

## Primary Chronicle

### Anonymous 12th-century chronicle

#### Editions

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- Laurent'evskaia letopis'*. 2nd edition, Moscow, 1926 (*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. 1, fasc. 1); reprinted Moscow, 1962.
- Povest' vremennykh let* [The Tale of Bygone Years], edited by D.S. Likhachev and V.P. Adrianova-Peretts, 2 vols. Moscow and Leningrad, 1950; 2nd revised edition, edited by D.S. Likhachev, St Petersburg, 1996.
- Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, edited by L. Müller, 3 vols. Munich, Fink, 1977-86.
- "Povest' vremennykh let", in *Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi. XI-pervaia polovina XII v.* Moscow, 1978, 22-277, 418-51.

#### Translation

- The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, edited and translated by Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953; 3rd edition, 1973.

#### Critical Studies

- Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, by A.A. Shakhmatov, St Petersburg, 1908.
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- "Povest' vremennykh let i Nachal'nyi svod. Tekstologicheskii kommentarii", by O.V. Tvorogov, *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, 30 (1976), 3-26.
- Nachal'nye etapy drevnerusskogo letopisaniia*, by A.G. Kuz'min, Moscow, 1977.
- The Great Heritage: The Classical Literature of Old Rus'*, by D.S. Likhachev [Likhachev], translated by Doris Bradbury, Moscow, Progress, 1981, 44-135.
- "Textual Criticism and the *Povest' vremennykh let*: Some Theoretical Considerations", by Donald Ostrowski, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 5 (1981).
- "Some Apocryphal Sources of Kievan Russian Historiography", by Simon Franklin, *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, new series, 15 (1982), 1-27.
- Leksicheskii sostav "Povesti vremennykh let" (slovoukazateli i chastotnyi slovník)*, by O.V. Tvorogov, Kiev, 1984.
- "Les premières années byzantines du *Récit des temps passés*", by I. Sorlin, *Revue des Études Slaves*, 63 (1991), 8-18.
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*Povest' vremennykh let* (*Primary Chronicle*) was put together in approximately its extant form in the second decade of the 12th century by a Kievan monk, often (but not securely) identified as Nestor of the Caves monastery. The importance of the *Primary Chronicle* is threefold: it became the central text in the Russian- and Ukrainian - mythology of national origins and identity; it remains the most valuable single source of the early history of the Rus' and of the formation of their polity; and both as a whole and in its component parts it is a focal work for the study of the emergence of East Slavonic literature.

Early Christian and Byzantine chroniclers had charted the history of mankind from the Creation to the notional end of time, showing how Divine Providence manifested itself in temporal affairs. When the Rus' formally adopted Eastern Christianity, one of their tasks was to locate themselves on this imported and unfamiliar map of sacred time and space, to legitimize themselves as part of Providential history, to show that they, too, had their

place in the Divine Plan. The *Primary Chronicle* is the most ambitious and influential attempt to do so.

The story begins just after the biblical flood, with an apocryphal tale of how Noah divided all lands and peoples among his three sons. Versions of the same tale were commonly used for the equivalent purpose in chronicles throughout medieval Europe. The *Primary Chronicle* traces the Rus' and the Slavs to the peoples of the north and west, allocated to Noah's third son Japheth. With respectable biblical origins thus established, the narrative narrows to a survey of the various Slav tribes, before focusing on the Poliane of the Kiev region, and eventually on the family who ruled over them: from the Flood to the Kievan Rus'.

From the mid-9th century ethnic history gives way to dynastic history, from the origins of peoples to the origins of the ruling family. Here the form of the chronicle also changes from continuous narrative to annals, in which events are noted year by year. This is the framework for the chronicle's account of native history, perceived above all as the history of the princes of Kiev and their kin. The most prominent episodes have become familiar through countless paraphrases: the summoning of Rurik the Varangian and his kin – the Rus' – to rule in Novgorod; the expansion southwards along the "way from the Varangians to the Greeks", and the establishment of the Rus' dynasty in Kiev; the campaigns of Oleg and Igor' against Constantinople; the guile and piety of Princess Ol'ga; the rugged exploits of Sviatoslav, who smashed the power of the Khazars, pacified the Bulgarians and for a while managed to install himself at a new capital on the Danube, thus threatening (in Byzantine eyes) the integrity and security of the Byzantine Empire itself; the acceptance and imposition of Christianity by Vladimir; the exemplary fraternal submissiveness of the dynastic saints Boris and Gleb; and the triumphal display of Christian culture under Iaroslav.

Thus, in the chronicle's account, Rurik's pagan progeny established a dynastic polity; through Conversion that polity (the Land of the Rus') found its proper place under Divine Providence, and its Christian status and identity were affirmed and manifested through Iaroslav's public patronage and the promotion of naive Christian culture. In the *Primary Chronicle*, therefore, the Land of the Rus' acquires its distinct identity from a synthesis of three elements: the dynasty of the Varangians, the language of the Slavs, and the faith of the "Greeks".

The remainder of the chronicle, from Iaroslav's death in 1054 to the early part of the reign of Vladimir Monomakh (1113–25), shows Iaroslav's sons and grandsons attempting to maintain this legacy while adapting it to changing circumstances. As new rivalries emerged within the princely family, and as new neighbours threatened (in particular the Polovtsy of the southern

steppes), the chronicle not only records but also evaluates. Here it is concerned less with the legitimation of the whole than with the legitimacy of specific types of princely action. If in its early sections the chronicle articulated national myth, in its later sections it becomes a kind of handbook of political morality.

The *Primary Chronicle* was copied and re-copied by later chroniclers throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed, it does not actually survive at all as a separate text in any medieval manuscript, but only as a component part of subsequent compilations. Strictly speaking, therefore, the *Primary Chronicle* is no more than a hypothesis, an extrapolation. However, though the detailed readings are in many places debatable, the overall shape and contents of the chronicle are not in much doubt.

Far more problematic and intriguing are the chronicle's sources and components. The compiler could use eye-witness or contemporary native written sources only for the last half-century or so of his narrative. Prior to the mid-11th century it is unlikely that the Rus' produced or preserved any formal written records of their own. The *Primary Chronicle* is one of a series of attempts – by far the most thorough and thoughtful – to reconstitute a distant past that was largely unknown. Traces of previous attempts can be detected in the chronicle itself, as well as in some later compilations, but there are huge gaps because the chronicler's sources of information were fragmentary and heterogeneous. Much of the chronicle is a conscientiously assembled but incomplete mosaic, including translated fragments of Byzantine chronicles, folksy anecdotes and heroic legends, the dry formulae of diplomatic documents (10th-century trade agreements with Byzantium) and the effusive formulae of ecclesiastical rhetoric.

For the historian of facts, all of this is frustrating. It means, crudely, that the *Primary Chronicle* is unreliable. The selection of episodes is subordinate not only to the chronicler's ideological design but also to the vagaries of his own sparse sources. Such basics as dates, places and people are often demonstrably wrong. For the historian of literature and culture, however, the unconcealed compilatory nature of the chronicle is perhaps its most exciting feature. Instead of paraphrasing the various types of source and blending them into a smooth and integrated narrative, the chronicler tended to respect the range of forms and styles. The result is a single text which is also a multitude of texts; a composite genre including valuable specimens of, or evidence for, several types of non-chronicle discourse which in many cases – paradoxically – do not survive from the earliest period except as parts of the chronicle. In a sense, therefore, the *Primary Chronicle* serves as a kind of literary mosaic of the age, although there is occasional dispute as to whether the work as a whole can or should be classed as "literature" by modern definitions.

SIMON FRANKLIN

# The Russian Primary Chronicle

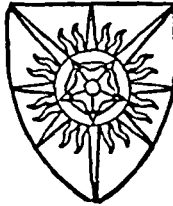
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# The Russian Primary Chronicle

## LAURENTIAN TEXT

Note. The columns of the diplomatic text of the *Povest'* (ed. E. F. Karsky, in *P.S.R.L.*, I, 2nd ed., [Leningrad, 1926], and referred to in the Introduction as L<sup>2</sup>) are indicated in parentheses in the translation.

These are the narratives of bygone years regarding the origin of the land of Rus', the first princes of Kiev, and from what source the land of Rus' had its beginning.

Let us accordingly begin this narrative. *After the flood, the sons of Noah (Shem, Ham, and Japheth) divided the earth among them. To the lot of Shem fell the Orient, and his share extended lengthwise as far as India and breadthwise (i.e., from east to south) as far as Rhinocurura, including Persia and Bactria, as well as Syria, Media (which lies beside the Euphrates River), Babylon, Cordyna, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Arabia the Ancient, Elymais, India, Arabia the Mighty, Coelesyria, Commagene, and all Phoenicia.*

*To the lot of Ham fell the southern region, comprising Egypt, Ethiopia facing toward India, the other (2) Ethiopia out of which the red Ethiopian river flows to the eastward, the Thebaid, Libya as far as Cyrene, Marmaris, Syrtis, and other Libya, Numidia, Massyris, and Maurentania over against Cadiz. Among the regions of the Orient, Ham also received Cilicia, Pamphylia, Mysia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Camalia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, the rest of Moesia, Troas, Aeolia, Bithynia, and ancient Phrygia. He likewise acquired the islands of Sardinia, Crete, and Cyprus, and the river Gihon, called the Nile.*

(3) *To the lot of Japheth fell the northern and the western sections, including Media, Albania, Armenia (both little and great), Capadocia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Colchis, Bosporus, Maeotis, Dervis, Sarmatia, Tauria, Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Molossia, Thesaly, Locris, Pellene (which is also called the Peloponnese), Arcadia, Epirus, Illyria, the Slavs, Lychnitis and Adriaca, from which the Adriatic Sea is named. He received also the islands of Britain, Sicily, Euboea, Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, Cythera, Zacynthus, Cephallenia, Ithaca, and Corcyra, as well as a portion of the land of Asia called Ionia, the*

*river Tigris flowing between the Medes and Babylon,*<sup>1</sup> and the territory to the north extending as far as the Pontus and including the Danube, the Dniester, and the Carpathian Mountains, which are called Hungarian, and thence even to the Dnieper. (4) He likewise acquired dominion over other rivers, among them the Desna, the Pripet', the Dvina, the Volkhov, and the Volga, which flows eastward into the portion of Shem.

In the share of Japheth lies Rus', Chud', and all the gentiles: Merya, Muroma, Ves', Mordva, Chud' beyond the portages, Perm', Pechera, Yam', Ugra, Litva, Zimegola, Kors', Let'gola, and Liv'. The Lyakhs, the Prussians, and Chud' border on the Varangian Sea. The Varangians dwell on the shores of that same sea, and extend to the eastward as far as the portion of Shem. They likewise live to the west beside this sea as far as the land of the English and the French. For the following nations also are a part of the race of Japheth: the Varangians, the Swedes, the Normans, the Gotlanders, the Russes, the English, the Spaniards, the Italians, the Romans, the Germans, the French, the Venetians, the Genoese, and so on. Their homes are situated in the northwest, and adjoin the Hamitic tribes.

(5) Thus Shem, Ham, and Japheth divided the earth among them, and after casting lots, so that none might encroach upon his brother's share, they lived each in his appointed portion. There was but one spoken language, and as mankind multiplied throughout the earth, they planned, in the days of Yoktan and Peleg, to build a tower as high as heaven itself. Thus they gathered together in the plain of Shinar to build the tower and the city of Babylon round about it. But they wrought upon the tower for forty years, and it was unfinished. Then the Lord God descended to look upon the city and the tower, and said, "This race is one, and their tongue is one." So the Lord confused the tongues, and after dividing the people into seventy-two races, he scattered them over the whole world. After the confusion of the tongues, God overthrew the tower with a great wind, and the ruin of it lies between Assur and Babylon. In height and in breadth it is 5400 and 33 cubits, and the ruin was preserved for many years.<sup>2</sup>

After the destruction of the tower and the division of the nations, the sons of Shem occupied the eastern regions, and sons of Ham those of the south, and the sons of Japheth the western and the northern lands. Among these seventy-two nations, the Slavic race is derived from the line of Japheth, since they are the Noricians, who are identical with the Slavs.

Over a long period the Slavs settled beside the Danube, where the

Hungarian and Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs, (6) parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats,<sup>3</sup> the Serbs, and the Carinthians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, settled among them, and did them violence, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs.<sup>4</sup> Of these same Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs settled also on the Dnieper, and were likewise called Polyanians. Still others were named Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also lived between the Pripet' and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes resided along the Dvina and were called Polotians on account of a small stream called the Polota, which flows into the Dvina. It was from this same stream that they were named Polotians. The Slavs also dwelt about Lake Il'men', and were known there by their characteristic name. They built a city which they called Novgorod. Still others had their homes along the Desna, the Sem', and the Sula, and were called Severians. Thus the Slavic race was divided, and its language was known as Slavic.

(7) When the Polyanians lived by themselves among the hills, a trade-route connected the Varangians with the Greeks. Starting from Greece, this route proceeds along the Dnieper, above which a portage leads to the Lovat'. By following the Lovat', the great lake Il'men' is reached. The river Volkhov flows out of this lake and enters the great lake Nevo. The mouth of this lake opens into the Varangian Sea. Over this sea goes the route to Rome, and on from Rome overseas to Tsar'grad.<sup>5</sup> The Pontus, into which flows the river Dnieper, may be reached from that point. The Dnieper itself rises in the upland forest, and flows southward. The Dvina has its source in this same forest, but flows northward and empties into the Varangian Sea. The Volga rises in this same forest but flows to the east, and discharges through seventy mouths into the Caspian Sea. It is possible by this route to the eastward to reach the Bulgars and the Caspians, and thus attain the region of Shem. Along the Dvina runs the route to the Varangians, whence one may reach Rome, and go from there to the race of Ham. But the Dnieper flows through various mouths into the Pontus. This sea, beside which taught St. Andrew, Peter's brother, is called the Russian Sea.<sup>6</sup>

When Andrew was teaching in Sinope and came to (8) Kherson<sup>7</sup> (as has been recounted elsewhere), he observed that the mouth of the

Dnieper was near by. Conceiving a desire to go to Rome, he thus journeyed to the mouth of the Dnieper. Thence he ascended the river, and by chance he halted beneath the hills upon the shore. Upon arising in the morning, he observed to the disciples who were with him, "See ye these hills? So shall the favor of God shine upon them that on this spot a great city shall arise, and God shall erect many churches therein." He drew near the hills, and having blessed them, he set up a cross. After offering his prayer to God, he descended from the hill on which Kiev was subsequently built, and continued his journey up the Dnieper.

He then reached the Slavs at the point where Novgorod is now situated. He saw these people existing according to their customs, and on observing how they bathed and scrubbed themselves, he wondered at them. He went thence among the Varangians and came to Rome, where he recounted what he had learned and observed. "Wondrous to relate," said he, "I saw the land of the Slavs, and while I was among them, I noticed their wooden bathhouses. They warm them to extreme heat, then undress, and after anointing themselves with an acid liquid, they take young branches and lash their bodies. They actually lash themselves so violently that they barely escape alive. Then they drench themselves with cold water, and thus are revived. They think nothing of doing this (9) every day, and though tormented by none, they actually inflict such voluntary torture upon themselves. Indeed, they make of the act not a mere washing but a veritable torment." When his hearers learned this fact, they marveled. But Andrew, after his stay in Rome, returned to Sinope.

While the Polyanians lived apart and governed their families (for before the time of these brothers there were already Polyanians, and each one lived with his gens on his own lands, ruling over his kinsfolk), there were three brothers, Kiy, Shchek, and Khoriv, and their sister was named Lÿbed'. Kiy lived upon the hill where the Borichev trail now is, and Shchek dwelt upon the hill now named Shchekovitsa, while on the third resided Khoriv, after whom this hill is named Khorevitsa. They built a town and named it Kiev after their oldest brother. Around the town lay a wood and a great pine-forest in which they used to catch wild beasts. These men were wise and prudent; they were called Polyanians, and there are Polyanians descended from them living in Kiev to this day.

Some ignorant persons have claimed that Kiy was a ferryman, for near Kiev there was (10) at that time a ferry from the other side of the river, in consequence of which people used to say, "To Kiy's ferry." Now if Kiy had been a mere ferryman, he would never have gone to



Tsar'grad. He was then the chief of his kin, and it is related what great honor he received from the Emperor in whose reign he visited the imperial court. On his homeward journey, he arrived at the Danube. The place pleased him and he built a small town, wishing to dwell there with his kinsfolk. But those who lived near by would not grant him this privilege. Yet even now the dwellers by the Danube call this town Kievets. When Kiy returned to Kiev, his native city, he ended his life there; and his brothers Shchek and Khoriv, as well as their sister Lybed', died there also.

After the deaths of these three brothers, their gens assumed the supremacy among the Polyanians. The Derevliaus possessed a principality of their own, as did also the Dregovichians, while the Slavs had their own authority in Novgorod, and another principality existed on the Polota, where the Polotians dwell. Beyond them reside the Krivichians, who live at the head waters of the Volga, the Dvina, and the Dnieper, and whose city is Smolensk. It is there that the Krivichians dwell, and from them are the Severians sprung. At Beloozero are situated the Ves', and on the lake of Rostov, the Merya, (11) and on Lake Kleshchino the Merya also. Along the river Oka (which flows into the Volga), the Muroma, the Cheremisians, and the Mordva preserve their native languages. For the Slavic race in Rus' includes only the Polyanians, the Derevliaus, the people of Novgorod, the Polotians, the Dregovichians, the Severians, and the Buzhians, who live along the river Bug and were later called Volhynians. The following are other tribes which pay tribute to Rus': Chud', Merya, Ves', Muroma, Cheremis', Mordva, Perm', Pechera, Yam,' Litva, Zimegola, Kors', Narva, and Liv'. These tribes have their own languages and belong to the race of Japheth, which inhabits the lands of the north.

Now while the Slavs dwelt along the Danube, as we have said, there came from among the Scythians, that is, from the Khazars, a people called Bulgars who settled on the Danube and oppressed the Slavs. Afterward came the White Ugrians, who inherited the Slavic country. These Ugrians appeared under the Emperor Heraclius, warring on Chosroes, King of Persia. The Avars, who attacked Heraclius the Emperor, nearly capturing him, also lived at this time.<sup>8</sup> They made war upon the Slavs, (12) and harassed the Dulebians, who were themselves Slavs.<sup>9</sup> They even did violence to the Dulebian women. When an Avar made a journey, he did not cause either a horse or a steer to be harnessed, but gave command instead that three of four or five women should be yoked to his cart and be made to draw him. Even thus they harassed the Dulebians. The Avars were large of stature and proud of spirit, and God destroyed

them. They all perished, and not one Avar survived. There is to this day a proverb in Rus' which runs, "They perished like the Avars." Neither race nor heir of them remains. The Pechenegs came after them, and the Magyars passed by Kiev later during the time of Oleg.<sup>10</sup>

Thus the Polyanians, who belonged to the Slavic race, lived apart, as we have said, and called themselves Polyanians. The Derevlians, who are likewise Slavs, lived by themselves and adopted this tribal name. But the Radimichians and the Vyatichians sprang from the Lyakhs. There were in fact among the Lyakhs two brothers, one named Radim and other Vyatko. Radim settled on the Sozh', where the people are known as Radimichians, and Vyatko with his family settled on the Oka. The people there were named Vyatichians after him. Thus the Polyanians, the Derevlians, the Severians, the Radimichians, and the Croats lived at peace. (13) The Dulebians dwelt along the Bug, where the Volhynians now are found, but the Ulichians and the Tivercians lived by the Dniester, and extended as far as the Danube. There was a multitude of them, for they inhabited the banks of the Dniester almost down to the east, and to this day there are cities in that locality which still belong to them. Hence they are called Great Scythia by the Greeks.<sup>11</sup>

These Slavic tribes preserved their own customs, the law of their forefathers, and their traditions, each observing its own usages. For the Polyanians retained the mild and peaceful customs of their ancestors, and showed respect for their daughters-in-law and their sisters, as well as for their mothers and fathers. For their mothers-in-law and their brothers-in-law they also entertained great reverence. They observed a fixed custom, under which the groom's brother did not fetch the bride, but she was brought to the bridegroom in the evening, and on the next morning her dowry was turned over.

The Derevlians, on the other hand, existed in bestial fashion, and lived like cattle. They killed one another, ate every impure thing, and there was no marriage among them, but instead they seized upon maidens by capture.<sup>12</sup> The Radimichians, the Vyatichians, and the Severians had the same customs. They lived in the forest like any wild beast, and ate every unclean thing. They spoke obscenely (14) before their fathers and their daughters-in-law. There were no marriages among them, but simply festivals among the villages. When the people gathered together for games, for dancing, and for all other devilish amusements, the men on these occasions carried off wives for themselves, and each took any woman with whom he had arrived at an understanding. In fact, they even had two or three wives apiece. When-

ever a death occurred, a feast was held over the corpse, and then a great pyre was constructed, on which the deceased was laid and burned. After the bones were collected, they were placed in a small urn and set upon a post by the roadside, even as the Vyaticians do to this day. Such customs were observed by the Krivichians and the other pagans, since they did not know the law of God, but made a law unto themselves.<sup>13</sup>

Georgius says in his *Chronicle*:

“Among all the nations, there are some that possess a written law, while others simply observe certain fixed customs, for, among those devoid of law, their ancestral usage is accepted in its stead. To this class belong the Seres, who live at the end of the world, and apply as law the customs of their ancestors, which forbid them to commit adultery or incest, to steal, to bear false witness, to kill, or do any wrong whatsoever.

“The law of the Bactrians, called (15) Brahmans or Islanders, which is derived from the forefatherly prescription, prohibits them for reasons of piety from eating meat, drinking wine, committing adultery, or doing any sort of wrong, solely in consequence of religious scruple. But among the Indians, who dwell beside them, are found murderers, criminals and doers of violence beyond all nature. In the most remote portion of their country, they practice cannibalism and kill travelers and, what is worse still, they devour them like dogs.

“The Chaldeans and the Babylonians have a different code, which allows them to marry their mothers, to commit carnal sin with their nieces, and to commit murder. They regard every shameless deed as a virtue when they commit it, even when they are far from their own country.

“The Gelaeans maintain other customs: among them, the women plough, build houses, and perform men’s work. But they indulge in vice to the extent of their desire, for they are by no means restrained by their husbands, nor do the latter at all concern themselves about the matter. There are among them bold women who are capable of capturing wild beasts by virtue of their strength. The women have control over their husbands, and rule them.

“In Britain, many men sleep with one woman, (16) and likewise many women have intercourse with one man. The people carry on without jealousy or restraint the vicious customs of their ancestors.

“The Amazons have no husbands, but like brute beasts they are filled with desire once each year in the springtime, and come together with the neighboring men. This season seems to them, as it were, a

time of celebration and great festival. When they give birth to children and a male is born, they kill it, but if the child is of the female sex, then they nurse it and bring it up carefully."<sup>14</sup>

Just so, even in our own day, the Polovcians maintain the customs of their ancestors in the shedding of blood and in glorifying themselves for such deeds, as well as in eating every dead or unclean thing, even hamsters and marmots. They marry their mothers-in-law and their sisters-in-law, and observe other usages of their ancestors. But in all countries we Christians who believe in the Holy Trinity, in one baptism, and in one faith, have but one law, as many of us have been baptized into Christ Lord and have put on Christ.

After this time, and subsequent to the death of the three brothers in Kiev, the Polyanians were oppressed by the Derevliaus and other neighbors (17) of theirs. Then the Khazars came upon them as they lived in the hills and forests, and demanded tribute from them. After consulting among themselves, the Polyanians paid as tribute one sword per hearth, which the Khazars bore to their prince and their elders, and said to them, "Behold, we have found new tribute." When asked whence it was derived, they replied, "From the forest on the hills by the river Dnieper." The elders inquired what tribute had been paid, whereupon the swords were exhibited. The Khazar elders then protested, "Evil is this tribute, prince. We have won it with a one-edged weapon called a sabre, but the weapon of these men is sharp on both edges and is called a sword. These men shall impose tribute upon us and upon other lands." All this has come to pass, for they spoke thus not of their own will, but by God's commandment. The outcome was the same in the time of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, when Moses was led before him, and the elders of Pharaoh foretold that he should subjugate Egypt. For the Egyptians perished at the hand of Moses, though the Jews were previously their slaves. Just as the Egyptians ruled supreme, but were themselves subsequently ruled over, so it has also come to pass that the Russes rule over the Khazars even to this day.<sup>15</sup>

In the year 6360 (852), the fifteenth of the indiction,<sup>16</sup> at the accession of the Emperor Michael, the land of Rus' was first named. We have determined this date from the fact that in the reign of this Emperor Russes attacked Tsar'grad, as is written in the Greek Chronicle.<sup>17</sup> Hence we shall begin at this point (18) and record the dates. Thus from Adam to the Flood, 2242 years elapsed; from the Flood to Abraham, 1082 years; from Abraham to the Mosaic Exodus, 430 years; from the Mosaic Exodus to David, 601 years; from David and the beginning of the reign of Solomon to the captivity of Jerusalem, 448 years; from

the captivity to Alexander, 318 years; from Alexander to the birth of Christ, 333 years; from the birth of Christ to Constantine, 318 years; and from Constantine to Michael, 542 years. Twenty-nine years passed between the first year of Michael's reign and the accession of Oleg, Prince of Rus'. From the accession of Oleg, when he took up his residence in Kiev, to the first year of Igor's principate, thirty-one years elapsed. Thirty-three years passed between Igor's accession and that of Svyatoslav. From the accession of Svyatoslav to that of Yaropolk, twenty-eight years passed. Yaropolk ruled eight years, Vladimir thirty-seven years, and Yaroslav forty years. Thus from the death of Svyatoslav to the death of Yaroslav eighty-five years elapsed, while sixty years separate the death of Yaroslav from that of Svyatopolk. But we shall now return to the subject, recounting what occurred during this period (for we set our beginning at the first year of Michael's reign) and we shall record the dates in order.

6361-6366 (853-858). (19) Michael the Emperor went forth with an army by land and sea against the Bulgarians. The latter, on catching sight of his armament, offered no resistance, and asked leave to be baptized and to submit themselves to the Greeks. The Emperor baptized their prince with all his warriors, and made peace with the Bulgarians.<sup>18</sup>

6367 (859). The Varangians from beyond the sea imposed tribute upon the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, the Ves', and the Krivichians.<sup>19</sup> But the Khazars imposed it upon the Polyanians, the Severians, and the Vyaticians, and collected a white squirrel-skin from each hearth.

6368-6370 (860-862). The tributaries of the Varangians drove them back beyond the sea and, refusing them further tribute, set out to govern themselves. There was no law among them, but tribe rose against tribe. Discord thus ensued among them, and they began to war one against another. They said to themselves, "Let us seek a prince who may rule over us and judge us according to the Law." They accordingly went overseas to the Varangian Russes: these particular Varangians were known as Russes, just as some are called Swedes, and others Normans, English, and Gotlanders, for they were thus named. The Chuds, the Slavs, (20) the Krivichians, and the Ves' then said to the people of Rus', "Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come to rule and reign over us." They thus selected three brothers, with their kinsfolk, who took with them all the Russes and migrated. The oldest, Rurik, located himself in Novgorod; the second, Sineus, at Beloozero; and the third, Truvor, in Izborsk.<sup>20</sup> On account of these Varangians, the district of Novgorod became known as the land of

Rus'. The present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the Varangian race, but aforetime they were Slavs.

After two years, Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the sole authority. He assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero. In these cities there are thus Varangian colonists, but the first settlers were, in Novgorod, Slavs; in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves', in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians. Rurik had dominion over all these districts.

With Rurik there were two men who did not belong to his kin, but were boyars. They obtained permission to go to Tsar'grad with their families. They thus sailed down the Dnieper, and in the course of their journey they saw a small city on a hill. Upon their inquiry as to whose town it was, they were informed that (21) three brothers, Kiy, Shchek, and Khoriv, had once built the city, but that since their deaths, their descendants were living there as tributaries of the Khazars. Askold and Dir remained in the city, and after gathering together many Varangians, they established their dominion over the country of the Polyanians at the same time that Rurik was ruling at Novgorod.

6371-6374 (863-866). Askold and Dir attacked the Greeks during the fourteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Michael.<sup>21</sup> When the Emperor had set forth against the infidels and had arrived at the Black River, the eparch sent him word that the Russes were approaching Tsar'grad, and the Emperor turned back. Upon arriving inside the strait, the Russes made a great massacre of the Christians, and attacked Tsar'grad in two hundred boats. The Emperor succeeded with difficulty in entering the city. He straightway hastened with the Patriarch Photius to the Church of Our Lady of the Blachernae, where they prayed all night. They also sang hymns and carried the sacred vestment of the Virgin to dip it in the sea. The weather was still, and the sea was calm, but a storm of wind came up, and when great waves straightway rose, confusing the boats of the godless Russes, it threw them upon the shore (22) and broke them up, so that few escaped such destruction and returned to their native land.

6375-6376 (867-868). Basil began his reign.

6377 (869). The entire nation of the Bulgarians accepted baptism.

6378-6387 (870-879). On his deathbed, Rurik bequeathed his realm to Oleg, who belonged to his kin, and entrusted to Oleg's hands his son Igor', for he was very young.<sup>22</sup>

6388-6390 (880-882). Oleg set forth, taking with him many warriors from among the Varangians, the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians and

all the (23) Krivichians. He thus arrived with his Krivichians before Smolensk, captured the city, and set up a garrison there. Thence he went on and captured Lyubech, where he also set up a garrison. He then came to the hills of Kiev, and saw how Askold and Dir reigned there. He hid his warriors in the boats, left some others behind, and went forward himself bearing the child Igor'. He thus came to the foot of the Hungarian hill,<sup>23</sup> and after concealing his troops, he sent messengers to Askold and Dir, representing himself as a stranger on his way to Greece on an errand for Oleg and for Igor', the prince's son, and requesting that they should come forth to greet them as members of their race. Askold and Dir straightway came forth. Then all the soldiery jumped out of the boats, and Oleg said to Askold and Dir, "You are not princes nor even of princely stock, but I am of princely birth." Igor' was then brought forward, and Oleg announced that he was the son of Rurik. They killed Askold and Dir, and after carrying them to the hill, they buried them there, on the hill now known as Hungarian, where the castle of Ol'ma now stands. Over that tomb Ol'ma built a church dedicated to St. Nicholas, but Dir's tomb is behind St. Irene's.<sup>24</sup> Oleg set himself up as prince in Kiev, and declared that it should be the mother of Russian cities. The Varangians, Slavs, and others who accompanied him, were called Russes. Oleg began to build stockaded towns, and (24) imposed tribute on the Slavs, the Krivichians, and the Merians. He commanded that Novgorod should pay the Varangians tribute to the amount of 300 *grivnyj* a year for the preservation of peace.<sup>25</sup> This tribute was paid to the Varangians until the death of Yaroslav.

6391 (883). Oleg began military operations against the Derevliaus, and after conquering them he imposed upon them the tribute of a black marten-skin apiece.

6392 (884). Oleg attacked the Severians, and conquered them. He imposed a light tribute upon them and forbade their further payment of tribute to the Khazars, on the ground that there was no reason for them to pay it as long as the Khazars were his enemies.

6393 (885). Oleg sent messengers to the Radimichians to inquire to whom they paid tribute. Upon their reply that they paid tribute to the Khazars, he directed them to render it to himself instead, and they accordingly paid him a shilling<sup>26</sup> apiece, the same amount that they had paid the Khazars. Thus Oleg established his authority over the Polyanians, the Derevliaus, the Severians, and the Radimichians, but he waged war with the Ulichians and the Tivercians.

6394-6395 (886-887). Leo, Basil's son (called Lev by us), became Emperor. He called to the throne his brother Alexander, and they ruled together twenty-six years.<sup>27</sup>

(25) 6396-6406 (888-898). The Magyars passed by Kiev over the hill now called Hungarian, and on arriving at the Dnieper, they pitched camp.<sup>28</sup> They were nomads like the Polovcians. Coming out of the east, they struggled across the great mountains, and began to fight against the neighboring Vlaxhs and Slavs. For the Slavs had settled there first, but the Vlaxhs had seized the territory of the Slavs. The Magyars subsequently expelled the Vlaxhs, took their land, and settled among the Slavs, whom they reduced to submission.<sup>29</sup> From that time this territory was called Hungarian. The Magyars made war upon the Greeks, and seized the Thracian and Macedonian territory as far as Salonika. They also attacked the Moravians and the Czechs.

There was at the time but one Slavic race including the Slavs who settled along the Danube and were subjugated by the Magyars, as well as the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs, and the Polyanians, (26) the last of whom are now called Russes. It was for these Moravians that Slavic books were first written, and this writing prevails also in Rus' and among the Danubian Bulgarians. When the Moravian Slavs and their princes were living in baptism, the Princes Rostislav, Svyatopolk, and Kotsel sent messengers to the Emperor Michael, saying, "Our nation is baptized, and yet we have no teacher to direct and instruct us and interpret the sacred scriptures. We understand neither Greek nor Latin. Some teach us one thing and some another. Furthermore, we do not understand written characters nor their meaning. Therefore send us teachers who can make known to us the words of the scriptures and their sense." The Emperor Michael, upon hearing their request, called together all the scholars, and reported to them the message of the Slavic princes. The scholars suggested that there was a man in Salonika, by name Leo, who had two sons familiar with the Slavic tongue, being learned men as well. When the Emperor was thus informed, he immediately summoned the sons of Leo from Salonika, directing him to send to court forthwith his sons Methodius and Constantine. Upon receipt of this message, Leo quickly sent forth his sons. When they came before the Emperor, he made known to them that the Slavs had communicated to him their desire for teachers who could interpret the holy scriptures to them. The Emperor prevailed (27) upon them to undertake the mission, and sent them into the Slavic country to Rostislav, Svyatopolk, and Kotsel. When they arrived, they undertook to compose a Slavic alphabet, and translated the *Acts* and the



Gospel. The Slavs rejoiced to hear the greatness of God extolled in their native tongue. The apostles afterward translated the Psalter, the *Oktocchos*, and other books.

Now some zealots began to condemn the Slavic books, contending that it was not right for any other nation to have its own alphabet apart from the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Latins, according to Pilate's superscription, which he composed for the Lord's Cross. When the Pope at Rome heard of this situation, he rebuked those who murmured against the Slavic books, saying, "Let the word of the Scripture be fulfilled that 'all nations shall praise God' (*Ps. lxxi, 17*), and likewise that 'all nations shall declare the majesty of God according as the Holy Spirit shall grant them to speak' (cf. *Acts, ii, 4*). Whosoever condemns the Slavic writing shall be excluded from the Church until he mend his ways. For such men are not sheep but wolves; by their fruits ye shall know them and guard against them. Children of God, hearken unto his teachings, and depart not from the ecclesiastical rule which Methodius your teacher has appointed unto you." Constantine then returned again, and went to instruct the people of Bulgaria; (28) but Methodius remained in Moravia.<sup>30</sup>

Prince Kotsel appointed Methodius Bishop of Pannonia in the see of St. Andronicus, one of the Seventy, a disciple of the holy Apostle Paul. Methodius chose two priests who were very rapid writers, and translated the whole Scriptures in full from Greek into Slavic in six months between March and the twenty-sixth day of October. After completing the task, he appropriately rendered praise and honor to God, who had bestowed such a blessing upon Bishop Methodius, the successor of Andronicus. Now Andronicus is the apostle of the Slavic race. He traveled among the Moravians, and the Apostle Paul taught there likewise. For in that region is Illyricum, whither Paul first repaired and where the Slavs originally lived. Since Paul is the teacher of the Slavic race, from which we Russians too are sprung, even so the Apostle Paul is the teacher of us Russians, for he preached to the Slavic nation, and appointed Andronicus as Bishop and successor to himself among them. But the Slavs and the Russes are one people, for it is because of the Varangians that the latter became known as Rus', though originally they were Slavs. While some Slavs were termed Polyanians, their speech was still Slavic, for they were known as Polyanians (29) because they lived in the fields. But they had the same Slavic language.

6407-6410 (899-902). The Emperor Leo incited the Magyars against the Bulgarians, so that they attacked and subjugated the whole Bulgarian country. When Symeon heard this news, he turned upon the

Magyars who attacked him and conquered the Bulgarians so that Symeon took refuge in Silistria.<sup>31</sup>

6411 (903). As Igor' grew up, he followed after Oleg, and obeyed his instructions. A wife, Olga by name, was brought to him from Pskov.<sup>32</sup>

6412-6415 (904-907). Leaving Igor' in Kiev, Oleg attacked the Greeks.<sup>33</sup> He took with him a multitude of Varangians, Slavs, Chuds, Krivichians, Merians, Polyanians, Severians, Derevlians, Radimichians, Croats, Dulebians, and Tivercians, who are pagans. All these tribes are known as Great Scythia by the Greeks. With this entire force, Oleg sallied forth by horse and by ship, and the number of his vessels was two thousand. (30) He arrived before Tsar'grad, but the Greeks fortified the strait and closed up the city. Oleg disembarked upon the shore, and ordered his soldiery to beach the ships. They waged war around the city, and accomplished much slaughter of the Greeks. They also destroyed many palaces and burned the churches. Of the prisoners they captured, some they beheaded, some they tortured, some they shot, and still others they cast into the sea. The Russes inflicted many other woes upon the Greeks after the usual manner of soldiers. Oleg commanded his warriors to make wheels which they attached to the ships, and when the wind was favorable, they spread the sails and bore down upon the city from the open country. When the Greeks beheld this, they were afraid, and sending messengers to Oleg, they implored him not to destroy the city and offered to submit to such tribute as he should desire. Thus Oleg halted his troops. The Greeks then brought out to him food and wine, but he would not accept it, for it was mixed with poison. Then the Greeks were terrified, and exclaimed, "This is not Oleg, but St. Demetrius, whom God has sent upon us." So Oleg demanded that they pay tribute for his two thousand ships at the rate of twelve *grivnj* per man, with forty men reckoned to a ship.

The Greeks assented to these terms and prayed for peace lest Oleg should conquer the land of Greece. Retiring thus a short distance from the city, Oleg concluded a peace with the Greek Emperors Leo and Alexander, and sent into the city to them (31) Karl, Farulf, Vermund, Hrollaf, and Steinvith, with instructions to receive the tribute. The Greeks promised to satisfy their requirements. Oleg demanded that they should give to the troops on the two thousand ships twelve *grivnj* per bench, and pay in addition the sums required for the various Russian cities: first Kiev, then Chernigov, Pereyaslav', Polotsk, Rostov, Lyubech, and the other towns. In these cities lived great princes subject to Oleg.

[*The Russes proposed the following terms:*] "The Russes who come

## Notes to the Russian Primary Chronicle

1. The passage in italics is derived from the *Chronicle* of Georgius Hamartolus, for which source, cf. *supra* Introduction: Sources. The geographical names corrupted in the Old-Russian text are corrected to accord with the Greek original.

2. Though related to Hamartolus, ed. von Muralt, p. 39, Istrin, p. 58, the story of the Tower of Babel is also based on the Slavic translation of John Malalas (sixth-century Byzantine chronicler; cf. K. M. Obolensky, *Létopisets Pereyaslavlya Suzdal'skago* [Moscow, 1851], p. xix), and likewise affected by the *Paleya*, for which, cf. *supra* Introduction: Sources.

3. The Croats (*Khorvatŷ*) were a remnant of the South Slavic tribe of the same name who remained in Bukovina and East Galicia after the main body of the tribe had moved farther southward. They are not to be identified as a Russian tribe, but were the object of conquest by Oleg in 907 and by Vladimir I in 992; cf. Niederle, *Pův. Slov. Vy'chodnich*, pp. 154-156 with literature.

4. *Lyakh* (cf. Lith. *leñkas*, Magyar *lengyel*, "a Pole," Turk. *Lekhistan*, "Poland"), though not preserved in Polish texts, where it is replaced by forms derived from *pole*, "field," (*Polska*, *Polak*), is the common designation for a Pole in the earliest Russian sources, and is still used in the Polish highland districts. The derivation from *lyada*, "meadow," would indicate a division of the population into those who lived by cattle-raising and hunting as opposed to the *polyane*, "field-dwellers, husbandmen," who practiced agriculture; cf. Niederle, *Původ a Počátky Slovanů Západních* (Prague, 1919), pp. 228-229.

5. Tsar'grad "Imperial City"=Constantinople.

6. Cf. *supra*, Introduction, n. 39.

7. Cf. *infra*, n. 94.

8. For the Khazars, who lived on the Volga till the beginning of the seventh century and did not appear in Southern Russia until after the breakup of the Bulgar State of Kubrat, subsequent to 642, cf. *supra*, Introduction, n. 56. The Bulgars themselves were probably the remnant of the Huns which remained in the east after the overthrow of the Goths (375). In 482, some thirty years after Attila's death, outposts of the Bulgars appeared on the Byzantine frontier, and were enlisted by the Emperor Zeno as allies against the Visigoths; cf. Niederle, *Pův. Slov. Vy'chodnich*, pp. 48-51; V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorijata na bulgarskata dŷrŷava*, I (Sofia, 1918), 22-37; S. Runciman, *History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London, 1930), pp. 3-10. Though the "White Ugrians" are sometimes identified with the Khazars, they are more probably an offshoot of the Bulgars, presumably the so-called Onogunduri; cf. Zlatarski, p. 83 ff., Runciman, pp. 15-16. Heraclius (*regn.* 610-641) campaigned against the Persians in 622-628; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1952), pp. 197-199. Before the Bulgars arrived in the Balkans, the Avars, a Mongolian tribe originating in the modern Bokhara and Turkestan, shook off the Turkish yoke and moved

westward, reaching the northern Caucasus in 558. Expelling or subjecting the Bulgars of the steppes and the Slavs of the Dnieper basin, they occupied the Dobrudzha in 562 and within four years were settled in Pannonia (Hungary) and Sylvania, from which movement rise the traditions of their oppression of the Slavs; cf. J. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 43, 45-6; Zlatarski, I, 72; Vernadsky, *Opýt Istorii Evrazii*, pp. 32, 36-39. The mention of their attack on Heraclius is from Hamartolus, von Muralt, pp. 565-566, Istrin, I, 434. During the early seventh century, the Avars succumbed to concerted Frankish, Slav, and Bulgar pressure, and their power on the Danube was eliminated by 650; cf. Likhachev, *Povest' Vrem. Let*, II, 223-229. Cf. also Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, chaps. IV, V, VI.

9. The Dulebians, not mentioned in the Chronicle after 907, were a Volhynian tribe on the northern Bug; cf. M. Hrushevsky, *Stat'i po Slavyanovódeniyu*, I (Spb., 1904), 317; *Kievskaya Rus'*, I (Spb., 1911), 247-249.

10. The Pechenegs (Patzinaks), a Turko-Tartar tribe and the most threatening nomad foe of the Kievan principality prior to 1034, moved into the steppes from the area between the Volga and the Yaik early in the ninth century, driving the Magyars before them into the Danube basin. Their first contact with the princes of Kiev occurred in 915; cf. Niederle, *Pův. Slov. Vých.*, pp. 53-54. The Magyars (here referred to as "Black Ugrians") are found on the Don in contact with the Khazars by 833, and under Pecheneg pressure reached the lower Danube by 860. Their chronological association with Oleg (*infra.*, under 888-898) points to their ultimate movement into Hungary via the Carpathians; Niederle, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38. While akin to the Polovcians (*Polovtsy*), they were not identical with them (contrary to Bury, *Eastern Roman Emp.*, p. 411, n. 4).

11. In the corresponding passage of the Hypatian redaction (*PSRL*, II, 3rd edition, col. 10), the *Ulichy* and *Tivertsy* are located along the southern Bug and the Dnieper, while the earliest Novgorod chronicle (*Synodal codex: Novgorodskaya Létopis' po Sinodal'nomu Spisku* [Spb., 1888], p. 7) reports under 922 that the Ulichy resisted attempts by Igor' to reduce them to tribute; one city, *Peresehen'*, held out for three years. Under pressure the Ulichy transferred their residence to the area between the Bug and the Dniester, but eventually became tributary to Kiev. These tribes are an example of the thrust of the Eastern Slavs toward the Black Sea which was repeatedly interrupted by nomadic incursions. They were thus unable to withstand the successive onslaughts of Magyars and Pechenegs, and withdrew into Transylvania and Hungary during the tenth and eleventh centuries. They consequently appear to have been the ancestors of the modern Subcarpathian Russians. Of the *Tivertsy* little is known beyond their situation as neighbors to the Ulichy. For extensive literature on these minor Slavic elements, cf. Niederle, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-162 and nn.; Hrushevsky, *Kievskaya Rus'*, I, 240-247.

12. Reading *umykvivachu uvody*, "carried off by capture," instead of *u vodý*, "by the water"; *uvody* is instrum. plur. Survivals of marriage by capture persisted in Russian peasant practice almost to the present day; cf. D. Zelenin, *Russische Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 305-319. The present interpretation is thoroughly justified by Brückner, "Wzory Etymologii i Krytyki Zródlowej," *Slavia*, V (1927), 420-421.

13. While cremation rapidly gave way to the tradition of Christian burial, once conversion had taken place, it is still attested for the Eastern Slavs of the

tenth century both by Byzantine and Arabic sources (notably Leo Diaconus, X, 6, in connection with Svyatoslav's campaign in Bulgaria; cf. also Harkavi, *Škazaniya Musul'manskiĭh Pisateley, passim*).

14. From Georgius Hamartolus, von Muralt, pp. 26-28; Istrin, pp. 57-58.

15. For the Khazars, cf. *supra*, Introduction, n. 56.

16. The indiction was originally a fifteen-year tax-assessment period, and came to be used in all Byzantine secular chronology; cf. V. Gardthausen, *Griech. Paläographie*, II (Leipzig, 1913), 454-467. The Byzantine era customarily reckons from Creation as of 5508 B.C., hence, any date of the Christian era may be obtained by deducting 5508 from the Byzantine date. The Byzantine year was usually counted as beginning on September 1. The Russians, however, used the March calendar until the fourteenth century. The January calendar from the birth of Christ was first adopted by Slavs in close contact with Catholicism, e.g., Bosnia (1189), Smolensk (treaty with Riga, 1229), and frequently in Western Russia from the fourteenth century. Dates of both systems appear in Muscovite documents only from the second half of the fifteenth century. The Christian era from January 1 was not officially adopted in Russia until 1700 under Peter the Great.

17. For the problem of the chronology of the *Povest'*, cf. *supra*, Introduction: Chronology.

18. From Hamartolus, von Muralt, pp. 732-733, Istrin, p. 508.

19. For a summary of the Varangian controversy, cf. *supra*, Introduction: The Traditional Origin of Rus'.

20. The Hypatian red. (*PSRL*, II, 3rd. ed., col. 15) here preserves a divergent story. . . . "They took with them all the Russes and came first to the Slavs (*Slověne*), and they built the city of Ladoga. Rurik, the eldest, settled in Ladoga, Sineus, the second, at Beloozero, and Truvor, the third, in Izborsk. From these Varangians the land of Rus' received its name. After two years Sineus died, as well as his brother Truvor, and Rurik assumed the sole authority. He then came to Lake Il'men' and founded on the Volkhov a city which they named Novgorod, and he settled there as prince, assigning cities. . . ." etc. This account reflects an earlier tradition of Swedish settlement in close accord with archaeological evidence as to the direction of Swedish penetration from the Sea-coast. Ladoga (now Staraya Ladoga) is on the right bank of the Volkhov river, 12 kilometers above its opening into Lake Ladoga; the town was known to the Scandinavians as Aldeigjuborg, and figures frequently in Old Norse sources dealing with the eleventh century. The name *Novgorod* (lit. "Newton") suggests that it was founded later than some other place, e.g., Ladoga. The Norse name for Novgorod was Hólmgarðr; in historical times (to the twelfth cent.) part of the town was still known in Old Russian as the *Holm* (*Nov. Chronicle*, Synodal codex, pp. 126-127, ad 1134, and p. 135, ad 1144), or "hill," and the Norse name derives from this fact, though *holmr* in ON means "island." The identification of the Rurik of the Chronicle with Roricus of Jutland and, in general, the problem of the historicity of Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor, remains until today a subject of learned controversy. At present, however, the majority of writers on the subject seem inclined to accept the above identification; cf. N. T. Belyaev, "Rorik Yutlandskiy i Ryurik Nachal'noy Letopisi," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, III (1929); Kendrick, *History of the Vikings*; Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 333-344. Also F. Kruse,

"O Proiskhozhdenii Ryurika," *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, IX (1936); A. Kunik, "Re-marques critiques sur les antiquités russes," *Bull. Acad. Imp. Sc.*, VII (1850); G. Gedenov, *Varyagi i Rus'* 1891); Thomsen, *op. cit.*; C. F. Keary, *The Vikings in Western Civilization* (1891); W. Vogel, *Die Normannen und das frankische Reich* (1906). But Rurik's brothers seem apocryphal, cf. Vernadsky, 339, 340.

21. The account of this raid is from Hamartolus, von Muralt, pp. 726-737, Istrin, p. 511. It actually took place 18 June, 860; cf. Vasiliev, *The First Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860-61* (Mediaeval Academy of America, 1946); Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, pp. 419-423, with indication of other Byzantine sources. The motives for the ascription of this raid to the "fourteenth year" of Michael are uncertain; cf. *supra*, Introduction: Chronology. For an elaborate theory regarding Askold, cf. M. de Taube, *Rome et la Russie avant l'invasion des Tatars (IXe-XIIIe siècle)*, I (Paris, 1947).

22. In the light of subsequent chronology, it is doubtful whether Igor' was Rurik's son, since he is stated to have married Olga in 903; though the birth of Svyatoslav, his own son, is set in 942; cf. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 366.

23. The Hungarian hill (*Ugorškaya Gora*) at Kiev is traditionally located on the west bank of the Dnieper just north of the Crypt Monastery and beyond Berestovo, some two kilometers south of the Podol, or riverside section of the city; cf. N. Zakrevsky, *Opisanie Kieva* (Moscow, 1868), pp. 191-198.

24. St. Irene's, constructed by Yaroslav the Wise ca. 1040, was situated slightly southwest of the extant Cathedral of St. Sophia. Its ground plan has been established by excavation; cf. Alpatov-Brunov, *Altrussische Kunst* (Augsburg, 1932), p. 17, with literature. One column is still preserved.

25. Prior to the importation from the German of the word *fun*, "pound," a *grivna* indicated, at least in theory, a pound of silver; the basic weight used was the so-called Kufic (or Iraq) pound (408 gr.), but the weight of the *grivna* was reduced as the price of the metal appreciated. The Kiev *grivna* was an hexagonally cast lump of silver, with two sides shorter than the other four, so that it possessed an elongated aspect. The *grivna* in varying form served as the highest token of exchange until the introduction of the ruble in the fourteenth century. The primitive *grivna* was divisible fractionally into 20 *nogatŷ*, 26 *kunŷ*, or 50 *rezanŷ*; these words themselves indicate various furs which were used as monetary tokens, just as the *grivna kun* was the fur equivalent of a silver *grivna*. During the eleventh century, the *kuna* itself (originally a marten-skin) was the equivalent of a Byzantine *keration* (one-half of a *milliaresion*) and worth about 17 cents; a silver *grivna* was thus worth about \$4.25. The silver *grivna* of 1000-1050 A.D. contained approximately half a pound of silver; cf. Niederle, *Život Starŷch Slovanŷ*, III, ii (Prague, 1925), 469-470; Klyuchevsky, *Kurs Rusškoy Ist.*, I, 261-264.

26. Probably a dirhem. As proved by abundant archaeological discoveries, dirhems circulated extensively in Russia before native coinage began under Vladimir I, and for fractional currency they were occasionally cut into bits as small as one fortieth (cf. Klyuchevsky, *loc. cit.*). The word *škŷledzi*, Old Russ. *shchi'lyag*, was probably introduced into general Slavic from West-Germanic toward the close of the eighth century, when Frankish trade with the Slavs attained considerable proportions; cf. Cross, "Gothic Loan-Words in the Slavic Vocabulary," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, XVI (1934), 42.

27. The accession dates of Byzantine emperors under 867-868 and 886-887 were computed by the compiler from the continuation of Hamartolus. The authentic text of the latter stops at 843 (death of Michael III) but was supplemented by transcriptions from Symeon the Logothete to the death of Romanus I Lecapenus in 948 (cf. Bury, *East. Rom. Emp.*, pp. 453-459).

28. Though the Magyars appear in the South Russian steppes from 835 forward, their concerted movement into Central Europe did not ensue until 889, cf. *Reginonis Chron.*, ed F. Kurze (Hanover, 1890), pp. 131-132, stating that this movement was the direct result of Pecheneg (Patzinak) pressure.

29. This mention of the Slavs settled among the Vlaxhs points to the presence of at least isolated groups of Slavs on the Danube as early as the first and second centuries A.D., and is a reflex of Trajan's Dacian campaigns of 101-102 and 105-106; cf. Niederle, *Původ a Počátky Slovanů jižních* (Prague, 1906), 141-146, also *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, I, 50-59. The term *Vlaxhi*, *Vlasi* used in early Slavic sources for the Italians persists in the modern West-Slavic name for Italy, cf. Czech. *Vlachy*, Pol. *Włochy*.

30. Derived, with modifications of later Bulgarian origin, from the so-called *Pannonian Lives* of SS. Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius; cf. *supra* Introduction: Sources and n. 30. Since St. Cyril died at Rome, whither the two brothers had repaired to have their work authorized by the Pope, in 869, he cannot have taught in Bulgaria. It was Methodius alone who, not only found the support of the Holy See, but was also, in 869-870, consecrated Archbishop of Sirmium and sent as Papal *legatus a latere* to the Slavic lands (cf. P. J. Alexander, "The Papacy, the Bavarian Clergy, and the Slavonic Apostles," *The Slavonic Year-Book* [1941], pp. 268-269). The tradition of the preternaturally fast translation of the Scriptures is apocryphal. There was no complete Slavic translation of the entire Bible until the fifteenth century, though the earliest manuscripts of Slavic translations of the New Testament belong to the tenth. The mediaeval Russians derived their notions of Old Testament history from the so-called *Paleya* (for which, cf. *supra*, Introduction: Sources), originating in Bulgaria at the least as early as the tenth century. For the elevation by the Pope of Constantine (Cyril) to the episcopate, cf. S. Sakač, "De dignitate episcopali S. Cyrilli Thessalonicensis," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XVI (1950), 238-266.

31. From Hamartolus, von Muralt, p. 772, Istrin, p. 529. For the background and sequence of events, cf. Vasiliev, *History*, pp. 315-316; Runciman, *History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, pp. 144-152. Cf. also, *supra*, Introduction: Chronology.

32. Hagiographical tradition characterized Olga as of Scandinavian origin and of non-noble birth; Makariy, *Istoriya Russkoy Tserkvi*, I, 3rd ed. (Spb., 1889), 268; Golubinsky, *Ist. Russ. Tserkvi*, I, i, 74.

33. The historicity of this attack is seriously questioned by G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 95-99, on the ground of the complete absence of corroborative data in Greek or other sources. Vasiliev and Ostrogorsky, however, think that this account of the Russian chronicler, not devoid of legendary details, is based on actual historical events; Vasiliev, "The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VI (1951), 161-225; and *History*, pp. 320-321; G. Ostrogorsky, "L'expédition du prince Oleg contre Constantinople," *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, XI (1940), 47-62. Some traces of a reference to such a Russian raid about 904-907 seem to have been pre-