Die Nachricht über die Rhos des Jahres 839* (1882), and idem, *Untersuchungen über Gegenstände der ältesten Geschichte Rußlands* (1890); Uspenskii, ‘Patriarkh Ioann VII Grammatik i Rus’-Dromity u Simeona Magistra’ (1890), p. 26ff.; Vasil’evskii, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia. 2. Zhitiia sv. Georgiia Amastridskogo i Stefana Surozhskogo* (1893), p. CXXIff.; Kunik, *Razyskaniia*, in Rozen, ed., *Izvestiia al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i slavianakh* (1903), vol. 2, chap. 3 (in addition, there is supposed to be another study by this author that has remained unpublished).

The Normanists make much of the fact that the passage cited above identifies the Rus’ as *gens Sueonum*. But they make no attempt to explain in any detail where these Rus’ were from: Was it Sweden, Kyiv, or somewhere in the land of the Chud (as Kunik thought in his ‘Ergänzende Bemerkungen zu den Untersuchungen über die Zeit der Abfassung des Lebens des hl. Georg von Amastris.’ p. 15, and Thomsen did in his *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State* [1877], lecture 2)? The ‘kaganate’ of the Rus’-Northmen presents a difficulty, however. For that reason, the earlier Normanists translated *chacanus vocabulo* to mean ‘called Hákon’ (Stroube de Piermont, Schlözer, and, recently, Gutzeit), in what was a very far-fetched interpretation. Kunik devoted a separate study to the question in ‘Zamechaniia’ (1864); there, he, too, was inclined to believe that this was a name rather than a title, but ultimately left the issue unresolved. Therefore, beginning with Krug, the Normanists also tried to explain why the ruler of the Northmen may have been called a ‘kagan.’

9. See above, pp. 300–302, 308.

10. *Annales Bertiniani*, 1: 434. The chronicle does not report the results of Louis’s investigation.

They conjectured that it was the Byzantine emperor who had so titled the prince of the Northmen and cited the letter from Louis II to Emperor Basil (*Chronicon Salernitanum*, p. 523) in which Louis argued with the emperor that neither the ruler of the Khazars nor the ruler of the Northmen was called a kagan: 'indeed we do not find a leader called "kagan" either of the Avars or of the Khazars or of the Northmen' ('chaganum vero non praelatum Avarum, non Gazarorum, non Nortmannorum nuncupari reperimus'). But we do not know whether the Byzantine emperor's letter contained the term *Nortmanni*, and it is very possible that it named some sort of northern Scythians (Βόρειοι Σκύθαι), as Gedeonov surmised. In other words, these may have been the Rus', who are so called in the *Taktika* of Leo VI the Wise.¹¹

Clearly these Rus', the envoys of the Rus' kagan, were North Germanic people who served the 'Rus' kagan'—probably the Kyivan prince (because, as we have seen, the Rus' princes were titled 'kagan' as late as the eleventh-twelfth centuries)—and were envoys from him and from the Rus' (*Rhos*). I might note that the phrase 'se, id est gentem suam' should probably be translated as: 'they—meaning their whole people [those who sent them—M.H.]—were called Rus'.' Let me also cite Vasil'evskii's just observation (*Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia. 2. Zhitiia svv. Georgiia Amastridskogo i Stefana Surozhskogo*, 1893, p. CXXIV) that the Franks were well acquainted with the Norwegians and the Danes and that therefore the use of the name for Swedes may indicate that these envoys were neither Norwegians nor Danes, but some group of North Germanic people. I have already noted Ilovaiskii's correction to *Slavorum*: it cannot stand.

Furthermore, the Arabic author, al-Ya'qubi (who wrote in 891–92 in Egypt), described the attack of the Northmen on Seville in 844, of which we know from other sources, in the following words: 'Heathens [in the text: Majuj-Magog—M.H.], who are called Rus', entered this city in 229 [A.H., i.e., 843–44 A.D.—M.H.] and plundered and ravaged and burned and murdered' (Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i russkikh* [1870], p. 63). This report was put into circulation by Frähn under the eloquent title, 'Ein neuer Beleg, daß die Gründer des russischen Staates Nordmannen waren' (1838). It was subsequently discussed by Kunik in *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven* (1845), 2: 285ff.; idem, *Razyskaniia* (1903), no. 5, p. 151ff.; Gedeonov, *Variagi i Rus'* (1876), chap. 19; Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i russkikh* (1870), pp. 66, 288; Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia* (1877), lecture 2; Gutzeit, *Erläuterungen zur ältesten Geschichte Rußlands* (1880), p. 19; Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa' (1899); idem, 'K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov o Vostochnoi Evrope' (1908). The important point in this passage for the Normanists is the identification of the Rus' as the Northmen. At the same time, they admit that this was al-Ya'qubi's subjective conjecture, because Spanish sources do not call the Northmen the Rus', and the author had not personally seen the invaders. Writing as he did following the notorious campaigns of the Rus' along the Black Sea coast and against Byzantium itself, he could have surmised that the campaign of 844 had been waged by these same Rus', in the same way that al-Mas'udi, describing the same campaign, later also hypothesized: 'The inhabitants of Andalusia [i.e., Spain] believe that this was a heathen people who appeared on that sea every two hundred years and that they entered their land through a strait from the ocean, but not through the one where the bronze beacons are found [Gibraltar—M.H.]. I think, but God knows best [a way of expressing a cautious surmise—M.H.], that this strait connects with the Palus Maeotis [Sea of

11. In his *Razyskaniia* (1903), no. 4, Kunik interprets Leo's Βόρειοι Σκύθαι as a translation of the term *Normanni*.

Azov—M.H.] and Naitas [Black Sea—M.H.], and that these people are the Rus', to whom we referred above, because only they sail this sea, which connects with the ocean' (Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i russkikh* [1870], p. 129). In light of all this, al-Ya'qubi's identification has little weight. At best, it is analogous to Liutprand's account, but less significant.¹²

In Kunik's posthumously published *Razyskaniia* (1903), the noted Orientalist, de Goeje, pointed out a similar confusion between the Rus' and the Northmen in the work of Ibn Hawqal. We have already seen that Ibn Hawqal sent Sviatoslav to wage a campaign against 'Byzantium and Spain' ('Rome and Andalusia') following his destruction of Bulghar (see chap. 8, p. 351, fn. 67). In another passage, Ibn Hawqal wrote that Spain was attacked by the ships of 'the Rus', Turks, Slavs, and Pechenegs.' Here, the entire situation of our Rus' has been transposed to the campaigns of the Northmen. Obviously, this misunderstanding is purely theoretical and is of little interest in light of the earlier facts provided by al-Ya'qubi and al-Mas'udi—despite the fact that Westberg wanted to accept this report as authentic—in other words, that after razing Bulghar, the invaders returned to Scandinavia by way of the Mediterranean and Gibraltar ('Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa,' 1899).

We find similar confusion among Western authors. The Venetian chronicler, John the Deacon (beginning of the eleventh century), in writing of the Rus' campaign against Byzantium, related that it was waged by 'tribes of Northmen (*Normannorum gentes*): 'at that time tribes of Northmen dared to approach Constantinople with 360 ships,' and so forth (John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, p. 18; no year given). In a later chronicle by Flavio Biondo (Blondus; fifteenth century), this report reads as follows: 'The Northmen (*Normanni*), having glutted themselves on booty taken in Aquitaine and other parts of Gaul, led a fleet of 360 ships to Constantinople' (Blondus, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romani imperii decades III*, p. 177; in Dorn, 'Kaspil' [1875], p. 375). Kunik, who put this report in circulation,¹³ surmised that John the Deacon derived the account from a contemporary (860) Italian record. Clearly, this is no more than supposition on Kunik's part. The fact that John the Deacon was not an eyewitness could have—indeed, must have—led to the same result as in the case of al-Ya'qubi and al-Mas'udi. Just as the latter attributed the campaign of the Northmen to the Rus', whom they knew better, so John the Deacon, or his source, attributed the Rus' campaign to the Northmen, whom he knew better.

Having mentioned the campaign of 860, I should add that even in Photios' homilies and epistles about the Rus' as a people who had come from afar, famous for conquering neighboring peoples, etc., some saw evidence that they were Northmen (Krug, *Kritischer Versuch zur Aufklärung der byzantinischen Chronologie* [1810]; Kunik, *Razyskaniia* [1903], p. 369). I make mention of this claim as a curiosity. Thomsen made no reference to it.

12. Lamanskii, *O slavianakh v Maloi Azii, v Afrike i v Ispanii* (1859), followed by Garkavi, even put forward a number of theories that the phrase 'who are called Rus' was a later interpolation taken from al-Mas'udi (Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i russkikh* [1870], p. 67). Garkavi pointed out that later Arabic authors, when writing of this attack, make no mention of the Rus', and that al-Mas'udi would have cited al-Ya'qubi and expressed his conjecture with greater confidence had he seen these words in al-Ya'qubi's text. In opposition to this, see Kunik's *Razyskaniia* (1903), and Westberg, 'Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa' (1899), no. 5.

13. See also Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia* (1877), lecture 2.

Similar to the account of John the Deacon, but much more important, is that of Bishop Liutprand (d. 972). In his *Antapodosis*, written between 958 and 962 (it encompasses the period between 893 and 950), Liutprand described Ihor's expedition against Byzantium in 941 on the basis of the account of his stepfather, also called Liutprand, who had served as an ambassador to Byzantium that year: 'There is a certain northern people in the northern lands, whom the Greeks called "reddish" (*russi*) because of the color of their skin, while we from the position of their land call them Northmen, because in German *nord* means "north" and *man* means "man," and so we can call men of the north Northmen' ('Gens quaedam est sub aquilonis parte constituta, quam a qualitate corporis Graeci vocant rusios [ρούσιοι], nos vero a positione loci nominamus nordmannos, lingua quippe Teutonum nord—aquilo, man autem dicitur homo, unde et nordmannos aquilonares homines dicere possumus'). Liutprand went on to describe the campaign waged by the 'king of these people, who was called Inger' and said that Ihor's soldiers, who had been taken captive, were beheaded in the presence of his stepfather (Liutprand, *Antapodosis* 5.15, p. 331). For more on this account, see Gedeonov, *Variagi i Rus'* (1876), chap. 19, and Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia* (1877), lecture 2. It serves as one of the principal historical proofs of the Normanist theory. But if the elder Liutprand was not merely expressing a theoretical conjecture, but had indeed seen Ihor's soldiers and recognized Northmen among them, this would only indicate that there were many Northmen in Ihor's army, a fact that we must assume even without such information. This report would carry the same weight as the one from 839 in the *Annales Bertiniani*. But the problem is that Liutprand does not state clearly that they were Northmen, but expresses himself in a manner that appears to be a play on words (*Wortspiel*): 'and so we can call men of the north Northmen.' In another passage (*Antapodosis*, p. 277), he writes: 'To the north of Constantinople...there are Hungarians, Pechenegs, Khazars, and Rus' whom we also call Northmen' ('quos alio nomine nos Nordmannos appellamus'). His use of the phrase 'we call' is just as suspect, because the Rus' were certainly not called Northmen in the West: at most, he may be implying that there were 'Northmen' in the Rus' army, or, at the very least, this might be an allusion to the above play on words.

Writing about the same campaign of 941, Symeon Logothete (first half of the tenth century) called the Rus' 'Dromites of Frankish origin' (κατέπλευσαν οἱ Ῥῶς, οἱ καὶ Δρομίται λεγόμενοι, οἱ ἐκ γένους τῶν Φράγγων ὄντες—*Chronographia*, p. 746). The addition about the Frankish origin of the Rus' is obviously taken from a gloss (*ibid.*, p. 707), which most likely was not written by Symeon Logothete (see Uspenskii, 'Patriarkh Ioann VII Grammatik i Rus'-Dromity u Simeona Magistra' [1890], p. 19). This entry, repeated in George the Monk Continuatus and Theophanes Continuatus, is generally difficult to interpret. Some Normanists have suggested that in Byzantium, people of Germanic origin were called Franks (Krug, *Forschungen in der älteren Geschichte Rußlands* [1848], p. 293ff.; Kunik, *Razyskaniia* [1903], p. 397), but, in fact, the term was used in a very broad sense and encompassed both Latins and Germans (Liutprand, *Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam*, p. 357; other texts in Gedeonov, *Variagi i Rus'* [1876], 2: XCII). That is why Thomsen did not include this text as part of his evidence.

To complete the picture, we must include the text of Ibrahim b. Ya'qub (second half of the tenth century): 'The lands of the Slavs stretch from the Syrian Sea in the north to the surrounding sea [ocean—M.H.]. The peoples of the north have occupied some of them and live among them still' (Rozen, 'Izvestiia al-Bekri o slavianakh i ikh sosediakh' [1878], p. 46). Kunik (Rozen, *Izvestiia al-Bekri* [1878], 1: 106) and, following his lead, Westberg (*Kommentarii na zapisku Ibragima ibn-Iakuba o slavianakh* [1903]) naturally understood this to mean the

Northmen. However, in a subsequent passage Ibrahim b. Ya'qub writes that 'the principal peoples of the north speak Slavic, because they have intermingled with the Slavs,' and he immediately goes on to explain: 'like, for example, the Turkishin/Tarshakin people and the Anqliyyin¹⁴ and the Bajanakiyya [Pechenegs—M.H.], and the Rus', and the Khazars.' These are the northern peoples that he has in mind!

Let us now move from historical evidence to the evidence offered by language, which is unquestionably much more reliable and clearer.

Heading the list in this category are the names of the Dnipro rapids, as recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenetos. In describing the trade caravans of the Rus' to Byzantium, Constantine speaks of the Dnipro rapids and gives their names both 'in the Rus' [language] and Slavic ('Ρωσοισι καὶ Σκλαβηνοισι). The first rapid is called *Essoupi* ('Εσσουπη), 'which in Rus' and Slavic means "Do not sleep!"; the second 'is called in Rus' *Oulvors* (Οὐλβορσι) and in Slavic *Ostrovouniprax* ('Οστροβουνιπράχ), which means "the island of the rapid"; the third is called 'Gelandri (Γελανδρι), which in Slavic means "the noise of the rapid" (ἤχος φραγμοῦ); the fourth is 'Aeifor ('Αειφόρ)¹⁵ in Rus' and *Neasit* (Νεασήτ) in Slavic, because pelicans nest in the stones of the rapid'; the fifth 'is *Varouforos* (Βαρουφόρος) in Rus' and *Voulniprax* (Βουλνηπράχ) in Slavic, because it forms a large lake [λίμνην, to be corrected to δίνην 'vortex'—M.H.]; the sixth 'is called *Leanti* (Λεάντι) in Rus' and *Veroutzi* (Βερούτζη) in Slavic, i.e., "the boiling of the water" (βράσμα νέρου, Slavic *vrěti* 'to cook' 'to boil'); the seventh 'is called *Stroukoun* (Στρούκουν) [var. vulg. Στρούβουν—M.H.] in Rus' and *Naprezi* (Ναπρεζή) in Slavic, or "the small rapid."*

Beginning with Bayer, who was the first to draw attention to this report and to interpret the 'Rus' names as derived from North Germanic, a whole body of writings has appeared on these names: Stroube de Piermont, *Dissertation sur les anciens Russes* (1785); Thunmann, *Untersuchung über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker* (1774); Lehrberg, *Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der älteren Geschichte Rußlands* (1816); Kunik, *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven* (1845), vol. 2, chap. 10; M. Pogodin, *Issledovaniia, zamechaniia i lektii o russkoi istorii*, vols. 1–7 (1846–56), 2: 71ff. (follows Lehrberg); Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* (1837), p. 557ff.; Munch, reprinted in his *Samlede Afhandlinger udgivne efter offentlig foranstaltning af Gustav Storm* (1874), vol. 2; Rafn, ed., *Antiquités de l'Orient, monuments runographiques* (1856); Sreznevskii, 'Russkoe naselenie stepi i iuzhnogo Pomor'ia v XI–XIV vv.' (1860); Diuvernua, 'O proiskhozhdenii variag-Rusi' (1862); Iurgevich, 'O mnimykhn normanskikh imenakh v russkoi istorii' (1867); Gedeonov, *Variagi i Rus'* (1876), chap. 20; Ilovaiskii, *Razyskaniia o nachale Rusi*, 2d ed. (1882), pp. 126, 346; V. Miller, 'Nazvaniia dneprovskikh porogov u Konstantina Bagriano-rodno' (1885); Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia* (1877), lecture 2; Gutzeit, *Kaiser Constantins Namen der Dneprfälle* (1879), and, later, *Untersuchungen über Gegenstände der ältesten Geschichte Rußlands* (1890), chap. 3. Most recent is Pipping, *De skandinaviska Dnjeprnammen* (1910). In Ukrainian, the literature includes Partyts'kyi's *Skandynavshchyna v davni Rusi* (1887) and other studies by him.

14. The 'Anqliyyin' are thought to be the Hungarians, "Ογγροι. Westberg corrected 'Turishkin' to Tudushki, or Germans.

15. In some editions 'Αειφάρ, an error—see Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia* (1877).

* [The names of the rapids have been adapted from Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Moravcsik, trans. Jenkins, pp. 58–63.—Eds.]

The Slavic character of the 'Slavic' names in Constantine's account did not arouse any doubts. Although some of the names are undoubtedly distorted and Constantine's translation of them may not be correct in all cases, the Slavic origin of almost all can be discerned and some have even been rendered quite correctly, as, for example, *Ostrombni prag* (Οστροβουνιπράχ), *Neasit* 'pelican' (perhaps *Nenasyt*, today's *Nenasytec*). Other names are explained as follows: Βουλνηπράχ—*vl'ňjanyj prag* (*volna* 'wave'), today's Vol'nyi or Vovnys'kyi; Βερούτζη *νβρεžčii*, Ναπρεζή, is read as *napražie* 'what is on the rapid'; Έσσουπη—[*n*]e *sъpi*;¹⁶ Γελανδρί is believed to be a 'Rus' name, which was identified as 'Slavic' owing to an error or a lacuna in the text.

The 'Rus' names present greater difficulties. Beginning with Bayer, Normanists have interpreted them as derived from North Germanic roots. Some names lend themselves quite well to this derivation, as, for example, Βαρουφόρος from *baru* ('wave,' genitive) + *fors* ('waterfall')—this would correspond to the Slavic name as well; others lend themselves less well to this exercise, and some most definitely cannot be so derived. To the Normanists' delight, it must be said that attempts to find the roots of these names in other languages (and scholars have tried to derive them from Slavic languages and from all other possible languages, including Hungarian, as did Iurjevich) have also proved unsuccessful. I shall cite the most popular explanations below:

Έσσουπη—*ne suefe* (Lehrberg), *ne sofi* (Thomsen)—'be not asleep.'

Ούλβορσί—*holm* (island) + *fors* (rapid), parallel to the Slavic (the usual explanation).

Γελανδρί—*gellandi* or *gjalandi*, participle, 'resounding.'

Άειφόρ—the earlier derivation from the Dutch *ōyevār* ('stork') was much debated and rejected by the Germanicists. Thomsen reads it as *ei* ('ever') + *forr* ('rushing').

Λεάντι—*gloandi*, participle—'shining,' 'infuriated' (Kunik), *hlaejandi*—participle from 'to laugh' (Thomsen).

Στρούκου (Στρούβου)—the Normanists are unable to explain this name (Thomsen points to the Swedish *struck* 'small waterfall'). It is probably a Slavic name.*

Because some 'Rus' names are easily derived from North Germanic words, the Normanists argued that the Rus' were a Norse people. However, one should not jump to this conclusion. The name 'Rus' was not introduced by the Northmen; they adopted it when they came to Rus' to serve the Rus' princes. Considering the large number of Northmen in Rus' in the tenth century, and the important role they played in military campaigns, as well as in the trading expeditions to Greece, it should come as no surprise that they should have had their own names for some of the most important locations on 'the route from the Varangians to the Greeks' and that in addition to the names by which the 'Slavs' (perhaps the neighboring Ulychians) knew the rapids, Constantine also knew the names used by the 'Rus' 'travelers of the Greek route' (*hrechnyky*, *grečnici* [merchants with Greece]), the Varangian-Rus' retinue of Kyiv. We cannot know for certain whether these names were translations—wholly or in part—of the local Slavic names (as would appear in Constantine), or whether all were 'Varangian.' It is more likely that they were not. They included translated names, original Varangian names, and their Slavic

16. The initial 'n' may have been dropped, because the word preceding it ends with the Greek 'v.'

* [In *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia*, Thomsen gives the forms *sofi eigi* or *sofattu* as the Old Norse roots for Έσσουπη. He maintains that *ei-* and *fara* produced the Old Norse form *eifari*, meaning 'ever-rushing,' which was the source of Άειφόρ. He states that the Old Norse *straumr* 'stream, current' was the origin of Στρούκου (Στρούβου).—Eds.]

counterparts—for example, Kyivan names. And inasmuch as Constantine in all cases distinguished between the Kyivan retinue, the Rus', and the 'subject Slavs,' it was quite natural for him to include both the Rus' names—that is, those used by the retinue—and the 'Slavic' names—probably the local names by which the rapids were known to the Slavic inhabitants of the regions along this part of the Dnipro.

Another category of linguistic evidence is comprised of the personal names we know from the tenth century. Most of them are contained in Oleh's and, especially, Ihor's treaties with the Greeks. We have a total of more than seventy names of princes, boyars, merchants, and retinue members, rendered more or less uniformly in the manuscripts of the Chronicle. In addition, there are another several dozen names from the tenth century found in the Primary Chronicle or (rarely) in additional sources. The most ardent Normanists have derived all of them from Scandinavian roots. According to them, Blud stems from the Scandinavian Blótr, Liud from the Scandinavian Liótr (Kunik, *Razyskaniia* [1903], p. 162), and even Volodymyr is derived from the Scandinavian Valdemar.

Certainly many names are indisputably Scandinavian: for example, Iakun—Hákon, Bruni—Brúni, Iheld—Ingjaldr, Ruar—Hróar, Turd—Þórðr, Frudi—Fróði, etc. (compare pp. 323–24 above). That is quite understandable, because even without this information we know that the 'Varangians' played an important role in Rus' in the tenth century. The names in the treaties attest that in the first half of the tenth century, in particular, there were very many Varangians in the prince's senior retinue. The names of the Kyivan princes present a somewhat less clear picture. The Normanists derive them from Scandinavian roots, but their Scandinavianism is not so certain.

The third category of linguistic evidence consists of supposedly Norse words in the Ukrainian and Russian languages, especially technical terms. Among earlier Normanists, the number of such terms was quite large. Such words as, for example, *bojarin* (boyar), *palomnik* (pilgrim), *ogniščanin* (homestead owner and senior retainer), *ljud* (people), *gosti* (guests), *rjad* (agreement), *šljag* (shilling), and *lodja* (boat) were believed to be Norse. This roster was significantly reduced by Sreznevskii in his *Mysli ob istorii russkogo iazyka* (1850; reprint, 1887), supp. 1. Subsequently this argument lost its importance in comparison with other evidence presented by the Normanists. Thomsen, a philologist, acknowledged that it is very difficult to distinguish true Norse words from common Slavic-Germanic words, or words borrowed at other points of Slavic-German convergence. He regarded seventeen words as Scandinavian loanwords 'with more or less probability':* *jaskъ* (box), *gridъ* (bodyguard), *kerbъ* (bundle of flax), *knutъ* (whip), *lava* (bench), *larъ* (bin), *luda* (cloak), *rjuža* (bow-net, weel), *skyba* (slice), *skotъ* (cattle), *stulъ* (chair), *stjagъ* (banner), *Sudъ* (Bosporus), *tivunъ* (servant), *šneka* (a kind of ship), *jabednikъ* (officer in early Novgorod), *jakorъ* (anchor). But even this short list had to be cut down when it came to establishing only those words that could not have entered the language in any other way except through the Varangians. Northern regional terms had to be removed from the list, because they could have entered the language independently of the Varangians as loanwords from the neighboring Swedes (*rjuža* 'bow-net, weel,' *šneka* 'a kind of ship,' etc.); the same applies to common terms or terms that could have been borrowed from other Germanic tribes, not necessarily from the Varangians (on this, see such later works

* [Thomsen's list in *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia*, pp. 128–30, includes sixteen words that he affirms as 'unhesitatingly of Scandinavian origin.' *Skotъ* is not on the list.—Eds.]

as Tamm, *Slaviska lånord från nordiska språk*, 1882; Bugge, 'Oldsvenske Navne i Rusland,' 1885; and others). We are then left with a few genuinely interesting parallels: *gridъ*, Scandinavian *grīð* 'home'; *Sudъ* (Bosporus and the Golden Horn), Scandinavian *sund* 'strait'; *tivunъ* (*tiun*), Scandinavian *þjónn* 'servant,' 'slave.' Yet, considering the numerous bands of Varangians in Rus', we can only wonder that they left so few traces of their presence in the language.

At one time, a separate category of evidence was comprised of the legal customs, religion, and the way of life of the Slavs, which were thought to have been borrowed from the Scandinavians. Schlözer, Krug, and M. Pogodin saw Scandinavian origins in everything—in law, religion, culture, and way of life. For example, Pogodin saw Norse features in the Rus' custom of asking the father for his daughter's hand, in the polygamy practiced by the elders, in the caring for princely offspring by 'fosterers' (*kormyl'tsi*), in that the Rus' held female beauty in high esteem, and in that they dragged their boats over land when portaging between rivers and stopped off at islands—let alone in religious beliefs, blood feuds, the system of monetary compensation, the institution of twelve jurors, the articles in the *Rus' Law* about serfs, horses, etc. (M. Pogodin, *Issledovaniia, zamechaniia i leksii o russkoi istorii*, vols. 1–7 [1846–56], 3: 237, 379, 418). 'When we examine all these laws, customs, administrative bodies and their names, we see clearly that they all belonged to a foreign people, the Norse-Germanic people,' he stated. Subsequently, when all these similarities began to be shown as analogous to what was found among the most diverse peoples at a common stage of development, when, for example, the article in the *Rus' Law* about mounting another man's horse (this was the most striking similarity to Scandinavian law) was found to have parallels in, on the one hand, the law of the Franks and, on the other, in Byzantine legislation (in Leo's and Constantine's *Ecloga*, eighth century), these derivations from the Scandinavian way of life, law, and so forth lost all importance. Claiming as certain that 'in manners and customs, in social life and political institutions in Russia, traces of Scandinavian influence were long to be found,' Thomsen (*The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia* [1877], lecture 3, p. 126) abandoned efforts to find traces of this influence, admitting that it was 'an extremely difficult question.' Kunik, in his 'open letter,' expressed the view that these traces of Normanism in Rus' law and way of life had been derived from the Goths, and, as I have mentioned, some younger scholars want to follow this same route. Kunik's 'ethnological' evidence that the Slavs were a landbound people, whereas the Varangians were seafaring, and that therefore all maritime campaigns were waged by the Varangians, survives as a remnant of the past. (Interestingly, however, in Rus' all terms applying to ships were not Scandinavian, but Greek). But perhaps in this sphere, too, we shall see an attempt at a parallel investigation of Rus' and Scandinavian antiquities, one that is more careful and methodical than those undertaken earlier. The question of similarities and borrowings in the *Rus' Law* has been raised again in connection with Goetz's work, *Das russische Recht* (1910–13).

In concluding this excursus about the Normanist theory, we need to speak of its Achilles' heel—the origin of the name *Rus'*. The author of the Primary Chronicle was unable to find its derivation and therefore dispatched the whole of the Varangian Rus' to Novgorod. The Normanists were not satisfied with this and began to search for the remnants of Scandinavian Rus'. As early as the eighteenth century, Thunmann (*Untersuchung über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker* [1774], p. 369) pointed out that the Finnish tribes called Sweden *Ruotsi* (the Finns proper—*Rutsi*, *Ruotsi*, *Ruotti*; the Vodians—*Rôtsi*; the Ests—*Rôts*). He conjectured that the East Slavs called the Swedes by this name, which they had borrowed from

the Finns, and that it became the origin of the collective name for the Rus'. This conjecture was embraced by Schlözer, defended by Kunik and Thomsen, and is accepted by newer Normanists. Ewers was the first to dispute the Thunmann-Schlözer theory, arguing that the name *Rus'* existed in the southern Rus' lands even before the arrival of the Varangians. His arguments persuaded some Normanists (such as M. Pogodin and Solov'ev) to abandon the attempt to derive the name of the Rus' from Sweden. But other pillars of Normanism continued to identify the *Ruotsi* with the *Rus'* and do so to this day. There is, however, no complete agreement regarding the meaning and origin of the name. Schlözer derived *Rus'* from the Swedish land *Roslagen*, *Roslag* (the coast of Uppland—actually, communities of rowers), but this contention was seriously shaken. Thomsen (*The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia* [1877], lecture 3) tried—with relative restraint—to defend it, but, unhappy with Kunik's earlier hypotheses (in Dorn, 'Kaspil' [1875]), he began to seek other explanations and in the end came up with the Gothic **hrōdh*, which we have already discussed. Rejecting the derivation of *Rus'* from **hrōdh*, Braun believed it possible to derive *Ruotsi* from **hrōdh* (although he found unlikely the use of this popular name formed from the root **hrōdh*).¹⁷

In any event, these theories suggest the following. The Swedes did not call themselves *Rus'*, but they were called thus in eastern Europe by the Finns and the Slavs. Upon coming to Rus', the Swedes rejected their own name and in the first half of the ninth century adopted this foreign Finnish name: as envoys in 839, they called themselves *Rus'*, as they did later, in 911, in the treaty with the Greeks—'we are of Rus' stock.' This alone is improbable. An even odder circumstance would have been if the Slavs had called the Swedes *Rus'* even though they had their own name for them—that is, *Svei*—and still another name for the arriving Swedes or Scandinavians in general—that is, *Variazi*, Varangians—which they used in an ethnic sense. In light of these facts, it would indeed have been odd for the Slavs to adopt the Finnish name *Rus'* for the newcomers, even though this name was foreign both to them and to those who had come to their land. Moreover, in tenth-century Kyiv, and therefore also in Novgorod (the Chronicle itself attests to the close cultural ties between these two stations on the route from the Varangians to the Greeks), people did not suspect that the Rus' were Swedes. Having two centuries earlier adopted from the Finns the name that the Finns still use for the Swedes, they knew nothing of Swedish Rus' on the other side of the Varangian Sea, from whence even then the Varangians roamed Rus'. That is why the author of the Primary Chronicle removed every last Rus' from Scandinavia, so that he would not need to look for them there. The Novgorodians, who would have been the first Slavic tribe to borrow the Rus' name of the Scandinavians from the Finns, also used it exclusively to refer to the Varangian retinue and dynasts who settled in Ukraine, and in their tradition they knew only the Varangians.¹⁸

17. Attempts to derive *Ruotsi* from the Finnish language have thus far been unsuccessful. The derivation from **hrōdh* complicates this etymology even further. We would have to assume that the Goths called themselves thus (and we do not know this), that the name was adopted by the Finns, that the Finns passed the name on to the Goths of Gotland and southern Sweden (what if the contemporary Finns did not accept the theory of the ethnic unity of the Swedish Goths [Gauts] with the Goths along the Vistula?), that ultimately it began to denote the population of Sweden as a whole, and that this population, upon arriving in the Slavic-Finnish lands, itself adopted the name, which it did not know.

18. Such a supposition is made by Shakhmatov, in the work cited above ('Skazanie o prizvanii variagov,' 1904), in an attempt to reconcile the Chronicle theories with historical facts. In the ninth century—or, perhaps, even in the eighth—the Scandinavians raided for booty and roamed to trade into the eastern European lands. In the north, they were known as tribute takers and plunderers, while in Ukraine, with its higher level of culture and social order, they assumed the role of retinue members and merchants who took power into their hands. For this reason, the Rus' name was passed

Such are the very real difficulties that this theory presents. The facts that undermine it completely are that the Rus' name is localized in the Kyiv region, and that there were Rus' in the southern regions at a time when the first Scandinavian-Rus' prince, Ihor's father, and his brothers had not yet been born.

Editor's addition: If, after a century and a half, V. Thomsen's monograph (*The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State*, published in English in 1877, in German in 1879, and in Russian in 1891) can still be considered the most rational account of Normanism as the view that holds that the Scandinavians were the creators of East Slavic statehood, then Hrushevsky's critique of that current of thought must still be singled out for its sobriety. Since the eighteenth century, the Normanist theory has not only been a subject of scholarly interest, but has also had a distinct political and national aspect: the state-building role of the Germanic peoples has been set against the Slavs' incapacity to adopt higher forms of organization. The defense of national values, not always properly understood, has thus deflected objective scholarly debate in the direction of historical publicism. Moreover, in the Soviet context, anti-Normanism acquired farcical characteristics: not only were 'bourgeois' scholars charged with Normanism (e.g., I. Shaskol'skii, 1965, 1967), but in 1960 a student who expressed Normanist views was expelled from the History Department of Moscow University. Not until the 1970s did Soviet historiography begin to revise its primitive anti-Normanist stance. This task was made easier by works offering a balanced treatment of the role of the Northmen in light of territorial political ties established among the East Slavs before the Northmen's arrival (J. Bardach, 1958; M. Hellmann, 1969). The thesis of a particular Norman state-building role in relation to East Slavdom is quickly dwindling in significance, and research is now being focused on questions regarding the will, mobility, enterprise, and, above all, organized military force of the newcomers, led by their dynasts, in assembling—together with local elites—a far-flung, multiethnic state capable of extending its rule across a territory of more than a million square kilometers. In the course of the tenth century, Kyivan Rus' assumed a place of considerable importance in Europe. With some exaggeration, but not without reason, it has been compared in historiography with the Carolingian and Ottonian monarchies.

As a critical assessment of the state of research, Hrushevsky's excursus lost none of its relevance until the 1970s (see the collection of essays, *Varangian Problems. Report on the First International Symposium on the Theme: The Eastern Connections of the Nordic Peoples in the Viking Period*, Copenhagen, 1970). Even today, the views and opinions formulated in Hrushevsky's excursus have their supporters. These views include the thesis that Rus', as a geographic and political concept defining the mid-Dnipro area with its center in Kyiv, made its appearance before the arrival of the Scandinavians among the East Slavs (A. Nasonov, 1951; M. Braichev's'kyi, 1985; A. Gorskii, 1989). A similar view was adopted by A. Nazarenko (*Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7 [1994]: 1113), even though there are no philological prospects of tracing the origins of this name to the southern regions (see A. Thulin, 'The Southern Origin of the Name 'Rus',' in *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance*, Uppsala, 1981, pp. 175–83). In contrast to many other anti-Normanists, however, Hrushevsky maintained the methodological principles of the professional medievalist in his critical remarks, thereby identifying himself with the moderate current of opinion, mindful of scholarly standards, that found expression in the work of H. Łowmiański (1957). Only after twenty-five years of effort did Russian scholars obtain permission to translate Łowmiański's book and to publish it in Russian in Moscow (*Rus' i normany*, 1985).

The name *Rus'* is convincingly explained as a slavized form—dating perhaps from the eighth century—of *Ruotsi*, the Baltic-Finnish name of the Swedes. As early as the tenth century, this ethnonym already encompassed the multiethnic social elite of the Kyivan state. *Rus'* as the name of a country derived from this ethnonym was already to be encountered in the tenth century. For the Nordic etymology and early history of the ethnonym, see G. Schramm, 'Die Herkunft des Namens Rus', *Forschungen zur europäischen Geschichte* 30 (1982): 7–49; S. Ekbo, 'The Etymology

on to their subject lands, while among the northern tribes it remained an ethnic name for the Varangian invaders. But, strange as it may seem, it did not become localized in the north for a long time, even after the Novgorodians had imported Varangian *konungs* against the southern Rus' princes, and the 'role of the Varangians in the north became analogous to that of the Varangian-Rus' in the south' (p. 63). These difficulties, encountered by such an authoritative expert on the Chronicle tradition in an attempt to reconcile it with historical data, are the best illustration of how little historical staying power there is to the Chronicle's theory.

of Finnish Ruotsi=Sweden,' in *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance* (Uppsala, 1981), pp. 143–45; E. Melnikova and V. Petrukhin, 'The Origin and Evolution of the Name Rus': The Scandinavians in Eastern European Ethnopolitical Processes before the 11th Century,' *Tor* (Uppsala), 23 (1991): 203–34; T. Noonan, 'Why the Vikings First Came to Russia,' *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 34 (1986): 321–48.

For an attempt at a linguistic and historical explanation of the 'Celtic' etymology of *Rus*' (the ethnonym *Rutheni*), see O. Pritsak's article in *Turco-Tatar Past: Studies Presented to A. Bennigsen* (Paris, 1986), pp. 45–65. The same scholar subsequently compiled the epic, historical, and mythological Scandinavian sources and set forth an ambitious research program guided by the questions: Who were the Rus'? Where did they come from? How was the Kyivan state founded? See O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). See also idem, 'The Invitation to the Varangians,' *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 (1977): 7–22.

For a coherent overview and a sound evaluation of the Varangian question and the origins of Kyivan Rus', see C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventums* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 157–64; this work includes references to the more important literature in Russian and German. As noted earlier, a nearly complete bibliography of the subject since 1970 is to be found in the successive volumes of *Russia Mediaevalis*. Many papers on this topic have appeared in the journal *Scando-Slavica* (from 1954 onward).—A. Poppe

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

- AA – *Archiv für Anthropologie* (Braunschweig)
AluZR – *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*
AIZ – *Arkheologicheskie izvestiia i zametki, izdavaemye Imperatorskim Moskovskim arkheologicheskim obshchestvom* (Moscow)
Akty IuZR – *Akty otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*
ALuR – *Arkheologicheskaia letopis' Iuzhnoi Rossii* (Kyiv)
AR – *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig)
ASP – *Archiv für slavische Philologie* (Berlin)
BGA – *Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum*
BZ – *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Munich)
ChIONL – *Chteniia v Istoricheskoi obshchestve Nestora Letopistsa* (Kyiv)
ChOIDR – *Chteniia v Imperatorskoi Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* (Moscow)
CIG – *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL – *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*
CSHB – *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*
Drevnosti – *Drevnosti. Trudy Moskovskogo Imperatorskogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* (Moscow)
FHG – *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*
GGM – *Geographi Graeci minores*
HGM – *Historici Graeci minores*
Hyp. – *Letopis' po Ipatskomu spisku*
IF – *Indogermanische Forschungen* (Berlin)
IPE – *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*
IzAK – *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi komissii* (St. Petersburg)
IzAO – *Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* (St. Petersburg)
IzIAN – *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po Otdeleniiu russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti* (St. Petersburg)
IzOL – *Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Obshchestva liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologii i etnografii pri Moskovskom universitete* (Moscow)
IzORIA S – *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk* (St. Petersburg)
JAI – *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (London)
JCP – *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* (Leipzig)
JZ – *Jahrbuch der Zentralkommission für Erforschung der Kunstdenkmäler* (Berlin)
KH – *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Lviv)
KS – *Kievskaiia starina* (Kyiv)
Lavr. – *Letopis' po Lavrent'evskomu spisku*
MAG – *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna)
MGH – *Monumenta Germaniae historica*
MPA – *Monatsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin)
MURE – *Materiialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koï etnol'ogii*
Nikon. – *Letopisnyi sbornik imenuemyi Patriarsheiu ili Nikonovskoiu letopis'iu*
Novg. I – *Novgorodskaiia letopis' po sinodal'nomu kharateinomu spisku* (1888)
Novg. II – *Novgorodskaiia 2-ia letopis'*

- Novg. III – Novgorodskaia 3-ia letopis'*
PG – Migne, Patrologia Graeca
PL – Migne, Patrologia Latina
PSRL – Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei
RFV – Russkii filologicheskii vestnik (Warsaw)
RIB – Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu
SbORiAS – Sbornik Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk (St. Petersburg)
SHA – Scriptorum historiae Augustae
Sofia I – Sofiiskaia 1-ia letopis'
SPHC – Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna)
TKDA – Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii (Kyiv)
Tver. – Letopisnyi sbornik imenuemyi Tverskoiu letopis'iu
UI – Universitetskie izvestiia (Kyiv)
VMOIDR – Vremennik Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnosti rossiiskikh (Moscow)
Voskr. – Letopis' po Voskresenskomu spisku
VV – Vizantiiskii vremennik (St. Petersburg)
ZE – Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (Braunschweig)
Zherela – Zherela do istorii Ukraïny-Rusy
ZhMNP – Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia (neofitsial'naia chast') (St. Petersburg)
ZhS – Zhivaia starina (St. Petersburg)
ZIAN – Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk (St. Petersburg)
ZK – Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Stuttgart)
ZNTSh – Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka (Lviv)
ZOIOD – Zapiski Imperatorskogo Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnosti (Odesa)
ZRAO – Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva. Trudy otdeleniia russkoi i slavianskoi arkheologii (St. Petersburg)
ZUNT – Zapysky Ukraïns'koho naukovoho tovarystva v Kyïvi (Kyiv)
ZWAK – Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej

An asterisk (*) following an entry indicates that it could not be verified.

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