

ON THE HISTORICAL BEGINNINGS OF EASTERN SLAVIC EUROPE

NICHOLAS L. FR. - CHIROVSKY



ON THE  
HISTORICAL BEGINNINGS  
OF  
SLAVIC EASTERN EUROPE



НАУКОВЕ ТОВАРИСТВО ІМ. ШЕВЧЕНКА В З.С.А.

Бібліотека Українознавства, Том 34

(Англомовна Серія, Том 12)

# **ІСТОРИЧНІ ПОЧАТКИ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКОЇ СХІДНЬОЇ ЄВРОПИ**

**(Збірник)**

Зібрав, частинно переклав і зредагував

**МИКОЛА Л. ФР. - ЧИРОВСЬКИЙ**  
Сітен Гол Університет

Накладом Наукового Товариства ім. Шевченка в З.С.А.

Нью Йорк, 1976



**SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN THE U.S.A.**

**Ukrainian Studies, Vol 32  
(English Section, Vol. 12)**

**ON THE HISTORICAL BEGINNINGS  
OF EASTERN SLAVIC EUROPE  
(Readings)**

**Collected, partially translated and edited**

**By**

**NICHOLAS L. FR. - CHIROVSKY  
Seton Hall University**

**Published by Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc.  
New York, 1976**



*All rights reserved.*

Copyright 1976, by Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc.  
302-304 West, 13th Street,  
New York, N. Y., 10014



Printed by  
G. A. Press, 752 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003



*So that Truth  
shall be the goal  
of all research*







## EDITOR'S NOTE

In general, there have been two basic approaches in analyzing and evaluating the historical beginnings of, and the historical continuity in, Slavic Eastern Europe. One approach may be designated as the Russian interpretation, represented by most Russian historians, past and present, such as Karamzin, Soloviov, Kluchevskii and Bestuzhev-Riumin, as well as by contemporary Soviet historians. It has succeeded in gaining adherents among Western scholars in the field because of the enormous volume of historical literature that it has generated.

The second approach is non-Russian and expresses the research and scholarly endeavors of most Eastern European historians who are not Russian; these include Antonovych, Hrushevsky, Doroshenko, Lelevel, Andrusyak, Braychevsky, Chubaty and Polonska. It has not gained a large following in the West because of the general unavailability of literature explaining this position.

The Russian interpretation of Slavic Eastern European history, particularly its beginnings, has attempted to identify Slavic origins with those of the Russian state and people, even though the development of the Russian nation was initiated in the Rostov-Suzdal-Vladimir principality prior to the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century and continued to evolve and was crystalized within the framework of the Muscovite Grand Duchy. Russian historians claim the Kyivan Rus' State, which arose and reached its fullest development on the territory presently populated by Ukrainians, as the beginning of the Russian political organization of the Russian or a pre-Russian people which split later into three blood-related or "fraternal" nationalities: the Russians, the Ukrainians, and the Byelorussians (Beyloruthenians).

Historical sources, however, do not substantiate this interpretation. East European history does not record any mass migrations of Ukrainians during the Medieval Ages,



in particular between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, which would substantiate the erroneous assumption that Ukraine was originally inhabited by Russian rather than Ukrainian tribes. Nor can the Russian hypothesis that Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians evolved from the same ethnic root be substantiated by historical evidence. Russian historians, in defense of their position, traditionally have explained this common root in a variety of ways. These explanations, coupled with an emphasis on Russian history, however, have resulted in the distortion of the history of the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians.

Non-Russian historians interpret the historical beginnings of Slavic Eastern Europe differently. They have attempted to show that the Russian interpretation relies on distorted scholarship and that in reality, Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians have been and are distinct nationalities whose ethnicity crystallized at different times in the past and that they cannot be traced to some ethnic root, except for their Slavic origin. In fact their ethnic identification commenced in the original Slavic settlements before the great migration of Slavic tribes. Historic sources substantiate, for example, the interpretation that Ukrainians, as a nationality, developed earlier than the Russians, while the latter crystallized as a distinct ethnic group under the impact of Mongol invasions and with the influx of Mongol blood into Slavic veins. Thus, the Kyivan Rus' state of the ninth to fourteenth centuries was the creation of the Ukrainian people. There is no logical reason to link the Kyivan Rus' state with the political beginnings of Russia, except to underscore the very early stages in the development of the Russian people, during the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, in the European North-East, i. e., on the territory of present Russia-proper, a colonial borderland of the Rus' state or empire.

According to J. Lelevel, the eminent Polish historian who dealt with these issues some time ago, "Moscow is a Muscovite place, a degenerate and illegitimate daughter of mother Rus' against whom it raised its criminal hand. Historians of the German Reich are no longer interested in Switzerland and Holland because of their separation from the Reich. And those new lands, after the organization and



formation of their own states, never raised their hands against neighboring Germany. This is unlike Moscow, which, with an empire of its own and fully separate from Rus', has always sought to dominate Rus'. The absence of a clear distinction between Muscovy and ancient Rus', unjustifiably encouraged by certain historians, has resulted in a complete misunderstanding of Rus' beginnings. This, in turn, has resulted in the denial of another nationality's existence." (*Polska: Rzeczy i Dzieje Jej*, Poznan, 1863, Vol. V, pp. 26-28).

Antonovych, Hrushevsky, Doroshenko, Chubaty, Polonska-Vasilenko, Manning, Kortchmaryk, Chirovsky, the now banned eminent contemporary Soviet Ukrainian historian M. Braychevsky, as well as many other historians, including such Russians as Presniakov and Pokrovskii, and the Byelorussian Lubavsky, assumed that the Russian view of the origin of the Eastern European Slavs was based on political rather than scholarly considerations. However, little attention has been paid to them because they are but a voice in the wilderness in comparison to the number of Russian and Western scholars who accept the Russian interpretation. Furthermore, the fact that the Russian view has had the support of both Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union has further discredited the position of the former. That the Russian view is politically motivated and is not based on scientific criteria was demonstrated on the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty between the Ukrainian Hetmanate State and the Muscovite Czardom. At that time (January 12, 1954), the Communist Party of the Soviet Union issued the so-called *Theses on the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Unification of Ukraine and Russia*. The *Theses* attempted to resolve any learned discussion by arbitrarily decreeing that the Russian view was correct while other views were wrong. This move by the Communist Party suggests that the intervention was sorely needed to maintain a position that was weakening under the pressure of persistent scholarly investigation.

The editor's purpose is to introduce the English-speaking reader to a few historians and their scholarly articles which present the non-Russian interpretation of the historical beginnings of Slavic Eastern Europe in order to assist in the formation of an objective evaluation of the



problem. These articles were written at different times: Hrushevsky's — at the beginning of the twentieth century; Chubaty's — in the 1940's; Manning's — in the 1950's; Polonska-Vasylenko's, Pritsak's, Reshetar's and Braychevsky's — in the 1960's; and Kortchmaryk's — in the 1970's. This provides convincing evidence that the issue has not been put to rest. Indeed, it is very much alive. The editor of these readings has published several works in which he also attempted to bring to full light the non-Russian view of East European history and economy on these questions.

It should be noted that many Russian historians have indicated that this analysis is subjective. Yet their use of the terms "subjective" and "objective" is inconsistent. If it is asserted that the non-Russian historians cannot see the issue in a proper perspective because of their subjectivity or their "nationalism," then how can one be certain that Russian historians are absolutely objective and that they are not influenced by their Russian "nationalism"? Simply put, scholarly objectivity demands that both sides be heard. The editor has chosen to present the views of the non-Russian historians simply because the Russian interpretation has been generally better known in the West and a balance is needed in terms of the sources that are placed at the disposal of those seeking an objective view of the history of Eastern Europe.

In order to render this compilation of articles more understandable, the editor adjusted and unified the terminology and spelling which varied slightly from article to article since these were written by different authors, in different journals, in different languages, at different points in time. Five of the articles had to be translated into English.

However, in some instances different spellings of the same names and terms had to be retained so as not to distort the consistent terminology of a given author. Hence, the name of the Ukrainian capital city is in some articles spelled "Kyiv" or "Kyivan" (Ukrainian pronunciation) while in others — "Kiev" or "Kievan" (more popular in America). Also, the name of the third East Slavic nationality, the "Byelorussians" (Byeloruthenians) and "Byelorussian" (Byeloruthenian) appears in two articles as "White Ruthenians" and



“White Ruthenian”; and there are a few other instances like that, such as “Tsar” and Czar.”

The editor wishes to extend his thanks in particular to Prof. Volodymyr Stoyko, of Manhattan College, for his most valuable suggestions, and then, first of all, to Prof. George Logusch, and Profs. Jack Stukas, Frank Tinari, Paul Grimaldi of Seton Hall University, Mr. Zenon Snylyk, of the *Svoboda* daily and Mrs. Anna Gutt for their help, in preparing this work for publication. He also wishes to thank Mmes. Doris Hayden, Marie Lauber, and Joan Driver for typing numerous drafts of the manuscript.

*N.L.Fr.-Chirovsky*

Maplewood, N. J.  
October 1975







# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	P.
Editor's Note	IX
Table of Contents	XV
List of Maps	XVI
<i>Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky,</i> The Traditional System of "Russian History" vs a Rational History of Eastern Slavs .....	1
<i>Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky,</i> Some Debatable Questions in Old Russian Ethno- graphy .....	13
<i>Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky,</i> Ethnographic Categories and Cultural-Archeologi- cal Groups in Contemporary Studies of Eastern Europe .....	39
<i>M. Braychevsky,</i> The Unification of the Old Rus'ian Lands Around the Center of Kyiv .....	53
<i>N. Polonska-Wasylenko,</i> The Beginnings of the State of Ukraine-Rus' .....	82
<i>Nicholas Andrusiak,</i> Genesis and Development of the Eastern Slavic Nations .....	114
<i>Nicholas D. Chubaty,</i> The Meaning of "Russia" and "Ukraine" .....	131
<i>Bohdan F. Kortchmaryk,</i> Russian Interpretation of Ukrainian Historical Source Materials .....	147
<i>Omeljan Pritsak and John S. Reshetar, Jr.</i> Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building .....	165
<i>Clarence A. Manning,</i> The Kremlin's New Theses on Ukraine .....	211



## LIST OF MAPS

	P.
1. Rus'ian tribes, VIII-IX cc. ....	11
2. Rus'-Ukraine, XI-XIII cc. ....	79
3. Ukraine, XVII c. ....	167
4. Ukraine, XX c. ....	221



Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky\*)

## THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM OF "RUSSIAN HISTORY" VS. A RATIONAL HISTORY OF EASTERN SLAVS

Since the organizational committee of Russian philologists raised the question of a rational system of the history of the Slavs in the planned Slavic Encyclopedia <sup>1)</sup>, I had the opportunity to touch upon the outline plan of the history of the Eastern Slavs. We have already touched upon the irrational approach to the question of the traditional scheme of "Russian" history <sup>2)</sup>. Now we would like to discuss it more comprehensively.

The traditionally accepted scheme of Russian history is known to everyone. It begins with the pre-history of Eastern

---

\*) Mykhailo Hrushevsky is the outstanding Ukrainian historian, once professor of history at the Universities of Lviv and Kyiv, who wrote and published extensively. Following the pattern set by A. Antonovych, he developed his own school, opposing the traditional Russian historical school as far as the interpretation of the early history of the Eastern European Slavs was concerned. Among his numerous writings were: *A History of Ukraine—Rus'*, ten volumes; *A History of Ukrainian Literature*, five volumes; *A History of Ukraine*, one volume; and an infinite number of essays and articles, pertaining to various aspects of Ukrainian history. The three articles by Hrushevsky in this book were originally printed in *Stati po sloviano-vidienitiu*, ed. by V. Lamanskii, Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1904, pp. 298-330.

<sup>1)</sup> The article was written in reaction to the plan of Slavic history as it was developed by the historical sub-committee of the convention of the Russian philologists.

<sup>2)</sup> For example, in the *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, vols. XIII, XXXVII and XXXIX, bibliography; the evaluations of the works by Miliukov, Storozhev, Zagoskin and Vladimirskii-Budanov. Our remarks on Miliukov's book, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi kultury*, were utilized by Prof. Filievich in his review of Miliukov's work in the periodical *Novoe Vremia*, quoting them to support his views diametrically opposed to those I expressed in my remarks. Check also in the *Ocherk istorii ukrainskavo naroda*, being readied for publication.



Europe, normally with the pre-Slavic settlements, and subsequently the Slavic colonization and the formation of the Kyivan state are discussed. Accordingly, it would continue to the second half of the twelfth century and then it would switch to the Grand Duchy of Vladimir, and from there — to the Muscovite principality; later it would cover the history of the Muscovite state and then of the Russian Empire, while culling from the histories of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian and Byelorussian lands (which were left outside the borders of the Muscovite state), only the more important developments, such as King Daniel's state, the formation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the union with Poland, the Church union and Khmelnytsky's wars. These are mentioned briefly or not referred to at all. In any case, after those lands were incorporated into the Russian state, they completely ceased to be the subject of historical study.

This is an old historical scheme; it had its beginnings in the historiographic scheme of the Muscovite scribes, and at its inception there was a geneological concept — the geneology of the Muscovite dynasty. From the very beginning of historical research in Russia, that scheme was made the cornerstone of the history of the "Russian state." Later on, after the main emphasis was put on the history of the people, society, and civilization, "Russian history" became ever more closely a history of the Great Russian people and their cultural development, while at the same time the old historical system was retained with its leading features, with only some details gradually eliminated from the scheme. The system was also adopted, geographically speaking, by the "Russian history of jurisprudence," which included three chapters: legislation of the Kyivan state, the Muscovite state, and the Russian Empire.

Because of its tradition and long usage, everybody became used to the scheme and its inconveniences. Its irrationality does not affect anybody adversely, although it has been full of very serious inconsistencies all along. I shall attempt to point out some of them without pretending to enumerate all of them.

Above all, connecting the ancient history of the southern tribes and of the Kyivan state — its social-political structure,



legislation and culture — with the Vladimirian-Muscovite principality of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as though the latter was the continuation of the former, is highly irrational. It could be done by the Muscovite scribes, for whom the mere geneological connection was an adequate reason. Yet contemporary scholarship looks for a genetic connection and cannot by any means link the "Kyivan era" to the "Vladimirian era," improperly called so, as subsequent stages of the same political and cultural process of development. We know that the Kyivan state, its laws and civilization, were the creation of one nationality, the Ukrainian-Rus'ian one, while the Vladimirian-Muscovite principality was the creation of another people — the Russian nationality<sup>3</sup>). The Pogodin theory attempted to eliminate the difference by assuming a Russian colonization of the Dnipro regions in the tenth and twelfth centuries and, subsequently, the emigration of the Russians from there in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the North. Yet I doubt that anybody would dare now to defend that old historical, risky and practically abandoned hypothesis. The Kyivan era was continued not by the Vladimirian-Muscovite state but by the Galician-Volhynian realm in the thirteenth century, and then by the Lithuanian-Polish federation in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. The Vladimirian-Muscovite state was neither the heir nor the successor of the Kyivan state; it was growing from its own roots, and its relationship to the Kyivan state can be compared to the relationship between the Roman Empire and its Gallic provinces, which cannot be considered as two related periods in the political and cultural development of France. The Kyivan rulers transplanted to the Russian regions their own forms of social-political structures, laws, legal institutions, and civilization, developed by the historical process in Kyiv; yet that does not justify including the Kyivan state in the history of the Russian nationality. The ethnic and historical closeness of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian and Great Russian nationalities should not be reason to confuse them, since they lived their own separate lives, aside from their historical contacts and relations.

On the other hand, as a result of linking the Kyivan state to the beginnings of the political and cultural develop-



ment of the Great Russian people, one can see that the history of the Great Russian nationality actually had no beginning. The history of the formation of the Great Russian nationality has yet to be explained, simply because its history, researched and studied since the middle of the twelfth century<sup>3)</sup>, was always overshadowed by the Kyivan beginnings, while its own proper beginnings have not been clearly understood by the people who studied "Russian history." There has been no thorough study made of the reception and modification of the Kyivan socio-political forms, legal institutions, and civilization in the Great Russian territories; rather the forms, developed in Kyiv, in Ukraine, have been simply included in the inventory of the Great Russian people and of the "Russian state." The fiction of the "Kyivan era" does not permit a proper presentation of the history of the Russian nationality.

Furthermore, because the "Kyivan era" has been incorporated into the political and cultural history of the Russian people, the history of the Ukrainian nationality has no beginning either. Thus, the old version is presented, according to which the history of Ukraine, of the "Little Russian people," supposedly first began in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and prior to that was simply "the all-Russian" history. That "all-Russian history," either consciously or unconsciously, has been substituted by the concepts and meanings of the political and cultural history of the Great Russian people, hence the Ukrainian-Rus'ian nationality appears first on the historical arena in the fourteenth and fifteenth centu-

---

3) This notion is slowly beginning to penetrate historical studies. The view has been quite clearly expressed by Storozhev, the editor of the *Russkaia istoria s drevneishikh vremien*, published by the Muscovite Society Aiding Self-Education (Moscow, 1898). He underscored that "Dnipro Rus' and north-eastern Rus' were two quite different entities; that their histories were not identical but separately created by two distinct branches of the Russian nationality." It would be more logical to say: two separate nationalities, in order to eliminate the confusion aroused by the theory of "one Russian nationality."

4) A good beginning in that direction was made, for example, by the book *Meria i rostovskoie kniazhenie*, authored by Korsakov, but the idea has not been developed successfully.



ries as something entirely new, as something non-existent until then or something without historical development.

Thus the history of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian nationality not only lacks a beginning, but is also presented in the form of disconnected links, *dissecta membra*, unrelated to each other organically and separated from each other by historical gaps. The only case which clearly distinguishes itself from the rest is that of the seventeenth century Cossacks, but one would doubt that anyone who has studied Russian history according to the traditional system, would ever be able to link the period with the earlier and later eras of the history of the Ukrainian people and would comprehend that history in its organic whole.

Within the framework of the system, the Byelorussian nationality fares even worse. That nationality is completely lost, being overshadowed by the Kyivan state, by the Vladimirian-Muscovite state, and even by the Lithuanian Grand Duchy. However, although the Byelorussian nationality did not occupy any leading, history-making place, its historical role has not been unimportant. It is enough to point out here its significance in the formative stages of the Great Russian nationality or in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, where that nationality, more than other Slavic peoples of the state, influenced the Lithuanian tribes who were on a much lower cultural level at that time.

By including also the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the framework of "Russian history" an effort was made to repair the onesidedness and incompleteness of the "traditional scheme." It seems that Ustrialov was the first to emphasize that idea in historical teachings, while Ilovaiskii, Bestuzhev-Riumin, and others tried to present in their lectures — though in an unrealistically parallel way — the history of "Western Rus'," which meant the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, and of "Northern Rus'," which meant the Muscovite state. In the discipline of the history of jurisprudence, the need to include the Lithuanian Grand Duchy was popularized by the school of Vladimirskii-Budanov, although the school had not yet produced any general course of "the history of Russian jurisprudence," where the Grand Duchy of Lithuania



would have been included, nor did it produce a separate course of jurisprudence for the latter.

That particular correction itself was in need of corrections, since the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was a very heterogeneous body. By the above scholarly approach, the Lithuanian elemental force is either considered very highly or fully ignored. The studies of the substitution process of the Lithuanian legal institutions by the old Rus'ian ones and of the significance of the Slavic elements in the organizational and developmental process of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, finally brought contemporary scholars, involved in the historical research of the internal structure of that state's formation, to the extremity of completely ignoring the Lithuanian contributions and influences, though doubtless these must have existed in the legal institutions and the state constitution of the Grand Duchy. Let me only point out, for example, the institution of "koimyntsi."

Moreover, if the Lithuanian elements will be left out of the discussion for a while, then the Slavic elements in the Grand Duchy were very heterogeneous in themselves; there were actually two nationalities there — the Ukrainian-Rus'ians and the Byelorussians. The Ukrainian-Rus'ian regions, with the exception of the Upper-Buh and Pinsk regions, were rather mechanically connected to the Grand Duchy, and otherwise remained aloof and lived their own local life, while from the Lublin Union on they were integral parts of Poland. The Byelorussian regions, however, were very closely linked with the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and had a tremendous impact upon its development as far as its socio-political constitution, legal institutions and civilization were concerned. On the other hand, the Byelorussians were exposed to very strong influences of the socio-political and cultural processes of the Grand Duchy. Furthermore, they remained within the framework of the Grand Duchy until its very end. For that very reason the history of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy has been much more closely connected with the history of the Byelorussian nationality than with that of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian one. The latter had been considerably exposed to the influence of the history of the Grand Duchy, but its impact upon the Grand Duchy was negligible,



an indirect impact at that. The Byelorussian nationality gave to the Grand Duchy legal institutions and civilization first implanted by the Kyivan state. By the same token, as a consequence of the political measures of the Lithuanian government, the Ukrainian-Rus'ian nationality adopted also — though again indirectly — a great many institutions developed by the Byelorussian people, as for example, some elements of the Byelorussian legal language, then fully accepted by the Lithuanian court.

Hence, the inclusion of the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the framework of "Russian history" cannot substitute for the purposeful presentation of the histories of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian and Byelorussian nationalities. In order to present historically the socio-political development process of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian nationality it would be enough to point out those few instances from the history of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, which had a direct impact upon that nationality <sup>5)</sup>. A greater contribution was made by the Lithuanian history to the history of the Byelorussian people. Yet, there is no reason at all to include the history of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy in "Russian history," unless it be a "history of Russia," a history of everything that ever happened on her territories and of all nationalities and tribes which settled within the borders of the Empire. (Nobody today presents that kind of a scheme of Russian history, although it could be done that way). So far, it is a history of the "Russian" nationalities or Eastern Slavic ones <sup>6)</sup>. We use

---

<sup>5)</sup> In that meaning, I tried to utilize the history of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy in the fourth volume of my *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, covering the period from the middle of the fourteenth century to 1569.

<sup>6)</sup> One of the more outstanding scheme builders, V.-Budanov, asserts that the history of jurisprudence of the "Russian people," and not that of the "Russian state," presents the very purpose of the studies of the history of the Russian jurisprudence, and because of that, he eliminates from it the jurisprudence of the non-Russian nationalities of Russia, but he includes there as an integral part the legal systems of the "Russian" nationalities, which were not included in the political framework of the Russian state. The analogous approach has been taken also by other scholars, although it has not been consequentially carried out by them as well as by V.-Budanov himself. (Comp.: my review of V.-Budanov's course in the XXXIX volume of *Zapysky Naukovoho Tov. im. Shevchenka*, bibl., p. 4).



at times the term "Eastern Slavic" in order to eliminate the confusion and vagueness connected with the dissimilar usage of the term "Russian.")

It seems, in general, that the history of state organizations commands much too much attention in the presentation of "Russian history," or the history of the Eastern Slavs. It has long been accepted, in theory though, that the main attention should be paid not to the history of the state, but to the history of the people and society. Of course, the political state development is an important element, but along with it there are other elements, economic and cultural which are at times more, at times less significant, than the political factor, yet should not be left behind in the shadow of the political process. The state organizational aspect proved to have the greatest significance and to have been the closest link to the life processes of the Great Russian nationality from among all the "Russian" or Eastern Slavic tribes, (although there, outside the limits of the national Vladimirian-Muscovite state, one could have noticed such strong phenomena as the *vieche* element in Novgorod and Pskov, too). The Ukrainian-Rus'ian nationality for a number of centuries developed without any national state, and under the influence of various foreign state organizations. These influences on the national life process should be properly evaluated, but during the centuries of stateless national life the political factor becomes quite secondary to economic, cultural, and social developments. The same must also be stated with respect to the Belyorussian nationality. For the latter, the Russian national state first became a historical reality in 1772. The Russian state began to influence Ukrainian history a century earlier, but through the political segment of government only. (That exceptional and inclusive significance of the history of "the Russian state" in the contemporary scheme of "Russian history" has been achieved essentially as a result of substituting the meaning of the history of the allegedly "Russian peoples" or the Eastern-Slavic nationalities by the concept of the history of "the Russian people" only).

By and large, we see in what is called "Russian history" a combination, or rather a competition, of several concepts:



of the history of the Russian state (the formation and development of the state organization and its territory), of the history of Russia (of everything that took place on her territory), of the history of the "Russian nationalities," and finally, of the history of the Great Russian people (of its political and cultural development). Each and every one of those historical branches, when sequentially treated, could easily be the subject-matter of a separate scholarly presentation, while in the above combination of various historical concepts none of them receives full coverage, nor is any one of them logically presented. The concepts of the history of the Russian state and of the Russian people invade to the largest degree the scheme of "Russian history," and with relatively insignificant changes and eliminations it can easily be made into a logical and fully presented history of the Russian people. "Honor and a respectable place" are due to the history of that largest of all Slavic nationalities, yet respect for its pre-eminent and important historical role does not exclude the need for an equally full and logical presentation of the histories of other Eastern-Slavic nationalities, including the Ukrainian-Rus'ian and Byelorussian ones. The history of the Russian people can under no conditions effectively substitute for the history of the Eastern Slavs and of their political and cultural development, and there are no reasons to justify the ignoring of the histories of the Byelorussian, and to a much greater degree, of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian nationalities, or to replace them by tearing out of them and attaching to the history of the Russian nationality certain episodes, as has been the practice up to now. After all, at the very time that "Russian history" were sincerely and logically reorganized into the history of the Russian people and of their political and cultural development, the histories of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian and Byelorussian nationalities would, I am sure, simultaneously come into their own to take their proper place alongside the history of the Russian one. Yet in order to achieve that, one must first say "good-bye" to the old fiction, by which and on every occasion, the concept of the "Russian history" has been replaced by the concept of the Great Russian one, and conclude, that it has been the "all-Russian history."



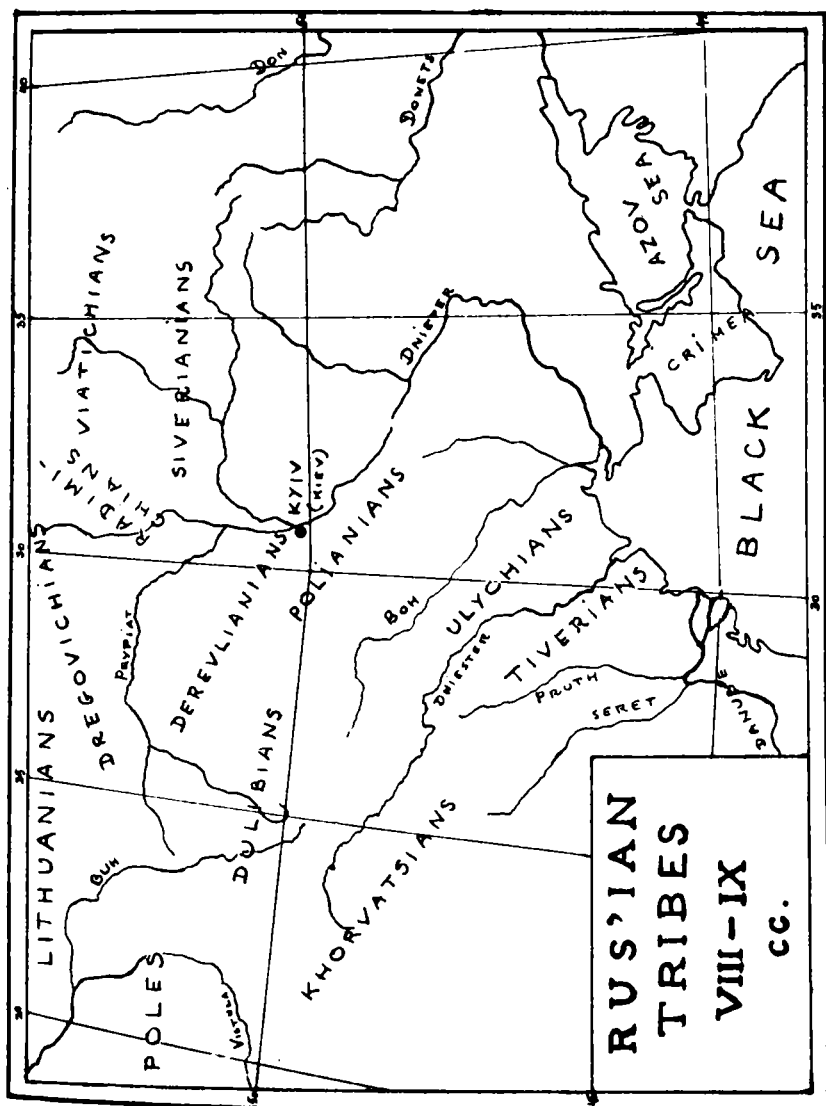
That kind of approach is quite strongly represented, although according to my view, it presents an anachronistic hangover of the old, Muscovite historiographical school, unless it is a political tool, slightly readjusted, to fit the more modern historiographical needs. At its roots, however, it is irrational. Russian history (it became "Russian history" first since the twelfth-thirteenth century) with the Ukrainian-Rus'ian (Kyivan) beginning attached to the former, has represented only a lame and unnatural combination, and not any "all-Russian" history at all. Moreover, it cannot be any "all-Russian history," since there is no "all-Russian people." It may be a history of all "Russian nationalities," whoever wants to call them that, or, more rationally, a history of Eastern Slavs. And the latter should take the place of the present "Russian history."

It is not my intention to develop in detail a system of a complete structure of the history of the Eastern Slavs. For fifteen years I have been working especially on the history of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian nationality and have been developing its outline in general courses, as well as in particular essays. According to that plan I have been arranging my *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, and in identical form I visualize, in my own mind, the histories of the "Russian" peoples. I do not see any difficulties in developing in a similar way the history of the Byelorussian nationality, though it may not be as rich as that of the Ukrainian-Rus'ian one. The history of the Great Russian people is almost ready, for it is only necessary to elaborate on its origins which require something other than its presently attached Kyivan beginnings; it also requires thorough cleaning of all kinds of episodes belonging to the history of Ukraine and Byelorussia. It has already practically been done by historians of the Russian people.

It seems to me that, perhaps, a presentation of the history of each separate nation would be the most rational approach, covering it in a genetic way from its beginnings up to the present day. It does not exclude, of course, a possibly synchronized presentation, somewhat similar to the general surveys of world history for educational purposes, for example.

These are, however, details which do not interest me very much. Yet, there are some general principles to follow:







it would be mandatory to eliminate the current eclectic character of "Russian history" of attaching to each other episodes from the histories of various nationalities; to present logically the history of the Eastern Slavic nationalities; and to put the state-political history in its proper perspective, along with other historical developments. I am convinced that even the followers of the present scheme of "Russian history" would admit that it is not flawless, and that in my remarks I underscored its real shortcomings. Whether the principles I would like to employ as the basis of its reconstruction would be liked by the followers of the old system is another matter.



Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky

## SOME DEBATABLE QUESTIONS IN OLD RUS'IAN ETHNOGRAPHY

The migrations and settlements of the Eastern Slavic tribes, their division into groups, the ascertaining of their territories and relationships, have already been subjects of historical treatises and serious scholarly research. However, though innumerable questions have been clarified as a result of efforts of numerous scholars and a proper degree of reliability has been achieved, many problems still remain to be explained and to be debated. Among those many theories and explanations which still circulate in the scholarly literature *cum tacito consensu* and do not exclude a possibility of controversy there are many questions that require revision, scrutiny, or at least, very substantial corrections.

For a very long period the *Povist' vremennykh lit* was the main and almost singular source of information for any discussions concerning the ethnography of the old Rus'ian tribes, especially its recording of those Eastern Slavic tribes from their very beginning. That recording had a purely incidental character, and though the latter editors of the *Povist'* put much effort in order to make that chronicle more exact and more complete in establishing a framework of the "Slavonic tongue in Rus'," <sup>1)</sup> yet, it was marked by incompleteness,

---

<sup>1)</sup> Out of the three recordings of the *Povist'* (*Hipath. Chronicle*, pp. 3-4, 6-7) only the first one has remained, perhaps, in its original form; enumerating *exempli gratia* of the few Eastern Slavic tribes, it points out their territories. The second recording included in its beginning most probably only the following: "They began to hold princely power in their clan among the Polianians, while the Derevlians had their own, and the Dregovichinians — their own, and the Slovincians — their own;" beginning always with the Polotsians represented an obvious addition to supply a full picture. The third recording (*Hipath.*, p. 7) is closely linked with the phrase: "Hence, there is only Slavonic tongue in Rus'" (p. 6). The phrase: "And they lived in peace, the Polianians and Derevlians



vagueness, and uncertainty to a great extent. More than this source was needed. It was necessary to look for additional source material.

Barsov in his *Geographia nachalnoi letopisi*, the work which even today is still the very foundation of the old Rus'ian ethnography, turned to geographical names and researched the still existing ancient tribal names. On this basis he attempted to determine more closely the tribal territories. However, he himself brought that method *ad absurdum*, relying at times on entirely incidental and distant, but similar, consonants. That method then was not subsequently developed and properly elaborated, although, when applied cautiously and properly, it could obviously bring good results.

Starting with the 1880s, and particularly, with the 1890s, and mainly and primarily under the influence of Antonovych, in the Kyivan monographs of the separate lands, in order to solve the questions of the old Rus'ian ethnography, scholars began to turn their attention to archeological excavations<sup>2)</sup>. On the basis of the differences in the funeral rituals of the individual tribes, indicated by the *Povist'*, one can get a very alluring idea, namely, that in accordance with the differences of the funeral rituals, affirmed by archeological excavations, the territories of the individual tribes and their groupings (amalgamation in larger groups) could be ascertained. It became evident, however, that the question was much more difficult than it seemed at first; that the problem demands in any case far more exact, more numerous and more systematic research than that available in contemporary archeology. The funeral (in which a horse took

---

and Radimichians and Viatichians" is obviously related to the sub-chapters about the customs and rituals ("They had, of course, their customs"...); its ending, concerning the Dulebian, Ulichian and Tiverian territories, is obviously an addition; and the name of the Khorvatsians here is also, perhaps, added later on to get completeness, which is discussed again below.

2) Already by the end of the 1870s Antonovich began systematic studies of the Derevlianian funeral ritual and on this basis attempted to identify the Derevlianian tribal territory. That approach was then used, as indicated before, in a series of the Kyivan monographical writings, describing separate regions.



part), which was thought to be Polianian, proved to be a Turkish, Cuman or Black Klobuk custom. It is not yet known what comprised the Polianian funeral ritual. The Derevlianian funeral custom became known far to the West and beyond what was considered to be the Derevlianian territorial border, in the Styr water system. It could be found also in Kyiv. In the Sluch water system graves with cremated bodies were uncovered, similar to the Siverianian graves<sup>3)</sup>. An attempt to bring these archeological finds into one ethnographical framework by Spitsin showed enormous gaps, incompleteness, and, at the same time, vagueness<sup>4)</sup>.

Alongside Spitsin's work, Shakhmatov's work was published in which he attempted to solve the problem by grouping the Eastern Slavic tribes on the basis of other, dialectical material<sup>5)</sup>. The idea of using dialectical findings in the old Rus'ian ethnography is not new<sup>6)</sup>. However, in Shakhmatov's work, the beginnings of which were already given five years ago, and the fundamental principles of which were later elaborated in a more detailed, more exactly developed and, in many cases, changed and corrected version<sup>7)</sup>, we do find attempts made on a large scale, supported by numerous scholarly devices, to bring under a common denominator the linguistic facts and historical studies of the data given "about the old Rus'ian tribes and the formation of the old Rus'ian lands, followed by the formation of the state." In many places one can even find gaps and uncertainties with

---

3) Antonovych, "Pamiatki kamiennovo vieka v Kievi," *Trudy X siezda*, Vol. III, the same, "Rozkopki kurganov v Zapadnoi Volyni;" E. Melnyk, "Rozkopki v zemli Luchan," Hamchenko, "Rozkopki v baselnie r. Sluch," all in *Trudy XI siezda*, Vol. I; Spitsin, "Kurgany kievskikh Torkov i Berendiev," *Trudy otdilienia slovianskoi i russkoi arkheologii*, Vol. IV.

4) "Rozsiellenie drevnie-russkikh plemien po arkheologicheskim danym," *ZH.M.N.N.*, 1899, Vol. VII; compare the situation map of the achieved research results and their gaps in Vol. V of *Trudy otdilienia slovianskoi i russkoi arkheologii*, p. 407.

5) "K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh nariechii i russkikh narodnostei," *ZH.M.N.N.*, 1899, Vol. IV.

6) For example, Mykhalechuk's essay, *Trudy ekspeditsii v yugo-zapad. krai*, Vol. VII.

7) "K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh nariechii," *Russkii filolog, Vestnik*, 1894.



respect to defining the larger linguistic and tribal groups, not to mention a more detailed territorial location of individual tribes. Shakhmatov, however boldly, handled these uncertainties by revising his theory and by utilizing various hypotheses. It seems, however, that it would have been more advantageous and positive to point out where the dialectical facts either affirm, or correct, or deny the historical controversies about the old Rus'ian tribes and their groupings, etc.

Finally, it cannot be said, that all these schools of thought in the studies of the old Rus'ian ethnography were not helpful in the current appraisal. Obscurities which have harassed these studies when only historical sources were used have remained to be clarified to this day. They are the result of all kinds of hypotheses and theories that provide gaps and uncertainties or promote unlikely presentations of the real facts to demonstrate those unclear and uncertain facts which require clarification <sup>8)</sup>.

Let us start with a more general question about the groupings of the Eastern Slavic tribes. Presently, in linguistics, a clear conviction prevails that the beginnings of their linguistic, and, by the same token, their tribal differentiation reach back to ancient times, to the times of the linguistic and cultural community of tribes — of pre-historic language and pre-historic civilization. Today there must be less and less doubt that the beginnings of the three main Eastern Slavic groups, of the three nationalities: the Ukrainian-Rus'ian, Byelorussian and Russian, reached far beyond recorded historical times. Starting with the present groupings of those nationalities, the most simple conclusion which comes to one's mind is that after having excluded well-known historical changes in the colonization process, contemporary grouping corresponds closely to the ancient one. This means that each nationality was comprised of those Eastern Slavic tribes which lived on their national territories at the very beginning of the historical development of the Eastern Slavs. It is true, that a comparison of the territorial settlements of the Eastern Slavic tribes, as given by the *Povist'*, with the

---

<sup>8)</sup> I had an opportunity to point them out partially in my *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. I, (1898); yet now, having checked it for the new edition, I had to subject the assumptions to a new revision.



present grouping, presents several incongruities. For instance, the present Ukrainian-Byelorussian ethnic border cuts across the former territory of the Dregovichians, while the descendants of the Radimichians and Viaticians, the two tribes closely interrelated in the *Povist'*, presently are located in two different ethnical territories, etc. Yet, these incongruities are not too important. A much greater incongruity was introduced by some scholars, above all, by some philologists who theorized that the ethnographical relations of the old Rus'ian times were in later days subjected to some fundamental upheavals which allegedly basically changed the picture. Consequently, the present ethnic territories are entirely different from the old groupings of the tribes in question.

First, a theory which introduced a great deal of controversy in the old Rus'ian ethnography was the theory of the original Great Russian settlements on the Dnieper territories which were later replaced by Ukrainian colonists. It is the so-called Pogodin theory which was resurrected by Sobolevskii in a more scholarly version. It was based on the assumption of the migration of the original (Russian) population of the middle Dnieper regions in the thirteenth century and their subsequent colonization by the Ukrainians, coming from the West, in the fourteenth century. The very essence of that theory was at first linked with the question of the Great Russian nationality of the Polianians. Lately, after Shakhmatov, one of the leading representatives of the theory, gave up that assumption for the Polianians and continued to assume only the Russian character of the population of the Dnieper left-bank regions, on the one hand, while one of the leading opponents of the theory, Jagič, accepted the possibility of the Russian colonization behind the Dnieper river<sup>9)</sup>, on the other, the center of preponderance, after that compromise was reached, was transferred to the Siverianians' nationality.

That theory of a Russian and, then, of the Ukrainian migration, has been connected by Shakhmatov with another, even far more reaching, theory of a radical impact of the

---

<sup>9)</sup> Shakhmatov, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh nartechii*, 1899; Jagič, "Verwandschaftsverhältnisse innerhalb der slavischen Sprachen (Ehnige Streitfragen 2)," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, Vol. XX, p. 30.



state organization of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on the initial groupings of the Eastern Slavic tribes and the transformation of that grouping under the impact of those political factors <sup>10)</sup>.

We shall not discuss the second theory as far as its basic principles are concerned. This writer's remarks on the theory have already been expressed. After the first edition of Shakhmatov's work was published, a second, revised one, more properly edited, appeared <sup>11)</sup>. Yet, it remains my conviction that the theory, after being confronted with facts, has been proven contrary to those scholars who theorize that the political developments and arrangements of the centuries mentioned could not have had an exceptional impact on the formation of the Eastern Slavic nationalities. I prefer to concentrate rather only on those statements of Shakhmatov in which he presents some new and concrete propositions regarding the settlements and groupings of the Eastern Slavic tribes.

Shakhmatov divided the Eastern Slavic tribes into three groups: the *southern* one, between the Dnieper and the Prypiat rivers; *middle one*, including the tribes beyond the Dnieper river, the left-bank ones and the Dregovichians from among the right-bank ones; and the *northern* group, which included the Krivichians and the Novgorod Slovinians. The later Ukrainian national group was formed by the tribes of the southern group which also colonized the devastated regions beyond the Dnieper river beginning with the fourteenth centu-

---

<sup>10)</sup> Shakhmatov, *Ibid.*, in both editions, 1894 and 1899.

<sup>11)</sup> See my review in the *Zapysky Naukovoho Tov. im. Shevchenka*, 1895, Vol. VII, Bk. IV, bibliography, pp. 9-14. In the new edition of Shakhmatov's work, I did not find any controversies mentioned by me earlier. Yet, his argumentation did not convince me, since it was only a more general one, avoiding difficulties and omitting details. Especially the process of the formation of the Ukrainian national group was presented very superficially. It is really very difficult to prove the notion of the influence of political factors. Why did the dependence of the Ukrainian territories on the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with its Byelorussian elements not leave any influence on these territories, even on the banks of the Bug river, which were long closely linked with the Duchy, while the said fact was of such great significance as far as the Byelorussian nationality was concerned? Why did the centuries-long separation of Volhynia from Galicia not leave any impact, either?, etc.



ry. The Byelorussians represent the western part of the middle group, separated from the rest by its dependence on the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, while the eastern part of the middle group and the entire northern group, included in the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, formed the Russian nationality. I shall dwell on one particular point of interest in these groupings, namely, on the apportionment of the Dnieper left-bank, southern colonization, to the middle group of the Eastern Slavs, along with the Radimichians, Viatichians and Riazanians, and not its apportionment to the Dnieper right-bank, southern colonization. Since Shakhmatov included the territories of the middle-run Don river banks in the area of the Siverianian settlements, he was convinced that the Siverianians were part of the middle group. It should be made clear, however, that there are no reasons for accepting the possibility of such an expansion of Siverianian colonization. Yet, if it were to be accepted that the Siverianians joined the same group as the tribes on the right-bank of the Dnieper river, then it would decide the issue of the settlements of the territories which were extending south of the Siverianian domain. Consequently, the whole issue centers around the question of the group-belonging of the Siverianian tribe.

As already pointed out, the theory of the Siverianians, not having been a member of the southern group, represents the hold-over of the old hypothesis of the Russian origin of the ancient settlers of the middle-run Dnieper regions; it is actually a compromise between the followers and the opponents of the latter <sup>12</sup>). The alleged Russian origin of the Polianians has been presently discarded and relegated to historical record only <sup>13</sup>). Shakhmatov actually admitted in his work that the weak dialectical distinctions of the Kyivan linguistic remnants could only be explained by the concurrence of the representations of various tribes and lands in

---

<sup>12</sup>) Also Jaglič made the identical concession to compromise the Pogodin theory, *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>) For a survey of the history of the above theory and a more recent evaluation of its development, check in my *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi* 1900, Vol. III, pp. 578-582; also my remarks on the question, quoted by Jaglič, *Ibid.*, p. 30.



that ancient capital and that the ethnical origin of the Polianians could not be different from that of the Derevlaians, who by a broad belt of settlements surrounded from the North and West a rather small Dnieper region of the Polianians <sup>14</sup>). However, once the Polianians would be accepted as having been a tribe of the southern group, any basis for accepting the theory of the Russian, or Middle Russian, origin of the Siverianians, is nullified. This theory, as pointed out, represents only a hold-over of the anachronistic theory of the Russian character of the Polianians. If the Russian hypothesis of the Polianians is accepted at least for the sake of argumentation, namely, the absence of clearcut Ukrainian linguistic remnants in Kyivan sources from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, then the hypothesis for the Russian ethnical background of the Siverianians would be lacking even such a weak reason for its validity. Jagič does not look for any arguments, but simply accepts the Pogodin assumption with respect to the possible Russian ethnic origin of the Siverianians. Although Shakhmatov attempts to present arguments to support that assumption, his argumentation is extremely weak. Shakhmatov argues that the Siverianians were connected with the Radimichians and Viatichians by the *Povist'* in its survey of customs and rituals (p. 7), and that those three united themselves into one political body, having had first estranged themselves from, then moved more closely to, Kyiv. He asserts, furthermore, that in the Riazan colonization process two trends were visible, of which the southern colonization corresponded with the Siverianian one and that it also asserted itself by the linguistic adherence to the Siverianians through dialectical characteristics <sup>15</sup>).

I do not know of any other arguments to support the thesis, while the indicated ones have certainly been too weak. The *Povist'*, while describing the customs, presents the Polianians as an opposite of their neighbors; the Derevlaians in the west, and the Siverianians, Radimichians and Viatichians in the east. In describing all of them more or less

<sup>14</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>15</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 8 and the following, p. 25; the final statement I complete as accurately as is possible on the basis of my conversation with Shakhmatov.



in the same manner, he finally adds to them the Kriyichians and "other pagans." There is no attempt made there to identify or to connect them with any groups along ethnographic criteria. The scribe gave simply a general description of pagan customs. Bahalii, quoted by Shakhmatov to support the latter's assumption about the closeness among the Siverianians, Radimichians and Viaticians, simply asserted on a geographical basis the fact that proximity produced some closeness among them. The *Povisl'* connects the tribes in these groups: the Siverianians with the Radimichians and Viaticians; the Ulichians with the Tiverians <sup>16</sup>). The Siverianians were apparently united very early with the Radimichians and Viaticians into one political group, in particular, through the dynastic ties forced upon them by the Kyivan government, perhaps as early as at the time of Volodymyr the Great, or possibly, even at an earlier date. Such dynastic ties created at times most unusual combinations in a most willful way, for example, the connection between Pereyaslav and the Rostovian-Suzdalian land. Nevertheless, the ties between the Siverianians, on the one hand, and the Radimichians and Viaticians, on the other, were brought about by several developments which caused their intensification. Namely: there was no developed urban life among the Radimichians and Viaticians which was in contrast to conditions in the Siverianian land, and there was no opposition from local urban centers against the Chernihivian princes. At the same time, the land of the Siverianians was divided into regions (*volosts*), headed by more important towns, while the Radimichians and Viaticians remained in the position of politically passive provinces <sup>17</sup>). The Siverianians performed on the left bank of the Dnieper river a similar historical role as that of the Polianians on the right bank. Their old urban-commercial centers, such as Chernihiv,

---

<sup>16</sup>) Bahalii, D., *Istoria Siverskoi zemli*, p. 118. I do not know in what way Shakhmatov was able to substantiate his assumption of the adherence of the Siverianians, Radimichians and Viaticians to one group along with his hypothesis, that the Radimichians and Viaticians came from Mazovia to the Dnieper-Oka basin. I do not accept that hypothesis either.

<sup>17</sup>) Compare with the chapter covering the Chernihiv land in my *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. II.



Pereyaslav and Lubech, prevailed over the whole region east of the Dnieper river; they dominated its transportation and trade, fully independent of tribal differentiations there, similarly to the position of Novgorod and Smolensk in the upper Volga region. (After all, we find indications even in the chronicles that these Siverianian provinces did not have any particular moral feeling of unity with Chernihiv<sup>18)</sup>).

Hence, generally speaking, not tribal unity but other—economic, political, and social—forces influenced the formation of the political entities. This was best reflected in the endeavors of the Pereyaslav community to separate itself fully from tribally identical Chernihiv and to found a new dynasty from some distant region which would not place it again in the position of a suburb — the *pyrhorod* — of Chernihiv. For that very reason Pereyaslav turned to the Rostov-Suzdal dynasty for assistance<sup>19)</sup>. There have been no reasons to look for some internal or ethnical explanation, since the princes traded their appanages, the *volosti*, without paying any attention to their tribal or other ties<sup>20)</sup>. While Shakhmatov assumes a Viatician<sup>21)</sup>, and even a Siverianian, colonization in the upper Volga region, this writer thinks he is doing so because of his enchantment with the said, favored hypothesis<sup>22)</sup>. There is no reason to assume

---

<sup>18)</sup> *Hipath. Chronicle*, p. 239.

<sup>19)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 252. and the following, concerning the politics of Pereyaslav.

<sup>20)</sup> Let us keep in mind the classical answer, given by Roman Mstyslavych: "And I would like to give another region to that town, being compensated by the *kunas* or whatever else" (*Hipath. Chronicle*, p. 460).

<sup>21)</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 28-29. I believe that this interpretation of the relation by the *Povist'* in the year 964 cannot be accepted. It is much more believable that Sviatoslav, when moving on the Volga-region, met the Viaticians on the way there on the Oka river banks. As far as the assumption of the Viatician dialect having been used in the territory of the present Tver region is concerned, having left that assumption to the evaluation of a specialist, I doubt if any exact knowledge of the Viatician dialect on our part would enable us to recognize the Viatician settlers wherever they went.

<sup>22)</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 34. The author refers to Pereyaslav *Zalisskii* (beyond forests) on the Trubezh river. In such case, what should we assume as far as Halich *merskii*, Peremyshl and Zvenyhorod *moskovskii*, Lebedia in Vladimir, and other southern names, which were obviously in a willful way transferred to the North?



any monolithic Siverianian colonization of the Riazan land at all. This would have succeeded in bringing and retaining the pure Siverianian language there because between the Siverianian and the Riazanian lands was the Viatician territory, and the Siverianian settlers could come to the Riazan land only together, in a mixture, with the Viaticians, although they were a minority as compared to the Viatician colonists. Any mass colonization of the Riazan land and the Don basin by the Siverianians, as assumed by Shakhmatov, cannot be accepted<sup>23</sup>). On the other hand, only a mass colonization, settled in large massive block, could have some meaning in analyzing these questions. If the theory could be accepted that the Siverianians had settled the Don basin, it is hard for this writer to believe that under the pressure of the nomads in the tenth century they withdrew from there and went to the upper Volga region, rather than back to the Siverianian banks of the Seim river and the Viatician regions. This means back to those regions with which the Don colonization was most closely connected at that time, since no other particular routes from the Don regions to the Volga regions in those days are made known to us by research. (Yet, Shakhmatov assumed such routes by flatly rejecting the route through the Viatician territory<sup>24</sup>). After Shakhmatov had accepted Miliukov's hypothesis on the Krivichian colonization of the northern part of the Murom-Riazan land, then it should be also assumed that the southern part was mainly colonized by the Viaticians with one, although minor, addition of the Siverianians. However, there is no reason for connecting the Riazan dialects with the Siverianian ones.

One cannot accept Shakhmatov's argumentation concerning the assumption of the Siverianians not being a part of the southern, right-bank group. I would like to show certain facts and developments which point to the contrary, namely, in favor of a close connection between the Siverianians and the right-bank tribes.

---

<sup>23</sup>) *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>24</sup>) *Op. cit.*, p. 13. The author missed entirely all known facts about the old trade routes; compare their survey in my *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. I, p. 187. The route through the Viatician territory has been known and documented on the basis of *Monomakh's Pouchennia*.



Let us start with the point of recapitulating the instance of a close cultural and political tie between the Siverianians and Polianian Kyiv. However, this is not a pivotal argument in the discussion, since I do not identify cultural and political ties with the tribal and ethnical ones. But for Shakhmatov, who in that context derives his entire argumentation to support his theory, that instance should have overriding significance. Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereyaslav, that Polianian-Siverianian triangle, represented the foundation of the political and cultural life process of old Rus' since the first more trustworthy information about the land appeared in the beginning of the tenth century. This unification was earlier than any other historical reference on the point. The Radimichians, Viaticians, and Derevlians were "forced" by the Kyivan princes, while nothing similar was indicated with respect to the Siverianians. Only to fit the pattern and to arrange for a historical beginning, the editor of the *Povist'* included the annexation of the Siverianians among the achievement of Prince Oleh. Shakhmatov himself admitted that the central significance of Kyiv for the Polianians and Siverianians had been much older than the Rus' state of Oleh<sup>25</sup>). He also assumed a significant influx of the Siverianians to the Kyivan population<sup>26</sup>). I am ready to assume that the border-site of Kyiv, on the Polianian-Siverianian border, contributed to its cultural importance. But to assume some kind of tribal differentiation and to talk about a lack of the Siverianian gravitation to Kyiv in the presence of such facts would be quite difficult to do. Even later on we cannot find traces of any tribal differentiation or any ethnical antagonism between the Siverianian and the Polianian peoples. The animosity of the Kyivans toward the Chernihiv dynasty cannot be considered as an argument; it was dictated by endeavors of forming out of the Kievan land a closed political organism and it had nothing to do with any possible tribal antagonisms.

Common ethnographical features, such as the funeral ritual, for instance, are more important even than the community of that civilization itself. Archeological excavations

---

<sup>25</sup>) *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>26</sup>) *Op. cit.*, p. 25.



have proven the similarity, although accompanied by secondary differences, of the funerals on the territories from the river system of the Styr to the river system of Sula and Desna where the deceased were covered by wood or put in wooden graves. On the other hand, similar to Siverianian graves, the funerals of the cremated deceased had been not long ago identified also in the Sluch river system<sup>27)</sup>. The Viatichian funerals were significantly different from the Siverianian ones<sup>28)</sup>.

Finally, even *a priori* it would be hardly possible to accept that a middle-Rus'ian or Russian tribe would surround by its own settlements the southern group to the extent as it was assumed by Shakhmatov. An analysis of the Slavic colonization process points out very clearly that its spreading was rather consistent, without any overlapping or mixing. If one would accept (according to the usual placing of Slavic ancestral settlements) that the southern (Ukrainian-Rus'ian), Eastern-Slavic group was settled in the middle-run basin of the Dnieper river, then the spreading of a middle-Rus'ian tribe throughout the river systems of Desna and Sula, and further down in the southern direction, would have represented an overlapping. Since not everyone is obliged to view the Slavic colonization process in the manner presented above, I would not press the argument.

On the other hand, I would stress the fact that the archaic dialects of the contemporary Chernihiv region would not be well explained, if one assumes that the old Siverianians did not belong to the Ukrainian-Rus'ian group<sup>29)</sup>. Although

---

<sup>27)</sup> Compare the quotes above about the essays on the Volhynian and Kyivan excavations: Samokhvastov's and Zavitnevich's articles on the excavations beyond the Dnieper river in *Trudy III arkheol. siezda*, Vol. I, and of the *VII arkeol. siezda*, Vol. I: "Sushchestvovani i plemia Sulychi;" Yeremenko's "Rozkopki kurganov Novozybkovskavo uiezda," *Trudy, ot d. russ. i slav. arkheologii*, Vol. I; Speranskii's "Rozkopki kurganov v Rylskom uiezdi," *Arkheol. izvestia*, 1894; Spitsin's "Obozrenie gubernii v arkheolog. otnoshenii," *Trudy, ot d. russ. i slav. arkheologii*, I, and *Rozsilenie*, pp. 321 and following.

<sup>28)</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 333-334; Spitsin connected the Siverianians with the Radimichians and Viatichians, but his quoted facts openly contradict the assumption, which he partially admitted.

<sup>29)</sup> As indicated before: *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. III, pp. 582-583.



Shakhmatov assumed that the colonization drive of the Derevlianians and the Dregovichians from the Polotsk land and the Kyivan Polissia land was going on in that direction since the fourteenth century "under the protection of the Lithuanian princes"<sup>30</sup>), leaving aside any other admitted improbabilities, such a migration from the left-bank Polissia towards the left-bank regions of the Dnieper river would be improbable. In fact, the migration moved from the Polissia land southward in the border-steppe regions, taking advantage of the "protection of the Lithuanian princes." The marsh and forest areas of the middle and upper-runs of the Desna river were so naturally protected on their borders that they could well serve as shelter regions for the population of the southern districts on the left-bank of the Dnieper river during the periods of threats by the nomads. Therefore, the local population did not have to migrate to those distant lands where it was destined to migrate by the followers of the old theory of the Great Russian origin of the Siverianians<sup>31</sup>). In the central Chernihiv region, the old left-bank population had many opportunities to settle in large masses and in a concentrated way; consequently, in the Ukrainian dialects of the middle-run Desna region, one can see, in my opinion, the remnants of that ancient left-bank people.

For all those reasons, I consider the theory of the Russian (or middle-Rus'ian) origin of the Siverianians to be false, and I take the liberty to express the hope that objective students — and among them Shakhmatov himself — should come to the conclusion that the said Russian theory is untenable. There is no reason for excluding from the southern, Ukrainian-Rus'ian group, any one of the Eastern Slavic tribes, which were then settled on contemporary Ukrainian-Rus'ian territory, either the Siverianians, Derevlianians, Dulibians, Tiverians or Ulychians.

Only contemporary Ukrainian colonization on the Dregovichian territory (if it really extends over the Dregovichian

---

<sup>30</sup>) *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>31</sup>) Shakhmatov himself does not believe in any "quite significant differentiation of the South-Russian population" on the right-bank after the Tartar invasion: *Op. cit.*, p. 46.



territory) could be considered a later one, as Shakhmatov assumes. However, I do not consider the matter to be fully clarified today, as it was not fully clear to me even earlier, before Shakhmatov's work was published <sup>32</sup>). The Ukrainian colonization process in the north was subjected to changes; it either moved to the north or to the south, while the Byelorussian colonization was by far more regular, although subject to several combinations, such as the moving of Byelorussian colonists to Ukrainian territories only, and of Ukrainian colonists on to Byelorussian lands. As for the present, I do not yet see any clear and reliable basis for a clear-cut solution. The criteria for differentiating the Dregovichian funeral ritual from that of the Derevlianian one, developed by Zavitnevych, are not specific enough <sup>33</sup>). On the other hand, Spitsin stresses, and rightfully so, the closeness of the Dregovichians to the southern group, as has been evident by archeological findings, which is in opposition to Shakhmatov's classification. Perhaps, the Dregovichians were only a transitional phenomenon in ethnical and linguistic respects, between the southern group and the northern (Krivichian) one?

Leaving that question open for debate, let us turn to the individual tribes of the southern, Ukrainian-Rus'ian group. I listed them as follows: the Siverianians, Polianians, Derevlianians, Dulibians, Ulychians, and Tiverians. Their designations are certain. However, these tribes did not by themselves inhabit the entire territory which was populated by the Slavic migrations of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The two borderlands, the eastern and the western, of that colonization have remained without any tribal names.

As already pointed out, Shakhmatov accepted that the Don basin and the banks of the Azov Sea were populated by the Siverianians <sup>34</sup>). That theory was adopted and circu-

---

<sup>32</sup>) *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. I, pp. 110-376; compare: the new work by Oleksander Hrushevsky, *Pinskoe Pollestie*, Vol. I, pp. 10-14: there, also, the case of the ethnical origin of the Dregovichians has been left at *non liquet*.

<sup>33</sup>) Compare with the previous reference note 27.

<sup>34</sup>) *Op. cit.*, p. 339.



lated by Barsov <sup>35</sup>). It was also supported by the historians of the Siverianian land and one can find it frequently in historical literature <sup>36</sup>). However, the theory was never well argued, and after one surveys the "evidence," which has been gathered around it, one cannot be certain, that it was well-supported.

It has been pointed out that on a Muscovite map of a later date (*Kniga Bolshavo Chertezha*) the Donets river was called "Siverian." This is true, but it is rather an argument mitigating against the above assumption. The name "Siverian" was obviously connected with the upper-run Donets, while the river really takes its beginning in the Siverianian region at the banks of the Seim river. The upper-run region was identified in that way as opposed to its upper tributaries which were also called "Donets" (since the town, located on the banks of the Udakh river, was called *Donets Horodyshche* as opposed to the river's middle or lower-run regions). In later nomenclature, given to us by the registers of the Ukrainian castles of the mid-sixteenth century, the term "Sivery" or "Siverianian *ukhody*" was applied only to the Siverianian territory from the time of the *Chronicles* and it did not reach further south than the Sula river system <sup>37</sup>).

Some have pointed out that apparently Tmutorokan belonged to the Siverianian land, or rather to the Siverianian dynasty. Nevertheless, it could have been a coincidental connection, such as that between Pereyaslav with the Rostovian-Suzdalian appanage. The instance of Tmutorokan having been mentioned in a later register of towns (along

---

<sup>35</sup>) Barsov, p. 149; Bahalli, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 and following; Golubovskii, *Istoria siverskoï zemli*, pp. 3 and following; from among the newer works, for example, Rozhkov, *Obzor russkoï istorii*, p. 12; in the first edition of my *Istoria*, I also leaned toward the acceptance of the ideas of the historians of the Siverianian land. Yet, after a more careful consideration of the matter, I began to see that it was groundless.

<sup>36</sup>) The edition by Spasskii, p. 27.

<sup>37</sup>) *Arkhiv yugozapadnoi Rossii*, VII, Vol. I, p. 103; compare the map of those *ukhody* (expeditions — ed.), attached to the article by Padalka, "O vremeni osnovania g. Poltavu," *Otchenia istoricheskavo obshchestva Nestora*, Vol. X.



with the *Voskresenska Chronicle*) among the Siverianian towns (Myroslavets, Tmutorokan Ostrechevskiy, Chernihiv on Desna — *Voskresenska Chron.* I, p. 240) does not prove the point. First of all, there is no reason to read these two words as one expression, "Tmutorokan Ostrechevskiy," and to assume that it was a "Tmutorokan on the Oster river." (It was in that manner that the quotation was understood by Tatishchev and, in recent times, by Bahalii and Shakhmatov). "Ostrechevskiy" apparently meant another name: Osterskiy Horodok, Oster. If, however, the town of Tmutorokan really existed in the Siverianian land, then it could have gotten the name from Tmutorokan on the Azov Sea. (It could not have happened the other way around, since it was a Rus'ian, full-voiced form of the Fanagorian "*Timetraky*"). Most probably the Siverianian princes, who ruled in Tmutorokan on the Azov Sea, could have transferred the name to one of the Siverianian towns. However, the name of Tmutorokan may have been placed incidentally in the said register along the Siverianian towns, being a Siverianian *volost* (appanage). This assumption seems to be most logical.

Therefore, all arguments which have been raised so far to support the theory that the Slavs in the Don basin in the tenth century were the Siverianians, do fall apart. There is no reason or need to place them under the name of the Siverianians. (The Ulychians could have been settled on the left-bank of the lower Dnieper river, but the text of the *Chronicle* indicates that they were settled on the right-bank.) In short, the tribal name of the colonization in the Don basin is not known to us. Why? The editors of the *Povist'* were very little interested in that borderland (which above all was very much weakened by the Pecheneg invasion in the tenth century); therefore, they could easily omit the tribal name of those settlers, even if they knew it.

The *Povist'* was mainly interested in those lands which were the subjects of Kyivan internal politics of the second half of the eleventh century, and it was silent not only on the partially lost settlements of the Don basin, but also did not mention anything about the Rus'ian settlements in



the Carpathian lands <sup>38)</sup>. Usually the East-European (Ukrainian-Rus'ian) tribe of the Khorvatians has been placed in those lands, which have been called by some "White Khorvatians," too, following the reference by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Yet, the whole case of those Khorvatians has not been very clear. The matter was broadly discussed five years ago in my *Istoria* <sup>39)</sup> and I shall not repeat it here in detail, but shall underscore only some main, moot points.

From references to the Khorvatians in the *Povist'*, and by explaining the question more clearly on the basis of the reference of Constantine Porphyrogenitus to the White Khorvatia, also by means of other combinations (the choro- and topographical nomenclature, the similarity with the name of the Carpathian mountains), historiographers attempted to identify more closely the territory of the Khorvatians. However, in the light of other known references, the reference to the Khorvatians appears very much as an interpolation from the ethnographical point of analysis (*Hipath. Chron.*, p. 7). One of the editors, apparently desirous of completing that registry of the Rus'ian tribes, added the name of the Khorvatians after having found it a little later under the year 907 or 993. Yet such "bare" names could not be found in the original versions of the ethnographical surveys of the *Povist'*. The interpolator included the name, without being able to add any explanation, since he knew the name and nothing else about it. In reality, the Khorvatians, mentioned in the year 993, could not have been an Eastern Slavic tribe at all. The reference under the year 907 is also only a registration of fact, and again does not give any additional information but the name itself. Constantine Por-

---

<sup>38)</sup> The spread of the old Rus'ian settlements in those lands has been broadly discussed in my *Istoria*, Vol. I, pp. 188 and following, as well as in its second edition.

<sup>39)</sup> Vol. I, pp. 123-125 and 382-383; I wanted to present my paper on the subject-matter at the Kievan archeological convention in 1899 to provoke a discussion on the topic. However, the planned papers were not read there, as everyone knows; therefore the theses of my paper were then printed in Vol. XXXI of the *Zapysky Naukovoho T-va im. Shevchenka*, in the collection of the papers prepared for the Kievan convention, entitled: "Was there a tribe of the Khorvatians among the Rus'ian tribes?" (p. 6.)



phyrogenitus could not help much in the matter, since there has been no valid reason to place his White Khorvatia in the Rus'ian Sub-Carpathian region, not even referring to the doubtful validity of his tale about the migration of the Khorvatians and Serbs. Again, only because of the Rus'ian Khorvatians in the *Povist'* has this relationship been interpreted in this way. Even more doubtful has been the attempt to equate the terms Bo'iki and Biky. Neither Carpathian topography nor the name of the Carpathians <sup>40)</sup> itself renders any foundation for localizing the Khorvatian settlements. Finally, it seems that the only Khorvatians in the Sub-Carpathian lands were the Bohemian Khorvatians, mentioned in the privilege document for the Prague Cathedral (forged, affirmed in 1086), while the *Povist's* reference to the Rus'ian Khorvatians and Constantine's Porphyrogenitus' tale about the Serbian Khorvatians might have been simple misunderstandings. The existence of the Rus'ian Khorvatian tribe, in general, and in the Sub-Carpathian region in particular, must be considered uncertain. We do not know, therefore, what the tribal name of the Eastern Slavic settlers of the Sub-Carpathian region, the Rus'ian western borderland, was.

The last western Rus'ian tribe, known by its name, was the Dulibians. It is not known how far west their settlements reached. A few villages of that name, located in the upper-run basin of the Dniester river <sup>41)</sup>, might indicate that this river region was already beyond the borders of the Dulibian mass settlements. *Povist'* placed the tribe on the banks of the Buh river by stating: "They lived along the Buh," meaning the Western or Vistulian one. Barsov explains, that actually the upper-runs of both Buhs, of the Boh (southern) and the Buh (Vistulian <sup>42)</sup>) must be understood; other researchers, who

---

<sup>40)</sup> The North-German, ethnical "Harfadha" comes very close to the name of the Khorvatians; yet, how should it be translated, as "the Carpathians" or "the Khorvatian mountains?" (compare: Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, Vol. III, p. 762.) However, for localizing the Khorvatian settlements the case would not render any basis.

<sup>41)</sup> Duliby near the town Khodoriv, the other village of the name near the town of Stryl, the third one — near the town of Buchach. The instance was noticed by Barsov, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>42)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 102.



were recently joined by Shakhmatov, placed the Dulibians on the banks of the Boh river (southern) <sup>43</sup>). Neither conclusion can be accepted as plausible. The *Povist'* clearly talks about one Buh river and adds a qualification: "Where the Volhinians live today," which does not leave room for doubt which of the two "Buhs" it had in mind. Volhinia, *nota bene*, extended along the Buh (Vistulian) river <sup>44</sup>, while the Boh regions were actually not included in the territorial concept of Volhinia. Assuming that once in the past and long ago, the Dulibians lived on the banks of the Boh river or in the upper-run regions of the Boh and Buh rivers would certainly be a willful assumption, not proved in fact. Neither we nor the *Povist'* know anything about any Dulibian migration. This moving around of tribes, who were not immediately exposed to attacks by the nomadic hordes at the very time when Slavic settlement process came to an end (eighth to tenth centuries), does not seem at all probable.

The names "Buzhanians" and "Volhinians" were essentially explained by Barsov as being of a later date and having replaced the old tribal name of the Dulibians. That view was shared by other students of the problem, among others, by Andriashev and, to a lesser extent, by Ivanov, the historians of the Volhinian land <sup>45</sup>). Shakhmatov, however, returned to the old assumption, namely that the Dulibians, Buzhanians, and Volhinians were three distinct tribes, which replaced each other: the Volhinians, retreating from the southern steppes, pushed northward the Dulibians, who were settled on the banks of Boh, and under that pressure, the latter and the Buzhanians moved further up along the Buh river <sup>46</sup>). In view of the fact that the said author does not supply substantial proof (Andriashev does it in a similar way,

---

<sup>43</sup>) Sharankevych, *Istoria Halyts'ko-Volodimirskoi Rusi*, p. 4; Shakhmatov, *op. cit.*, p. 23: he read the name "Buh" in the *Lavr. Chron.* as "Boh."

<sup>44</sup>) *Hipath, Chron.*, p. 100: "he came towards Volhinia and stood on the bank of Buh."

<sup>45</sup>) Barsov, *op. cit.*, p. 100-102; Andriashev, *Ocherk istorii Volinsk. ziem.*, p. 7; Ivanov, *Istoricheskaia sudby Voln. ziem.*, p. 39.

<sup>46</sup>) *Op. cit.*, pp. 19-23.



while Shakhmatov quotes some of his ideas)<sup>47)</sup>, the assumed migration of the tribes must remain essentially a hypothetical speculation not very clearly expressed. Nevertheless, the deep respect I have for the scholarly achievements of the author compel me to analyze more thoroughly the theory of the three separate tribes, the Dulibians, the Buzhanians, and the Volhinians, which for the author was the pivotal point for the hypothesis of the migration given above.

"The Buzhanians are settled on Buh, then the Volhinians." "The Dulibians were living along the Buh, where today the Volhinians are." There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Buzhanians and Volhinians are only two names for the same tribe. The "Volhinians" do not represent the name of a distinct tribe, but constitute a political name derived from the town Volhin, a political center. The term belongs to the group of such political identification as the Kyivans, Polotsians, Novgorodians, which replaced such old tribal names as the Polianians, Krivichians, and Slovinians. The *Povist's* expression that the Buzhanians "are settled" until today (the linguistic form must be considered an older one than "were living," *Lavr. Chron.*), clearly indicates that there was no migration of the Buzhanians and that they were not replaced there by any other tribe. I have already pointed out that such migrations and movements of the tribes in the beyond-the-steppe belt in those times were absolutely improbable. (Whole bands of colonists could have moved away from disadvantageous places and settled in the territories of other tribes. It seems quite improbable that entire tribes, who had attained at that time a fully docile and agricultural way of life, would migrate to any unpopulated regions; they would first have to force out other existing tribes.) I would like to further discuss this fundamental issue.

It boils down only to one question: whether the Buzhanians and the Dulibians were two separate tribes. The matter is really not that simple however, and consequently,

---

<sup>47)</sup> Of course, it cannot be used as evidence for instance, as indicated by Shakhmatov, that there were two villages called Duliby, one in the Grodno region and another in the Minsk region; such settlements with the tribal names could be found also far beyond the borders of the given tribal territory and not only in its frontier regions.



even those researchers who consider the name of the Volhinians definitely a political and not a tribal one are in doubt whether to view the Buzhanians and Dulibians as one or two tribes <sup>48</sup>). Nevertheless, once the question is scrutinized more closely, there is little room for doubt.

If the Dulibians and Buzhanians were two distinct tribes, then it seems quite strange that in the *Povist'* they never come forward together at the same time; they had never been listed together, although they were supposed to be two neighboring tribes. The *Povist'* liked to pair such closely connected, and geographically neighboring names. The expression: "Where presently the Volhinians" sounds very much like a later glossary. (In fact, this expression could not be found in some codes of the *Laurentian* group, such as the *Radiivilian* and the *Academician* compilations.) Thus, in that most carefully prepared registry the Buzhanians were completely omitted; they were not mentioned in the *Tale of Oleh's Expedition*, either. In general, references to the name of the Dulibians always exclude the name of the Buzhanians and vice-versa <sup>49</sup>).

The *Povist'* obviously did not know about any Dulibian migration. While stating that the Dulibians were settled on the banks of Buh, where now the Buzhanians live, the *Povist'* does not explain where the Dulibians moved after their places were supposedly taken by the new tribe of the Buzhanians. After all, such a migration was not possible *per se*, as already stated.

For these reasons I do not view it probable that the name of the Buzhanians was a tribal name; it was not even another tribal name for the Dulibians. (It would then be necessary to accept the theory about a later migration of the Dulibians to the banks of the Buh river, because after the Slavic settlement process was completed they were known to their contemporaries as Dulibians. Perhaps, only as a result of their later migration to the banks of the Buh would they have acquired the name of the Buzhanians. The *Povist'* does not

---

<sup>48</sup>) For example, Ivanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>49</sup>) Only in the much later compilations may one find the name of the Buzhanians along with that of the Dulibians: *Voskressensk.*, I, p. 264; *Nikon.*, I, p. 5.



mention any ancient settlements of theirs, but only those along the Buh river.)

I hold as quite acceptable the explanation, developed by Barsov<sup>50</sup>), that the name of the Buzhanians was derived from the town Buzhsk. After all, the *Povist'* had among its favored theories the theory of derivations, wherever permissible or not permissible, of the names of tribes from rivers. The Polotsians received their name, in fact, from the town Polotsk, and not from the Polota river, as the *Povist'* implied. It could be a similar case with the Buzhanians. In the territory in question, one could have found a plurality of such political identifications: apart from the Volhynians, also the *Chervensky Horody*, the Luchanians, and others. The term "Buzhanians" might have followed the pattern<sup>51</sup>). That interpretation seems to be more plausible than attempting to see in the Buzhanians the topographical name of a certain part of the Dulibians<sup>52</sup>), although that interpretation of the question may be also acceptable.

Neither can one accept "the Luchanians" as a term for a tribal designation. The term *Λευζενίνοι*, as used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was connected by some scholars (including this writer, not too long ago) with the Ulychichians (rather the Ulychians) as quoted by the *Povist'*<sup>53</sup>). If one would follow this approach, it would mean that the Luchanians had founded the town of Luchesk after their own name, and from this town had subsequently derived their name the Luchanians. Such towns, named after designated tribes, had not been known in those regions. Therefore, the term "Luchanians" has also been a political identification of the people, derived from the town of their political center, the town of Luchesk. It is quite possible that the

---

<sup>50</sup>) *Loc. cit.*

<sup>51</sup>) For the manner in which these political names could be territorially and chronologically combined: compare, *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. I, pp. 122-123.

<sup>52</sup>) Compare: Ivanov, *loc. cit.*

<sup>53</sup>) On different theories: compare, *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. I, pp. 381-382. I have changed my previous opinion to the extent that I do not assume the independent meaning of the version of the term "Ulytychians", "Ulychichians", and do accept the name "Ulychians" only; compare, the second edition of my *Istoria*, Vol. I, pp. 176-179.



similarity of the names of the Ulychians and Luchanians and of the town of Luchesk, with their close geographical proximity, caused the confusion and the interchangeable use of the two names. As a consequence, the existing different versions of the name developed: "Ulychians" and the variant "Ulychichians," which lately began to be interpreted as the "Luchanians," which, like the variant of the "Ulychanians" was associated with the town of Uhlych<sup>54</sup>).

One cannot say with certainty, what the tribal composition of the territory of the Luchanians was. Not too recently it was still maintained that the territory of the Derevliani did not reach the river system of Horyn in the west. Currently, the discovery in the Styr river system of the funeral rites very close to those of the Derevliani compels scholars to be more cautious in that respect<sup>55</sup>). Who knows for sure; perhaps the Derevliani were still living as far west as the Styr river system. Only the geographical proximity of the Styr river system and the Dulibian banks of the Buh river and the later political connections of the town of Luchesk with Volhinia (by itself a very weak argument) could be used as proof of the Dulibian habitation in the Styr region. One can scarcely assume any other tribes, for instance, the Ulychians, to have lived there, and it would be rather improbable to admit that the *Povist'* omitted to indicate the tribe settled on that territory.

The question of Ulychian settlements is quite clearly demonstrated. The *Povist'* (the Novgorodian compilation) states that they were settled "Along the Dnieper lower bank and from there they spread between the Boh and the Dnieper rivers." Here one can find a slight uncertainty with respect to the identification of the Dnieper and the Dniester as far as the determination of the Ulychian settlements is concerned, as given in the southern and northern versions of the *Povist'*. The Ulychians, already in their new settlements, were known as such to Constantine Porphyrogenitus who listed the neighbors of the Pechenegs on the right bank of the Dniester river in the following order: Rus' (the Polianians), the

---

<sup>54</sup>) *Ibid.*; about these variants.

<sup>55</sup>) Compare above.



Ulychians, the Derevlianians, and the Luchanians<sup>56</sup>). His recording has allowed scholars to get better oriented with numerous variants of the Ulychian name, given in various copies of the *Povist'*. Constantine's Ούλτινοι corresponds with the Ulychians in the *Povist'*, while such variants of the term as the Ulychians represent the etymologizing of the term by the scribes.

It means, therefore, that the Ulychians were settled on the lower run of the Dnieper river, and later on, around the first half of the tenth century, they spread toward the regions "between the Boh and the Dnieper rivers." At this point, however, various questions arise. First of all, what does the term: "Along the Dnieper lower bank" mean? It would have been most simple, from the point of view of the scribes who wrote these words in Kyiv on the right bank of the Dnieper river, to understand that the Ulychians were settled on the Dnieper's lower right bank. It would also be admissible to interpret the text that they were settled on both banks of the river, although it would be stretching the point a bit. Secondly, what were the reasons for the Ulychians to move toward the Boh river; did they retreat back to their original territory or were they being forced to move into a foreign one? Since the *Povist'* remains silent on that point and does not indicate any other tribal area there, it would seem more logical to accept the first interpretation; that it was an Ulychian concentration in a given region of their tribal territory. The Pecheneg attacks were most probably the cause of that movement in the first half of the tenth century. Obviously, the direction of that migration was not straight to the west, but rather north-westward, toward the middle-run banks of the Boh river.

Having accepted that interpretation, one must assume a large territory for the Ulychian settlements, extending on the right bank of the Dnieper river and along the Boh river. There is nothing improbable in the assumption of a large territorial extension. It was a borderland colonization which must have been most extensive and scattered. On the other hand, the left bank of the Dnieper must have remained bare

---

<sup>56</sup>) Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Ch. 37.



and unpopulated (because of the paucity of source information). Who had settled there? There is no answer to that question.

Not long ago, Zavitnevych, in his archeological finds, tried to demonstrate the historical existence of a separate tribe, called the Sulychians. That name, however, mistakenly developed as a variant of the term "Ulychians," as well as the archeological evidence offered by Zavitnevych, were not convincing enough <sup>57)</sup>. (The funeral form indicated by Zavitnevych was also known farther up in the north, in the Siverianian regions.) The banks of the river Sula were part of the Siverianian colonization. There is still no reason to include the lower-run left bank of the Dnieper river in the Siverianian colonization area.

It may be that some day additional archeological findings will clarify the matter, and they must be much better than those presently cultivated in Russia.

---

<sup>57)</sup> Zavitnevych, *op. cit.*; the variant "Sulychians" in the Radivilian and Academician compilations under the year 885.



Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky

## ETHNOGRAPHIC CATEGORIES AND CULTURAL-ARCHEOLOGICAL GROUPS IN CONTEMPORARY STUDIES OF EASTERN EUROPE

Explanations of cultural distinctions by considering ethnographic differences represent an old and deeply rooted methodology. It was assumed that cultural distinctions were the result of changes in the colonization process which resulted in the formation of a new people, with new cultural acquisitions, customs, and rituals. At one time, for example, it was normal to connect the Megaliths with the Celtic peoples. The former were considered to be the exclusive property of the latter and wherever any Megalithic structures were found, there Celtic settlements were assumed as having once been in existence. The beginnings of metallic culture in Western Europe as well as the domestication of animals were regarded as acquisitions brought to Western Europe by some new tribes as a result of a large-scale migration. Until recently, the assumption that Neolithic civilization was brought to Europe by some not yet well known migration was acceptable. Thus, it was hypothesized that the original Paleolithic people left Western Europe, under the impact of climatic and faunal changes, and that their place was taken by a new Neolithic population, having come, perhaps, from Asia which was then still the *vagina gentium* for Europe.

Some assumptions usually are discarded as the stock of knowledge widens. After having discovered Megaliths not only in Eastern Europe, but also in northern Africa, in the Caucasus, and in India, scholars no longer view them as the remnants of Celtic migrations. Abundant finds and intensive research have pointed to the gradual development of the domestication of animals in Europe and a subsequent slow proliferation in the use of the first metals, copper and bronze.



This represented an endosmosis into the Stone Age<sup>1</sup>). It was discovered that this transitional culture formed the final stages of Paleolithic civilization (the Magdalenian Age, according to the customary and generally-known scheme) and the transition to the Neolithic one, the so-called Tourassien and Tardenoisien stages. The previously accepted hiatus or dramatic break between the Paleolithic and Neolithic civilizations, which induced assumptions about radical changes in the population of Europe in seven stages<sup>2</sup>), was abandoned. Any current discussion concerning migrations at the beginning of the Neolithic stage is based on more substantive historical information such as the advent of the long-skulled man<sup>3</sup>). However, the point could be still argued whether the formation of a migration theory can be justified even in this instance.

Similarly, as in the case of fundamental changes in the cultural history of mankind, localized developments in the cultural history of Eastern Europe were interpreted on the basis of archeological findings. Again, changes in civilization, techniques, and funeral rituals have been explained by postulating new waves of the colonization, superficially linked with the various ethnographical names given to us by history. That approach is still with us. Recently, one of the outstanding Russian archeologists argued that the use of bronze was brought by some new people. Thus, burials of the Bronze Age were carried out by peoples other than the ones responsible for burials in the Stone Age<sup>4</sup>). He held

---

<sup>1</sup>) The reader can find a great deal of interesting remarks on the question in M. Much, *Die Kupferzeit in Europa*, Jena, 1893, new ed., and *Die Heimat der Indogermanen*, 1902-3. Yet, it would be rather difficult to agree with his recent assertions about the Indogermanic ancestral fatherland.

<sup>2</sup>) Gab. et Ad. Mortillet, *Le Préhistorique*, 1900, and *Musée préhistorique*, 2nd ed., 1902; also Capitan's article in *L'anthropologie*, 1901.

<sup>3</sup>) However, Schrader in his new book, *Reallexicon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 1901, still assumes that the Neolithic civilization was brought by a new people. He based it on some second-rate cultural-historical categories, such as the lack of any understanding of the arts by Neolithic man (p. 825).

<sup>4</sup>) See the summary of N. Vesselovskii's paper, *Zapiski russkavo arkheol. obshchestva*, Vol. XII, issue 1-2, p. 393.



that the burials with red skeletons belonged to the former category. Early iron civilization and its burials in Eastern Europe are still considered to be Scythian, though not by all concerned, and by some only out of civility; older forms of burials are regarded as Cimmerian. There is, however, no agreement among the scholars as to the age to which the burials belong; some consider them as burials of the Stone Age (contracted skeletons), others, of the Bronze Age, while still others, of the earliest Iron Age<sup>5</sup>). As soon as the settlements were discovered at the sites where painted dishes were also found, the so-called points (stations) with the features of the "Pre-Mykonian Civilization," a whole series of assumptions about the ethnic origin of the people concerned was immediately formulated. This was done even before the territory of their colonization — the area or the spread of the civilization — and the civilization itself were properly researched. Some scholars saw these people as the Neurians, others regarded them as Greeks prior to their migration to the Balkan peninsula, still others considered them to be Slavs, and so on<sup>6</sup>).

Haste in the argumentation has generally been the norm at the commencement of certain studies. Yet that haste has not been necessarily advantageous. In the given case, a premature coupling of ethnic designations with archeological findings has not only absorbed abortively the energy of researchers but it also has, at times, introduced confusion into archeological studies and has pushed into the background matters which should be of prime interest in research, namely, the study of a complete picture of cultural development on a given territory independently of ethnic nomenclature. On the other hand, generally speaking, archeological findings

---

<sup>5</sup>) For example: Brandenburg's paper, *Trudy XI siezda*, Vol. I, p. 167; Gorodtsov's, *Izvestii XII siezda*, p. 159; Samokvasov's remarks, *Trudy XI siezda*, Vol. II, p. 92; Hadaczek's *Zlote Skarby Michalkowskie*, 1904, Introduction. The most recent works have been quoted.

<sup>6</sup>) Khvoiko's "Kamiannyi vek sredniavo Pridnieprovia", *Trudy XI siezda*, Vol. I; Spitsin, "Rozselenie drevnie russkikh plemien po arkeologicheskim dannym," *Zhurnal Ministr. Narod. Prosv.*, 1899, Vol. VIII, p. 399; von Shtern, "Razkopki v sleviernni Bessarabii v sviazy s voprosom o neoliticheskikh poselieniakh s keramikoi domikenskavo tipa," *Izvestii XII siezda*, p. 89.



in Eastern Europe have been very scarce to date, and, for the most part, so poorly organized <sup>7)</sup> that most of the attention of interested students should be concentrated not upon deriving far-reaching conclusions but, above all, upon improvements in the methodology and the systematization of research. Certainly, in no other area of studies has the lack of scholarship and research proven to be so unforgivable and unjustifiable as in archeology. It has been rightly asserted that poorly-evaluated written or monumental materials could be better described or edited at some later time and inexact experimentation and chemical analysis can be subsequently replaced by better methods and results. Poorly and imprecisely executed archeological excavations may cause irreparable damage to precious archeological material once and for all since this may be very unique material. If poorly handled, artifacts may be transformed into bibelots of little worth instead of revealing some very precious facts from the history of the human civilization <sup>8)</sup>.

Especially in the case of changes in cultural forms and rituals, one must always and first of all keep in mind that in the period from the Neolithic Age (in particular, its late part or its second half, from which we have obtained for the first time the initial archeological material) until the Hun invasion there have been no fully recognizable indications, free from doubt, either historical or archeological, concerning mass and entirely alien migrations in the Eastern European region. Secondly, it must be remembered that from very early times, at least from the second half of the Neolithic Age, there were very powerful cultural influences throughout Western as well as Eastern Europe, which contributed to a cultural endosmosis.

Indeed, having taken into consideration the fact that the assumption about ancient and original Indo-European settlements in anterior Asia must be abandoned, it has be-

---

<sup>7)</sup> Compare the critical remarks in *Zapysky Naukovoho T-va im. Shevchenka*, Vol. LIII, p. 5, and Vol. LV, p. 2 (bibliography).

<sup>8)</sup> Some very serious thoughts on the point have been advanced by the famous French anthropologist, Manuvrier, in his article, "La protection des antiques sepultures et des gisements prehistoriques," *Revue de l'Ecole d'Antropologie*, 1901, VIII.



come increasingly probable, according to scholars, that prior to their migration the Indo-Europeans had settled somewhere in Eastern Europe and that the cultural evolution in their ancient settlements reached far back into the Neolithic Age. It is quite possible that a substantial portion of Eastern Europe, whether its southern part where some preferred to place that ancient and original Indo-European settlement, or in its south-western or south-eastern part, as others would have wanted, apparently had an Indo-European population since the late Stone Age and until the Hun invasion<sup>9</sup>). In such a case, one would have to accept the thesis that cultural and social evolution is rather dependent upon the cultural influences, alien admixtures, and, finally, the process of the development of life itself. Any considerations of various ethnographic changes and migrations must so far remain only hypothetical.

Let us first consider, for instance, the oldest ethnographic name — the Cimmerians — which was transmitted to us by historical sources. Without becoming involved in the moot question of whether such a people actually existed in the Black Sea regions, the two names — Scythians as well as Cimmerians — might have been simply transposed by the pseudo-scholarship of the early Greek writers from Asia Minor, where they in reality represented peoples living on the northern shores of the Black Sea<sup>10</sup>). Nevertheless, if the Cimmerians really existed, they could, after all, have easily been of Iranian origin, as were the Scythians, according to the assumptions of some scholars. In any case, they could also have been Indo-Europeans. Also, the appearance in Europe of the name “Scythians” could be considered the result of a migration, though with a great deal of qualifications. If one were to analyze very carefully the cultural processes and the process of colonization of the Black Sea steppes, then one must come to the conclusion,

---

<sup>9</sup>) The current status of the question has been developed in my *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. I, and in its new edition, which has been published since this article was written, I have advanced new ideas and thoughts on this point.

<sup>10</sup>) The question has been discussed in my *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. I, pp. 46-47, first edition.



as do many recent scholars and with ever greater persistence, that the advent of the Scythians, later of the Sarmatians, and finally of the Alans, represented political changes or changes in the dominant positions of ruling hordes, while, in reality, no radical changes were occurring in population structures. In all probability, an Iranian population inhabited the Black Sea steppes during the entire period. Obviously, an admixture of the Ural-Altaic and Turanian stock to that nomad population may be accepted. Yet, it cannot be proven with certainty, nor can its extent and significance be ascertained. It is indeed very important to underscore the fact that a short-skulled anthropological type, previously unknown, appeared in those regions in the early Iron Age. After all, so little anthropological material from these early times is available to us <sup>11)</sup> that we can only develop hypotheses which would maintain that during the Neolithic Age long-skulled man, while in the Metallic Age short-skulled man, inhabited Eastern Europe. Other considerations are even less applicable for proving assumptions. For example, connections between the East-European style of the Scythian era and the Middle-Asiatic style can be explained merely by cultural influences <sup>12)</sup>, and so on.

Yet, if we also admit that a Turanian admixture in the steppe population of the Scythian-Sarmatian era was possible, this would not negate the strong probability that the population of the southern and southwestern regions of Eastern

---

<sup>11)</sup> Compare this with the recent work by Talko-Hrincewicz, "Przyczynki do poznania swiata kurhanowego Ukrainy", *Materially antropologiczno-archeologiczne*, 1900, Vol. IV. In the case of the burials of the Neolithic and transitional eras, thus far excavated, in 95% of the cases, the bones of the deceased disintegrated to the extent that they could not be measured; the anthropological aspects of the findings are not mentioned at all. Perhaps that percentage is so high simply because measuring bones is by far more difficult than excavating a few stone or copper items from grave sites? Perhaps the toll could be a little lower if only a more serious approach were taken toward the excavations?

<sup>12)</sup> It remains, for instance, quite uncertain or even doubtful whether the Scythian horde, coming from Asia to Europe around the eighth or seventh century B.C., brought that Middle-Asian technique then. In reality that technique came to Europe later and it is again quite possible that it arrived by way of interrelationship and not by way of migration.



Europe was in its main stock Indo-European from the Neolithic times until the fully historical fourth century. It would mean that only similar ethnographic groups were encountering each other. Of course, there had to be some differentiation among them, since some ethnic differences must have been established prior to the Indo-European migration; but certainly differences would not have been dramatic enough that different cultural forms of an *a priori* nature could have been attributable to them. No one would be justified in doing so. Wherever those cultural differences did exist among related and neighboring communities, they must have had their origins in foreign cultural influences and, above all, alien ethnic admixtures. Consequently, the answer to the above question is connected again with the issue of international cultural endosmosis.

I do not deny and I hope that, with the development of more systematic, precise, and scientifically conducted archeological excavations, a specific sequence of cultural forms and their territorial locations, their geographical regions, would be successfully ascertained; perhaps in many cases it would even be possible to connect certain cultural forms and social customs with certain tribes and to establish them as their exclusive attribute and their distinctive feature. Nevertheless, this would be the task of the future. At present, with any degree of certainty we can only guess about the Turk migration, in Eastern Europe, which would be related to the first alien migration of which we are certain, utilizing a set of archeological findings. This migration is attested to by the inlet and other graves accompanied by the burials of the deceased with their horses and stone images (*kamiani baby*), although in this instance also more precise chronological data and more exact ethnic origins must still be ascertained by subsequent research. Scholars must start with the Pechenegs, the Black Klobuks, or the Cumans, however, or simply begin with the first stages of the Turk, North Asian, migration. Whatever occurred earlier would merely represent some facts about the cultural evolution of the given territories, which has been only hypothetically and partially connected with ethnic groups or individual peoples.



Let us consider first what is known to us so far: the form of the burial, specifically burying the body in a contracted position. What deduction could be made from this fact? First of all, this type of burial was characteristic because the position of the corpse, having once been considered very specific, gradually lost its uniqueness through evolution, and, by way of several transitional positions, changed into a prone position which drastically reduces the specificity of the entire case <sup>13)</sup>. On the other hand, the territorial extension of this unique type of burial was *ad infinitum*; the burial of contracted corpses in Eastern Galicia <sup>14)</sup> initiated a transition to similar burials in Western Europe and reached the far edge of the European continent in the west. Any ethnic identification here is thus quite impossible. This type of burial could have been appropriate for any people living at a particular stage of cultural development in some specific place. While the relevant cultural stage has not been identified with great exactness, burials of this type were suggestive of the Neolithic civilization, as well as, it seems, indicative of the beginnings of the Metallic one.

In the Black Sea area, as time passed, the burial form was accompanied by a new funeral ritual, one which included either sprinkling or painting the corpse with red paint. The new ritual was so easily adapted to the older burial form that one could hardly suggest any radical change in the colonization process which could have affected it <sup>15)</sup>. Furthermore, this occurred across the entire Black Sea territory. The burial, accompanied by the new ritual, localized itself more narrowly than the contracted corpse burial itself, although precise territorial limits are, obviously, not as yet known. It could be found in the steppe regions of the Black Sea, extending from the Kuban region in the east to Bessarabian lands in the west; it could be discovered along

---

<sup>13)</sup> Compare with Brandenburg, "Ob aborigenakh Kievskaia kraia", *Trudy XI s'ezda*, Vol. I.

<sup>14)</sup> Demetrykiewicz, "Neolityczne groby szkieletów t. z. siedzących (Hocker-gräber)", *Materiały antrop.-archeologiczne*, Vol. III.

<sup>15)</sup> That slowness in the transition from the older ritual to the painting of the corpses was underscored in the recent work by Yevarnitskii, *Trudy XI s'ezda*, Vol. I.



the banks of the Dnieper River up to the southern parts of the Kyivan region; it had been practised in the Izium district of the Donets basin as well, although it had not been identified in the forest belt of Ukraine and in her western provinces, Volhynia and Galicia. The burials and funeral rituals in question occurred in various locales along the Black Sea shore during the transitional era from Stone to Metal Age civilizations. Farther north, however, later burials, in their bulk, reveal a non-metallic setting. Hence, it is quite impossible to accept them as originating with a Metallic Age civilization <sup>16</sup>).

Once again the same question shall be posed: How is it possible to connect a funeral ritual, no matter how specific it was, with a certain ethnic group as its cultural property? What type of people could one suggest as having settled on the territory from Kuban to Bessarabia, from the Black Sea shores to the Ros River system and to the middle-run region of the Donets River during that transitional era from the Stone to the Metal ages?

At the end of the Neolithic era, settlements were uncovered which exhibited the "pre-Mykonian civilization." That kind of settlement was most characteristic for the entire early civilization in Ukraine and was most sharply differentiated from other cultural forms <sup>17</sup>). Clay structures, rich varieties of dishes and vessels, splendidly colored and engraved ornamentation, clay statues and other artifacts developed so rapidly and unexpectedly against the background of the Neolithic era in Ukraine that concepts concerning a certain migration might easily be suggested. However, as the matter now stands, it would be difficult to postulate

---

<sup>16</sup>) According to Brandenburg, *op. cit.*, and Vesolovskii, *Zapiski russk. arkholog. obshchestva*, Vol. XII, issue 1-2, pp. 392-393.

<sup>17</sup>) According to Khvoiko's revelations certain beginnings of painted dishes, however, were found in a Neolithic settlement in the Kyivan area, on Kyrylivska street. It may well be that some later findings would connect that civilization with the preceding stages of local development and would supply certain transitional cultural forms to tie them with later stages. So far, such transitional forms, or rather their distant reflections, could be, perhaps, identified in spiral and circular ornamentations of dishes found in graveyards and in rare and not always reliable findings of small clay statuettes.



a nationality on that terrain which would be able to claim this civilization as its unique attribute. The right-bank regions of the middle-run of the Dnieper river, Podilla, Bessarabia, Bukovyna, Wallachia, and Transylvania<sup>18)</sup> represent a vast area which featured the distinct uniformity of the said civilization. What type of people settled there in order to make the assumption a little more than simply a hypothesis?

It seems very probable that the civilization in question may have had an alien and imported beginning, but it developed fully amid the local population and established a very broad base as indicated by the numerous settlements and workshops (e. g., pottery ovens). Its achievements could have been transplanted from one place to another by way of contact and trade independently of any ethnic origin.

The extension of the use of copper and bronze on Ukrainian territories could serve as evidence. It seems, that neighboring geographical terrains, commercial routes, and other contracts -- not the ethnic origin -- were most important in the cultural evolution and in the adoption of achievements of higher civilizations. One center of the Bronze civilization may be identified in the western borderland of Ukraine, in the Sub-Carpathian region, in the proximity to the Middle-Danube Bronze civilization (of the earlier and later stages).

---

<sup>18)</sup> Khvolko's "Kamiennii vek", *Trudy XI siezda*, Vol. I; revelations by Domanytsky and Bilashevsky in *Arkheologicheskii letopisi Yuzn. Rossii r.*, 1899-1901; von Shtern's in *Izvestii XII siezda*, p. 87; Ossowski, "Sprawozdanie z wycieczki paleetnologicznej po Galicyi, *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej*, Vol. XIV, XV, XVI, and XVIII; Demetrykiewicz, "Poszukiwania archeologiczne w powiecie Trembowelskim", *Materiały antrop.-archeolog.*, Vol. IV; with regard to the findings in Bukovyna, a paper is being published by R. Keindel in *Mitteilungen der Zentral Commission für 1902*; about those in Moldavia, see G. Butureanu, "Notatia supra sapaturilor si cercatarilor facute la Cucuteni", *Arhivei societatii stiintifice si literare din Jasi*, 1889; for those in Transylvania, see J. Deutsch, "Prähistorische Funde aus dem Burzenlande", *Mitteilungen der Wiener Anthropol. Gessellschaft*, Vol. XXX-XXXI; on the extension of the use of painted dishes and of spiral ornamentation further westward: Much, *Heimat der Indogermanen*, Chap. III. A paper by P. Vovk, on "The pre-Mikonian civilization" will be printed in *Materiały do ukraińskoruskoi etnologii*, shortly, treating the ethnic subject matter in general.



in general, and the Hungarian, in particular <sup>19)</sup>; and the second center — in the East — in the Donets and Don basins, in the neighborhood of the Caucasian bronze cultural center <sup>20)</sup>. Obviously, bronze and copper articles were coming from the Black Sea shores too and slowly penetrated the old Paleolithic civilization, a phenomenon proven by funerals with red-painted skeletons in the settlements of the "pre-Mykonian culture." The expansionary process of the Bronze civilization was very slow in the lands cited which were more distant from its centers, such as the Dnieper river system. There iron came into use before bronze had completely penetrated the native way of life. It could be noticed also that at times iron came into use as early as the Stone Age culture <sup>21)</sup>.

Let us proceed one step further. The period which has been labeled as the Scythian culture was in fact a meeting ground of two cultural trends in Ukraine: one penetrating from the south, from the Black Sea shores, the so-called Hellenistic culture, and the other, from anterior Asia, which was related to the Persian culture, on the one hand, and to Uralo-Altaic techniques and styles on the other. Various combinations of these two cultural trends in the Ukrainian Black Sea area, either exclusively, or through physical connections, through closer connections by way of mutual influences upon each other, represent those cultural peculiarities which have been the hallmark of the Scythian culture.

These developments did characterize techniques only, namely, the cultural forms of the Black Sea shores and the

<sup>19)</sup> Pulaski. "Wiadomości o dwu zabytkach bronzowych na Podolu". *Pamiętnik Fizyograficzny*, Vol. IX; Przybysławski, "Skarb bronzowy znaleziony na prawym brzegu Dniestru pod Unielem," *Teka konserwatorska*, Vol. I; Hrushevsky, "Bronzovi mechi z Turetskoho povitu," *Zapysky Naukovoho T-va im. Shevchenka*, Vol. XXXIII; for findings in Hungarian Ukraine; Hampel, *Trouvailles de l'age du bronze en Hongrie*, 1886; the same: *Altthümer der Bronzezeit in Ungarn*, second edition, 1890, and the Hungarian edition, where the newest findings have been included; *A bronzoker emlekei magyarhonban*, Vol. I-III, up to 1896.

<sup>20)</sup> "Rozkopky Horodtsova v Iziumskim poviti", *Izviestia XII siezda*, p. 158.

<sup>21)</sup> For example, the funerals in the villages of Hatne and Yankovychi in the Kyivan region, *Trudy III siezda*, Vol. I, minutes, p. 80; also, Antonovych, *Arkheolohichna karta Kytskoti gubernii*, p. 21.



regions of the middle-run Dnieper river at a certain time; whether they were the exclusive property of the Scythians, one might doubt very seriously. I, for one, would never dare to assume that the Scythian hordes actually roamed and buried their dead in the southern Kyivan and Poltavian regions, where graves of that cultural type were identified. Greek influences penetrated from the Black Sea shores deep into Eastern Europe, without, of course, any special assistance from the Scythian people, nor having been restricted by the territory. Those influences commenced their penetration at the very beginnings of the Greek colonization there and acquired their greatest intensity as it is most convincingly indicated by the findings of ceramics just at the time of great changes in the steppe regions. The Scythian hordes began to disappear at that time while their place was taken over by Sarmatian hordes. This was during the fourth and third century B.C.<sup>22</sup>). The Iranian nomadic hordes from Asia Minor, which moved like a powerful stream of lava from Turkestan to the shores of the Danube River, and their metallic techniques, certainly had a very convenient bridge through the Black Sea regions in their migration to the West. Yet it is still an unresolved question as to whether they really utilized that path. Furthermore, it is not certain whether influences of that metal civilization were restricted to the said Iranian hordes. In all probability, not at all....

The development is similar to that of the "Gothic" style. Gothic tribes brought it into Western Europe and popularized it there, although the "style" originated without the initiative of the tribes. It was the local style in the Black Sea regions in the third and fourth century A.D. in general and for certain time periods it was adopted not only by the Goths but by other ethnic groups as well<sup>23</sup>).

---

<sup>22</sup>) See a valuable article by von Shtern, "Znachenie keramicheskikh nakhodok na yugie Rossii dlia vlianiia istorii chernomorskoii kolonizatsii", *Zapiski odes. obshch. istorii*, Vol. XXII.

<sup>23</sup>) For the chronology of events refer to the article by von Shtern, "K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii 'got'skavo stila' predmetov yuvilarnavo iskustva (vidbytki monet z k. III poch. IV v.)", *Zapyski odesskavo obshchestva istorii*, Vol. XX; interesting prototypes of the "Gothic style" were given by Morgan as a result of his new excavations of the Acheme-



Only after precise determination of the chronology of civilizations, and their succession, as well as their territorial extent by means of the proper use of historical and linguistic materials could the identification of the territory and timing of colonization by various ethnic elements be ascertained. In so far as this could be achieved, it would then be possible to establish the extent to which various colonization processes corresponded territorially with given civilizations or cultural groups. At the present, we can assume only that some given civilization did penetrate the territory of some given nationality and then developed within its framework. We may only assert that the Hellenistic-Asian cultural amalgamation was spreading among those nomadic steppe peoples who were most probably of Iranian stock, or of its various branches during the fourth and second centuries B.C..

Therefore, it seems to me very probable that the burial fields discovered on the territories of the upper and middle run of the Buh river and of the middle run of the Dnieper river can be considered as part of the genesis of the Slavs at the sites of their ancient and original settlements prior to their migration. The civilization, found in those fields, did not indicate any special characteristic features during the period when it developed gradually through various stages from the transitionary Stone Age through the Metal Age on up to the time immediately preceding the great migration of peoples. Yet, in territorial and chronological terms, it may have been the civilization of the Slavic settlements from the era prior to the Slavic migratory expansion, though its influence may have spread beyond the Slavic territories <sup>24</sup>). However, with reference to the pre-Mykonian

---

dic graves in Persia, *La delegation en Perse, 1897 a 1892* by J. de Morgan, 1902, pp. 30 and 92. According to his chronology, the gold and stone objects came from the fourth century B.C..

<sup>24</sup>) Hrushevsky, M., "Pokhoronne pole v c. Chekhakh", *Zapysky Naukovo-ho T-va im. Shevchenka*, Vol. XXXI; Szeraniewicz, "Cmentarzyska przedhistoryczne we wsiach Czachach i Wysocku", *Teka konserwatorska*, Vol. III; "Das grosse prähistorische Graberfeld zu Czechy", *Mitteilungen der Zentral-Kommission*, 1901; Bielashevskii, "Dlunnyia stolanki po bie-regam rieki zapadnoho Buga", *Trudy XI siezda*, Vol. I; Khvdko, "Pola pogreblenni v sredniem Podnieprovie", *Zapiski Russkavo arkheol. obshchestva*, Vol. XII.



civilization of painted dishes, it would be very difficult to ascertain, as far as the settlements of the Dnieper regions are concerned, whether these settlements were ancient Slavic or ancient Indo-European. Needless to say, it would be extremely difficult to identify such a colonization which would territorially correspond with the cultural expansion of the said civilization.

It would be equally difficult to identify the civilizations of dubious nationalities such as the Cimmerians and Neurians, the territory of which has been unidentified and about whom we lack adequate information.

It is worthwhile to repeat that we have to leave to archeology its task, and trust that it can and will complete it, thus presenting us with the history of the given territory as a whole. It must do the job freely and without restrictions of historical data. With progress in archeology, the extent to which its findings are useful for pre-historic ethnography will become evident. Let us not torture it on the Procrustes bed of our historical information; let us not select from it some single and unrelated details which may seem useful to us for some of our historical-ethnographic schemes. Archeology should, above all, study cultural developments and phenomena for their own sake.

Finally, and above all else, in order to attain more successful research in archeology, scientific methods of a higher quality must be developed to extract and evaluate archeological source materials.



M. Braychevsky \*)

## THE UNIFICATION OF THE OLD RUS'IAN LANDS AROUND THE CENTER OF KYIV

The socio-economic evolution of the Eastern Slavs by the ninth century resulted in the formation of their class and feudal society and the development of the Eastern Slavic state organization. Soviet scholarship considers the ninth century as the very time at which feudal organization commenced among the Eastern Slavs and the first Eastern Slavic feudal state, Kyivan Rus', began to form, although at that time its frontiers had not yet reached their maximum extension.

The process of the unification of all old Rus'ian lands was characterized by one particular tendency, among others, that of making and affirming Kyiv as an all-Rus'ian political center. As far as its timing was concerned, the process was concurrent with the completion of Kyiv's development into a great trading and manufacturing center, i. e., the other facet of its evolution as a large city. Therefore, without having analyzed this latter aspect of the early history of Kyiv, its development as a political center cannot be properly understood.

### THE NORMANIST AND ANTI-NORMANIST VIEWS

The process of development of old Rus'ian feudalism began long before the ninth century. It is no wonder, therefore, that Grekov called the period of the sixth and the

---

\* M. Braychevsky is a Ukrainian historian in the USSR, who has published extensively. Among his notable works are: *Pokhodzhennia Rusi, Koly i yak vynyk Kyiv, K proiskhozhdeniu drevnerussikh gorodov*, and many others. Since his scholarly findings seemed to contradict the official Soviet historical line, he became a *persona non-grata*. The above article represents one of the chapters in Braychevsky's book *Koly i yak vynyk Kyiv*, 1963, pp. 130-147.



seventh centuries, in the history of the Eastern Slavs, a "half-patriarchal and half-feudal one" <sup>1)</sup>). The development of feudal property rights on land constituted the very foundation of that process. It can be maintained that in the sixth and seventh centuries the possession of private property, if not yet full-fledged private property rights, was already a dominant characteristic. The land was gradually becoming the property of the feudal class which began to exploit those who cultivated it, appropriating for itself a part of their work in the form of land rent.

Nevertheless, some bourgeois historians, such as G. Vernadsky, H. Jablonowski, G. Stöckl, and others have attempted to deny the existence of feudalism in the Rus' state of the ninth and tenth centuries, a fact that seems to be so selfevident for all Soviet scholars <sup>2)</sup>). This view also corresponds to the "theory" of a classless society of old Rus', popularized by Ukrainian nationalist historical writings.

Yet it seems that facts prove undeniably that the process of the formation of classes among the Eastern Slavs began sometime in the first half of the first millenium A.D., while by the ninth century the formation of the feudal structure of social relationships was basically complete. In particular, archeological materials found in Kyiv, especially in the so-called "retinue" grave yards, do illustrate very clearly the completion of the above process. Ninth and tenth century Rus' already had all the characteristics of an early feudal society.

The division of the old Rus'ian society into two antagonistic classes — the feudal lords and the bonded peasants — made inevitable the development of the instrument insuring the domination of the former over the latter. The old Rus'ian state in fact became that instrument; the question of the origin and rise of the old Rus'ian state had already become

---

<sup>1)</sup> B. Grekov, "Genezyz feodalizma v Rossii", *Kievskaia Rus'*, 1953, p. 533.

<sup>2)</sup> G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, New Haven, 1951; the same "Feudallism in Russia", *Speculum*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1939; H. Jablonowski, "Das Problem bäuerlichen Abhängigkeit in Kiewer Reich", *Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für Slavische Sprachen des Osteuropa-Instituts*, Book 9, Berlin, 1956; G. Stöckl, *Russische Geschichte von der Entstehung des Kiewer Reiches bis zum Ende der Wirren*, Munich, 1958, Vol. 6, No. 2.



the subject of heated discussion two hundred years ago. Furthermore, this discussion is continuing, in one form or another, to the present day and is essentially a debate between the followers of either the "Normanist" or the "Anti-Normanist" theories. "The Normanist theory" originated in the first half of the eighteenth century within the walls of the Petersburg Academy of Learning where German scholars were the leaders at that time. H. Bayer must be considered as the originator and author of the theory, while H. Mueller provided it with the most aggressive and extreme formulation in his dissertation in the 1840's. It is a well-known fact that Mueller's assertions provoked a sharp reaction and opposition on the part of progressive Russian scholars of the time, above all, by M. Lomonosov, who could be properly regarded as the first representative of the Anti-Normanist theory<sup>3</sup>).

Starting with that time, the debate among the followers of Normanism and the followers of Anti-Normanism continued uninterruptedly throughout the entire nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Finally, and, only because of the essentially new methodological formulation of the problem of the formation of the old Rus'ian state, Soviet scholarship succeeded in disproving fully the foundations of the Normanist theory and in liberating the historical discipline from its spell. What is the essence of the Normanist approach and what is its relation to the historical beginnings of Kyiv?

"The theory of the clan constitution" (or of "the clan way of life"), formulated by I. Evers, S. Soloviev, and K. Kavelin, became the theoretical foundation of the elaborated Normanist approach. The followers of this approach contrasted the clan constitution with the state-political constitution and, they thought, that the state organization was transplanted into Rus' in the middle of the ninth century as a result of the Norman conquest. Thus, according to this approach, the ruling stratum of the old Rus'ian society supposedly consisted exclusively of Normans or their descendants. It was assumed, moreover, that that stratum of the society

---

<sup>3</sup>) M. Lomonosov, *Polnote sobranie sochinenii*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1952, Vol. VI.



of old Rus' consisted only of the princely clan which held all the political power of the state in its own hands, dividing and apportioning it in one or another way among the clan members.

Naturally, this approach fitted excellently into the framework of classical Normanism which attempted to present the Kyivan state as the result of the creative political genius of an alien Norman dynasty, first at work in Novgorod, and then, in Kyiv. That theory, however, was largely negated by the earliest history of the city of Kyiv; it disclosed the existence of a distinct political organization in Rus' long before the first Normans-Vikings arrived there. The texts of the chronicles had already suggested that the Rurik dynasty was not the first ruling family in princely Rus' and that the Normans arrived at a time when the political organization was already completed. In reaction to these chronicle references, a nihilistic tendency developed, demanding the rejection, in general, of any references in the chronicles to the first Kyivan princes and the origin of Kyiv, and the consideration of them as simply legendary "etymological myths" of the chronicles. This tendency was first clearly formulated by Soloviov <sup>4</sup>).

As part of this approach, the history of Kyiv was assumed to have begun with Askold and Dyr, the Norman descent of whom, naturally, was never doubted by any follower of the Normanistic theory.

In the meantime, however, the lack of scholarly foundations of the Normanist theory on the origin of the old Rus'ian state became fully apparent. Historical research by Soviet scholars as well as those of other nations asserted that the old Rus'ian state was formed as a result of a continuous internal evolution of the Eastern Slavic tribes, which followed in the wake of the disintegration of the original primitive way of life, and the ensuing development of class relationships, and which was independent of any foreign influences. Nevertheless, the Normanist approach still finds followers among the representatives of reactionary and bourgeois his-

---

<sup>4</sup>) S. Soloviov, *Istoria Rosii s drevneishikh vremen*. Moscow, 1959, Vol. I, pp. 94-95.



torical writing even at this time. The Normanist theory is still championed by G. Vernadsky, H. Pashkewicz, M. Taube, A. Stender-Petersen, and many other authors<sup>5</sup>). The most singular feature of their approach is the acknowledgement to a greater or lesser extent of the findings of Soviet historical studies; however, concessions are made in secondary matters only in order to preserve the basic Normanist thesis. Thus, in relation to this issue, the question of the significance of Kyiv as the future center of Kyivan Rus', in the process of development of the old Rus'ian state, acquires particular meaning.

### THE ANTES AND THE RUS' STATE

The origin of the genetic process of development of a class society and a state organization among the Eastern Slavs lies in the first half and in the middle of the first millenium A.D., during the so-called Antian period<sup>6</sup>). From historical references, made in written source materials (predominantly Byzantine), it is known that the Antes (Antea) had a relatively strong political organization which was capable, among other things, of mobilizing an armed force of several thousand or even 100,000 men<sup>7</sup>).

The political organization of the Antes was headed by kings (reges), some of whom are known by name. The Antian King Bozha is known from the fourth century. He waged a stubborn war against Gothic expansionism<sup>8</sup>). Many references to the Antian and Slavenian kings and noblemen come from sources from the middle of the first millenium A.D.. Hence, King Musokia (Μήξ) is known to us, who, according to the testimony given by Theophylactus Simocatta,

---

<sup>5</sup>) Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* and "Feudalism in Russia"; H. Paszkiewicz, *The Origin of Russia*, London, 1954. A. Stender-Petersen "Der Aelteste Russische Staat," *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 191, No. 1, 1960; the same, "Die vier Etappen des russisch-warängischen Beziehungen," *IGÖ*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1954; and M. Taube, *Revue et la Russie avant l'invasion des Tatars*, Paris, 1947.

<sup>6</sup>) *Narysy Starodavnyoi Istorii Ukrainy'koi R.S.R.*, Kyiv, 1957.

<sup>7</sup>) *Menandris Protectoris Fragmentae*, 247 (Russian translation in *Viestnik drevnei istorii*, 1941, No. 1).

<sup>8</sup>) *Jordanis Getica*, 247.



had his subjects<sup>9)</sup>, while King Ardagastus ruled his own country<sup>10)</sup>. There was a Sclavenian King Davrit, whose power was so great that the Avarian kingdom, one of the strongest military-political organizations in Eastern Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, could not defeat him<sup>11)</sup>. Menander also mentions an Antian diplomat Mezhamir, while at the same time underscoring his dynastic (or family) connections with such men as Kelagast and Idarisius, Antian chieftains who are well known<sup>12)</sup> to those who know a great deal about the sixth century.

The Antian political union was an immediate political predecessor of the future Rus' state, and there the roots and origins of the old Rus'ian statehood are to be sought. Hence, the history of the old Rus'ian state began not in the middle of the ninth century with the arrival of the Normans, but at least some four or five centuries earlier, not with the mythical Norman colonization but in the sphere of the internal evolution of the Eastern Slavs themselves.

The end of the fifth to the beginning of the seventh century marked a very turbulent era in the history of the Eastern Slavic tribes. The first half of the sixth century was characterized by the commencement of a large-scale struggle of the Antes and the Sclavenians against the Byzantine Empire, which was in fact a component element of the overall struggle of the "barbarian" tribes against the slave-owning system. Beginning with the second decade of the sixth century, the Slavs began their active offensive against Byzantium, utilizing in this way their broad colonization of the northern part of the Balkan peninsula. The Slavs emerged even in Peloponnesa, established their colonies in Asia Minor and Syria, and so on. The result was a substantial flow of the Slavic population southward and into the territory of the Empire.

However, starting with the year 568, the colonization process of the Slavs was greatly complicated by the Avar invasion, and this marked the beginning of the stubborn

---

<sup>9)</sup> *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, VI, 9, 1.

<sup>10)</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 7, 1-5.

<sup>11)</sup> *Menandris*, p. 248.

<sup>12)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247.



Slavic-Avarian wars which continued until the middle of the seventh century, adversely affecting the position of the Slavs. Obviously, the Antes succeeded in the defense of their independence, yet they were so weakened that, in the wake of these developments, their political union disintegrated.

The dramatic developments during the Slavic-Avarian wars were underscored by foreign (Menander, Theophilactus. Phredeharis, and others) as well as old Rus'ian sources. *Povist' vremennykh lit* relates the Avar maltreatment of the Dulibians.<sup>13)</sup>

The tribe of the Dulibians, together with the tribe of the White Khorvatsians, being settled in border areas, were the first to suffer from Avar attacks, who dominated the Carpathian valley, the territory of present-day Hungary and Slovakia. A substantial number of Khorvatsians were even forced to completely abandon their original settlements because of the pressure of the invader, and to migrate to the south, into the territories of present-day Croatia. The Dulibians remained in their original settlements but were compelled to endure cruel abuses.

In connection with these developments, some essential changes occurred in the position of Eastern Slavic lands. Until the sixth and seventh century, it is believed, the regions of Podilla and southern Volhyn were the most culturally developed, having been connected with Classical civilization through the valley of the Dniester river. That very area, however, suffered the most extensive devastation in the middle of the seventh century. Hence, the center of social development was transferred to the east, to the regions of the middle-run of the Dnieper river (though not to the steppe border regions which apparently also suffered from nomadic raids) and its forest belt, i. e., to the vicinity of Kyiv.

During this very difficult era for the Eastern Slavs, the oldest Kyivan settlement was apparently established as the political center of the Polianian tribe of the middle-run of the Dnieper river. It was no wonder, therefore, that Kyiv was predestined, by the progress of events, to become the center toward which all centripetal tendencies were aimed,

---

<sup>13)</sup> *Povist' vremennykh lit*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, No. I-II, p. 14.



literally from the very beginning of its foundation. Then, in the vacuum left by the devastated Antian political union, a new and much broader entity came to grow, subsequently known under the name of Rus'.

A. Nasonov first asserted that that initial Rus' of the sixth to the ninth century could not be territorially identified with the Rus' of the tenth to the thirteenth century, since the term ("Rus' land," "Rus'"), which later on received the all-Rus'ian meaning, was used at first to identify only the southern Rus'ian territory" <sup>14</sup>). This assertion was subsequently affirmed and developed by B. Rybakov on the basis of not only the chronicles but also archeological source material.

The terms "Rus'" and "Rus'ian land" had a double meaning in the chronicles. On the one hand, they referred to all Eastern Slavic lands (Rus', in the broad meaning of the term), and on the other hand, they covered only the southern parts of those lands, the Kyivan and the neighboring regions (Rus' in the narrow meaning of the term) <sup>15</sup>). The chronicle texts very frequently contrast Rus' with a great many regions and separate towns of the old Rus'ian state. Frequently the chronicle talks about various travels to Rus', for example, from Novgorod, Smolensk, Halych, and so forth. If one were to arrange those references into a system then such places as Novgorod, Vladimir-on-Klazma, Rostov, Suzdal, Riazan, Smolensk, Polotsk, Halych, Volodymyr Volynsky, as well as the lands of the Viatichians, Radimichians, and Derevlianians, would not be included within the framework of Rus' in the narrower meaning of the term <sup>16</sup>).

Putting it in other words, Rus', in the narrow meaning of the term, included only the territory of the middle-run of the Dnieper river with the cities of Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereyaslav. This identification was appropriate for the era when Eastern Slavic lands were not yet united into one po-

---

<sup>14</sup>) A. Nasonov, *Russkaia ziemia i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskavo gosudarstva*, Moscow, 1951, p. 7; the southern Rus'ian territory refers to present Ukraine only (translator's note).

<sup>15</sup>) A. Fedotov, "O znachenii slova 'Rus' v nashikh letopisiakh," *Russkii istoricheskii sbornik*, Vol. I, Bk. 2, Moscow, 1937.

<sup>16</sup>) B. Rybakov, "Drevnie rusy," *Sovetskaya arkheologia*, Moscow, 1953, Vol. XVII, pp. 28-29.



litical state. Moreover, Rybakov, having systematized the testimonies of the written sources, archeological findings, and toponymic data into one system, came to the conclusion that the oldest meaning of Rus' was even narrower, as has been previously pointed out, and that territorially it comprised only a comparatively very small triangle between Kyiv and the Ros' river region <sup>17)</sup>.

In the narrow sense of the term, Rybakov considers as the equivalent of Rus' the area of the so-called "civilization of the finger-shaped fibulas" of the sixth and seventh centuries, which has been identified by the singularly characteristic complex of certain articles of jewelry. At present, as a result of the archeological excavations carried out in the *Pastyrské horodyshe* and other places, it is possible to connect the "complex of the finger-shaped fibulas" with the specific kinds of the archeological findings which are closely interrelated with the so called *Cherniakhiv* civilization and constitute its genetic continuation. In this way the question of early Rus' acquired its archeological substantiation.

It is known that the "civilization of the finger-shaped fibulas" was congruent with the territory of the city of Kyiv. According to the number of identified articles of jewelry of the type in question, which have been found there, Kyiv is identifiable as the primary site. Furthermore, this evidence acquires particular meaning as an immediate expression of Kyiv as the center of Rus'. Finally, the findings acquire additional significance with the introduction of the political aspects of the question into the analysis.

### THE POLIANIAN PRINCIPALITY

"And after the passing away of the brothers (Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv M. B.), their clan began to rule as princes among the Polianians, while the Derevlianians had their own princes, and the Dregovichians — their own, and the Slovians — their own in Novgorod, and still others, the Polotsians — their own in Polotsk. Then, next to those, there are the Krivichians who are settled on the upper Volga and

---

<sup>17)</sup> *Ibid.*



upper Dvina and upper Dnieper and whose town is Smolensk; there the Krivichians are settled. Also next to those there are the Siverianians" <sup>18)</sup>).

Those words give full characterization of the social constitution which developed among the Eastern Slavs in the seventh and eighth centuries (during the post-Avarian times). They indicate the presence of several inter-tribal associations, identified by the chronicle as "tribes." However, the term "tribe" can be applied only with far-reaching qualifications. In reality, they were large territorial associations or unions, constituted by several tribal conglomerates. It may be assumed that in the second half of the first millenium A.D. there were six such associations: the Polianian or Rus'ian (the chronicler asserted that "the Polanians are called today the Rus'"), <sup>19)</sup>, Derevlianian, Dregovichian, Ilmenian, Krivichian (Polotsian), and Siverianian. The Radimichians and Viaticians were omitted from the listing, apparently because the author of the *Povist' vremennykh lit* considered them Western Slavs <sup>20)</sup>. Also the so-called southwestern group of tribes (the Ulychians, Tyverians, Dulibians, Khorvatsians, Volhynians, and Buzhanians) was excluded from the listing because they were, apparently, in the political framework of the Polianian association. The city of Kyiv was the center of this Polianian union, which, according to all indications, could be correctly called the Polianian principality, since the chronicle consistently refers to Kyi as the Polianian prince.

It is not known which lands were under the rule of Prince Kyi, whether his rule was limited only to the land of the Polianians (perhaps it included only the parts next to the Dnieper river) or whether, at that time, the gradual process of the unification of the old Rus'ian lands around Kyiv had already begun. The reference to the relations between Kyi and the Derevlianians, made in some variations of the chronicle legend, is interesting. The version of the late Novgorod chronicle, referring to Kyi and his brothers as the

---

<sup>18)</sup> *Povist' vremennykh lit*, p. 13.

<sup>19)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>20)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.



hirelings of the Derevliani, cannot be accepted<sup>21)</sup>. Reducing the Kyivan prince to the level of a common hireling fitted very well into the specific tendency of the Novgorod chronicle intending to humiliate, in whatever way, the capital of Rus'. The reference cannot be confirmed elsewhere. It may rather echo the conflict between the Kyivan (Polianian) and the Derevlianian princes over their domination of some border lands of their principalities. The *Povist' vremennykh lit*, reflecting, of course, the Kyivan tendency, asserted that the Polianians "after those years and after the death of the brothers, were insulted by the Derevliani and other neighboring peoples"<sup>22)</sup>. It is remarkable that not only the Derevliani but also other "neighboring peoples" were mentioned. Apparently, political rivalry led the Polianians to clash not only with the Derevliani, but also with other tribes.

The Polianian principality, with its territory limited to Kyiv and the Ros' river regions (the initial nucleus of Rus', according to Rybakov), constituted the first stage in the political growth of Kyiv as the major center of the Eastern Slavs. Chronologically, that period must be placed in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The next stage of that development consisted of the rise of Kyiv as the center of the whole of southern Rus' (Rus' in the narrow sense of the term, according to Nasonov and Rybakov)<sup>23)</sup>. The manner in which the second stage of development was accomplished is totally unknown because of lack of historical sources. Only the completion of that process is known: Kyiv became one of the three centers of Rus', around which all essential old Rus'ian lands were unified. The references to this are to be found in the Arab writers who related the existence of three centers in Rus': Kuiaha, Slavia, and Arsania.

Of all the references of Arab writers, the most important is the testimony given by Istakhri from the first half of the

---

<sup>21)</sup> F. Gilarov, *Peredania russkoi nachalnoi letopisi*, Moscow, 1878, pp. 69-70.

<sup>22)</sup> *Povist'*, p. 16.

<sup>23)</sup> Southern Rus' denoted usually present-day Ukraine only (translator's note).



tenth century. He relates: "Rus' consists of three tribes, from which one is close to the Bulgars, whose king lives in the city called Kuiaba, being larger than Bulgar; the second tribe is called Slavia; and still another tribe is called Arsanian, while its king lives in Arsa. The merchants go to Kuiaba"<sup>24</sup>). Almost all these references were literally repeated by Ibn-Hauqal who also lived in the tenth century<sup>25</sup>). Quite later, the three centers were mentioned by Idrisi, a writer of the twelfth century<sup>26</sup>).

The three centers of Rus', to which the above sources referred, were, in fact, the political associations of many tribes and the term was used by the chronicle. The fact was confirmed by the number of centers, namely, three of them, while according to the chronicle, there were many more tribes. Hence, the unification process of Rus', as pictured by the writings of Istakhri and Ibn-Hauqal, indicated a higher level of development. Istakhri's *Book of Climates*, which was also the source of information for Ibn-Hauqal<sup>27</sup>), was written sometime in the middle of the tenth century. However, the references to Rus'ian lands, including the reference to the three centers, do apply to the earlier era. By the time of Prince Ihor, there were no longer three centers as separate political entities. Therefore, the described stage of the political development must have taken place, as far as timing is concerned, between Kyi's era, when the "tribes" of the chronicle existed as independent socio-political units and the era during which the unification of Rus' was being completed.

The effort to locate the third center, Arsanian or Artania, has produced the greatest controversy: some have placed it in the area of the later Tmutorokan<sup>28</sup>), others — in the

<sup>24</sup>) A. Garkavi, *Skazania musulmanskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i rus-skikh*, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 193.

<sup>25</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

<sup>26</sup>) B. Rybakov, "Russkie zemli na kartie Idrisi," *Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta Istorii Materialnoi Kultury*, Moscow, 1952, XLVIII.

<sup>27</sup>) Some historians express the view that Istakhri himself borrowed the materials of Jalkhani, an author from the ninth century, whose writings have not been preserved.

<sup>28</sup>) D. Il'ovskii, *Raziskania o nachale Rusi*, Moscow, 1876; V. Parnenko, "Try tsentra drevneiushoi Rusi," *Izvestia otdeleniia russkavo yazyka i slovesnosti Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk*, 1913, Vol. XLVIII, Bk. 2.



Riazan land<sup>29</sup>), and still others — somewhere in the Ural mountains<sup>30</sup>). As far as Kuiaba and Slavia are concerned, the reference is apparently to Kyiv in the first case and to Novgorod in the second; one was considered the center of southern Rus' (or Rus' in the narrower sense), and the other — northern Rus'<sup>31</sup>).

Hence the chart, as reflected in the reference of the Arab writers, illustrated the second stage in the process of the consolidation of Eastern Slavic lands. In the place of six original unions, known to the chronicle as tribes, two large associations, southern and northern Rus', emerged. Kyiv and Novgorod concentrated all essentially Rus'ian lands around themselves as centers.

It is a pity that there are at present no precise references available concerning the territorial borders of those associations. The territorial composition of the southern association can only be guessed at; in its framework there were apparently the territories of the Polianians, Siverianians, and Derevlianians (perhaps only in part). The geographical expansion of the term Rus' actually reflected the territorial expansion of Kyiv's domination over the entire region of the Dnieper middle-run and further. It is in this very state of affairs that Kyiv entered the era of written history.

### ASKOLD AND DYR

Beginning with the year 852, the narration of events in the *Povist' vremennykh lit* follows a year-by-year approach. The reference to the Rus' expedition against Constantinople in 852 represents the first concrete fact of old Rus'ian history which the chronicler was able to ascertain from Byzantine

---

<sup>29</sup>) A. Monhait, "K voprosu o triekh tsentrakh drevnei Rusi." *Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta Istorii Materialnoi Kultury, Moscow-Leningrad*, 1947, XVI.

<sup>30</sup>) D. Khvolson, *Izvestia o khozarakh, burtasakh, madiarakh, slavianakh i russakh ibn-Dasta*, St. Petersburg, 1869.

<sup>31</sup>) Since there are no historical references to the European northeast as "Rus'" at that early date, Braichevsky's interpretation at this point must be considered as a tribute paid to the Russian interpretation. Without having done this, he probably would not have been able to publish his work in the USSR. (translator's note).



sources. However, the annual recording of events for the first decade (852-862) does not supply factual data on Rus'ian history, with the exception of the uncertain reference of tribute paid by the Chud, Meria, Ves, Krivichians, and Ilmen Slovenians to the Varangians, and by the Polianians, Siverianians, and Viatichians to the Khozars.

The year 852 is the first year to be precisely fixed in the chronology of old Kyiv. *Povist' vremennykh lit* relates the following: "There were with him (Rurik — M. B.) two men not of his tribe, but they were *boyars*. They asked him to let them go, with their clans, to Constantinople. They went by the Dnieper river, and as they were traveling they saw a town on a mountain. And they politely asked: 'Whose town is it?' They were given an answer that 'There were three brothers, Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv, who built that town, but they died, and we, their clan, live here and pay a tribute to the Khozars.' Askold and Dyr then stayed in that town and assembled many Varangians there, and began to rule over the Polianian land, while Prince Rurik ruled in Novgorod" <sup>32</sup>).

Hence, according to the said reference, Kyi's dynasty was terminated by 852, and allegedly in this year the ruling authority there was assumed by the Normans, Rurik's *boyars*, Askold and Dyr.

Nevertheless, the preciseness of the statement and the credibility of the chronicler's relation is cause for considerable doubt. The nature of the presentation can be directly connected with the general, naive Normanist approach, part of the version of the *Povist' vremennykh lit* which has been made available to us by fate. The thesis of the seizure of Kyiv by the Normans constitutes the very essence of the general conception of the historical beginnings of old Rus' as it was visualized by the old Rus'ian scribe. This was the reason why Askold and Dyr were declared to be "Rurik's *boyars*" and why the year of 852 was affixed as the time of the legendary calling of the Varangians. It is therefore no wonder that Normanistic literature has been generally ac-

---

<sup>32</sup>) *Povist'*, pp. 18-19.



cepting that year, without qualifications, as the actual beginning of Kyiv's history.

However, a comparative study of source materials of different origin suggests that the above narration is not the type of historical source that can be taken literally. The version of developments, as related in the *Povist' vremennykh lit* was popularized only in those chronicle compilations which have until now constituted the tradition of the *Povist'*. Yet, along with these versions there were also others which were, however, ignored by official chroniclers for various reasons.

For example, the *Nikonovskaia letopis* relates Askold's and Dyr's participation in the Rus' campaign against Constantinople, which was affixed by the *Povist'* to the year 852<sup>33</sup>). This would suggest that they must have ruled in Kyiv long before 852. It should also be underscored that the *Nikonovskaia letopis* does not mention any connections between Askold and Dyr, on the one hand, and Rurik and his people, on the other. On the contrary, there is a very interesting reference there relating that Rurik, after the death of all his brothers, began to grant individual lands to the men of his retinue, including Polotsk, while "during this summer, the Polotsians were attacked by Askold and Dyr, who caused a great deal of devastation there"<sup>34</sup>). It would seem that the beginning of the political rivalry between Kyiv and Novgorod for the domination over other territories may be discerned in this remark by the chronicler.

There existed, therefore, another version according to which Askold and Dyr were not Varangians but local princes. This version was clearly presented by Dlugosz who was able to utilize certain old Rus'ian source materials which have not been preserved to the present. Dlugosz writes that "after the death of Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv, their children and descendants, through direct inheritance passed to two brothers, Askold and Dyr, who stayed in Kyiv (to rule), while many Ruthenian people, due to a tremendous growth of population, emigrated and looked for new sites to live, being also unhappy with Askold's and Dyr's domination. Because

---

<sup>33</sup>) *Nikonovskaia letopis, Polnoie sobranie russkikh letopisei*, St. Petersburg, 1862, Vol. IX, p. 7; *Povist'*, p. 17.

<sup>34</sup>) *Nikonovskaia letopis, Ibid.*, p. 9.



they could not come to an agreement whom to choose as their prince from among themselves, they invited three Varangian princes. The first of them (princes), called Rurik, ruled in Novgorod, the second, called Sinev — in Bielo Ozero, and the third, Truvor — in Zborsk”<sup>35)</sup>.

Hence according to Dlugosz, Askold and Dyr were not only Rus’ian (i. e., Slavs by descent) but were also the direct descendants of Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv, and the constitutional holders of authority in Kyiv. They had no need to seize power in Kyiv. Rather, they were compelled to protect it from encroachments from the north, where the Varangian princes were asked to rule. According to the reconstruction by Dlugosz, Askold and Dyr perished by the hand of Ihor, Rurik’s son, after the Rurik dynasty was firmly settled in Kyiv.

The same version can also be found in Strykowski’s work: “When in Rus’, which is in the south, Askold and Dyr, Kyi’s descendants, were ruling in the Kyivan principality, the Rus’ian peoples widely multiplied and spread over the northern and eastern territories”<sup>36)</sup>. Obviously, this version was taken from there and also placed in the Kyivan *Synopsis* which considered Askold and Dyr as the direct descendants of Prince Kyi<sup>37)</sup>.

There was an attempt in some of the old Rus’ian chronicles to find an intermediate solution somewhere between the versions of Dlugosz and of the *Povist’ vremennykh lit.* According to such a compromise, Askold and Dyr were Slavs and Kyi’s descendants, but at the same time they were members of Rurik’s immediate milieu<sup>38)</sup>.

Other historical sources also refute the assumptions concerning the Varangian origin of Askold and Dyr and their seizure of authority in Kyiv by force. In particular, Dyr was known to the Arab writer of the tenth century, Masudi, who,

---

<sup>35)</sup> J. Dlugosz, *Historia polonica, Opera omnia*, Cracow, MDCCLXXII, Vol. X, p. 48.

<sup>36)</sup> M. Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, zmódzka i wszystkich Rusi*, Vol. I, Królewiec MDLXXXII, p. 113.

<sup>37)</sup> *Synopsis*, St. Petersburg, 1798, eighth ed., p. 27.

<sup>38)</sup> Gilarov, pp. 127-129.



with certainty, called him a Slavic king <sup>39)</sup>. One of the fundamental arguments of the Normanists centered, *nota bene*, on the Scandinavian character of some names of the old Rus'ian princes and members of their retinue in the ninth and tenth centuries (Rurik, Oleh, Olha, Ihor, and others). Yet no one was able to associate the name of Askold and Dyr with a Norman origin. Consequently, all these reasons tend to establish the view that Askold and Dyr must have been the representatives of the local, Slavic (Polianian) dynasty which ruled in Kyiv until its seizure by Oleh.

Careful analysis of chronicle references does suggest that Askold and Dyr were not contemporaries. Without underscoring the difficulty of simultaneous, parallel rule by two persons in one center, there are other details and apparent references as well, which compel the student to seriously re-evaluate developments in this particular direction. In fact, according to references in historical sources, Askold and Dyr were allegedly killed at the same time and at the same place, somewhere south of Kyiv, by Oleh (or Ihor). However, at the site where the killing was supposed to have taken place, there is only one grave (even to this day the site is called Askold's grave). On the other hand, Dyr's grave was in the city of Kyiv itself, at the same site where the Church of St. Irene was built at the time of Yaroslav, i. e., precisely on the territory of the so-called cemetery of the retinue <sup>40)</sup>. In what manner could one explain the burial of one of the assassinated brothers at the execution site and the transfer of the other to another site several miles away, close to the city's walls, and his burial in the cemetery where representatives of the Kyivan upper class were entombed? Since Askold was named first, the assumption that more attention was focused on Dyr than on the older brother must be dismissed.

Thus, only Askold was killed in 882, while Dyr, who for unknown reasons was mentioned at that point, must have in reality ruled either before or after Askold. The views of scholars are divided at this point; some believe that Askold ruled before Dyr, while others claim the reverse. Since the

---

<sup>39)</sup> Garkavi, p. 137.

<sup>40)</sup> Povist', p. 20.



chronology of the Kyivan princes, which starts with Oleh, is fully known and in proper order, the author's belief is that the only acceptable theory is that Dyr ruled before Askold: in 882, at the time of Oleh's seizure of Kyiv, Dyr was lying buried under the hill on the *Starokyivsky* plateau. This assumption is, no doubt, affirmed by Masudi, who knew of Dyr only.

It is not improbable that the version claiming the parallel ruling and simultaneous death of both brothers, Askold and Dyr, emerged from the Bulgarian translation by Georgii Amartol, once popular in Rus', in which Askold and Dyr are presented together as the organizers of the expedition of 866. If one would see a contradiction to the thesis of the alternate rule by Askold and Dyr, using the credibility of Amartol's chronicle as a point of reference, then the following explanation could be given: it is quite possible that both brothers participated in the military expedition; however, at the time only Dyr, the older brother, was prince of Kyiv, and Askold was merely a participant in the project. In the period from 866 to 882, a full sixteen years passed, during which Dyr may have died and Askold succeeded him to the Kyivan throne. Only a subsequent attempt of the chronicler to subordinate the known facts to a perspective developed on the basis of the calling of the Varangians, also conceivably developed by the chronicler, would have induced him to place Askold and Dyr into the same chronological framework.

## **OLEH**

The commencement of a third and final stage in the process of the unification of all Rus' in one old Rus'ian state with its center in Kyiv has been closely connected with the name of Prince Oleh.

Of course, one cannot assume that the final unification of Rus'ian lands around the center of Kyiv was completed as a result of the will of particular personalities (Oleh and his heirs). Rather, that process was the outcome of completely objective developments which led to its maturation as a state political body. The whole process was a historical inevitability, whereby the centralist policies of the Kyivan princes



of the tenth century evolved completely within the framework of objective materialistic regularity. This also predetermined its successful completion.

*Povist' vremennykh lit* relates the event of Oleh's arrival in Kyiv in the following manner: "Oleh, having taken with him many warriors, Varangians, Chud, Meria, Ves, and Krivichians, departed, and then came with the Krivichians to Smolensk, and took it and put one of his men in charge there. Then he arrived at the Kyivan hills and saw that Askold and Dyr ruled there. Oleh, having hidden some warriors in boats and having left others behind, took the child Ihor and came to the town in person. After having arrived at Uhorske and having hidden warriors, he sent his messengers to Askold and Dyr and the messengers related: I am a merchant and on my way to the Greeks, being sent by Oleh and Ihor, the young prince. Come to us and our clan. Askold and Dyr went there, and all the warriors and others emerged from their hiding in the boats, and Oleh said to Askold and Dyr: 'You are neither princes nor of princely descent, while I am of princely descent.' And having raised Ihor on his hands, he said: 'This is Rurik's son.' He then killed Askold and Dyr and had them carried to a hill and buried there; the hill is called Uhorske hill even today. Today the Olmyn court is there, and over that grave, Olha built the Church of St. Nicholas; Dyr's grave is behind St. Irene's Church. Oleh then sat on the Kyivan throne and said: 'It should be the mother of all Rus'ian towns. And all who were with him, the Varangians, and Slovenians, and others were called Rus'. Oleh began to build towns and gave laws to the Slovenians, Krivichians, and Meria, ordered Novgorod to pay to the Varangians an annual tribute of three hundred *hryvens*, protected peace, and granted the Varangians the town of Yaroslavl until his death" <sup>41)</sup>.

That narration harbors, of course, a great deal of legendary material; the account of killing Askold and Dyr is communicated in the typical form of folk poetry. It is hardly possible that Oleh's arrival could be presented as a mercantile excursion to Kyiv. It was evident that the arrival of a huge army from the north along the Dnieper river (passing by

---

<sup>41)</sup> *Loc. cit.*



Vyshhorod, which was the northern outpost of the city), would not be noticed by the Kyivans. Oleh's stealth at Kyiv seems quite unclear. Having arrived from the north and hidden the majority of his warriors in boats, he appeared at the walls of the city, bearing Ihor (apparently, in order to present him to the Kyivans as their prince?). On the other hand, this is immediately followed by the assertion that Oleh bypassed Kyiv and stopped at Uhorske. There again, he hid his warriors in boats and again bore Ihor to the city to meet Askold and Dyr. That repetition in Oleh's maneuvers (once — not having reached Kyiv and the second time — bypassing the city) induces some degree of incredibility. It seems that the chronicler rendered his account in a rather poor way.

In addition, the conduct of Askold and Dyr in the given situation does not appear very probable. They were high-placed persons, the rulers of the greatest political center of the middle Dnieper region. A common merchant, as Oleh pretended to be, could hardly expect any special consideration from them. It is even more incredible that both princes left the city, especially to meet an unknown and adventurous merchant, and that they did it without taking bodyguards or warriors. This the chronicler would have us believe. If one were to evaluate the narrative seriously, one would have to consider Oleh a very naive man who sought to achieve his ends in a very primitive way, while Askold and Dyr appear to be very thoughtless.

For those reasons the chronicle relation about Oleh's capture of Kyiv requires a most careful approach. It must also be emphasized that other details of Oleh's biography have a rather legendary character. One need mention only the following: attaching wheels to the ships during the military expedition against Byzantium in 907; the Greek attempt to poison the Russian prince; Oleh's death by a snake bite, which lived in the skull of his favored horse; and other similar aspects. Hence, in historical literature, Oleh's person, having an epic rather than a historic character, has been receiving increasing acceptance <sup>42</sup>).

<sup>42</sup>) M. Khalanskiĭ, "K istorii poeticheskikh skazanii ob Olegē Vleshchem," *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchēnia*, July 1902, and October 1903.



However, aside from these elements, it is correct to assume that the narrations about Oleh certainly do have a basis in exact and real historical facts, as does the legend about Kyi, Shchek, and Khoryv. The very development of such legends was predetermined by the actual deeds of Prince Oleh. The very fact that Oleh gained such attention in folk memory indicates, through the many layers of folklore tradition, the great personality of the Prince, the unifier of Rus'ian lands around the center of Kyiv.

The seizure of Kyiv by Oleh represented a change of dynasty on the Kyivan throne: the elimination of Kyi's dynasty and the installation of Rurik's ruling house. If this fact is doubted, then the entire chronicle narration would lose significance, even the sense of its existence altogether. It seems that the legends about Askold's and Dyr's usurpation of the Kyivan throne, Oleh's maneuvers at Kyiv, his presentation of Ihor to the Kyivans as their legal Rus'ian prince, and other measures, pursued only one end, and that was the justification of Oleh's seizure of power in Kyiv, which was intended to establish the right of the Rurik dynasty to the Kyivan grand throne.

Other details, which are of special interest, can be found in the chronicle. For example, references to the construction of towns and to the introduction of tribute identified those interesting details which undoubtedly reflect Oleh's administrative and organizational activities which were directed towards the strengthening and the safeguarding of his authority after the seizure of Kyiv. However, the most important references are to the territorial expansion of Oleh's authority.

When he launched his military expedition in 882, Oleh, in addition to the Varangians, already ruled over two Slavic "tribes", the Novgorodian Slovenians and the Krivichians, and some non-Slavic tribes such as the Chud, Meria, and Ves. Capturing the city of Kyiv extended his rule to the Polianians, though other "tribes", which at that time did recognize Kyiv's supremacy (excluding those who paid tribute to the Khozars), did not, by any means, submit to Oleh's authority immediately. Hence, subsequent verses of the chronicle describe Oleh's measures aimed at the subjugation of these "tribes."



One can read in the chronicle under the year 883: "Oleh began his warfare against the Derevlians, conquered them, and imposed a tribute upon them of one black *kuna* from each man." And then: "in the summer 6392 (884), Oleh campaigned against the Siverianians and defeated them and imposed a light tribute upon them and did not allow them to pay any tribute to the Khozars by saying 'I am against them but not against you.'

"In the summer 6393 (885) he sent an envoy to the Radimichians to ask them: 'To whom do you pay tribute?' They answered: 'To the Khozars.' And Oleh said: 'Do not pay the Khozars, but pay me.' And they paid Oleh one *shellah* as they had paid the Khozars. In this way Oleh extended his rule over the Polianians, and Derevlians, and Severianians, and Radimichians, while continuing warfare against the Ulychians and the Tyverians" <sup>43</sup>).

Thus Oleh's authority was extended, as the chronicle points out, over four large "tribes," the Polianians, Derevlians, Siverianians, and Radimichians; outside of his domination there were still the Dregovichians and Viaticians. It must be assumed that his attempts to extend his rule over the Ulychians and Tyverians did not bring any positive results. However, the narrative about Oleh's gathering forces for his military expedition against Byzantium in 907 tells us that, at that time, his subjects were the Slovenians, Krivichians, Polianians, Derevlians, Radimichians, Siverianians, Viaticians, Khorvatsians, Dulibians, Tyverians, and the non-Slavic Chud <sup>44</sup>). The time when all these other "tribes" were made component parts of the Kyivan state is not known.

The centralist policies of Prince Oleh apparently induced a counteraction on the part of the Khozars. However, the assertion of the chronicle at this point may bring some doubts and weaken its credibility. For example, Rybakov assumed that the particular part of the chronicle narrative of the *Povist' vremennykh lit* which spoke of the liberation of some tribes from the burden of paying tribute to the Khozars by

---

<sup>43</sup>) *Povist'*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>44</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 23.



Oleh was simply another of the epic elements, along with other legends about this prince, which was intended to glorify the usurper of power in the Rus' state. Rybakov states the following: "Nestor, having created the literary picture of Oleh *Vishchy*, the unifier of Rus', was compelled to create great deeds to fit the historic role which he prescribed for him. Oleh, in Nestor's writing, not only unified the southern and northern parts of Rus', not only fought against the Greeks, but also freed Slavic tribes from Khazar domination. The northern prince who captured Kyiv by deceit and imposed tribute on the southern Rus'ian tribes is suddenly projected into the role of a liberator of those tribes from an even more burdensome Khazar tribute <sup>45</sup>).

This assumption, however, requires some verification, since in the Khazar-Jewish version there is affirmation of the Siverianians and, perhaps, Viaticians having paid tribute to the Khazars. Yet, regardless of how the Khazar-Slavic relationships in the ninth century are explained, the subjugation of the Siverianians and Radimichians to Oleh's authority was an objective reality.

### OLEH'S SUCCESSORS

Thus, the third and final stage of the durable unification of old Rus'ian lands around the center of Kyiv began. It took the entire tenth century to be completed. Although Oleh's authority extended over almost all old Rus'ian tribes, the union created by him proved to be very shaky.

The political system of Oleh's state was not built on stable foundations. The subjected "tribes", which in fact were the intertribal political associations with the constitutions of principalities, preserved their autonomies and their internal political authorities in the persons of their "tribal" princes such as Mal, the Derevlianian, and Khodota, the Viatician prince, who are mentioned in written sources. Their relation to Kyiv was limited to the recognition of supremacy (suzerainty) of the Kyivan prince and to the payment of a specific tribute.

---

<sup>45</sup>) B. Rybakov, "Rus' i Khozary," *Sbornik akademiku Grekovu ko dnu 70-letia*, Moscow, 1952, p. 88.



The consequences of this order were immediately visible. Oleh died in 912 and was succeeded by Ihor, and under the year 913 it was already recorded that: "Ihor began to rule after Oleh... and the Derevlians after Oleh's death rose against Ihor" <sup>46</sup>). It was enough for the first unifier to die in order for his political creation to begin to crack immediately. In the following year, "Ihor marched against the Derevlians and defeated them and imposed upon them a heavier tribute than that once imposed by Oleh" <sup>47</sup>). In addition, during the following year, Ihor continued his warfares for the sake of unification of Rus'ian territories around the Kyivan center. In particular, the subjugation of the Ulychians, one of the few tribes which successfully resist Oleh's attempts at conquest, required considerable efforts on Ihor's part.

References to Ulychian epics were found in the *First Novgorodian Chronicle* where, under the year 922, the following was written: "Ihor was sitting on the princely throne of Kyiv and he waged war against the Derevlians and the Ulychians. And he had a *voyevoda* called Sveneld. He defeated the Ulychians, imposed a tribute upon them and put Sveneld in charge there. And only one town, called Peresechen did not submit. It was under siege for three years and it was finally taken. The Ulychians **originally** were settled by the Dnieper river and later they moved between the Boh and the Dniester rivers and settled there. He gave the Derevlianian tribute to Sveneld and he received one black *kuna* from each household" <sup>48</sup>).

The chronology of this narration is definitely incorrect, since all of the described developments occurred between 912 and 945. Later, the same events were mentioned again but under another date. For the date of 940 it was underscored: "This year the Ulychians gave the tribute to Ihor and Peresechen was taken. At that time also their tribute was given to Sveneld" <sup>49</sup>). This means, therefore, that the subjugation of the Ulychians was accomplished in 940.

---

<sup>46</sup>) *Povist'*, p. 31.

<sup>47</sup>) *Loc. cit.*

<sup>48</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>49</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 110.



The centralist activities of the Kyivan princes and their followers clashed with the centrifugal forces which were deeply rooted in the ruling upper stratum of the defeated tribes. The political situation which developed in the middle of the tenth century in Rus' received its dramatic reflection in the events of 945, notably the Derevlianian uprising which was the first real instance of class struggle in Kyivan Rus'.

The Derevlianian uprising was the result of a very complicated conglomeration of controversies which tore apart the young feudal state. The uprising was sparkled by the excessive levies imposed by the Kyivan prince who made an attempt to collect tribute from the Derevlianian territory for the second time (removing thereby, it can be assumed, not a surplus product, but the product needed for subsistence). The uprising must have undoubtedly started among the lower classes, but Ihor actually perished at the hands of the Derevlianian Prince Mal. Obviously, the upper class of the Derevlianian society must have taken advantage of the outburst of the people's wrath to free themselves from the Kyivan supremacy and, in the wake of the class struggle, to rid itself of the domination of the Kyivan prince. It was clear that the tribute, which was collected by the Kyivan prince or by vassal lords such as Sveneld, was desired by the upper class which would have preferred to keep the tribute for itself.

Ihor's widow, Princess Olha, cruelly suppressed the mass uprising, yet she also had to deal with Mal in particular and with the representatives of the upper social crust who resisted her onslaught for a long time. "What do you actually want?" Olha asked the Derevlianian feudal lords, beleaguered in Iskorosten. "All your towns have surrendered and are ready to pay tribute to me and everybody is already cultivating his field. Do you wish really to starve rather than to pay tribute?"<sup>50</sup>). This signified that Iskorosten's resistance continued while the rest of the Derevlianian territory was subjugated, including the possessions of those who, in Iskorosten, still dreamt of their former power. The land acknowledged the authority of the Kyivan princes and paid the required

---

<sup>50</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 42.



tribute. The Derevliani had paid a very high price for their attempt to resist the Kyivan supremacy and to free themselves from Kyivan domination. Olha "imposed on them a very heavy tribute, of which two-thirds was paid to Kyiv and one-third to Vyshhorod" <sup>51</sup>). (Vyshhorod was then the residence of Olha's court). Obviously, all of the tribute burden was borne by the masses.

The struggle for the unification of Rus'ian lands also continued during the reign of Ihor's son, Prince Sviatoslav. At that time, the last tribe which still remained beyond the political borders of Kyivan Rus', the Viatichians, was annexed. Under the year 964, *Povist' vremennykh lit* relates: "And he (Sviatoslav — M. B.) marched on the Oka and Volga rivers and there he met the Viatichians and asked them: 'To whom do you pay homage?' And they answered: 'We pay one *shelah* from each plow to the Khazars'." <sup>52</sup>)

The tribute paid by the Viatichians to the Khazars is affirmed by this reference, and in this case, it cannot be considered as the desire of the chronicler to glorify Oleh. The attempt to annex the Viatichians to the Kyivan state resulted in a very exacting war with the Khazar kahanate which was terminated only after the complete annihilation of the latter. "In 6473 (965) Sviatoslav moved against the Khazars. When the Khazars heard of it, they came forth with their prince, the *kahan*. And the battle was fought and there were many prisoners. Sviatoslav defeated the Khazars and took their capital and the town of Bila Vezha" <sup>53</sup>). However, it must be admitted that the liberation of the Viatichians from Khazar domination was accomplished against their own will and after their own resistance was broken. "Sviatoslav defeated the Viatichians," *Povist'* related, "and he imposed a tribute upon them" <sup>54</sup>).

That victory was very costly for Sviatoslav since the annihilation of the Khazar kahanate opened a wide path for the Pechenegs from Asia and, a little later, in the battle with them near the Dnieper cataracts, Sviatoslav himself

---

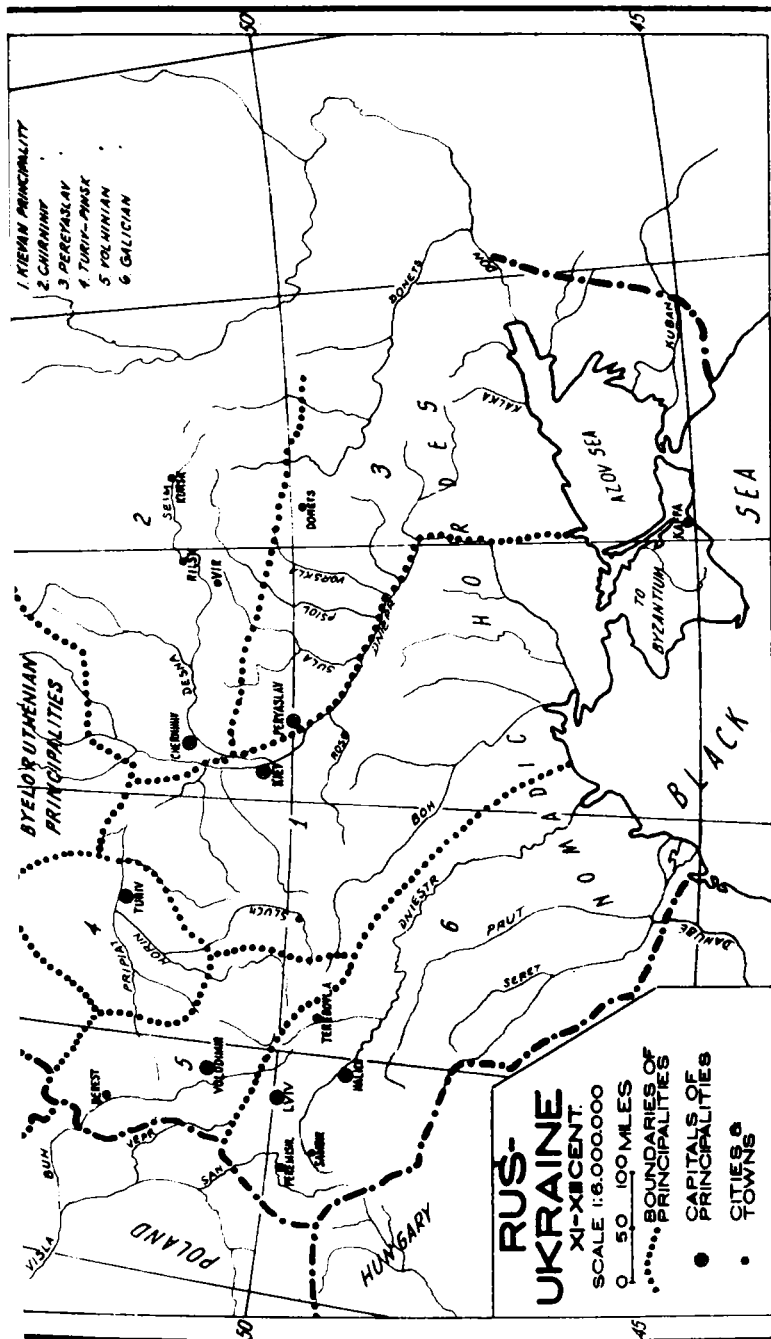
<sup>51</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>52</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>53</sup>) *Loc. cit.*

<sup>54</sup>) *Loc. cit.*







perished. On the other hand, for the first time in history, all Eastern Slav territories were united into one state which, of course, was still very heterogeneous and weak. The next step was intended to effect the reorganization of the entire state, the strengthening of central authority, and the introduction of a new form of local administration.

These reforms were accomplished during the reign of Prince Volodymyr, Sviatoslav's son (980-1015), who was an outstanding figure in the history of Rus' and who was rightly considered one of her most outstanding rulers. His energy and persistence accomplished several objectives in Rus', which were intended to strengthen the central authority of the Grand Duke and to overcome all anti-centralist and centrifugal forces which were brewing within the tribal principalities.

Thus, the most important measure undertaken by Volodymyr was his administrative reform, carried out in 988, which aimed at the centralization of the old Rus'ian state. The essence of that reform expressed itself in the ultimate liquidation of "tribal" autonomies. Until then Rus' was a conglomerate of principalities which recognized the supremacy of the Kyivan Grand Duke and paid him tribute, although they remained almost independent political organizations in that conglomerate. It was evident that the system existed largely by virtue of the personality and strength of the Kyivan ruler. A weakening of that strength was enough to warrant attempts by the immediate individual "tribal" territories to rid themselves of Kyivan supremacy.

In place of the "tribal" principalities, the reform introduced the territorial system, centered around large cities where either Volodymyr's sons or viceroys were placed in charge of government. The chronicle narrates: "And he put Vysheslav in Novgorod, and Iziaslav in Polotsk, and Sviatopolk in Turiv, and Yaroslav in Rostov. After the older Vysheslav died in Novgorod, Yaroslav was placed there, while Borys — in Rostov, and Hlib in Murom, Sviatoslav in Dereve, Vsevolod in Vladimir, and Mstyslav in Tmutorokan" <sup>55</sup>).

Thus, in place of "tribal" princes, all local power was assumed by those who were directly dependent upon the

---

<sup>55</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 83.



Kyivan prince and were bound to carry out his will. The local autonomy of the "tribes," together with the tendency to separate from Kyiv, was completely uprooted. In order to preserve the real power of the new administrators, Volodymyr launched another plan: he established a series of fortifications (mostly in border regions) where he placed in charge individuals from other regions who were not connected with local political traditions. "And Volodymyr said: 'It is not good that there are only a few towns near Kyiv.' And he began to build towns along the Desna, and Vorskla, and Trubezh, and Sula, and Stuhna. And he began to hire better men from among the Slovenians, and Krivichians, and Chud, and Viaticians and put them in charge in those towns, since there was a war with the Pechenegs. And he fought with them and defeated them" <sup>56</sup>).

Through Volodymyr's administrative reforms the long process of unification of the old Rus'ian territories around the center of Kyiv was completed and in the final result, Kyiv became not only nominally, -- but also in reality -- the very center of all Rus'.

---

<sup>56</sup>) *Loc. cit.*



N. Polonska-Wasylenko \*).

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STATE OF UKRAINE-RUS'

### INTRODUCTION

In the year 1113, Nestor, a monk of the Pechersky Monastery in Kyiv, wrote his chronicle entitled *Povist' vremennykh lit*, showing how the Rus'ian Country originated, who ruled in Kyiv as the first Prince and how the Rus'ian Country grew." Under the date of the year 6370 (862) Nestor reports the invitation of the Norsemen (the Varangians) Rurik, Sineus and Truvor and the foundation of a large state — extending from Novgorod to Murom — by Rurik. Nestor also adds that after the death of Rurik, the (Ukrainian) regions of Lyubech and Kyiv were incorporated into this state. This aberration, that is to say, the erroneous assumption that there was a connection between the earliest beginnings of the Ukrainian state and Rurik, Prince of Novgorod, was maintained until the end of the 19th century. It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that this theory was definitely refuted by the great Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky <sup>1)</sup>. Nestor caught on to this idea at a time when there were already indications of the collapse of the mighty Kyivan state, when attempts were made to consolidate this state, and one of the means to strengthen the very idea of the unity of the state was the theory of the unity of the princely dynasty. Hence Nestor affirms that the dynasty had its origin

---

\* N. Polonska-Wasylenko, an outstanding Ukrainian historian, author of many works, books and articles, most important of which are *Istoria Ukrainy, Kyivs'ka Derzhava i Zakhid, Z istorii ostannikh chasiv Zaporizhzhia*, and others. The above article was published in *The Ukrainian Review*, London, summer 1963, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 33-58; reprinted with the permission of the publisher.

<sup>1)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, "The Traditional System of 'Russian' History vs. Rational History of Eastern Slavs," *Stati po slavianovidinui*, St. Petersburg, 1904; the first article in this work (in translation).



in Rurik and in Rurik's successors, all of whom were allegedly descended from "one grandfather" and therefore, on the strength of the right of succession ruled the country of Rus' and formed one united state.

This theory cannot bear criticism for the simple reason that the development of the two state organizations — that of Novgorod under the leadership of Rurik and that of the Ukrainian Kyivan state — assumed entirely different courses. Neither Ukraine-Rus' of the 9th to 10th century, nor the royal dynasty which ruled in Ukraine-Rus' from the 10th to the 14th century were connected with the historical event which Nestor regards as the beginning of the "Rus'ian" state, namely with the invitation of Rurik in 862 or with the person of Rurik himself. The person of Rurik attracted the attention of Russian historiographers and some of the Ukrainian historians also showed an interest in him. The question was frequently raised as to whether he was a real person or a myth, and of what origin was the real Rurik?<sup>2</sup>). The Russian historians of the 1920's in particular were interested in the personality of Rurik<sup>3</sup>). These questions may perhaps be interesting but they have no connection whatever with the history of Ukraine.

We do not intend to occupy ourselves in this article with the results of archaeological research in Ukraine, although these results in general prove the existence of various cultures, beginning with the Neolithic Age in the southern and northern regions of East Europe<sup>4</sup>). In this respect the period of the culture of Trypilia, which existed about the sixth to third millennium B.C., can definitely be proved. The region over which this culture spread included Ukraine on the right bank of the River Dnieper as far as the Carpathians and the Balkan peninsula. This illustrious culture, which was characterized by a highly developed art and above all by pottery, linked Ukraine with the countries in the world which at that time already possessed a highly developed culture, that is to

---

<sup>2</sup>) *Istoriya Ukrainskoi RSR*, Kyiv, 1953, Vol. I, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup>) N. T. Belyayev, *Ryurik Yutlandskiy i Ryurik nachal'noy letopisi*; M. de Taube, *Rome et la Russie*, Paris, 1947; P. K. Kovalevskii, *Istoriicheskiy put' Rossiye*, Paris, 1949.

<sup>4</sup>) V. Shcherbakivsky, *Kamenna doba na Ukrayini*, Munich, 1947.



say with Asia Minor, the Caucasus, with the culture of the Mediterranean countries, with the so-called Aegean culture, the culture of Crete, Cyprus and Greece. The fact that the culture of Trypilia had much in common with the future culture of Ukraine is of particular significance: for instance, remains of dwellings and models of huts have been found which, with regard to their layout, resemble the dwellings in the rural areas of Ukraine today. And the pottery ware of both cultures, both with regard to shape and ornamentation, reveals many common features<sup>5</sup>). To a large extent the Scythians continued the culture of Trypilia in the field of art and pottery (mainly with regard to the shape of vessels) and in the settlements. The Scythians also had much in common with the Ukrainians of later eras as far as clothing (trousers, shirts, pointed caps, etc.) was concerned<sup>6</sup>).

After a fairly long "vacuum," during which the migration of various peoples took place in the territory of Ukraine, there is more concrete information from about the end of the first millennium onwards on the settlement of the Slavs in the territory of the future Ukraine. Research scholars designate the nature of the burial-grounds which have been in the region extending from the River Dnister to as far as the province of Poltava and Sumy and in the basins of the rivers Desna and Seim in the north, as characteristic of the Slavs. It has been established with some certainty that this culture ended during the 6th to 7th century A.D.. Certain finds, such as the fibulae of the "Roman type," glassware and above all Roman coins, indicate that the representatives of this culture entertained lively trade relations with the civilized world of those days<sup>7</sup>).

The Slavs were known to the Greek and Roman writers of the 7th century B.C. as the Venedi or Veneti. And they

---

<sup>5</sup>) *Trypil'ska kultura na Ukrayini*, Vol. I, Kyiv, 1926 (Articles by P. Kurinny, V. Kozlovska, M. Makarenko, L. Chykalenko and other authors; P. Kurinny, *Trypil'ska kultura na Ukrayini*, in the periodical *Arka*, No. 1, Munich, 1947.

<sup>6</sup>) M. I. Rostovtsev, *Ellinstvo i Iranstvo na yuge Rossii*, Petersburg, 1918; M. Müller, *Don i Priazovye v drevnosti*, Munich, 1958, Vol. I-II.

<sup>7</sup>) A. A. Spitsin, *Polya pogrebal'nykh urn*, Sovyetskaya Arkheologiya 1948, Vol. X; A. L. Mongait, *Arkheologiya v SSSR*, 1955, pp. 310-319; B. D. Grekov, *Izbrannye trudy*, Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, p. 303.



were also designated in this way by Hesiod, Herodotus, Sophocles, Cornelius Nepos, Pliny, Ptolemy and Tacitus. The southern Venedi, who were known as the Antes (Anti, Antae), lived in the region extending from the Vistula to the mouth of the Danube and eastwards towards the Don. Of this people the historian of the Goths, Jordanis, said, "the Antes are the bravest among them (the Venedi)"<sup>6</sup>). Many research scholars, such as for instance O. Shakhmatov and S. M. Soloviov, regarded the Antes as Slavs. Other research scholars were even more explicit: L. Niederle for example designated them as Volhynians, V. Klyuchevskii as Dulibians, whereas M. Hrushevsky and V. Shcherbakivsky were of the opinion that they were Ukrainians<sup>7</sup>). Procopius of Caesaria in his day stressed that the Slavs and the Antes spoke the same language. And, O. Spitsin pointed out that the everyday utensils used by the Slavs and the Antes resemble each other.

The Antes definitely already possessed an organized state system in the 4th century A.D. Procopius stated that the Antes were ruled by a people's assembly which as a rule decided all matters of importance. In the event of some special danger the Antes appointed a leader or king (rex), whose authority was recognized by the entire people. According to Jordanis, the power and authority of such rulers was hereditary. The names of some of these leaders are known to us. In the year 380 Boz or Bozh organized an alliance for the purpose of combatting the Visigoths under their king Vinitar. The battle ended in a heavy defeat for the Antes, Bozh, his sons and 70 notables were captured by the enemy and murdered in a most brutal way. 170 years later, that is in about 550, another leader of the Antes, Mesamir (Mezhamir), led them to war against the Avars in order to defend the independence of his country. The names of other leaders such as Adagast and Musokos, to mention but two, are also known to us. These facts are important inasmuch as they are proof of the early attempts of the Antes

<sup>6</sup>) Ju. M. Levycky, *Bili khorvaty*, "Analecta ordinis S. Basilii Magni," Rome, 1956, Series II, selection II, Vol. II, edition 3-4.

<sup>7</sup>) M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy*, Vol. II, Lviv-Lemberg, 1898; V. Shcherbakivsky, *Formatsiya ukrayinskoyi natsiyi*, Prague, 1940, p. 116; B. D. Grekov, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 302-303.



to set up an organized state system during the 4th to 6th centuries. The nature of these state alliances is not quite clear: some research scholars are of the opinion that they were of a temporary nature for the purpose of combating the enemy; other research scholars, on the other hand, affirm, on the basis of Jordanis' testimony, that they were unions of tribes. V. Kluchevskii, a well-known Russian historiographer, regards the Antes state as "an alliance of the Dulibians." On this subject he writes as follows: "In the 6th century the East Slavs in the Carpathians belonged to a large military alliance, which might have been the first beginning of our history: this history began in the 6th century... on the north-east slopes and ranges of the Carpathians" <sup>10</sup>).

The state of the Antes existed for 300 years, from the end of the 4th century until the beginning of the 7th century. It finally collapsed under the superior strength of the Avars. From then onwards, the name "Antes" is no longer used, but is replaced by the name "Slavs" <sup>11</sup>).

The first state union of the Slavs was likewise created in Ukraine on the right bank of the River Dnieper. The Arabian writer Al-Masudi mentions a powerful Slav tribe, the "Valinana" or "Volhynians." "Of these tribes — so he writes — one tribe in former times had its own government. Their king was called Madzhak. Since he was the most powerful ruler all other tribes were subordinated to his authori-

---

<sup>10</sup>) P. Tretyakov, *Anti i Rus'*, Sovyetskaya etnografiya, 1947, Vol. IV; R. Kovalevsky, *Manuel d'Histoire Russe*, Paris, 1948, pp. 28-29; V. Kluchevskii, *Kurs russkoy istorii*, Moscow, 1937, Vol. I, p. 104.

<sup>11</sup>) The widely differing terminology used in the sources to designate the territory of Ukraine makes it extremely difficult to understand all these questions. To begin with, this territory was designated as "Scythia" — this name is even used by the Patriarch Photius in the 9th century. From the 7th century onwards the designation "Slav" is used. In the 9th century the chronicles mention the tribes that inhabited the territory of Ukraine, namely the Polyany, Siveriany, Derevliany, Duliby or Buzhany (or Volhynians), White Croats, Tyvertsi, and Ulychi. At the same time the designation "Rus'" is also used, but only for the territory of the Poliany. The designation "Rus'" is gradually extended to cover the entire principality of Kyiv. It is significant that this designation was never used for the territories of Novgorod, Rostov, Vladimir-Suzdal, etc. "To go to Rus'" meant "to travel into the region of Kyiv, Pereyaslav, etc.".



ty" <sup>12</sup>). Although the meaning of the name "Valinana" has not been clarified, the fact is nevertheless of importance that mention is once more made of a union of the Slavs under a mighty king. This state existed in the 9th century <sup>13</sup>).

Thereupon there was again a "vacuum" — not as regards events and facts but as far as information on these events and facts is concerned.

*Povist' vremennykh lit*, to which we have already referred, contains a legend on the foundation of Kyiv by three brothers, Kyi, Shchek and Khoryv. For a long time this story was indeed regarded as a legend, as a "wandering" tale about three founders of important towns. And yet there are various facts which prompt us to consider this tale more attentively. The Armenian writer Zenob Hlak, for instance, already referred to this story in the 7th century and mentioned the three brothers Kuar (Kyi), Chorean (Khoryv) and Mentey (obviously Shchek). Another important fact which seems to corroborate the truth of this story is the finding of the remains of three settlements on three hills: on the hills of Khorevytsia and Shchekovytsia and on the hill on which the town of Ihor and Volodymyr later stood <sup>14</sup>). Thus the information handed down to posterity by chronicles has been confirmed by the archaeological research carried out in Kyiv.

Numerous well-known research scholars, including that authority on our chronicles, the academician O. Shakhmatov, are convinced that Kyi was a real person <sup>15</sup>).

D. S. Likhachov compares the events recorded in *Povist' vremennykh lit* with the data in the *Nikonovskiy Chronicle*, which was based on earlier chronicles. It is stated that Kyi went to war against Constantinople with a large army and was honored by the emperor; further, that Kyi fought against the Volga and Kama Bulgars and founded the town of Kyeye-

---

<sup>12</sup>) A. Garkavi, *Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisateley o slavyanakh i russkikh*, St. Petersburg, 1870, pp. 136 and 163.

<sup>13</sup>) D. S. Likhachov, *Povest' vremennykh let*, Moscow, 1850, Vol. II, p. 220.

<sup>14</sup>) M. K. Karger, "Dofeodal'nyi period Kieva po arkheologicheskim dannym," *Kratkiye soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh*, II MK. —

<sup>15</sup>) O. O. Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniya o drevneyshikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, St. Petersburg, 1907, p. 229.



vets on the Danube <sup>16)</sup>). The chronicle also gives some indication of when Kyi ruled: the Khazars attacked Kyiv after the death of Kyi. Hence he probably ruled sometime during the 6th to 7th century.

The above-mentioned reference to the attempts of the Slavs to found a state since the beginning of the 4th century indicates that these tribes had a comparatively high cultural level. It is interesting to note that all these state unions did not include the Slav tribes who inhabited the regions to the north and east of the territory which was later to become Ukraine. The said *Povist'* refers to the invitation (or summoning) of the Varangians in 862 and mentions that prior to that date "there was no justice among them, one clan rose against another, there was strife amongst them, and they began to wage war among themselves." The only way to remedy this critical situation was to summon princes from overseas. This indicates that no recollection survived of any attempt on the part of the Slavs to form a state union prior to the year 862.

From the middle of the 9th century onward there is concrete proof of the existence of a state union of the Ukrainian tribes. The earliest references in this respect are, however, somewhat vague. About the year 800 mention is made in the *Life of St. Stephan*, who was bishop of Surozh (the present Sudak in the Crimea), of an attack on Surozh by Prince Bravlin and of the latter's conversion to Christianity. It is not known from which place Bravlin came, but it is interesting to note that he had a Slavic name <sup>17)</sup>.

Some years later a similar incident, namely an attack by a Rus'ian prince, whose name was not mentioned, was referred to in the *Life of St. George of Amastrid*. On the

---

<sup>16)</sup> Likhachov, p. 230.

<sup>17)</sup> V. Vasilevskii, *Russko-Vizantiyskiye issledovaniya. Letopis' zanyatti Arkheolog. Kom.*, Vol. IX, St. Petersburg, 1893, p. 100; N. Polonskaya: "Khrystyanstvo na Rusi do Volodymyra," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Propagandy*, 1917, Vol. IX; V. Zaikyn, "Chrześcijaństwo w Europie wschodniej od czasów apostołskich do ks. Igora Starego," *Elpis*, Warsaw, 1929, p. 7; M. de Taube, *Rome et la Russie avant l'invasion des Tatars*, Paris, 1947, pp. 27-28.



strength of a miracle this prince was likewise converted to Christianity <sup>18)</sup>).

In spite of the vagueness of these accounts they are, however, both of interest, inasmuch as they prove the existence of certain unions among the ancestors of the Ukrainian Slavs, that is to say either tribal unions, or perhaps unions on a larger scale. The question as to where these unions were concluded is hardly necessary. The accounts of the life of St. Stephan and of St. George and the discovery of numerous finds in Tmutorokan which are proof of the Christian religion of the local inhabitants (as for example crucifixes of various kinds, images of saints, etc.) indicate that the centre of the union of the old Rus'-Ukrainians must have been somewhere on the shores of the Sea of Azov. And this fact has in turn given rise to the question of the Black Sea-Azov Rus' <sup>19)</sup>).

About the middle of the 9th century Kyiv began to assume more and more importance as a big political and commercial center of Rus'-Ukraine. Its economic importance can be seen from numerous finds of foreign coins in the region of the town of Kyiv, above all Arabian dirghems, 2,000 to 3,000 coins together in some instances, as well as from the size of the town and the burial-mounds on its outskirts. The role of Kyiv in the life of the country can also be seen from an important event which is mentioned in the *Annales Bertiniani*. In 839 the envoys of the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire came from Constantinople to Ingelheim, in those days the capital of the Western Empire, to the court of Louis the Pious. These envoys were the Metropolitan Theophile of Chalcedon and the Imperial Spatar Theophile. The purpose

---

<sup>18)</sup> Vasilevskii, p. 108.

<sup>19)</sup> V. A. Parkhomenko, "Tri tsentra drevney Rusi," *Reports of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*, 1913, St. Petersburg, Vol. XVIII; the same, "O proiskhozhdenii Rusi," *Russkoye proshloye*, Petrograd, 1923; the same, *U istokov russkoi gosudarstvennosti*, Leningrad, 1924; N. Polonskaya, *ibid*; V. A. Moschin, "Varyago-russkiy vopros," *Byzantino-Slavica*, 1931; the same, "Kristianstvo na Rusi do Vladimira Sv.," *Belgr.-Vladim. Compilation*, 1939; M. Lapushkin, "Slavyano-russkiye poseleniya na Donu i Tamani," *Reports of the Academy of Materialistic Culture*, 1940, Vol. 6; V. V. Mavrodin, "Slavyano-russkiye poseleniya Nizhnego Dona i Severnogo Kavkaza X-XIV st.," *Pedagogical Herzen Institute*, Leningrad, 1939.



of their journey was the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two empires. There were also other envoys with them who had been sent to Constantinople by their ruler (whom they designated as "rex") of the "Rhos." These "Rhos" envoys, however, could not return home by the same route which they had taken to Constantinople since a barbarian people had cut off this route. Hence they requested Louis the Pious to allow them to travel through Germany. But the Emperor refused to believe that they were envoys of the Rus'ian king. He suspected them of being Norse or Swedish "explorers," that is spies, and he therefore gave orders that the matter be investigated. It was subsequently ascertained that these persons were of Swedish origin <sup>20</sup>). The account of this incident in the *Annales Bertiniani* ends here. But it nevertheless prompts various thoughts and surmises. In the first place, from which people could these envoys have come? They could not have come from the Khozars, because in that case no other people would have been able to cut off their route back to the Black Sea. In all probability they must have come from some state which extended along the River Dnieper and was separated from the Black Sea by vast steppes. During the 9th century numerous Asiatic peoples crossed these steppes in their constant surge towards the West. From the chronological point of view the barbarian people referred to might have been either Bulgars or Hungarians. The research carried out during the past decades has revealed that Hungarians lived in the steppes of Ukraine for a fairly long time, i.e. for 100 or even 200 years <sup>21</sup>). They could easily have cut off the route from Kyiv to the Black Sea. The question regarding the nature of the state and its ruler, who had sent the negotiators, is however somewhat more complicated, since the investiga-

---

<sup>20</sup>) *Annales Bertiniani*, 839, *Mon. German. Historica*, Vol. I, p. 434; Nahayevsky, *Kyrylo-Metodyivs'ke khrystyyanstvo v Rusi-Ukrayini*, Rome, pp. 7-8.

<sup>21</sup>) H. Gregoire, "L'habitat primitif des Magyares," *Byzantion*, Vol. XIII, 1938; J. Deer, "Les Hongrois dans la collectivité nomade," *Histoire de la civilisation hongroise*, Budapest, 1939; G. Vernadsky, "Lebedia, Studies of the Magyar Background of the Kievan Russia," *Byzantion*, Vol. XIV, 1939.



tions undertaken at the time revealed that these envoys were Swedes. This result is not entirely convincing, for it is obvious that no one in Ingelheim in those days had ever heard of the "Rhos." On the other hand, it is not out of question that the ruler (rex) was a Varangian and was thus in a position to send envoys of Swedish origin. But the national origin of the leader-occupants by no means determines the nationality of a state. In this incident two factors are significant: the existence of a state to the north of the Black Sea which in 839 sent envoys to the Byzantine Empire, and the complete ignorance on the part of West Europeans regarding the existence of this state. This ignorance, incidentally, can be explained by the fact that constant migrations of peoples and advances from Asia were taking place, and this no doubt made events in East Europe appear extremely vague and confused to West Europeans<sup>22</sup>).

But barely 21 years were to elapse before Europe was to hear more of this hitherto unknown state of "Rus'" as a result of the attack carried out by the latter on the Eastern Roman Empire, which was only saved as if by a miracle. Thus the "Rus'" attacked the Second Rome.

### ASKOLD

*Povist' vremennykh lit* relates that in the year 866 the princes Askold and Dyr managed to approach the fortifications of Constantinople with a large fleet, consisting of about 200 ships. They took advantage of the absence of Emperor Michael III and destroyed the surrounding districts of the town without, however, seizing the city of Constantinople itself. Thanks to a miracle of an image of the Holy Virgin, whose robes the Greeks lowered into the sea, a fierce storm suddenly broke out and destroyed some of the vessels of Askold's and Dyr's fleet<sup>23</sup>). This account in the said chronicle is completely corroborated by various Byzantine sources, and

---

<sup>22</sup>) K. Ja. Grot, *Moraviya i mad'yary s poloviny IX. stol. do nachala X. st.*, St. Petersburg, 1881, pp. 232-233; M. Hrushevsky, Vol. I, p. 394; M. V. Levchenko, "Ocherki po istoriyi russko-vizantiyskikh otnosheniy," *Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow*, 1956, pp. 55-56.

<sup>23</sup>) *Povest vremennykh let*, Moscow Edition, 1956, pp. 55-56.



this fact can therefore be ascertained with an exactitude which is unusual for those days.

The development of events was as follows. On June 18, 860 (and not in 866, as the above-mentioned chronicle states)<sup>24</sup>), a large fleet of the Rus' consisting of 200 ships (some contemporaries mention as many as 300 ships) appeared off the shores of the islands, pillaged and devastated the latter, set fire to the settlements, killed the inhabitants, and then approached the walls of Constantinople. After they had seized the harbor, the "Rhos" began to lay siege to the city. They had very astutely chosen an excellent opportunity for this attack, which was by no means a coincidence. Young Emperor Michael III ("the Drunkard") was engaged in waging war on the Saracens and had only left a small number of troops behind in Constantinople under the command of Prefect Orophas. When Michael III learned of the danger which threatened his capital he hurriedly returned with his army, but there was little he could do to save the situation. Nor did the prayers which were offered up and the processions that were held help at all. Patriarch Photius delivered a number of homilies, two of which have been preserved. They are valuable sources which give us an insight into the events of that time. The siege of Constantinople lasted for more than a year. Finally, the Greeks held a solemn procession to a monastery where an omophorion (robe) of the Holy Virgin was preserved. Chanting prayers, the Greeks lowered this sacred relic into the sea. Shortly afterwards a fierce storm broke out and some of the Rus'ian ships sank, while the remainder withdrew in all haste. Some time later, envoys of Prince Askold came to Constantinople in order to ask the Byzantine Emperor to send his missionaries to Rus' to convert the Rus'ians to Christianity and to baptize the Prince and the inhabitants of Rus'.

This is an account of the events in question as derived and compiled from the various Greek sources. All these sources shed a uniform light on these historical events and

---

<sup>24</sup>) This date was first given by the Belgian historian M. Fr. Cumont in *Analecta Bruzellensia*, 1894; M. de Taube, p. 31.



show little divergence. They include important reports such as that of Simeon Magister, who was living in Constantinople at that time, and of Nicetas Paphlagonian, the biographer of Patriarch Ignatius, who was banished to the island of Sthenos, which the "Rhos" had pillaged<sup>25</sup>). The most important source, however, is provided by the sermons of Patriarch Photius<sup>26</sup>).

The following conclusions can be drawn from these sources. There can be no doubt about the fact that in 860 Byzantium was attacked by the Rus', or "Rhos," as they were called by the Greeks (or "Scythians"). The ancient Greeks called the territories north of the Black Sea "Scythia." The question as to which "Rus'" carried out the attack has resulted in a number of hypotheses. E. E. Golubinskii, V. G. Vasilevskii and V. O. Parkhomenko, by comparing the attack on Constantinople with the accounts of the attacks on Surozh and Amastrid, are of the opinion that it was the army of the Rus'ians from Tmutorokan, that is of the "Azov Rus'" which advanced on Constantinople in 860<sup>27</sup>). This hypothesis is however negated by the statements of Patriarch Photius: in his pastoral message he described the Rus' as follows: this people subjugated many neighboring peoples, and since it thought a lot of itself it was so presumptuous as to attack the Roman state with armed forces. This fact is also corroborated by the *Yakimovsky Chronicle*, which was used by V. M. Tatishchev as late as the 18th century. Unfortunately, this chronicle disappeared later on. For a long time historiographers were skeptical as regards this source, but most historians are now of the opposite opinion, for it has meanwhile been ascertained that the said chronicle contains far more data than *Povist' vremennykh lit* and, moreover, tallies with other sources. This also applies to the information on Askold. The *Yakimovsky Chronicle*

<sup>25</sup>) Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus* . . . , Parisiis, 1857-1866.

<sup>26</sup>) Photius, *In Russorum incurstionem homiliae*, St. Petersburg, 1867; de Taube, pp. 29, 31, 33.

<sup>27</sup>) E. E. Golubinskii, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, Moscow, 1904, Vol. I. No. 1; V. G. Vasilevskii and V. A. Parkhomenko, "Tri tsentra drevnei Rusi," *Reports of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*, St. Petersburg, 1913, Vol. XVIII, I. Ohiyenko, *Ukrayins'ka Tserkva*, Prague, p. 29.



contains certain concrete details. An account is given of the victories of Askold over the Polochany, Kryvichi and other neighboring peoples and, above all, over the Pechenegs. The information as regards the latter is generally regarded as incorrect, but this may be due to an error on the part of the transcriber. What is of importance, however, is the fact that the statements of Photius regarding the "subjugation of neighboring peoples" tally with the text of this chronicle. It would have been extremely difficult to "subjugate" the Kryvichi on the distant shores of the Sea of Azov. It is also interesting to note that according to the *Yakimovsky Chronicle* Askold's son was killed by the Bulgars. It can therefore be assumed that Askold fought against the Bulgars<sup>28</sup>).

Photius's reference to the reasons which prompted the attack of the Rus' on Constantinople is of considerable significance. Photius maintains that this attack was not a predatory crime but was caused by the Greeks themselves, who had violated international law. For whereas the Ukrainians in ancient times set free the Greeks whom they had captured, the Greeks, on the other hand, made their prisoners-of-war slaves. It can therefore be assumed that this was the reason which led to a serious conflict between the Rus'ians and the Greeks. As the Reverend I. Nahayeovsky assumes and as is also mentioned by the chronicler of the *Annales Berliniani*, the envoys were „recalled" in the year 839<sup>29</sup>).

The question of there being some connection between the recall of the envoys and Askold is, however, somewhat problematical. This matter is referred to by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his history of the rule of his grandfather, Basil the Macedonian, who succeeded Michael III as Emperor. Constantine, referring to the achievements of Basil, mentions the treaty which the latter made with the Rus'. So far, Ukrainian research scholars have not attached much importance to this treaty, whereas non-Ukrainian historiographers have given it an appropriate place in their works, for example, F. Dölger<sup>30</sup>) and Baron

---

<sup>28</sup>) V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossii*, Vol. I, pp. 38, 47.

<sup>29</sup>) Nahayeovsky, p. 18.

<sup>30</sup>) Dölger, "Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit," *Chronological Archives*, Dept. I, Munich-Berlin, 1924.



M. de Taube<sup>31)</sup>. Dölger gives the year in which the treaty was concluded as about 874, and on this point M. de Taube agrees with him. In this connection de Taube stresses that this treaty must be regarded as the first document in the annals of Rus'ian diplomacy and, above all, in the history of Greek and ancient Ukrainian treaties of the 10th century. It is quite possible that this treaty is the one which is referred to in the agreement concluded by Oleh in 911, where there is a vague reference to a previous treaty<sup>32)</sup>.

The above-mentioned treaty assumes still more significance if one compares it with another document. As was already pointed out, Kyiv played an important part in world trade. The trade routes which, via the Dnieper, connected the north with the south (the so-called "Great Route from the Varangians to the Greeks") and the east with the west, converged on the middle course of the River Dnieper. These routes proceeded from the Caspian Sea along the Volga and inland to the Don, along the tributaries of the Don and across the country as far as the upper tributaries of the Dnieper, along the River Desna and then downstream along the Pripet, or across the country west of Kyiv — to Cracow, Prague and Regensburg (Ratisbona). Between the years 846 and 912 the famous Arabian scholar and author Ibn-Khordadbeh, who wrote the *Book of Routes and Realms*, gave an account of the international trade routes with the East, starting with China, and with the West, the empire of Charlemagne<sup>33)</sup>. In 973 the Arabian Jew Ibrahim Ben-Yakub, a traveller and merchant, gave an account of the trade relations which existed at that time and had probably already existed much earlier, and he mentioned the fact that merchants from Rus'-Ruthenia were wont to come to Prague via Cracow<sup>34)</sup>.

---

<sup>31)</sup> M. de Taube, "Le Statut juridique de la Mer Baltique," *A Selection of the Lectures at the Academy of International Law at the Hague*, Vol. 53, Paris.

<sup>32)</sup> M. de Taube, "Rome et la Russie . . .," pp. 93-94.

<sup>33)</sup> Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique*, 1865; M. de Taube, *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>34)</sup> A. Kunik and V. Resen, *Izvestiya Al-Bokri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i slavyanakh*, No. I; St. Petersburg, 1878; V. Vasilevskii, "Drevnyaya trgovlya Kiyeva s Regensburgom," *Journal of the Ministry of Propaganda*, St. Petersburg, 1888, No. VII.



An important document refers to this golden age of Europe's trade relations with Asia: a customs tariff regulation issued by the Bavarian town of Rafelstätten, which dates from the 10th century, that is from the years 903-906, but is undoubtedly much older in origin and goes back to the days of Louis the German (876) or Carloman (880). This regulation *Leges portorii* pertains to the customs tariffs for goods that were brought into the country by the merchants from Rus', namely, wax, horses and slaves <sup>35</sup>).

Thus two documents — the treaty between Rus' and Byzantium in the years 873-874 and the customs tariff regulation of Rafelstätten of the years 870-880 — are characteristic of the rule of Askold. With these two documents Rus' established itself in the political and economic life of Western Europe, that is to say, in the life of the two mighty Roman empires.

The years in which Askold's young state established itself in world politics are designated by M. de Taube as an extremely important period. It was during this period that the new Emperor of the Byzantine Empire, Basil I the Macedonian, sent a dispatch to Emperor Louis the German in which he suggested that they should make a peace and friendship pact (873) with each other, while Louis the German on his part put the proposal to Denmark, where two kings — the brothers Siegfried and Holfdan — ruled, that it should enter into friendly trade relations with him <sup>36</sup>).

Thus the old Ukrainian Kyivan state entered into diplomatic and commercial relations with the mightiest empires of the East and the West at a time when these two empires were in the act of concluding a friendship pact with each other. As de Taube rightly assumes, this alliance united Europe against new enemies — the Islamic world, Hungary and the Pechenegs. The treaty with Rus' ensured that Byzantium would be able to fight against its enemies. This alliance

---

<sup>35</sup>) V. Vasilievskii, *Ibid.*; T. Edinger, *Russlands älteste Beziehungen zu Deutschland, Frankreich und der römischen Kurie*, Halle, 1911; de Taube, p. 92; V. Pashuto, *Ocherki po istorii Galitsko-Volynskoy Rusi*, Moscow, 1950, p. 170.

<sup>36</sup>) F. Dölger, I.



lasted until the beginning of the 10th century, that is, until the attack launched by Oleh <sup>37)</sup>.

Whereas there can be no doubt about the existence of the mighty state of "Rhos" (as it was called by the Greeks) or Rus' in the middle of the 9th century, as confirmed by the Ukrainian chronicles, there is a good deal of hypothesis as regards the person of its ruler Askold. For while his name is to be found in two transcriptions "Askold" and "Oskold" solely in the Ukrainian chronicles and in the Bulgarian translation of the Greek chronicle by Hamartol, this name is not mentioned at all in the original Greek text. The Ukrainian chronicles always mention the name of Dyr together with that of Askold as having both ruled together. In these chronicles they always appear together, they lead the campaign against Byzantium jointly, and they both die at the same time as the result of a treacherous attack by Prince Oleh. For some reason or other they were, however, buried in different parts of Kyiv — Askold on the so-called "Hungarian Hill" (Uhors'ke Urochyshe), and Dyr behind the Church of St. Oryna. This detail indicates that there is something fictitious in the idea of a union between Askold and Dyr. It can be assumed that an error must have been made in this respect; for some reason or other, historical tradition united these two princes who, however, reigned separately. It is interesting to note that the Arabian writer Al-Masudi mentions Dyr separately as a mighty ruler <sup>38)</sup>. Research scholars on the whole differentiate between the two <sup>39)</sup>. M. Hrushevsky is of the opinion that Dyr ruled after Askold and possibly even after Oleh <sup>40)</sup>. This opinion is also shared by M. de Taube <sup>41)</sup> and Nahayevsky <sup>42)</sup>. V. Tatishchev and de Taube assume that Dyr must have been Askold's son.

---

<sup>37)</sup> A. Hofmeister, *Der Kampf um die Ostsee vom 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, Griefswald, 1931; de Taube, pp. 93-95.

<sup>38)</sup> A. Harkavy, *Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisateley o slavyanakh i russkikh*, St. Petersburg, 1870.

<sup>39)</sup> Ohlyenko is of the opinion that the two princes ruled together, p. 99-184.

<sup>40)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, Vol. I, pp. 408-409.

<sup>41)</sup> de Taube, p. 133.

<sup>42)</sup> Nahayevsky, p. 54.



Various hypotheses have arisen out of the fact that the information on the personality of Askold is extremely vague. His name leads one to assume that Askold was a Varangian and a Norseman. As already mentioned, the chronicles obviously regard Askold as a compatriot and a retainer of Rurik. M. de Taube devotes considerable attention to the question of Askold's origin. He affirms that Rurik and Askold came from different parts of Scandinavia: Rurik from Uppsala, and Askold from Birka. Askold took a different route from Rurik: namely, not in the direction of Lake Ladoga, but along the rivers Nieman and Pripet. And all these facts, so de Taube points out, constitute the difference between the two princes <sup>43</sup>).

In addition, to the research scholars who regard Askold as a Varangian, there are also others who are of the opinion that he was an ancient Ukrainian. M. Hrushevsky, for instance, regards him as a Ukrainian, while O. O. Shakhmatov holds that he was a son of Kyi <sup>44</sup>), an opinion which is shared by M. D. Priselkov <sup>45</sup>); V. A. Rybakov is of the opinion that the name Askold comes from the little River Oskol <sup>46</sup>).

### THE BAPTISM OF RUS'

The question of the baptism and conversion to Christianity of Askold and of Rus'-Ukraine is closely connected with Askold's campaign against Constantinople. But the information contained in some of the Ukrainian chronicles and in certain Byzantine sources is by no means clear and uniform. On the contrary, the accounts of this baptism and conversion to Christianity differ widely: whereas the exact date of the attack and siege on Constantinople during the reign of Michael III and the Patriarch Photius, namely June 18, 860, is given in the chronicles, information regarding the

---

<sup>43</sup>) de Taube, pp. 56-62; P. Kovalevsky, pp. 11, 104-105; Nahayevsky, p. 37.

<sup>44</sup>) O. O. Shakhmatov, p. 289.

<sup>45</sup>) M. D. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkago letopysaniya*, p. 40.

<sup>46</sup>) V. A. Rybakov, *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, p. 801.



date of the baptism and conversion is vague. Indeed, it is fairly difficult to ascertain the exact date.

The account of events given by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his history of the rule of his grandfather, Basil I the Macedonian, is probably the most accurate. The latter succeeded in appeasing the Rus' and, by means of valuable presents, managed to persuade them to make a treaty with the Greeks. He also persuaded them to adopt Christianity and to this end Patriarch Ignatius sent one of his archbishops to Rus'. In his sermons to the ruler of the Rus' and his counsellors, this archbishop not only explained the Christian faith but also talked about miracles. His audience thereupon asked him to perform such a miracle, for instance to place the Gospel in a fire. The archbishop did so and the Gospel was not damaged by the flames. Thereupon the ruler of the Rus', his counsellors and many other persons asked to be baptized <sup>47</sup>).

Constantine's chronicler, Anselmos Bandurios, adds another account from the *Colbertine Annals* to the above account. According to this narrative, the Rus'ian ruler, since he was desirous of being baptized, sent his envoys to Rome. There they visited the churches and talked to the bishops and to the Pope and returned home well satisfied. But the Rus'ian ruler also sent envoys to Constantinople and they were received in audience there by Emperor Basil I the Macedonian. Divine service in the Cathedral of St. Sophia made a profound impression on them: "It is magnificent and overwhelming... it surpasses all human imagination," so they reported on their return. The ruler (rex) of Rus' was so impressed by this account that he asked to be baptized by the bishop of Constantinople. Basil immediately sent the bishop and two priests, Cyril and Athanasius, who were known for their wisdom and erudition, to him. They preached the new faith among the people, baptized the latter, and also introduced a new alphabet, consisting of 32 letters. The above mentioned chronicler also refers to the miracle of the Gospel, which the flames could not destroy. To this reference by the *Colbertine Annals*, Ban-

---

<sup>47</sup>) Migne, p. 109; Nahayevsky, pp. 112-113.



durios adds the information that the priest Cyril was a native of Thessaloniki and a brother of Methodius, bishop of Olontouc in Moravia <sup>48)</sup>).

Cesare Baronius, the papal librarian, wrote in his annals that the baptism of Ukraine-Rus' did not take place during the reign of Basil the Younger and Constantine but during that of Basil I the Macedonian. He based his statement on the Greek chronologers, Ioannes Kuropalatos, Zonaros and Nikiphoros <sup>49)</sup>).

The opinion expressed by Patriarch Photius in this connection is particularly significant. In his pastoral message to all the hierarchs he wrote that the "Rhos... exchanged their abominable heathen superstition for the pure and immaculate faith... They very gladly accepted the priest and the bishop proposed to them, as well as the Christian rites and customs" <sup>50)</sup>). It can be seen from this statement that Photius in mentioning the baptism of Ukraine-Rus' by no means attributes this fact to himself. Thus, someone else was responsible for this baptism, whereas Photius only mentions it as an accomplished fact.

This extremely important fact is not mentioned at all in *Povist'*. The author and later editors confine themselves to mentioning the attack on Constantinople and to an account of the miracle, namely when a storm "destroyed the ships of the godless Rus'" ("bezbozhnykh Rusi korabli smyate"). In the *Nikonovsky Chronicle* there is an important addition. After an account of the miracle and of the return of Askold and Dyr there follows this passage:

"Basil then (sent) a big army against the Agariani and Manichaeans. And he made a peace settlement with the aforementioned Rus', and converted them to Christianity and they promised to receive baptism and asked for an Archpriest, and the Emperor sent (him) to them. And when they were about to receive baptism, they again hesitated, and said to the Archpriest: If we do not see a miraculous sign

---

<sup>48)</sup> Nahayevsky, pp. 12-15.

<sup>49)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>50)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.



from thee, we do not wish to become Christians..."<sup>51</sup>). As in the annals of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the miracle of the Gospel is then described.

Thus the account of the miracle, which in Constantine's annals is closely connected with the baptism, and in the *Colbertine Annals* describes the missionary work of Cyril, in the *Nikonovsky chronicle* is linked up with Askold.

It is interesting to note that in the Ukrainian chronicles, apart from the *Nikonovsky chronicle*, there is no mention of the baptism in the reign of Askold. But what is even more interesting, however, is the fact that in the *Yakimovsky Chronicle*, which V. M. Tatishchev used and in which much information has been preserved which is not to be found in other chronicles, there are two pages missing, precisely in that part of the chronicle where one would expect to find some mention of the baptism. Nor is there any reason to suppose that this is perhaps a coincidence. The fact that these two pages are missing can be explained by the strict censorship to which chronicles were subjected. Why was this censorship introduced? We have already mentioned the fact that the chroniclers Nestor and Silvester (the latter revised Nestor's *Povist'* in 1116 without even mentioning Nestor's name) were anxious to prove that all the rulers came of one and the same origin, to connect them all with Rurik and in this way to prove that the latter was the founder of the princely dynasty. For this reason, anything that was contrary to this idea and everything that referred to other rulers was passed over in silence. It was above all a question of glorifying the representatives of the Rurik dynasty and, in particular, Volodymyr the Saint in every possible way. To mention the fact that Rus' was converted to Christianity under Askold would — as the editors obviously assumed — have deprived Volodymyr of his fame.

Another fact which seems to us rather interesting is that very little is mentioned in the Greek sources about the baptism of Volodymyr and the organization of the Church dur-

---

<sup>51</sup>) *The Nikonovskaia letopis, Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, St Petersburg, 1862, Vol. IX.



ing his reign <sup>52</sup>). On the other hand, however, many of the Greek sources, including the Patriarch himself and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, mention the conversion to Christianity under Askold <sup>53</sup>).

*Povist' vremennykh lit* mentions the treacherous murder of Askold and Dyr — they were allegedly summoned to receive guests (foreign merchants) that had come to Kyiv. It is also stated that a certain Olma built the Church of St. Nicholas on Askold's grave. This would, therefore, indicate that Askold was a Christian. This church, as the *Yakimovsky Chronicle* reports, was destroyed during the heathen reaction in the days of Sviatoslav. At the same time his brother Hlib (Gleb) was also murdered. The fact that the church which was built on Askold's grave was dedicated to St. Nicholas leads one to assume that Askold received the Christian name of Nicholas when he was baptized. And tradition was preserved from then onwards in the name "Askold's Grave" ("*Askol'dova mohyla*").

At the beginning of the 19th century a beautiful church in the style of a rotunda, with an adjoining cemetery, was erected on "Askold's Grave." In 1935 all this was destroyed by the Russian Bolsheviks, who set up a "culture park" on the site of the cemetery. The church itself was transformed into a platform. The legend that Askold had been a saint persisted for many years among the people and his supposed grave beneath the church was visited by pilgrims. On a slope overlooking the cemetery stood the monastery of St. Nicholas, which was destroyed by the Bolsheviks in the 1930's. On July 2nd of every year, from 1866 onwards, a procession had moved from the monastery, which was entrusted with the task of looking after "Askold's Grave," to the grave after a special service had been held in the church. The revolution of 1917 put an end to this custom. V. M. Tatishchev quotes a passage from the *Yakimovsky Chronicle*, from which it can be seen that Askold was known as Nicholas <sup>54</sup>). M. de Taube

---

<sup>52</sup>) See above-mentioned works by E. Golubinski, M. Hrushevsky, M. Priselkov, and other authors.

<sup>53</sup>) Tatishchev, Vol. I, p. 57; de Taube, p. 124.

<sup>54</sup>) *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar*, edited by Brockhaus and Efron, Vol. II.



examines the circumstances of the treacherous murder of Askold and affirms that he must be regarded as the first martyr of Christianity in Ukraine-Rus<sup>55</sup>).

The question of who was the first bishop or archbishop to be ordained as Patriarch of Kyiv is closely connected with the conversion to Christianity of the Rus'. His name has not been recorded for posterity, but a number of documents on the conversion of Ukraine-Rus' during the reign of Volodymyr mention the names of the first Metropolitans — Mykhaylo (Michael) and Leo. References to Michael date from the 12th century and on. His name is also mentioned in the *Nikonovsky Chronicle* and in the Statute ("Ustav") of Volodymyr<sup>56</sup>). These references are apparently accepted as authentic by various scholars, such as Pelesh, and by contemporary research scholars, such as I. Vlasovskii<sup>57</sup>). It is interesting to note that there are discrepancies in the documents which mention the name of Michael; mention is for instance made of the fact that the Patriarch Photius allegedly sent Michael to Kyiv, although this is obviously an anachronism, for there is a difference of 120 to 130 years. It is, however, possible that Michael was the name of the archbishop whom Photius sent to Askold. It is also interesting to note that in the *Yakimovsky Chronicle*, from which two pages were removed because they contained information about the baptism of Askold, the following part of a sentence has been preserved: "...and giving thanks to God, Michael went to Bulgaria." It is obvious that these words are not in keeping with Michael of Volodymyr's day. The memory of this Michael has, however, been preserved in Kyiv. The Synodalists of the Cathedral of St. Sophia affirm that the first Metropolitan was Leo or Michael, but they do not mention any date<sup>58</sup>).

Oral accounts of Metropolitan Michael, which were handed down to posterity, were connected with archaeological finds. In 1915, caves, which are known as "Zvirynetski,"

---

<sup>55</sup>) Tatishchev, Vol. I, p. 35, Vol. II, p. 336; de Taube, p. 142.

<sup>56</sup>) I. Nazarko, *Sviatyy Volodymyr*, p. 116.

<sup>57</sup>) I. Vlasovsky, *Narys istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy*, Vol. I, New York, 1955, pp. 36, 38, 44.

<sup>58</sup>) Nazarko, p. 116.



were discovered in the suburb of Pechersk in Kyiv. Two of them were dedicated to St. Michael and to St. Basil. Kovalevsky, who informed M. de Taube of this fact, expressed the opinion that they were two patron saints, namely of the Archbishop Michael and of the ruler Volodymyr-Vasyl (Basil). In our opinion, however, this is an erroneous assumption. We tend to support the theory of M. de Taube, namely, that St. Basil was the patron saint of the Emperor of Christianity of Ukraine-Rus'. Under the rule of Volodymyr it was by no means necessary for Christians to hide in caves, but this certainly was the case during the reign of the heathen princes Oleh and Sviatoslav<sup>59</sup>). To the opinion expressed by Kovalevsky, I should like to add my own observations: I myself saw the name of St. Michael carved in the wall of the said caves.

The following point should be stressed in connection with these historical traditions: it is not entirely clear for what reason St. Michael has since time immemorial been venerated as a patron saint of the town of Kyiv. The founding of the monastery of St. Michael, which, with its golden cupolas, became one of the greatest shrines of the city, is associated with his name. The figure of the Archangel Michael adorned the official seal of the town and became the magnificent coat-of-arms of Kyiv. Although no one was able to give the real reason for this veneration, the tradition of the first Metropolitan of Kyiv has been handed down to posterity.

In 882, as *Povist'* records, the reign of Askold, and simultaneously the reign of Dyr, too, came to an end. The chronicle gives a picturesque account of how Oleh came to Kyiv by water, three years after the death of Rurik. On the way he captured Smolensk and Lyubech, and advanced towards the Kyiv hills. Here he gave orders that Askold and Dyr were to be summoned to his presence, since guests — merchants — had allegedly arrived in Kyiv. When the two princes appeared — he had brought Rurik's small son, Ihor, with him — he told them: "You are neither princes nor of princely origin, but I am of princely origin...and this is the son of Rurik."

---

<sup>59</sup>) de Taube, pp. 45-46.



("Vy niesta kniazia, ni roda kniazha, no az yesm' rodu kniazha... a se yesť syn Riurykov"). Whereupon he had the two princes (Askold and Dyr) executed.

We do not intend to go into various questions which cannot be clarified owing to inadequate sources, such as, for instance, the origin of Askold, his nationality, and whether he was a Ukrainian — the son of Kyi, or a foreigner, that is to say, a Varangian from Sweden. We have already touched on these questions above. We can only draw conclusions from the sources at our disposal, which are unfortunately somewhat meagre. The reign of Askold is undoubtedly extremely important in the history of the Ukrainian principality of Kyiv. All the sources quoted here prove that this state was large and powerful. It first of all freed itself from Khazar supremacy; then it subjugated neighboring tribes and finally even ventured to carry out campaigns against the mighty Byzantine Empire. What is particularly important, however, is the fact that this new state possessed large military forces: 200 ships, that is to say, 6,000 to 8,000 soldiers, attacked Constantinople. In this connection one must bear in mind that it was during this era that the Norsemen, with their forces which only numbered a few hundred men, pillaged the shores of Germany, ventured as far as Paris, terrorized England, and conquered Sicily. In those days only a very powerful state could have possessed an army numbering 6,000 men. This state concluded treaties with the Byzantine Empire and with Bavaria, went over to the Christian faith of its own free will, and as a Christian state belonged to the group of the mightiest states in Europe. Askold's state actually represents the beginning of the Kyivan state, of Ukraine-Rus'. In this respect the opinion expressed by the Russian historian V. O. Kluchevskii, one of the most outstanding Russian historians, whose works during the past 80 years have influenced many persons, is typical: "The Rus'ian state was founded thanks to the activity of Askold and later of Oleh. The union of the Slavs was affected from Kyiv and not from Novgorod"<sup>60</sup>).

---

<sup>60</sup>) Kluchevskii, 1932, Vol. I, p. 175.



That Nestor's conception of the origin of this state — a conception which only became known at the beginning of the 12th century — is erroneous, is proved by a work which is 50 to 60 years older than *Povist'* namely the *Word on the Law and Grace* (*Slovo o zakonie i blahodati*) by Metropolitan Ilarion. This hierarch of Ukrainian origin was appointed Metroopolitan in 1051 at the wish of Grand Duke Yaroslav, either in the same year or soon afterwards he wrote his *Word*, in which he glorified Prince Volodymyr the Saint. Since he mentions Volodymyr's ancestors it would have been natural for him to refer to the founder of the dynasty, Rurik, too. But there is no mention whatever in the *Word* of either Rurik or Oleh. On the contrary, Ilarion affirms that the "Great Kahan (ruler) of our country is Volodymyr, the grandson of ancient Ihor, the son of the illustrious Sviatoslav"<sup>61)</sup>. Thus, according to Ilarion, the dynasty of the princes of Kyiv begins with "ancient" Ihor and not with Rurik. Indeed, while Rurik was fighting against the insurgents and seeking to consolidate his power in Novgorod, a different kind of life was flourishing here in Ukraine-Rus'; there another state was growing powerful, a state that succeeded in subjugating its neighbors, waged war against Byzantium and went over to the Christian faith of its own free will.

150 years later another notable work appeared — *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* (*The Song of Ihor's Campagin*). In connection with the past fame of Ukraine we here encounter a new conception — "ancient Ihor." And it is obvious that this expression was commonly used.

Another point of interest which seems worth mentioning are the names of the ruling princes, which are to be found in the course of three centuries in the huge territory where the descendants not of Rurik but of "ancient Ihor" reigned. They are so numerous that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between their owners. Amongst these "tribal" names of the princes and founders of the dynasty there were in the course of 300 years, for instance, 25 Volodymyrs, 22 Izyaslavs, 21 Mstyslavs and Sviatoslavs, and 17 Yaroslavs. There

---

<sup>61)</sup> Nazarko, p. 199.



are, however, only two Ruriks: the first, a grandson of Prince Volodymyr of Novgorod, who was born in Novgorod, and the other, the son of Prince Rostyslav of Smolensk <sup>62</sup>). Thus even the names of the rulers prove that little significance, as regards national characteristics, can be attached to the name of the alleged founder of the dynasty.

### ASKOLD'S LEGACY

With the death of Askold and the raising of Oleh to the rank of prince and ruler, the chroniclers saw themselves confronted by new difficulties. For it was not so easy to comply with the wish expressed by Rurik regarding the establishment of the dynasty of the new rulers of the Kyivan state. For this reason Oleh had himself designated by the title of *voivoda*, or as the brother-in-law of Rurik, or as the guardian or cousin of Ihor, regardless of the fact that Rurik was a Swedish Varangian from Uppsala, whereas Oleh was regarded as a Norwegian <sup>63</sup>). And it was even more difficult to draw up a chronology of events. According to the chroniclers, Rurik died in 879 and left a son, Ihor. What age this son was at that time has not been ascertained. M. de Taube assumes that he was born either in 875 or 877. Light is shed on this question by the fact that Ihor must have been a child of about 5 to 7 years of age when Oleh came to Kyiv and had Askold killed. Oleh then ruled for 32 years as Ihor's guardian, while Ihor was obliged to wait until he was 39 years old before he could succeed to his "paternal" throne after the death of Oleh. In fact, he was waiting to succeed to the throne in a period when a young prince was usually already ruling the state at the age of about 18. It is therefore perfectly obvious that this account by the chroniclers is an invention, indeed a clumsy invention, in which, despite its complete incredibility, they permitted no one to doubt, since the erroneous opinion of and belief in the "lawfulness" of Rurik's government and Rurik's dynasty persisted to a great extent in Ukraine-Rus'.

---

<sup>62</sup>) N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X au XIII siècle*, Rome, 1927, pp. 77-84.

<sup>63</sup>) de Taube, p. 143.



Research scholars have in recent years drawn attention to the unnatural character of such family and dynastic conditions. Efforts have been made to shed more light on the true state of affairs in the 10th century, and more and more hypotheses are being voiced that there were most probably two, or possibly even four Olehs, and two or three Ihors<sup>64</sup>). And Oleh's biography as recorded by the chroniclers offers some basis for these hypotheses, for evidence has been preserved that there were two graves of Oleh in Kyiv and one grave in Ladoga.

The same vagueness is also apparent in the chronicles regarding "ancient Ihor." According to one chronicle Oleh in 903 married his ward to Olha. When Ihor died 43 years later, his only son (according to the *Yakimovsky Chronicle* he had another son called Hlib) Sviatoslav was still a "dietesk," that is to say a child. When he (Sviatoslav) had to throw a spear, as was customary, to show that fighting was to begin during a campaign undertaken against the Derevlians, he was unable to do so and the spear merely struck the legs of his horse. How old was he at that time? Not more than ten years of age. In that case he would have been born in 836, that is to say 33 years after Ihor married Olha. Here, too, then we have another inaccuracy in the chronicles. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from all this: after the death of Askold, foreigners, who included genuine "Vikings" and other clever persons, usurped the Kyivan throne. There was no alliance among them, however, and still less with Novgorod. In the territory of the future vast empire of Volodymyr and Yaroslav with its state center in Kyiv, there existed two other and possibly three other independent state centers; apart from Kyiv, Novgorod had established its own state and, in all probability, Aziv (Azov) also had its own state with center in Tmutorokan. At least, mention is suddenly made in the era of Yaroslav of the mighty prince Mstyslav of Tmutorokan, the conqueror of the Yasy and Kasohy, who also defeated Yaroslav and reigned in Cher-

---

1964). A. Lashchenko, "Pytannia pro dvokh Olehiv", *Scientific Publications of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences*, Kyiv, 1931; S. Plautin, a series of research studies, Paris, 1946.



nihil until his death in 1036. In fact, it was only after his death that Yaroslav became Grand Duke.

Novgorod suffered an unusual fate. In spite of his sound way of thinking and his experience in matters pertaining to the state, Oleh, Prince of Novgorod, who with the aid of the Novgorod army conquered Smolensk, Lyubech and Kyiv, levied heavy taxes. And he levied them on his own native city, too. For 100 years Novgorod was obliged to pay these imposts to the Kyivan princes. This fact is likewise proof that during the 10th and 11th centuries Kyiv and Novgorod were the centers of two separate independent states.

In Kyiv individual rulers were deposed and replaced by others after a certain length of time, but the native population remained the same. And hence this people could not be deprived of the cultural achievements which they acquired by degrees. In this respect the inter-state treaties which Oleh concluded with the Greeks in the years 907 and 911 are of considerable importance. In this way Ukraine-Rus', as the chroniclers stress, suddenly gave obvious proof of its high cultural level. Ukraine-Rus' (or Rus') at that time already possessed its own comprehensive literary language, into which it was possible to translate the text of the international agreements from the Greek perfectly adequately. It appears that Ukraine-Rus' used a mysterious Ivan's script (*Ivanove pys'mo*) and the treaties were written in this script. It also possessed a comprehensive international and civil law, comparable to the Greek laws. Legally drawn up documents, such as, for instance, wills and evidently certificates for ships, were already known in Ukraine-Rus'. People do not evolve and adopt such legal norms and conceptions suddenly, and on some special occasion, but gradually and throughout generations.

In his well-known *Slovo o zakonie i blahodati*, to which we have already referred, Metropolitan Ilarion mentions the deeply rooted culture of the ancient Ukrainian state of Kyiv. Referring to the ancestors of Volodymyr, he says that they ruled a state which was known throughout the whole world. Hence there can be no doubt about the fact that Rus' were not the "barbarians" that the Greeks imagined it to be. In his "Word" Ilarion also mentioned the persons who had



taken their fill of book learning (*do preslykha nasytivshikh-sia premudrosti knizhnoy*). Even if we assume that the Metropolitan was referring to the upper class of society, that is, to the elite, it is nevertheless significant that there was such an elite in those days, that is, in the 10th and 11th centuries, in Ukraine-Rus', for this was not the case in many countries of Western Europe at that time. Ilarion himself, a great scholar and authority on ancient philosophy, and the author of a work which, in its profound wisdom and beauty, surpasses the works of the contemporary literature of the Byzantine Empire or of Bulgaria, gives proof of the great cultural level of Ukraine-Rus'. There can be no doubt about the fact that he did not solely acquire his erudition in the schools which were set up by Volodymyr for the children of the upper class (*"dlia ditey vyshchoi chadi"*). For erudition and culture in Ukraine-Rus' were far more deeply rooted.

The first record of a *Slav script* dates back to the middle of the 9th century. Proof of this fact is contained in the *Life of Constantine*, which give an account of how St. Cyril, while in Kherson (Crimea), encountered a man who had a Gospel and a collection of psalms, which were written in "Rus'ian letters," on him and who also spoke this language. The *Life of Constantine* also reports how rapidly Cyril learned this language and composed a new alphabet. All this proves that this Rus'ian man must have been a Slav, for the alphabet was also Slav<sup>65</sup>). Academician S. Obnorskii assumes that the beginnings of the literature of ancient Ukraine date from the middle of the 9th century<sup>66</sup>). This opinion is also held by academician N. Nikolskii<sup>67</sup>). The language of this literature was the language of an indigenous population — a language which was, however, influenced by other languages, above all by the Bulgarian language.

The remains of the Glagolithic script, which have been discovered in Ukraine, are of considerable significance. The

---

<sup>65</sup>) Metropolitan Ilarion, *Istoriya ukrayin'skoyi literaturnoyi movy*, Winnipeg, 1950, pp. 60-61.

<sup>66</sup>) S. Obnorskii, "Yazyk dogovorov russkikh s grekami," *Yazyk i myshleniye*, Vols. VI-VII, pp. 102-103.

<sup>67</sup>) N. Nikolskii, *Povest' vremennykh let, kak istochnik russkogo pis'menstva i kul'tury*, 1930.



most interesting are the so-called Kyivan or *Freysinger Fragments*, which were found in 1873 by I. I. Sreznevsky. They consist of seven pages which contain a Slav translation of the Latin liturgy written in this script. These pages are of great interest for two reasons: firstly, as a document which proves the existence of this script, and secondly, as proof that the Latin liturgy was used in Ukraine-Rus' <sup>66</sup>). The fact that this liturgy existed in the Glagolitic script is proof of the existence of Christianity in Ukraine in the 9th century, for in the 10th century the Glagolitic script was replaced by the Cyrillic script, which was created by the pupils of St. Methodius. The opinion expressed by P. Kurinny with regard to the Gospel of Rheims, which the Ukrainian princess Anna Yaroslavna took with her to France, is extremely interesting. Part of this Gospel was written in the Glagolitic and part in the Cyrillic script. Kurinny assumes that this Gospel was closely connected with the monastery in Vyshhorod, which was a center of Christianity earlier than Kyiv <sup>67</sup>).

The intellectual culture of the Kyivan Rus' was equalled by the material culture. Evidence of this culture can be seen in the remains of a magnificent palace in Kyiv dating from the 10th century, that is from the reign of Ihor and Olga. Marble columns, frescoes, mosaics, and the famous "Black Burial-mound" (Chorna Mohyla) near the town of Chernyhiv, which all date from the same era, are also evidence of this culture. Other finds discovered on the "Black Burial-mound" include the figures of animals — one of them an aurochs with beautifully ornamented silver horns. The ornamentation on one of its horns consists of a **plant motif**, which is exactly the same as the ornamentation on the hilt of a sword that was found in Kyiv in the 10th century. The ornamentation on the other horn of the animal depicts a combat with gryphons, a subject taken from the "Byliny" (Sagas) about Stavr Hodynovych. This corroborates the fact that these objects, which reveal a high degree of excellence as regards the jeweller's art, were made by native crafts-

<sup>66</sup>) M. Hrunsky, "Freysingenski otryvky." *Publications of the History and Philology Department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kyiv*, 1926, Vol. XVI.

<sup>67</sup>) P. Kurinny, *Ryms'ka Evanhelitya*, Augsburg, 1946.



men of this region; the figures of animals which existed in Ukraine in those days and the above-mentioned subject which belongs to the local folklore are convincing proof in this respect. There are also numerous indications that the objects found in the vicinity of the "Black Burial-mound," or rather the technique which they reflect, had a considerable influence on Poland and Czechia, a fact which has been stressed by the local archeologists, I. Shrapil, I. Cherinka and L. Niederle <sup>70</sup>).

All these factors in the sphere of material and intellectual culture prove that the culture of Ukraine-Rus' in the 10th century was deeply rooted. Indeed it is obvious that its roots went back to the previous era, which was the era of Askold. And there is further proof of the profound nature of this culture — namely Christianity.

Many sources of various origins and of various kinds clearly prove that the Christian doctrine spread to an ever increasing extent in Ukraine-Rus' about the middle of the 9th century. We have already referred to the source of the Christianization of the Ukrainian state — namely Byzantium. But this was not the only source. Undoubtedly the relations of Ukraine-Rus' to Bulgaria, whose power and political and cultural importance were steadily increasing, also played a significant part in this respect. Bulgaria during the era of Krum and, above all, during the reign of Boris, who was a contemporary of Askold, became an important center of Slav culture. In 864-865 Christianity was adopted there. The *Yakimovsky Chronicle* refers to Askold's relations with Bulgaria, which are not however specified in detail, and mentions the fact that in 864 Askold's son was murdered by the Bulgarians. Incidentally, the reason for this murder has so far never been ascertained. But it certainly is interesting to note that the date of the murder corresponds with the date of Bulgaria's conversion to Christianity. Nor must one overlook the fact that the *Yakimovsky Chronicle* re-

---

<sup>70</sup>) O. Povstenko, *Istoriya Ukrayins'koho Mystetstva*, Vol. I, Nuremberg, 1948; V. A. Rybakov, *Remeslo drevney Rusi*, Moscow, 1948, pp. 225-228; N. Polonska-Wasylenko, "Kul'tura Ukrayiny-Rusy za dokhrystyyanskoyi doby," *Samostiyna Ukrayina*, 1960, Nos. 9-10, pp. 16-17.



cords that the first Metropolitan of Kyiv, Michael, went to Bulgaria.

Western Ukraine-Rus' undoubtedly entertained relations with Moravia during the time that St. Methodius was bishop there<sup>71</sup>). M. de Taube endeavors to extend the region from which Christian doctrine spread to Kyiv; he includes in this region Regensburg, or Ratisbona, the famous and prosperous capital of South Germany, where the influences of ancient Rome, of the West and of the East, converged<sup>72</sup>).

All these influences lead up to the second half of the 9th century, that is to the era of Askold. Nor was Christianity suppressed during the subsequent era of the Varangians; on the contrary, it asserted itself so spontaneously and so powerfully under Ihor that the Christians in Ihor's troops occupied the same status as the heathens. The oath of allegiance which was taken in the Church of St. Elijah was considered to be as valid as the heathen oath of allegiance. Ihor's treaty with the Greeks suddenly and unexpectedly revealed how great and powerful this Christian community, which possessed its own Church, was. The existence of this community, to which the upper classes belonged, explains the Christianity of the era of Olga, and also makes it comprehensible. The question as to where this Christianity came from and how it was able to assume a leading role, is unnecessary. For the answer is self-evident if one takes into account the first conversion to Christianity of Rus'-Ruthenia, which was followed three generations later by Ihor's treaty with the Greeks.

Thus all paths, though they may have been artificially interrupted, in the political, military, diplomatic, economic, cultural and, above all, in the religious field, nevertheless lead the research scholars to the second half of the 9th century, to the era of Askold, as the beginning of the state of Ukraine-Rus'.

---

<sup>71</sup>) Ohlyenko, Vol. I, p. 40; de Taube, p. 89; P. Isayiv, *Zvidky Rus'-Ukrayna pryyniala chrystyyanstvo?* Philadelphia, 1952, pp. 41, 56, 66.

<sup>72</sup>) V. Vasilievskii, "Taivio," *Journal of the Ministry of Education*, 1888; de Taube, p. 96; the same, "Rome and Russia . . .," *Ex Oriente, Mainz*, 1927.



Nicholas Andrusiak \*)

## GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF EAST SLAVIC NATIONS

In the article "Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe," <sup>1)</sup> Mykola Chubaty cites the traditional system of the "Russian history vs. a rational history of Eastern Slavs" by Mykhailo Hrushevsky <sup>2)</sup>, who, taking as his point of departure the contemporary ethnic and national division of Eastern Slavs into three nationalities — Ukrainian, Russian, and Byelorussian — affirms that this division existed at the dawn of history. Three East-European Slavic groups had formed before the Slavic tribes of Eastern Europe united into three East Slavic nations. Despite the political changes in Eastern Europe and the existence of the Kievan-Rus' State, the Lithuanian-Rus' State, the Tatar State, the Great Principality of Moscow, and the Russian Empire, these three nations preserved their individualities with their particular ethnic and spiritual characteristics. From this stems the necessity to examine their histories separately. The existence of the Russian Empire is no reason to examine the history of these three nations in the one current of Russian history. The history of each of these three nations has its own course. Ukrainian history developed on the present territory of the Ukrainian people which, under pressure of the hordes from the East, first lost land and then expanded, but

---

\*) Nicholas Andrusiak, historian and author, published many works on Ukrainian history. Some of his works are *Istoria Ukrainy*, *The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia*, *Der west-ukrainische Stamm der Lemken* and many others. The above article was published in *East European Problems*, 1956, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 5-21; reprinted by permission.

<sup>1)</sup> *Proceedings*, Historical-Philosophical Section of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York-Paris, 1951, I., p. 13.

<sup>2)</sup> *Statti po slavianovidleniu*, Vol. I, Petersburg, 1904, pp. 298-304.



ultimately was left unchanged in its basic territory, which borders on the Russian, Polish, and Byelorussian nations.

When we review the prehistoric, so-called Trypillian culture in Ukraine, we see that its population introduced farming in Ukraine. Because this Trypillian population, like its neighbors, left no written records, we cannot determine its ethnic origin. There are later Greek reports, dating from the ninth century before Christ, concerning the population in Ukraine, but these also do not accurately depict the boundaries of the land of the original historical residents of Ukraine: Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians, and Alans. Inasmuch as the Greek geographer Ptolemy, writing in the second century after Christ, placed the "great nation" Slavs (Veneds) in Eastern Europe, to the east of Vistula and north of the Carpathians, while he stated that the Iranian Alans lived on the Black Sea, we can presume that the Slavic population in the northwest forest zone of Ukraine fused with the Iranian population of the steppe zone in the southeast: Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans. Michael Miller<sup>3)</sup> considers that the Alans were the "Antes" who, from the fourth to the seventh centuries, appeared as state organizers of the Eastern Slavic peoples, in the area from the Don to the Danube. As to the population to the north of the contemporary Ukrainian national territory, the Ukrainian paleo-ethnologist Vadym Shcherbakivsky<sup>4)</sup> considers the Lithuanians to be the ancient Budins whose settlements extended as far as the Ukrainian Severianian region. On the basis of the name of one of the Slavic peoples — "Krivichians" — forefathers of the present-day Byelorussians, one can surmise that these also were the Slavified descendants of some Lithuanian race; Lithuanian "mages" were called "krive," and the chief "mage" was the "Krive-Kriveito." From the above, it appears, consequently, that the population of Ukraine originated from a mixture of Slavs and Iranians, and the population of Byelorussia from a mixture of Slavs and Baltic Lithuanians.

---

<sup>3)</sup> *Svoboda*, Jersey City, 61, II, No. 38, 1950, (Cited by G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, New Haven, 1948, p. 355).

<sup>4)</sup> Hrushevsky, *Conception of the Origin of the Ukrainian Nation in the Light of Paleontology*, Prague, 1940.



Shcherbakivsky, who, at times, is inclined to Marr's linguistic theory concerning the hybridity of languages, even accepts that the steppe pre-Aryan population of Ukraine fused with the Baltic (Lithuanian) peoples during the influx from the wooded districts of the Dnieper. As a result, this mixture, in the course of a prolonged process, produced the pre-Slavic language, which pushed the Lithuanian tongue to the shores of the Baltic Sea in the region of lower Neman and the West Dvina. In fact, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, the Yatvingians and the Lithuanians, under the influence of the higher Rus'ian culture, denationalized to the benefit of the Byelorussians.

Hrushevsky's above-mentioned concept that the state organization has no influence on the formation of a nation and on the designation of its borders must be corrected. This can be seen by examining the history of the Severianians, Drehovichians, and Krivichians. Not all the territory of the former Ukrainian Severianians was incorporated into the contemporary Ukrainian national territory; its districts on the upper Seym River became Russified (Kursk) as a result of Moscow's conquest at the end of the fifteenth century. The present Ukrainian-Byelorussian ethnic divisions do not correspond to the regions of the former Drehovichians in Polissia. Finally, only the western Krivichians (Polotsk on the West Dvina) became the nucleus of the Byelorussian nation, whose people now show some desire to change their national designation, "Byelorussy," to "Krivichi." The eastern Krivichians in the region of the upper Volga (Tver), subdued by Moscow, have been Russified. On the way to Russification are the remnants of the Krivichians — the Byelorussians on the upper Dnieper (Smolensk) who do not enter into the present Byelorussian SSR, just as the territory of the former Ukrainian Severianians in the region of central Desna (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Starodub Kozak Regiment) is excluded from the Ukrainian SSR. This gives a basis to affirm the fact that political changes in Eastern Europe did influence the formation of the Eastern Slavic nations.

The first state to influence the formation of the Eastern Slavic tribes was Rus', from the ninth to the fourteenth cen-



turies. The oldest Rus' chronicle is based on Byzantine chronicles, local reports and writings conducted initially at the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev; these writings were begun in 1039 and finally collated at the beginning of the twelfth century by the Monk Nestor of the Kievan Monastery of the Caves. This so-called *Povist' vremennykh lit* considers that the "Rus'" were the Scandinavian Varangians who came to Eastern Europe. He counterposes them to the native Slavic tribes in the early chapters of his account. Then the term "Rus'" was used to denote princes of the Rurik line and their retinues, in which there were also local Slavs, and the territories conquered by them were called the "Land of Rus'." The establishment of Christianity by King Volodymyr (Vladimir) the Great in 988, rooted out the Slavic tribal names together with the Slavic pagan beliefs connected with the cults of individual tribal gods. In this manner, tribal separateness was lost and the nation of "*Rusyny*" or "*Rusychi*" was created. The first to disappear were the tribal names of the Polianians, Severianians, Derevljanians, Dulibians, Tyverians, Ulichians, Khorvatians (Croats), Slovenes and, in time, the Drehovichians and Krivichians. Last to disappear were the tribal names of the Viatichians, among whom, even in the beginning of the twelfth century, missionaries of the Christian faith were martyred.

In the continuation of the *Povist' vremennykh lit*, in the so-called *Kievan Chronicles* of 1200, the Kievan territory is called the "Land of Rus'" in contrast to other foreign lands over which princes of the Rurik dynasty ruled. Chubaty<sup>5)</sup>, following M. F. Vladymirskii-Budanov<sup>6)</sup>, accepts the idea that the name "Rus'" had a narrower ethnic meaning and signified the original land of the Kievan Polianians. This is contradicted by the implication in the *Kievan Chronicle* of the middle of the twelfth century in regard to the complaint of the first Prince of Suzdal, Yurii Dolgorukii, who thrice ruled in Kiev (1149-50, 1151, and 1155-57) about the fact that for him and his children there was no appanage in the "Land

---

<sup>5)</sup> *Proceedings*, I., *op. cit.*, p. 16-18.

<sup>6)</sup> *Outline of the History of Russian Law*, Petersburg-Kiev, 1909, p. 211, 61 sl., 24, 68 sl. (cited by Chubaty).



of Rus',” although he and his children kept for themselves Pereyaslav and Ostersky Horodok not far from Kiev. Therefore, “Rus’ Land” in the *Kievan Chronicle* was used narrowly to apply to the territories belonging to the throne of the great Prince of Kiev; in contrast, “Rus’ Land” in the *Povist’ vremennykh lit, Slovo o polku Ihoreve* and *Slovo o pohybili russkoi zemli*, meant lands of the Rurik dynasty. The Galician-Volhinian chronicler of the thirteenth century names the Galician-Volhinian king Roman Mstyslavich as “the autocrat and tsar of the entire Rus’.” In this chronicle, the words “all of the Rus’ territories” are used to refer to the territories of the Galician-Volhinian State to which Kiev twice belonged (1200-2, 1240). The *Chronicle of Suzdal*, compiled from the two above Kievan annals by the Monk Lavrenty in the fourteenth century, with a supplement of local chronicles, considers as “Rus’ territories” all lands belonging to the Rurik dynasty apart from Suzdal. Analogically, in the *First Novgorod Chronicle*, the “Rus’ country” includes Kiev, Chernihiv, Pereyaslav and Volodymyr-Volynsky, but not Great Novgorod. Authoritative evidence that the Moscow-Suzdal population did not consider itself a Rus’ people in the twelfth century is the mention in the chronicle that the Suzdalians of Rostov complained against their princes that they had filled state positions with “Rus’ squires,” that is, members of the military retinue who came to Suzdal from Rus’-Ukraine with the princes. These Rus’ squires were of a junior branch of the Monomakhovichi who were first princes of Pereyaslav in Ukraine. Therefore, Russian historians have no right to apply the concept “people of Rus’” to the population of Muscovy before the twelfth century. Exactly when this population, which initially was dissatisfied with the Rus’ princes and their retinues, adapted itself to a subordination to these princes, and thus began calling itself “*russkiye*” is a question which should be answered by Ukrainian and Byelorussian historians who should base their answer on Muscovite sources in order to show the falseness of the affirmation made by those Russian historians who wrongly place the origin of the Muscovite nation, in its present “*russky*” form, several centuries before the twelfth century.



As if supporting the conception of A. Y. Presniakov and M. N. Pokrovskii, who, accepting Hrushevsky's scheme, limited the beginning of Russian history to the Suzdal country, P. Smirnov<sup>7)</sup> averred that the first Russian state already existed in the eighth century but on the upper Volga and Oka Rivers. He based his affirmation upon the names of Volga — "Rha" or "Rhos" — in Greek and Roman literature. But earlier, the Polish Slavist Alexander Brueckner<sup>8)</sup> pointed out that Arab data concerning Slavs, Rus', and the Amazons were, according to basic research, found to be misleading. They created much difficulty through their use of topographical and tribal names, from which it is difficult to comprehend to which known places and peoples they should be applied. In many instances, the Slavs were identified with other peoples and "el Rus" generally referred to a northern long-legged people.

Soviet historians allege the existence of the Russian nation as early as the ninth century. On the pages of the prominent journal of Soviet historians, *Problems of History*, for April, 1950, V. V. Mavrodin writes:

It can hardly be doubted that from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, the Eastern Slavs blended into one Russian nation . . . And so, on the basis of ancient ties and traditions, on the basis of ethnic community of the Eastern Slavs under conditions of the establishment of the old Russian ("russky") state, on the basis of common language, customs "of their forefathers," statutes, ideology, on the basis of unity of material culture and contemporary struggle for Russian land and faith, the awareness of the unity of the Russian nation began to arise . . . In this manner, on the basis of a blending of the Eastern Slavic peoples into one ethnic mass from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, the Russian nation was formed — a distant ancestor of the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian nations . . . The Russian nationality

---

<sup>7)</sup> *Volzhsky shliach v starodavnei Rusy*, Vseukrains'ka Akademia Nauk, Kiev, 1928.

<sup>8)</sup> *Początki kultury słowiańskiej*, Polska Akademia Nauk, Crakow, 1912.



came directly from Kievan Rus'..., while the beginning of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationalities came later in the thirteenth century. The problem of the formation of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationalities needs separate research <sup>9)</sup>).

Examining the thoughts of Mavrodin, Chubaty <sup>10)</sup> writes: "Only recently, we have come to accept as the official scientific view, the statement that only one 'Russian nation,' in the ethnic understanding, existed in the ninth century." But this affirmation by Chubaty is not suitable for an evaluation of Mavrodin, who accepts the formation of the "Russian nation" between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. Another Soviet historian, B. D. Grekov, at a session of the Historical and Philological Section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, announced that even "prior to the eleventh century the Russian nation was able to make major strides in its administrative, social and political life" <sup>11)</sup>).

In the edition of *Povist' vremennykh lit* published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1950, and based on the Laurentian, Hypatian and Radziwill versions, ancient Ukrainian ethnic names "Rus'" and "Rusyn" are translated by the present Russian words "Russkyy" and "Russkyye" in the Russian translation. This is similar to the case when in the middle of the last century the Polish translator of *Povst'*, August Bielowski, in his *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, in translating the account of the domination of the Ukrainian "Polianian land" by the Varangians, translated this as "Polska" (Polish) land, and after him, in some Polish publications nonsense appeared claiming that the Varangians were Russified Polish tribes which extended up to the Dnieper. Serious Polish historians never based their conceptions on such inaccurate translations as Bielowski's; however, the present Soviet translators of the *Povist'*, with their substitution of the Russian names, "russkiye" and "russkyy" for the names "Rus'" and "Rusyn" follow him without reservation.

---

<sup>9)</sup> *Proceedings, op. cit.*, I, p. 24.

<sup>10)</sup> "V Sovietakh znovu ody 'rusky narod'" *Svoboda*, Jan. 24, 1952, No. 19.

<sup>11)</sup> "Moscow Pravda," *Novoye Ruskoye Slovo*, New York, 1952, No. 255, and No. 145.



George Vernadsky <sup>12)</sup> places the "embryonic period of the formation of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationalities" in the middle of the twelfth century. He observes that in 1154 there occurred one of the first signs of Ukrainian-Muscovite differences, when Yurii Dolgorukii, in opposition to the Kievan population, imported Suzdal "boyars." But why does Vernadsky consider the Suzdalians, who in that century opposed "Rus' squires" in their midst, the contemporary champions of the ideal of a Rus' state, while the residents of the "mother Rus' cities," by their opposition to the Suzdalians, were but initiating the Ukrainian nationality? Both facts — the opposition of the Kievans to the Suzdal "boyars," and the opposition of the Suzdal and Rostov population to the "Rus' squires" — show that during the struggle between the old Ukrainian senior branch of the Monomakhovichi and the Moscow junior branch for the throne of the Kievan King, the Kievan Rus' did not consider the Suzdalians to be their people and the Suzdalians did not consider the "Rus' squires" to be of their stock. Therefore, not only up to the eleventh century, as Mavrodin states, but even in the middle of the twelfth century, the Suzdalians had not merged into one Rus' nation. This could never be accomplished after the Suzdal principality had separated from the Rus' state. Upon an ethnic Ugro-Finnish-Turkic (Volga Bulgarian) foundation, with a small admixture of the Slavic Viaticians and Krivichians, the linguistically Slavic Suzdalian nation began to form in the twelfth century (during the fourteenth century, it became the Muscovite nation). Their princes, although descendants of the Kievan Prince Volodymyr II Monomakh, from the very beginning followed a policy hostile to the Kievan Prince of Rus'. The destruction of Kiev, March 8, 1169, by the Suzdal-Vladimir Prince Andrei Bogolubskii, was a prophetic expression of this policy, and the call of the author of the *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* to his brother, Vsevolod Yuri-evich, did not influence the Suzdal princes to subordinate themselves to the princes of Kiev and to assist them in the struggle with the nomadic Cumans or Polovtsi. On the contrary, the Suzdal princes followed the line of atavism of the

---

<sup>12)</sup> G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, New Haven, 1948, p. 215.



Suzdal population, seeking from the Eurasian nomads support against Kiev. Yurii Dolgorukii held the throne in Kiev, thanks to the assistance of the Cumans against whom Izyaslav II also found allies among the Asiatic nomads, who at that time wandered over the Ukrainian steppes: the Black Klobuks, of Turkic origin <sup>13</sup>). Following the Tatar attack upon the Rus' state in 1239-41, the Suzdal prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich was first to swear fealty and homage to the Tatar Khan Batu, and, up to the time of complete weakening of the Tatars, the Suzdal-Moscow princes pursued a policy loyal to their Mongolian masters. Mongolian influences left their effect upon the formation of the Moscow state ideology <sup>14</sup>): the Moscow princes, imitating Tatar tactics of taking prisoners into bondage, mixed the population of conquered lands and in this manner Muscovized it. This is the way Moscow acted with the leaders of Great Novgorod (1478), Pskov (1509), and princes Olhovyches in the borderlands of the old principality of Chernihiv on the Upper Oka, Desna and Seym rivers.

In the Slav world, the Muscovites are a creation analogous to the Prussians in the German world. The Germans assimilated Lithuanian Prussians and Slavs over the Elbe, Oder and the Baltic Sea, and the Prussians have now become a symbol of German brutality. The Muscovites are an admixture of the dour Ugro-Finnish residents of the marshy forests of northeastern Europe and the Asiatic steppe nomads — Eurasian Slavs. G. Vernadsky <sup>15</sup>) endeavors erroneously to attach to all Eastern Slavic nations, that is, to the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, too, the Eurasian character of the Muscovites. The Rus' nation during the middle ages did meet with the Eurasian nomads in the Black Sea steppes, but only minor hordes displayed an inclination to permanent settlement and assimilation in Ukraine, to which they completely

---

<sup>13</sup>) Prof. K. Menges of Columbia University mentioned them in his lecture at the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, New York, 1952.

<sup>14</sup>) Ideology of the Moscow state from its beginning to the sixteenth century was researched by historians Francis Dvornik, Andrew Losky, Nicholas Riazanowsky, Michael Karpowich and M. Chubaty at the Congress of American Historians in New York, Dec. 28-30, 1951. (*Svoboda*, Jan. 16, 1952, No. 12).

<sup>15</sup>) G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, New Haven, 1946, p. 1-8.



succumbed similarly to the Bulgarians among the Trans-Danube and Balkan Slavs. During the Tatar invasions in the thirteenth century, the formerly assimilated hordes quickly returned to their own people as the "Tatars' people." Thanks to their custom of taking prisoners in bondage from Ukraine, they were also being racially changed to a certain degree. But in Ukraine, the superior Slavic culture triumphed. Remnants of geographic names of Turkic origin in the Ukrainian steppe <sup>16)</sup> are not unusual phenomena, for from the middle of the fourteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, various nomads, either of Turkic origin, or united politically or culturally with the Turks, lived in the Black Sea steppes.

Only the Tatar incursions, terrible in their beginnings, permitted the Suzdalian princes to influence Kiev, from which city, at the end of the thirteenth century (not without coaxing on the part of the Suzdalian princes), Metropolitans of the "whole of Rus'" went to their capital, Vladimir-on-Kliazma. By bribing the Patriarchs of Constantinople, they managed to secure the abolition of the separate Galician metropolitanate for "little Rus'." They even lured the Galician Metropolitan Petro to Moscow by promising him the title of "Metropolitan of all Rus'." But, thanks to internal strife among the Tatar Khans in the middle of the fourteenth century, the old "Mother of Rus' cities" breathed a little more freely, and launched a protest against the Muscovite usurpation of her metropolitan rights. With the help of a fraternal Bulgarian Metropolitan, the local Prince provided for the consecration of the Kievan Metropolitan, Teodoryt (1353), whose supremacy was recognized by St. Moses († 1360), as Archbishop of Great Novgorod. This united and simultaneous advance of the hierarchy of both capitals of the old Rus' state against Moscow is an indication of an awareness in the fourteenth century of a difference in nationality between the old Rus' nation and the newly established Suzdalian-Muscovite one.

On the five hundredth anniversary of the death of the renowned Lithuanian-Rus' prince, Vytautas, son of Keistut,

---

<sup>16)</sup> Lecture by Prof. K. Menges, Prof. L. Czykalenko, (*Svoboda*, April 24, 1952, No. 133).



the Ukrainian historian Myron Korduba published an article in the Lviv *Literary-Scientific Herald*, in 1930, entitled "The Most Important Moment in the History of Ukraine." He showed that, thanks to the annexation of Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands by the Lithuanian princes of the Gedimin dynasty, the Ukrainian nation had the opportunity, within the borders of the Lithuanian-Rus' state, to resurrect and develop apart from the Muscovites. I consider that the Rus' nation went under foreign Lithuanian and Polish rule conscious of its national separatedness, of which the Trans-Carpathian Rus' within the Hungarian Kingdom was also aware from the time of its short stay in the State of Volodymyr the Great.

We must agree with Myron Korduba in that the annexation of Byelorussian and Ukrainian lands by Lithuania saved these territories from later annexation by Moscow, and their population from Muscovization. The Lithuanian prince Olgerd did not liberate Kiev from the Tatar yoke: he only replaced the local Kievan princes by his son, Volodymyr V. The Kievan princes frequently emancipated themselves from Tatar domination, exploiting the khans' internal strife in the middle of the fourteenth century. But if the annexation of Kiev, Chernihiv and Smolensk had not been accomplished by the Lithuanian princes, their fate would have been like that of Great Novgorod (1478), the "states" of the princes from the Chernihiv branch of the Rurykides, on the Upper Oka and Desna at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth century, and like that of Pskov (1509), which Moscow conquered by force. It is a glaring fact that the Chernihiv Rurykides preferred the domination of Gedimin's descendants, the Jagellons, to the Muscovite successors of Yurii Dolgorukii. Although the Jagellons deprived the princes Rurykides of their power, leaving them with only their princely titles and estates, they did not oust them from their homeland as Moscow's Tsar Ivan did to the leaders of Great Novgorod. It was this fear of exile into the depths of Muscovy which drove the Chernihiv Rurykides to stubborn resistance. Following the exile of the leaders from the occupied lands of Rus', came the forcible Muscovization of the Rus' population by means of mixing them with Muscovites, Finns and



Tatars — methods which the Muscovites have used against nations enslaved by them during the entire span of their history.

Although philologists may find differences between the languages of the ancestors of the Ukrainians and Byelorussians as early as the tenth century, the Byelorussians had no consciousness of their national distinctiveness up to the second half of the nineteenth century. The fact that they were part of the Kiev Rus' state from the tenth century on, and after the latter's partition, owed allegiance to separate Rurikides, descendants of Izyaslav Volodymyrovich († 1001) (Polotsk branch) and Rostyslav I Mstyslavich († 1167) Prince of Kiev (Smolensk branch) up to the fourteenth century created among the Byelorussians a feeling of belonging to the Rus' people. When, during the fourteenth century, the Lithuanian princes gained dominion over Byelorussian and Ukrainian lands, the Byelorussians and Ukrainians called themselves generally "*Rusyny*." Franz Skoryna, a Byelorussian by birth, remarked in his *Psalter* which appeared in 1517 that he had published this book for the Rus' people in the Rus' language. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the Suprasl Monastery on the Ukrainian-Byelorussian linguistic border, praise was penned for the Rus' Prince Konstantyn of Ostroh for having successfully "beaten the mighty force of Moscow." In Byelorussia, which entered into the Metropolitanate of Kiev, there were bishops from Ukraine, like the archbishops of Polotsk, Josaphat Kuntsevich and Melety Smotrytsky, and the bishops of Mohyliv, Silvester Kosiv, Joseph Neliubovich Tukalsky (both later metropolitans of Kiev), Yury Konisky and many others. Although natives of Ukraine, they did not feel that they were working among foreigners—among people alien to them. The ancestors of the Byelorussians joined the Ukrainian Kozaks. When Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky spoke of liberation of the whole Rus' to the Vistula, he had in mind Ukraine and Byelorussia together; his colonels organized Kozak regiments in the Byelorussian counties of Mohyliv, Slutsk, Novgorodok, and Smolensk. Hetman Philip Orlyk came from Byelorussian territory and before his service with the Kozaks, he had dedicated his book, *The Rus'ian Alcides*, which was published



in the Polish language in Vilna, in 1695, to Hetman Ivan Mazeppa. From the end of the sixteenth century, the Greek name for Rus', "*Rossiya*," and from it the adjective "*Rossiysky*" were used by Ukrainian literates for differentiating Rus'-Ukraine from Moscow. "*Hetman of Rossiya*" is inscribed on Mazeppa's gift to the Orthodox in Palestine and Syria; these words appear on the silver depiction of Christ in the tomb donated by him to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and on the *Gospels in Arabic* printed at his cost for the liturgy of the Syrian Orthodox Christians in Aleppo. In "The Humble Memorial of the Zaporogovian Army to the King's Sacred Majesty of Sweden" in Bendery, on October 20, 1709, the leading Mazeppists, Quartermaster-General Ivan Lomykovsky, Zaporogovian Kozak Chief Kost Hordiyenko, Colonel Dmytro Horlenko of Pryluky, Secretary-General Philip Orlyk and General Keeper of the Regalia Fedir Myrovich among others, wrote: "We well know that the desire to accept the protection of His Holy Majesty, The King, was aroused in His Excellency Hetman Mazeppa by the wish that the Rus' nation cast off the Muscovite yoke and be free..." In his *Deduction of the Rights of Ukraine*, Orlyk referred to Mazeppa's treaty with Charles XII in which it was agreed that "all that is won from the former territory of Muscovy... which—as it will appear—belonged formerly to the Rus' people, is to be transferred to and kept by the Ukrainian principality."

Language differences did not influence the separation of Byelorussians from Ukrainians because to the end of the eighteenth century there was one mutual, so-called Rus' book language for Ukrainians and Byelorussians, based on the Church Slavonic, and cluttered up during its administrative use in the Polish Republic between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries with Polonisms. This "Rus' book language" was augmented in literary works by words and idioms which entered from popular Ukrainian and Byelorussian speech—depending upon the place of origin of the authors of the literary monuments. In the Orthodox polemical work written in the Polish language in the second half of the seventeenth century, which Wasyl Shchurat (1929) found and reprinted in Ukrainian, under the title, *In Defense of*



*Potiy's Union*, there is mention that the Uniate priests in Byelorussia used a language in their sermons which was neither the Rus' language nor the Polish one. From words given as examples of this language, we see that it was Byelorussian.

On the basis of traditional citizenship of the ancestors of the Byelorussians to the Rus' state and their belonging to the Metropolitanate of Kiev, there was during the nineteenth century a widespread viewpoint in Galicia that the Byelorussians (*Bilorusyny*) were a segment of the Ukrainian nation (*Rusyny*). At that time, even such linguists in Galicia as Ivan Mohylnytsky in the first half of the past century and Omelian Ohonovsky, in the second half, considered the Byelorussian tongue a dialect of the Ukrainian. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the language of the Carpatho-Ukrainian settlers in Bachka (Yugoslavia) in the eighteenth century is further from the Ukrainian literary language than the Byelorussian and yet the Bachka Ukrainians, although their speech has taken on many an admixture from their Serb-Croatian surroundings, consider themselves to be Ukrainians on the basis of their historical tradition.

The echoes of traditional belonging of the population of Great Novgorod to the Rus', and not to the Muscovite nation, are found in Galicia in popular stories about Martha Boretska concerning the Great Novgorod heroism during its struggle with Moscow for independence. Published by the "Rus' Pedagogic Society," later the "Native School" in Lviv, that story tells of Martha's heroism as well as about Princess Olha as a native of the region of Great Novgorod. (The story about Olha is contained in the "Library for Rus' Youth," edited by Julian Nasalsky in Kolomyia). In the newspaper *Missionar* published by the Basilian Fathers in Zhovkva, there were mentions of "our brothers *Rusyny* in Byelorussia" even at the beginning of our century.

National rebirth of Ukrainians within the borders of the former Russian empire did not develop on the tradition of the old Kievan Rus' State, but was more closely related to the Kozak campaigns told of in native „*dumas*” (epic ballads) and songs. But the Kozak tradition was not preserved among the people in the broad sense of statehood that Bohdan



Khmelnysky entertained, but only as a struggle for the liberty of the people without special delineation of territory.

Then, too, the last period of the existence of the Kozak hetmanate left only a tradition to preserve the remnants of the Kozak self-administration (autonomy) in that narrow area of Ukraine—on the left bank of the Dnieper; the Sitch, too, left tradition territorially-limited to Zaporogovia. The confined terrain of this tradition broadened during the era of rebirth due only to the native tongue. The creativity of Taras Shevchenko, particularly, reminded the people, in their native tongue, of their past and informed the world of the life of the Ukrainian nation, whose territory should be considered that land where the population spoke one Ukrainian tongue.

And, based on language, the Ukrainian Cyril-Methodian Brotherhood in Kiev, at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, contrary to historical tradition, considered Byelorussia closer to Moscow than to Ukraine. The Byelorussian people drowsed, forgotten by their closest brothers—Ukrainians. They were awakened by the Poles, who, through articles and songs in the Ukrainian and Byelorussian languages recruited warriors from among the Ukrainian and Byelorussian populations for their anti-Moscow insurrection. And the first pioneers of national Byelorussian rebirth in the sixth decade of the nineteenth century were those Byelorussians who answered the Polish summons, and later found that neither Polish ideals nor Russian ideals were native to them. They became convinced that their people must be enlightened so that they would not become tools for foreigners. Thus commenced the Byelorussian national rebirth independent of the Ukrainian, notwithstanding that the history and spirit of the Byelorussian people were bound up with the Ukrainians. The Byelorussian folk songs are adapted from Ukrainian songs; even during the twenty years of Polish occupation of West Byelorussia (1919-1939), the Ukrainian soldiers' songs from the time of the struggle for the independence of Ukraine spread there spontaneously. When one hears the Byelorussian populace speak of the "holy city"—that city is not Minsk, nor Vilna, nor Moscow, nor Warsaw—but Kiev, notwithstanding that Ukraine during the period of its national liberation struggle in 1917-20 made no effort to



take under its care the Byelorussian national-state struggle. The separation of the Byelorussians from the Ukrainians came about as a result of Ukrainian and Byelorussian national enlightenment on the basis of language in the past century.

Nevertheless, both nations cannot be denied historicity, for earlier they appeared under the common names of "*Rusyny*" and "*the Rus' people*" as distinguished from Moscow, which appropriated the name "Russian" only in the beginning of the eighteenth century. There are no non-historical nations; there are only historical nations, for every nation has its own history even though in the past, it appeared together with neighboring nations under another name. Also, for national separation, it is unimportant when the separation ensued. American Yankees are not ashamed of their English origin, and the English cannot deny them the right of national difference because nation-state separation of the U.S.A. from England occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. United by a Catholic religion, the Walloons (related to the French) and the Flemings (related to the Dutch), arose against Protestant Holland in 1830 and created independent Belgium. Nevertheless, the Belgian nation today is divided into two nationalities on a language basis. The Italian nation originated from various ethnic components in northern, central and southern Italy; there are great anthropologic and language differences between southern and northern Italians. This example, from Italian soil, is analogous to the Rus' nation, when in the past it was composed of Ukrainians and Byelorussians, who anthropologically and linguistically differed amongst themselves.

Therefore, when we look at the historical process of the formation of the Ukrainian nation, we see that this formation commenced at the end of the tenth century, when Christianity spread through Ukraine, and wiped out the idols, together with the pagan cults, and the separate tribes. There were prospects of assimilation of almost all Eastern Slavs by the Rus' nation, which appropriated the name "*Rus'*," "*rusky*," "*Rusychi*," "*Rusyny*." The downfall of the state "*Rus'*," with its capital in Kiev, prevented the accomplishment of that assimilation. The Galician-Volhynian state was limited exclusively to Ukrainian territory. Southwest Byelorussia fell under



its influence in the second half of the thirteenth century for only a short time. During the Lithuanian-Rus' state and the struggle of the Kozaks for statehood, this process was manifested in the form of one Rus' nation composed of ancestors of the Ukrainians and Byelorussians. Only during the era of its rebirth did the Ukrainian nation begin to assume the appearance which it has today. This one-thousand-year process provides an answer to the question why the Ukrainian people did not win state independence in previous centuries. The struggle of the Ukrainian nation in the past was not expressed in the way in which it is formulated today <sup>17)</sup>.

---

<sup>17)</sup> M. Andrusiak, *Istoria Ukrainy*, Prague, 1941, p. 132.



Nicholas D. Chubaty \*)

## THE MEANING OF "RUSSIA" AND "UKRAINE"

In 1713 Peter I, the founder of the modern Russian Empire, issued an *Ukaz*, by virtue of which his state formerly known under the name of Muscovy was renamed Russia (Rossiya) and his subjects became Russkiye. The new name Rossiya had been used by the Greeks to designate the ancient Kievan State of the Ukrainian people — Rus'. At the time of the renaming of Muscovy Peter had finally managed to obtain an outlet to the sea by seizing the Baltic provinces from the Swedes. He also had strengthened his grip on Ukraine and had drawn nearer to the Black Sea by crushing the abortive attempt of the Ukrainians under Hetman Mazepa to free themselves. Poland, meanwhile, was steadily becoming a mere satellite of Muscovy.

The renaming of Muscovy created a surprise beyond Peter's expanding domains, as everyone then knew that Muscovy was never Rus'. The name, however, found immediate favor among the Germans, because the German advisors at Peter's court had suggested the new name. In time England accepted the name, too. The last country to recognize the substitution of the name Rossiya for Muscovy was France, where the war for liberation by Ukrainians against Tsar Peter was well known, as we can see from Voltaire's accurate portrayal of the freedom-loving quality of Ukraine. It was

---

\*) Nicholas D. Chubaty, professor at the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv. Prominent among his books are *Western Ukraine and Rome in the Thirteenth Century*, *An Outline of the History of Ukrainian Laws*, *A History of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine* (all in Ukrainian). The article reprinted by permission of the publisher: *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, September, 1945, pp. 351-364. The article, though in a substantially altered form, was published in *Proceedings*, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Vol. I, New York-Paris, 1951, pp. 10-25.



Voltaire's influence that prompted Charles I. Lesur to write his work on Ukrainian history, *L'Histoire des Cosaques*, which was often consulted by Napoleon in preparation for his march on Moscow.

The sluggish acceptance by the western European countries of Muscovy's new name was due to the realization that, on the one hand, by this act Muscovy was attempting to adopt as its own the history and traditions of Kiev, mother of the cities of Rus' and, on the other hand, to deny the existence of the Ukrainian people as an independent nationality. Furthermore, it also was quite evident that in doing this Muscovy was giving notice of her intention to claim those Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories which still remained under Polish rule. This intention was realized at the three partitions of Poland (1772-95).

After the Tsar's *Ukaz* giving Muscovy a new name, Russian diplomats abroad received instructions to persuade and even bribe foreign officials and journalists to use the new name exclusively.

About two centuries later Peter's ambition was finally fulfilled. Muscovy became definitely known as Russia. The term Russia, a medieval Latin name for Rus', became accepted as the English and French translation of ancient Rus' and modern Rossiya. This further obscured the original meaning of the term involved, for now "Russia" covered both Rus'-Ukraine and Muscovy. A further result has been that those who use the term Russia today rarely differentiate between the Russians and the Ukrainians, as is shown by many of the newspaper reports emanating from Russia. Thus the plans of Peter I and his German advisors of some 232 years ago did not miscarry.

Today, with but few exceptions the term Russia covers a land stretching from the White Sea to the Black Sea, from the Curzon Line to Vladivostok, while the inhabitants of this one-sixth of the earth are commonly called Russians. To popularize "Russia" and "Russians" was a task deliberately and thoroughly undertaken by countless Russian bureaucrats, officials, scholars, police, up to and including the Minister of the Interior, Valuyev, who in the notorious order banning



printing in Ukrainian said (1863) that "there never was, is not, and never will be a Ukrainian language."

Strange as it may seem, today there are reactionary Russian historians who still cling to Valuyev's view. For them the same Russian people live in Western Ukraine or on the banks of the Dnieper as in and around Moscow and in the Urals. Some of them, in a vain attempt to compromise with reality, divide the Russian nation into three branches: Great Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian, instead of acknowledging the fact that Eastern Europe is inhabited by three different nationalities. Here in America similar illusory views are taught in colleges and universities.

Nevertheless the fact remains that there is a separate Ukrainian nation, numbering 45 million people. Historically, culturally, in mentality and in language it is independent of the Russian nation. In their native tongue the Ukrainians consistently refer to their northern neighbors as "Moskals" (Muscovians).

For over two hundred years Russia has been trying to subdue the Ukrainians in their struggle for national liberty. Upon the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917 the dynamic national consciousness of the Ukrainians erupted in the form of the proclamation (Jan. 22, 1918) of an independent state. Although the democratic Ukrainian National Republic was finally overthrown by the Russian Bolsheviks with the aid of a Ukrainian puppet government at Kharkiv, it required the destruction by means of famine, executions and banishment of about eight million Ukrainians for the Soviet rulers to retain their grip on Ukraine during the past quarter of a century.

Over one million or so of Ukrainian "displaced persons" today in the U.S.A., Canada, South America, Australia, and several countries of Western Europe are a vivid reminder of the continuing hostility between Russia and Ukraine. Much as these people love their native land Ukraine, they refuse to return to it; they even prefer to die rather than go back to it so long as it remains under Red rule and Russian occupation.

The difference between Russia and Ukraine is clearly realized by the Bolsheviks themselves, who not through any



good will but simply because of the sheer necessity of not offending the Ukrainians any more than is absolutely necessary, were forced to apply the term Russia to Muscovy itself and call the entire state the Soviet Union. To be sure, "Russia" still appears on the maps, but that is only as the territory of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as a separate federative republic of the Soviet Union, bordering upon Ukraine. This, of course, does not please those Russian scholars in American universities who follow the Valuyev line in regard to the Ukrainians.

Naturally we do not dream that the Soviets have abandoned hope of realizing Tsar Peter's dream of one empire peopled by one homogeneous Russian people. The Soviet rulers are too much under the influence of Peter's modern disciples in this respect to do that. Being realistic, however, they compromise, and allow the establishment of a fictitious Ukrainian S.S.R., and arrange to have it become one of the United Nations. Nevertheless, they strive by devious methods to achieve the same goal, but they do it in a much more clever fashion than did their Tsarist predecessors. The old slogans about the one and undivided Russia and the one and undivided Russian people divided rather than united its Slav peoples. So now the catch-phrases are based on the "Soviet" people and "Soviet" patriotism, with the Russians, of course, in the saddle and predominant.

That is why today Soviet textbooks do not attempt to deny the existence of national differences between the Russians and the Ukrainians, or that the history of Kievan Rus' forms also the earliest period of Ukrainian history. What they do claim is that that period is common to the histories of the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples, a position which is only partially divergent from that held by Ukrainian nationalist historians.

Let us examine for the moment what the generally authoritative *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says about Russia and Ukraine. It contains approximately correct articles on Ukrainian literature; but the oldest period of Ukrainian history, the history of Kievan Rus', and the period of the old Ukrainian literature are inserted as parts of Russian (Muscovite) history. Surely the Russian (or Muscovite) people, organized only in



the latter part of the 12th century on the estuary of the upper Volga around Moscow, are far out of place in the 9-13th centuries on the middle Dnieper, in Ukraine.

### *LOGICAL OUTLINE OF EAST EUROPEAN HISTORY*

A feature of any standard book on Russian history published in America is its lack of logic, due to the fact that it is usually based on the reactionary Russian political tenet that there is no separate Ukrainian nationality.

No one can really tell why the beginnings of the history of the Russians, whose homeland is in the northeastern part of Europe, are placed in and around Kiev, the ancient capital of Ukraine, instead of in the very cradle of the Russian people and state, in and around the upper stretches of the Volga, on the territory surrounding Moscow, or within Suzdal itself, their ancient capital. It is there that the ancient history of the Russians lies. Only at the beginning of the 14th century was their capital transferred to the region of Moscow. During the succeeding four centuries Europeans knew of no Russia but only of the State of Muscovy. The third period of Russian history, which begins with Peter I, is actually the history of the Russian empire, that is of those territories over which the Russians ruled but which were not populated by the Russian people as Russian historians would have us believe.

Exactly where the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, and the people of Turkestan enter into **this scheme** of Russian history none of its exponents attempt to explain. Valuyev's statement that "there was not, is not, and never will be" etc., is the major premise upon which their works are based.

The illogical nature of this approach to Russian history evoked criticism even before the Russian Revolution among some East European historians of Ukrainian and other nationality. The result was that at the turn of this century a new approach was formulated. Its chief spirit was Mykhailo Hrushevsky, a world famous scholar and the author of a 10-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. He first expressed his theory in a dissertation entitled "The traditional system of 'Russian History' vs. a rational history of Eastern Slavs."



On the basis of exhaustive historical, ethnological, philological, archaeological and anthropological research and studies Hrushevsky came to the conclusion that East European history should be based on the ethnography of the principal nationalities of Russia, because Russia is not a state of one people but of many peoples. In other words, the history of Ukraine-Rus' developed on the present Ukrainian territory, while Russian and Byelorussian histories evolved within their respective territorial spheres.

The primary stage of Ukrainian history, therefore, begins with Kievan Rus' and lasts to the Tatar invasions of eastern Europe. Subsequently, in the northwest and west a true successor of Kievan Rus' in the form of the Western Ukrainian State was established, which lasted to 1349. After that the Ukrainian people became part of the Lithuanian-Polish federation and then fell under Polish rule where their status finally became that of a stateless people. Their revolution under Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648, which restored Ukrainian statehood on a portion of Ukrainian territory, ushered in a new period of Ukrainian history. Finally the Russian Revolution in 1917 led to the creation of a third Ukrainian state, the Ukrainian National Republic.

Russian and Byelorussian history began on the same territory where these peoples live today. The Russians or Muscovians appeared as a national entity already in the 12th century, in the northern colonies of ancient Rus'-Ukraine, which were then inhabited by tribes of Finnic (Ural-Altaic) origin mixed with some Slav elements. Their center was the Suzdal-Rostov principality with Suzdal as its capital, later Vladimir on the Klazma river, took its place and finally, in the beginning of the 14th century, Moscow.

The Ural-Altaic tribes, from which the Russians descended, were for many centuries exposed to the influence of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine culture, and from the latter they received their princes, administration, trade, and education together with the Church-Slavonic language and Eastern Christianity.

The disintegration of the Kievan state after the death of Yaroslav the Wise (1054) into petty principalities loosened its hold upon the Suzdal-Rostov principality, so that by the



middle of the 12th century the latter had begun to be independent and a rival to the Kievan metropolis. The Tatar occupation led to the final break of Muscovy with Ukraine. Then ensued the Muscovian phase of Russian history, and this was followed at length by its expansion throughout Eastern Europe as well as Asia — the period of the empire.

A similar process of breaking away took place in the northwestern lands centering around Polotsk — where the Byelorussian nationality came into being — and also in Novgorod in the north. Culturally and politically Novgorod became part of Muscovy. In this manner three nations rose upon the ruins of the Kievan Ukraine-Rus'. A common political and religious life arrested the complete separation of the Byelorussian lands from Ukraine for several centuries. That is why during the 16th and the middle of the 17th centuries the solidarity between Byelorussia and Ukraine was so great that in foreign countries no attempt was made to distinguish between them. Both were called *Rusyny*, in Latin *Rutheni*, and were looked upon as an entirely different people from the Muscovites.

This then is the outline of East European history as interpreted by Prof. Hrushevsky and endorsed by all Ukrainian historians. This same scheme has also been accepted by Byelorussian historians, like M. Liubavsky, as well as progressive Russian historians. The first of the latter was Alexander Presniakov; he was followed by Parkhomenko, Pokrovsky, and others.

During the first period before the Tatar invasions (1238-40), the entire Kievan Rus' was ruled by the St. Volodimir dynasty of Varangian (Viking) descent, which adapted itself to the native population, their culture and their social-economic conditions. However, the princes governing the tribes of Ural-Altaic origin in the North, which were settled on the present-day Russia proper but which did not speak any Slav language, were ruled absolutely with the aid of administrators from Rus' with no cooperation from the natives, as was the case in the Ukrainian South, Novgorod and Byelorussia, where the rulers sought the counsel of the "older men" and at times summoned a *viche* (mass meeting). Thus already during the 12th century within the steadily crumbling Kievan



Rus' State three different forms of government were appearing: absolute, aristocratic and republican. According to Vladimirskii-Budanov, as early as the Tatar invasions, the autocratic system was found in the Russian lands, the aristocratic combined with *viche* system in Ukrainian, and the republican in the Byelorussian lands.

At that time the cradle of the Russian people, the Suzdal-Rostov principality, was not only breaking away from Kiev but becoming its rival as well.

While setting up Vladimir on the Klazma river as capital of his Suzdal state, Prince Andrei Bogolubskii attacked Kiev (1169), wantonly destroyed it together with its churches and monasteries and carried off to the north everything of value. Such a lack of respect on his part for Kiev as the "Mother of Rus' towns" showed that he attached no sentiment to the capital of a common fatherland. Several years before that, his father, Yurii Dolgorukii, attempted to sever even religious ties with Kiev by vainly attempting to persuade the patriarch of Constantinople to establish a separate metropolitanate for his principality.

The rise of the Russian and Byelorussian peoples within the borders of the Kievan Rus' Kingdom was very similar to the rise of the Roman peoples in the provinces of the classic Roman empire. Rus'-Ukraine was a sort of ancient Rome. Just as the Romanizing influences among the Celts affected them only superficially, Kievan Rus' held its provinces together but loosely. In both instances the state remained united as long as its center was able to control the provinces. With the weakening of the central authority, the peoples of the various distant Roman provinces gradually evolved into French, Spanish and other separate peoples. Similarly the Russians and Byelorussians came into being with the decline of ancient Rus', their former common fatherland.

The rise of the Russians and Byelorussians can also to a certain extent be compared to the rise of the American nation and the nations of the British commonwealth in the distant provinces of the old British Empire. For them England is still their former common nation, just as Kievan Rus' is regarded by Russians and Byelorussians as their former country.



## WAS ANCIENT KIEVAN RUS' — RUSSIA?

Russian histories in English most always apply the name Russia to the ancient Ukrainian state of Rus' of the 9-13 centuries, the Muscovian state of the 14-17th centuries, and the Russian state of the 18-20th centuries. Today American journalists and politicians use the terms Soviet Union and Russia interchangeably. As a result there is much muddled thinking here concerning Russia.

Actually, in its ethnic conception ancient Rus' was Ukraine — never Russia. It was only in the political sense that Rus' embraced Ukrainian as well as non-Ukrainian lands. There is abundant proof of this in the Chronicle of the Rus' Kingdom, the so-called *Nestor Chronicle*.

Customarily this and other such chronicles linked the name Rus' in its political meaning with the word "zemlya" (country, state), *ergo* the Rus'-State. Analyzing the word "zemlya," Vladimirskii-Budanov comes to the conclusion that it stands for territory, the primary element of a state, used here "*pars pro toto*" to designate a state.

Nestor, a monk of the Cave Monastery in Kiev, used "*Ruska Zemlya*" in exactly that meaning on the very first page of his Chronicle, in explaining where the Rus'-State originated. Thereby he distinguished the Rus'-State from the Polish, Hungarian, Greek-Byzantine and other states. This appears in both the *Hipathian* the *Laurentian* versions of the Nestor Chronicle. All the territories which were under the rule of the Rus' kings and princes of the time, were part of the Rus'-State, although within its boundaries there were some who were not truly Rus' people. In any event, the Rus'-State had its Rus' dynasty, its Rus' metropolitanate and its Rus' code of laws (*Rus'ka Pravda*).

When, therefore, upon the death of Yaroslav the Wise (1054), the Rus'-State began to break up, it was only natural to aid the rise of the new states (zemlya) of Chernihiv, Suzdal, Novgorod, etc. The new names appear in the Nestor Chronicle. About that time there was mention of the "Rus'-Zemlya" (State) only when someone was appealing to a sense of moral solidarity as a protection against foreign enemies.



Used alone, the term Rus' usually meant territory populated by those of the Rus' race, and in this case it referred to Ukraine exclusively. Many examples of this meaning of Rus' in the 12th century can be found, in the Nestor Chronicle and in the Novgorod Chronicles.

In the *Hipathian* edition of the Chronicle we read in the year 1147: "Sviatoslav dispatched (from Novgorod) a messenger to Yurii in Suzdal, saying, 'I shall go to Kiev in Rus'," which shows that Novgorod and Suzdal were not in Rus'. Elsewhere the Chronicle clearly differentiates between Rus'-Ukraine and Suzdal and Rostov. "In that year Yurii journeyed into Rus' with the Suzdalites and Rostovites and with all his children" (*Hipathian*, 1154). Referring to Prince Yurii of Suzdal, the Chronicle notes that, "That winter, Yurii, upon learning of Iziaslav's death, went into Rus' to Kiev" (1155).

In the ancient Rus'-State there were two cities with the name of Pereyaslav: one in Ukraine, southeast of Kiev, and the other in Muscovy, in the Volga river basin, known as Pereyaslav Zaliskii. Thus the *Hipathian* edition notes that: "In that year (1199) Prince Yaroslav Mstyslavych died in the Rusky Pereyaslav." In other words, the other, i. e. the northern Pereyaslav, was not in Rus'. Similar differentiations between the Ukrainian Pereyaslav and the Zaliskii Pereyaslav appear in the *Laurentian Chronicle* under the years: 1201, 1215, 1227, 1228, 1230, etc.

Besides the Ukrainian Pereyaslav, Rus' also included Chernihiv and Siversk, in the northeastern part of present-day Ukraine. Under the year 1147 the *Hipathian* edition notes that from Novgorod "Sviatoslav journeyed to Nerizhka, after crossing the Oka, and tarried there... About that time retainers from Rus' arrived and told him that Volodymyr is in Chernihiv and Iziaslav in Starodub." Referring to the death of the Suzdalian prince Andrei Bogolubskii, the *Hipathian* chronicle states that (1175), "Having seen the death of the prince of Rostov and Suzdal... they said... our prince has been killed, and none of his children are around here. His young son is in Great Novgorod, while his brothers are in Rus'." These latter were in Chernihiv, that is in Rus'-Ukraine, whereas Suzdal, Rostov, and Novgorod were not in Rus' but in Muscovite territory.



The Ukrainian province of Podilla also was in Rus', on the border of Western Ukraine, but Suzdal was not in Rus' (*Hipathian*, 1148-489). Rus' also included the Western Ukrainian province of Volyn — "Rusky towns of Sumsk, Tikhol, Vyhoschiv, Hnoynytsya, Bozhsk" (*Hipathian*, 1152), while Smolensk was beyond the Rus' borders (*Hipathian*, 1148).

In 1147 a crisis occurred in the Kievan metropolitanate. Dissatisfied with the autocratic methods of the Byzantine patriarch the bishops of Ukraine broke away from Constantinople and led by Bishop Onuphrey of Ukrainian Chernihiv, they elected a local ecclesiastic as their Kievan metropolitan, Klym Smoliatysh. Not all the bishops, however, took part in this. Only those from the Rus'-land Ukraine followed Onuphrey in electing a new metropolitan. Those from the outside, from Smolensk and Novgorod, refused to follow them. Consequently, Bishop Niphont of Novgorod was summoned to Kiev to stand ecclesiastical trial. As the *Hipathian Chronicle* (1149) recounts: "Into Rus' journeyed archbishop Niphont, summoned by the metropolitan, appointed as such by Iziaslav together with the bishops of the Rus'-land without any understanding with Constantinople." By this time the term Rus'-land covered principalities of Ukraine because another section of the chronicle reveals that the new metropolitan was elected by the bishops of Chernihiv, Bilhorod, Pereyaslav, and Volodymyr Volynsky, all from Ukraine of to-day.

In the early part of the 13th century Galicia, the second Western Ukrainian province, was called also a part of Rus'. Prince Roman Halytsky, the founder of the Western Ukrainian dynasty and state on the territory of Ukraine west of the Dnieper, accepted the title of "Autocrat of the entire Rus'-Land." From then the Western European chancelleries, especially the Papal Chancellery, usually alluded to the Western Ukrainian rulers as "princes of Rus'" (the Bulls of Pope Innocent III of 1207 and 1214) whereas the Suzdal rulers were called "dukes of Suzdal" (*Dux Susdaliensis*).

These few excerpts from the *Nestor Chronicle* clearly show that during the pre-Tatar period the term Rus' covered present-day Ukraine, while there were no ethnic Russian territories in Rus' then at all. As can be seen, the application of



the English term Russia in the modern sense to that period of East European history is inaccurate and unclear.

### ***RUSSIANS AND UKRAINIANS ARE TWO DIFFERENT PEOPLES***

The early separation of the present Russian territory from Kiev came about because of the considerable distance separating the two, the different economic conditions, the ambitions of the princes and dukes to rule independently, and, most of all, the ethnic differences between the two peoples. As the Ukrainian scholar, Vadym Scherbakivsky, points out, the inhabitants of Ukraine and those of Russia are of two different anthropological types, and their prehistoric pasts differ from one another. The basic element of the Ukrainians is that their early ancestors were the creators of so-called Tripilla culture, named after the archaeological finds in the town of Tripilla in Ukraine.

When these ancestors arrived in Ukraine from the south-east about two thousand years before Christ, they already possessed a developed agricultural civilization, with a matriarchal social order. They were followed by a new race which brought the Slav language and a patriarchal order. Subsequent racial interminglings among them were of not much consequence, but Greek, Gothic and other cultural influences played an important role in their development. The earliest direct ancestors of the Ukrainians appeared at the close of the Hun invasions during the 6th century under the name of Antae. They were then scattered over most of the present Ukrainian territories. Elements similar to those of the Antae found their way among the southern Slavs, southern Poles and as far west as the eastern stretches of the Alps, together constituting the Slavs.

There is hardly any of this Slav element in the Russian people, a bare 10%, in the opinion of Scherbakivsky. Their dominant element is the Ural-Altaic tribes. In other words, racially the Russians were not pure Slavs in origin. The Slav element of the Russians, says Scherbakivsky, is a product of a much later period, already historic, as a result of the influence of Kievan civilization on its non-Slavic provinces.



Despite the superficial influence of the Slav culture of Kievan Rus' on the Russians, their entirely different ethnic character caused their rapid rupture with Kiev and the founding of a separate nation, psychologically and spiritually different from the Ukrainians.

### *PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES*

For centuries prejudice and distrust have existed between the Ukrainians and the Russians. Their relations were never able to attain the level of good neighborliness. Traditionally the Ukrainians have looked down upon the Russians as barbarians while the Russians looked upon the Ukrainians with disdain. Typically, even today the Ukrainian regards the Russian, whom he calls "katsap," as intellectually mediocre; and conversely the Russian regards the Ukrainian, whom he calls "khakhol," as not particularly gifted. The first attempt at closer Ukrainian-Russian relations was begun with the Pereyaslav Treaty (1654). By its terms Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky was compelled to place Ukraine, newly freed from Polish rule, under the protectorate of the Muscovian Tsar. This was greeted with strong opposition from the Ukrainian intellectuals, led by the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy. It stemmed mainly, however, from the fact that Ukraine always, even before the Tatar period, considered itself a part of Europe, and a member of the West European "Christian community," whereas the Russians were always Asiatic in spirit. This feeling of solidarity with Western Europe is one of the chief characteristics of the Ukrainian people of today.

Usually the different psychologies of the two people are traced to their different reactions to the Tatar invasions after 1240. But that is not the complete answer. At the root of the psychological differences between the Ukrainians and the Russians lie two different civilizations, starting in prehistoric times. Undoubtedly the 200-year enslavement under the Tatars alienated the Russians not only from the Ukrainians but also from Europe. Although meekly submitting to Tatar rule, the Muscovian rulers managed nevertheless to broaden their domains at the expense of their neighbors and thus grow in strength. Rus'-Ukraine, on the other hand, remained true to



its freedom-loving traditions and waged alone a defensive war against the Asiatic hordes and the organized resistance of her immediate western neighbors. The Western Ukrainian ruler, Danylo, seeking help in Western Europe, petitioned the Pope for aid, and as a result he received the royal crown and united the Ukrainian Church with Rome. From then on Ukraine gained many elements of Western culture, including the use of Latin.

Just as the collaboration of the Russians with the Tatars drew the former closer to Asia, so the collaboration of the Ukrainians with Europe bound the two more firmly. The struggle with the Tatars cost the Ukrainians countless lives. They were a veritable bulwark of European civilization and Christianity during those perilous times. It is no wonder that Pope John XX bestowed the "*antemuralae Christianitus*" accolade upon the Ukrainian princes Lev and Andrei both of whom were slain in 1323 in fighting the Tatars.

The entirely different reactions of Ukraine and Muscovy to the Tatar invasions determined the final psychological differences between them, in the opinion of Alexei K. Tolstoy, the famed Russian writer. According to him soon after the 13th century there were already two Rus'. "One Rus'," he wrote, "has its roots in universal, or at least in European culture. In this Rus' the ideas of goodness, honor and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another Rus'; the Rus' of the dark forests, the Rus' of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol Tatar Russia. This last Russia made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. . . . Certain historical data made it possible to incarnate the first ideal in Rus' of old Kiev, and to concentrate all the negative features of the opposite tendency, eastern, despotic, in Moscow, that rose on the spiritual ruins of Kiev. . . . Kiev Rus' was a part of Europe, Moscow long remained the negation of Europe."

This basic difference between the Ukrainians and Russians found its reflection in their social and private life. Thus the Ukrainians are active individualists while the Russians are not, but hold that the individual should serve the state blindly. In public life the Russian, favoring absolute rule, is inclined to communism, whereas the Ukrainian places the



highest value on freedom, private ownership and husbandry, even if it be on the tiniest bit of land. That is why the Russian considers all land as being "God's and Tsar's," while the Ukrainian says it is "God's and mankind's."

The Communist system in Russia had its predecessor in the "mir" of Tsarist days, a community where land was held in common and apportioned by lot. In Ukraine, however, the "mir" was entirely unknown. It is no wonder then that collectivization proceeded quite rapidly in Russia, whereas in Ukraine it was only at the cost of millions of lives, and the Soviet authorities used the famine to force it upon the Ukrainians.

Characteristically, the Kievan law of the *Rus'ka Pravda* code of pre-Tatar times did not penetrate into Muscovy in later times but remained in Ukraine and Byelorussia. It was foreign to the mentality of the Russians. The Muscovian law of the 14-17th centuries was based on an entirely different system of justice from the ancient Ukrainian *Rus'ka Pravda*, a fact admitted by Russian jurists themselves.

The different traditional and cultural backgrounds of the Ukrainians and Russians gave each a different viewpoint on life in general. The Ukrainian is more of an idealist, a sentimentalist, while the Russian is more prosaic and realistic. The Ukrainian possesses a highly developed sense of artistry, perhaps a heritage from the Greeks, which he adapts to his everyday life, to his beautifully decorated national costumes, his picturesque homes, and the like. The Russian does not care much for such things.

Foreign travelers who went through both Ukraine and Russia wrote that it was easy to distinguish between a Ukrainian village and a Russian village. The same differences have been observed between Ukrainian and Russian colonists in distant Siberia.

Finally the different ethnic and political development of the two peoples in the course of centuries gave them different approaches to political ideology. The Russian is a natural imperialist. The Ukrainian only aspires to the national freedom of his native land, to which he is devoted wholeheartedly, and does not care to rule over others. This na-



tional trait finds expression in the poetic: "Neither foreign things do we covet, nor our own do we renounce!"

Here Scherbakivsky accepts the sociological theory of Schmidt and Kopper that certain nations are inherently warlike and predatory, others are peaceful by nature and ideals. A good example of the first are the Russians and the Germans. Peace-loving peoples fall victims of such predatory powers. The latter are creators of empires, which enslave peace-loving peoples for centuries. Only some unusual combination of political factors enables them to regain their freedom.

Thus the differences between the Russian Muscovites and Rus'-Ukraine are not only superficial or on the mere political plane but they result from deep causes which have existed for centuries and millennia and furnish the best reason why Ukraine should be truly an independent nation in the family of Europe.



Bohdan F. Kortchmaryk\*)

## RUSSIAN INTERPRETATION OF UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIALS

More than a half century ago Robert Lansing, the Secretary of State of the United States of America, in meeting with the Ukrainian delegation to the Paris Peace conference, asserted among other things, that "he knows only about one Russian people"<sup>1)</sup> who populate the territories of the European East. At that time, that kind of political ignorance of the political leaders of the West could have been excused to some extent. However, if today the so-called "experts" of East European problems not only identify Kyivan Rus' with Russia and continue to apply the name "Russia" when referring to the entire USSR,<sup>2)</sup> but even doubt that Kyivan Rus' was really Ukraine, then this is certainly and only the fault of Ukrainian scholars. It is the fault, in particular of the better known Ukrainian historians, who, living and working in the Free World, up to the present could not fully and scientifically prove that the Ukrainian past has its own national and political foundations in historical source materials, and that Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine really never was the cradle of the "three brotherly peoples," as it has been unobjectively done by Russian and Western scholars, based on Russian sources and literature when interpreting historical source materials pertaining to the early past of Slavic Eastern Europe.

---

\*) B. F. Kortchmaryk is a Ukrainian historian of the younger generation who publishes extensively on the history of East Europe. Among his leading works are: *Dukhovni vplyvy Kyiva na Moskovshchynu v dobi hetmanskoï Ukrainy* and *Christianization of the European East and Messianic Aspirations of Moscow as the "Third Rome."* Above article was published as *Paper # 37, Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1974, reprinted by permission of the author and the publisher.*

<sup>1)</sup> A. Marholyn, *Ukraina i polityka Antanty*, Berlin, 1921, p. 161.

<sup>2)</sup> L. P., *Svoboda* daily, Jersey City, February 10, 1968, No. 28.



On the basis of scanty historical materials and historical literature, frequently prepared in an unobjective way, sent abroad by Soviet authorities mostly for reasons of propaganda, an objective scholar can easily come to the conclusion that all efforts of Soviet historians to give incontrovertable evidence of the correctness of the theory of "one but three-united Rus'" and the close "blood-relation" of the "brotherly" common origin (the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians) do not have any objective foundation.

On the contrary, instead of presenting the source materials which would support the hypothesis of a common ethnic origin of the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples from the so-called "old pre-Russian nationality" (*drevnirusskoi narodnosti*), supposedly the builder of the Kyivan state, those Soviet scholars are being increasingly confronted with the evidence that the supposedly "old pre-Russian state," known in history under the name of Kyivan Rus', "developed as a result of a continuous internal evolution of the Eastern Slavic tribes" <sup>3)</sup> independently of any external influences, that those tribes were engaged primarily in farming, and that they populated the territory of present-day Ukraine since the Neolithic times <sup>4)</sup>. It would not be out of place to mention here that this "theory of the indigenous evolution of the population of the very territory, which had been the nucleus in the building of 'future Rus'," <sup>5)</sup> was suggested for the deliberations of the 12th Archeological Convention in Kharkiv by V. V. Khvoiko, a Ukrainian archeologist, in 1902. Moreover, if the assertions would be taken into consideration, "that northwards of the Prypiat river the Slavonic tongue did not resound until the middle of the first millenium A.D." <sup>6)</sup>, and if "it could be assumed, that the colonization of the Slavs," and, in particular, "of the Krivichians and Radimichians" took place first "during the seventh to tenth centuries north of the Lake Ilmen in the direction of the White Lake, and from there

---

<sup>3)</sup> M. Braychevsky, *Koly i yak vynyk Kyiv*, Kiev, 1963, p. 182.

<sup>4)</sup> I. Shovkoplas, *Arkheolohichni doslidzhennia na Ukraini, 1917-1957*, Kiev, 1957, p. 91.

<sup>5)</sup> M. Braychevsky, *Pokhodzhennia Rusi*, Kiev, 1963, p. 16.

<sup>6)</sup> S. Bernstein, *Ochërk spravnitelnoi grammatiki slavianskikh yazykov*, Moscow, 1963, p. 62.



along the Volga river down into the future Rostov-Suzdal region, and along the upper run of the Don River, and even, perhaps, toward the middle-run of the Oka River" <sup>7)</sup>, then how could one attempt to maintain that "the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationalities originated from one root, the old pre-Russian people, which allegedly formed the pre-Russian state, Kyivan Rus'" <sup>8)</sup>, the beginnings of which were closely interrelated with the era of Prince Kyi in Kyiv. All the more so since Academician Rybakov asserted that the era of the rule of Kyi, the Kyivan prince, took place in the "sixth century," which on its own "was featured by a whole series of most essential changes in the internal and external history of the Eastern Slavs" <sup>9)</sup>, with whom the Ugro-Finnic tribes of the central regions of future Muscovy did not yet come into contact. The simple assertions that those tribes which then populated the North-Eastern territories of Europe had their own locally specific civilization <sup>10)</sup> and that "the northeastern towns, developed by peoples of other tongues," became, in the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth centuries, the very nucleus for the formation of the Muscovite state, "originally... were not Russian," meaning not Slavic, and that the so-called "Russian (Kyivan, B.F.K) civilization began to affect those regions only since the eleventh century" <sup>11)</sup>, undoubtedly indicate that any attempts by Soviet scholars to underscore a "blood relationship" between the Ukrainian and Russian nationalities represent only a political hypothesis which cannot hold up under objective and scholarly critical evaluation. Furthermore, when the Kyivan prince Askold, who has been considered by some historians not only a Rus' prince (meaning a Slavic prince by his origin) but

---

<sup>7)</sup> P. Tret'akov, *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki vostochnoslavianskikh plemen v svyazi s problemoi etnogenezy*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1939, No. 1.

<sup>8)</sup> V. Dmytrychenko, "Narys z istorii suspilno-politychnoi ta filosofskoi dumky narodiv SSSR doby feodalizmu, KOLDU, Kiev, 1961, p. 8.

<sup>9)</sup> B. Rybakov, *Drevnia Rus'. Skazania-Byliny-Letopisi*, Moscow, 1963, p. 35.

<sup>10)</sup> M. Rudynsky, *Kamiana mohyla*, Kiev, 1961, p. 138.

<sup>11)</sup> P. Tret'akov, *Drevniruskii gorod Kleshchyn. Problemy obshchestvenno-politicheskoi istorii Rosti i slavianskikh stran*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 49-50.



even a direct descendent of Prince Kyi <sup>12)</sup> of already historically recorded Kyivan Rus', led a war expedition against Byzantium in 860 <sup>13)</sup>, while at that very same time the North-Eastern territories of the European East were not even the colonial possessions of the Kyivan state.

It is inadmissible to assert any "blood relationship" between the Ukrainian and the Russian people in the pre-historic era and the early historical past, and to attempt to prove that Kyivan Rus' was allegedly the cradle of the three "blood-related" nationalities, while the beginnings of the formation of the "Russian" people did not in fact go back any further than the very time of building the Muscovite principality. The first prince of that principality and its "true originator... was... Nevskii's son, Daniel (1263-1303), who received Moscow as his appanage" <sup>14)</sup>. At that time, the prevailing ethnic stock (substratum) which built the foundation of the "Russian" people was not Slavic at all. Even if the assertions of some present-day Soviet historians would be accepted that "all that alien non-Slavic population" of the European North-East" during the ninth and twelfth centuries became fully assimilated <sup>15)</sup>, then it must be here underscored, as it was stated by V. Shcherbakivsky, that "Ukraine" or rather Kyivan Rus' proper, "did not participate in the process of the formation of the Muscovite Slavs at all." The Krivichians supposedly participated in the process, yet the chronicle of the ninth century has not even included them among the tribes of the "Slavonic tongue." The Krivichians, *nota bene*, got involved in the assimilation process of the native Finns in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for the first time. "Let us now ask the question," Shcherbakivsky continues, "how many Finns were actually present there, that needed to be assimilated," or, to be Slavonized? The chronicle just tells us that there in Muscovy (on the territories of the European North-East) "there were the Chud'.

---

<sup>12)</sup> Braychevsky, *Koly i yak vynyk Kyiv*, p. 139.

<sup>13)</sup> I. Nahalevsky, "Kyrylo-Metodiivske Khrystianstvo v Rusi-Ukraini," *Zapysky CSVV, Series II*, Rome, 1954, p. 9.

<sup>14)</sup> V. Milkovich, "Vostochnaia Yevropa," *Istoria chelovechestva*, G. Gel'molt, second edition, SPB, 1903, Vol. V, p. 509.

<sup>15)</sup> Braychevsky, *Pokhodzhennia Rusi*, p. 194.



Liv, Vod, Yam, Ves', Perm, Meria, Murom, Mordva, Moksha, Meshchera, Cheremisi, Yugra, Pechora, Korel, Zyrian, Samoyed, Erza and other tribes..." Consequently, if we take into consideration the simple fact of the predominance of those masses of Finno-Uralian hunting peoples who represented the prevailing ethnic stock in the area, along with the fact that the ruling race in the region was mainly the tribe of the Krivichians in addition to the rather innumerable Polotsians and Novgorod Slovinians, who were largely merchants, we must then come to the conclusion that the latter tribes must have very quickly dissolved and disappeared in that Finno-Uralian ethnic sea. It was because of the very primitivism of that Finno-Uralian ethnic mass, and because of the cultural superiority of the Krivichians and Slovinians, who already had a kind of learning and literature at the time and, above all, Christianity which brought with itself literacy and organization, that the small Slavic minority of the *Kulturtraegers* superimposed their Slavic language over the Finno-Uralian ethnic substratum" <sup>16</sup>). What, in fact, were the results of that assimilation process was perhaps best described by Kluchevskii in his *Course of the Russian History*. Although he intentionally identified the northern colonies of Kyivan Rus' with Russia, he not only underscored, that "in the Oka and Upper Volga region there lived three Finnic tribes, the Murom, Meria and Ves' in the eleventh and twelfth centuries," but also admitted, that "the country, which in the twelfth century was already inside the old and original Rus', was still then more an alien than a Russian one" <sup>17</sup>).

Finally, some contemporary historians have attempted to connect the repetition of the names of important towns and places in Ukraine, such as Pereyaslav, Starodub, Pryluky, Zvenyhorod, Yaroslav and Halych on the territories of the European North-East, with alleged migrations of the population from contemporary Ukrainian regions to the North. That groundless tendency of the Soviet historiography had

---

<sup>16</sup>) V. Shcherbakivsky, *Formatsia ukrainskoï natsti*, New York, 1958, pp.137-138.

<sup>17</sup>) V. Kluchevskii, *Kurs russkoï istorii*, Moscow-Petrograd, 1923, Vol. I, pp. 362-363.



been dismissed long ago by V. Tatishchev, an outstanding Russian historian, who was then still able to use the oldest historical source materials, which later somehow "disappeared." He gave the following answer to the point: "After those many unsuccessful undertakings, Grand Duke Yurii Vladimirovich Dolgorukii came to Suzdal, and having realized that he had to give up completely the Rus' land (e. g., the lands of Kyivan Rus' proper—B.F.K.), resigned from being the Grand Duke... began to construct within his realm many towns, Yuriev in the Fields, Pereyaslavl at the Lake of Klushin, Vladimir on Klazma, Kostroma, Yaroslavl and many others, giving them the names as they were in Rus' in order to suppress in this way his sorrow that he had to give up the Grand Duchy of Rus', and began to colonize these towns by calling people from all over. He gave these people large subsidies in the form of construction materials and also assisted them in other ways, and to these towns came many Bulgarians, Mordovians, Hungarians; only the people from Rus' did not come" <sup>16</sup>).

Now, approaching the question from another side, while both approaches are closely interrelated, let us accept the following, conditional assertion, though still based on natural and real foundation: if the Kyivan state, known in history under the name of Kyivan Rus', which "developed as a result of a continuous internal evolution of the Eastern Slavic tribes and independently from any external influences," would have remained within its original and natural boundaries, then it would not have been necessary, to be sure, either to change the original name of the Ukrainian state—Rus' to Ukraine, or for the Muscovites, it would not have been necessary to adopt for themselves in a politically tendentious way the name of Rus', and then to force upon the world's historical literature that original name as their "own". However, the political plans of the Kyivan Grand Dukes extended far beyond the natural and proper limits or boundaries of Kyivan Rus', which was historically confined to the central regions of present-day Ukraine, and led to the formation of the huge Kyivan

---

<sup>16</sup>) V. Tatishchev, *Istoria rossitskaya s samykh drevnitskhikh vremen*, Moscow, 1774, Bk. IИ, p. 76.



Empire that subsequently dominated vast territories of the European East. It was that development only that led to the question of the true and real title to the inheritance or the adoption, through the political expediency, of all those attributes which were once possessed by that world power. The question has been a disturbing one until the present day, in particular to the Ukrainians and the Russians. All the more so because of the tendencious and historically wrong hypothesis of an identity between Kyivan Rus' and Russia, which struck such deep roots that today especially, even some experts in Eastern-European affairs are psychologically ready to doubt any organic connection or linkage, in the historical aspect<sup>19)</sup>, between Kyivan Rus' and Ukraine. Nevertheless, in current historical research and studies there is full unanimity concerning the terms "Rus'" and "Rus'kyi" (Rus'ian), and it is generally accepted at present, that in their original historical meaning, they referred only to the central regions of contemporary Ukraine. The instance has been supported and confirmed by the old chronicles, the credibility of which cannot be easily doubted and questioned. The subsequent extension of the terms over additional territories at later dates, and the extent to which these terms became commonplace as identification of other regions and parts of the Kyivan Empire, once it outgrew the original "Ukrainian" ethnic territories in Eastern Europe, remains an open and still unanswered question.

As far as the author of this essay is concerned, the name "Rus'" never developed into an overall, permanent and concrete identification of the vast territories of the European East with certain all-comprehensive boundaries (with the exception of the central regions of present-day Ukraine), and that the use of the name "Rus'" almost in all cases was dependent upon and related to the extension of the political influences of Kyiv and the real political submission of the individual appanage principalities to the grand-dukal Kyivan throne. It can be accepted that the political term "Rus'" also included the regions of the European Northeast without any interruption since the middle of the twelfth century,

---

<sup>19)</sup> M. Chubaty, *Ukrainska istorychna nauka*, Philadelphia, 1971, p. 3.



for it was then a kind of colonial possession of the Kyivan Empire. Yet, according to the references and expressions of the chronicles, the term was not generally used and was considered generally intelligible for those North-Eastern regions prior to the Mongol invasion in the middle of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, at the end of the twelfth century the name "Rus'" became the most natural way of identifying some parts of the Galician-Volhynian principality in the West, and the Galician-Volhynian ruler, Prince Roman Mstyslavych, was then called "Sovereign of all Rus'" (*samoderzhavets vsei Rusy*)<sup>20</sup>). Also, from that time on, as Chubaty asserted, "... Galicia was considered a part of Rus'"<sup>21</sup>).

It must be underscored here that until the complete collapse of the Kyivan state, aside from the extension of the name of "Rus'" over the territories of the Galician-Volhynian state, not even one instance has been known which could have indicated that the term ever referred to any other lands but the central regions of contemporary Ukraine. For instance, the *First Novgorod Chronicle* (older compilation) under the year 1149 states: "Novgorod Archbishop Niphont goes to Rus'" (it meant—to Kyiv) "after being called by Iziaslav and Metropolitan Klym there. Iziaslav wanted him to stand with the bishops of the Rus' regions and not to submit to Constantinople"<sup>22</sup>). Also, it has been written under the year 1141 in the *Hipathian Chronicle*: "Sviatoslav, fleeing from Novgorod, went to Rus', to his brother," who at that time was in Kyiv. Further, in the same Chronicle one can read under 1154: "During that summer Diurgi went with the Rostovians and the Suzdalians to Rus', after he had heard about Iziaslav's death" or "during that winter Diurgi went to Rus', after he had heard about Iziaslav's death"<sup>23</sup>). In the *Lavrentian Chronicle* Compilation under 1223, not only has a clear-cut description of the territorial identification of the term "Rus'" been given, which referred accordingly to the ancient regions

---

<sup>20</sup>) *Hipathian Chronicle, Polnoie sobranie russkikh letopisei, Moscow, 1962, Vol. II, p. 715.*

<sup>21</sup>) M. Chubaty, *Kniazha Rus'-Ukraina ta vynyknennia triokh slovianskykh natsii, New York, 1964, p. 63.*

<sup>22</sup>) *Novgorodian Kharateinaian Chronicle, Moscow, 1964, pp. 56-57.*

<sup>23</sup>) *Hipathian Chronicle, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 308-309, 468-476.*



of contemporary Ukraine exclusively, but also a full indifference of the leading Rostov-Suzdalian upper class for the safety of the essential vital interests of true Rus' has been expressed by the following words: "After having heard about it, the Rus' princes, Mstyslav of Kyiv and Mstyslav of Toropych and of Chernihiv and other princes, planned to go against them (the Mongol-Tartars), considering how to proceed. And they sent a message to Vladimir (on Klazma—B.F.K.) to Grand Duke Yurii, son of Vsevolod, asking for his help; he sent to them, however, godfearing Prince Vasilii... from Rostov. But he did not hurry to Rus' against them. Yet, the Rus' princes went and fought against them," meaning against the Mongol-Tartar hordes at the Kalka river battle, "and after being defeated by them and scarcely having escaped death... it has been said, that some ten thousand Kyivans alone lost their lives at the battle, and there was sorrow and lamenting in Rus'," but not in the Rostov-Suzdalian lands. "After having heard all what happened in Rus', Vasilii returned to Chernihiv, and from there he went back to his Rostov"<sup>24</sup>).

Undoubtedly, the most convincing evidence of the insistence in using the terms of Rus' and the Rus'ian land in reference exclusively to the central regions of contemporary Ukraine until the very end of the Kievan state can be brought fully to our attention by the evidence given in the chronicles which were written and compiled at the time of the Mongol invasion and the first decades thereafter (i. e., at the end of the first half of the thirteenth century and a little later). During all that time the socio-political processes of individual nationalities of the European East were being affected by rather complicated geopolitical developments. Thus, for example, in the *Povist' vremennykh lit* or the *Laurentian Chronicle* there is the following assertion under the year 1237: "In this summer, when winter was close, the godless Tartars came from the North through the forests upon the Riazan land and began to destroy the Riazan land... This very winter the Tartars took Moscow and killed the governor, Philip Nian-

---

<sup>24</sup>) *Laurentian Chronicle, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, pp. 446-447.



ka....” Again under the date of 1239 one can read there: “In the winter the Tartars conquered the Mordovian land and marched through Murom and fought on Klazma river... Then fear was in all the land”<sup>25</sup>). On the other hand, in the *Hipathian Chronicle* the following has been entered under the year 1237: “The godless Izmaltians, who fought before against the Rus’ian princes on Kalka, came.” The passage referred to those Tartars, who defeated the princes of Rus’ in 1223 on the banks of the Kalka river, as it was pointed out above, and then, the passage continued: “But first they passed through the Riazan land... having destroyed the whole land.” A little later, under the same year the following was recorded: “From there on,” meaning, from the lands of the Cumans (Polovtsians), “he (Batu-B.F.K.) began to send his troops against the Rus’ian towns, took the town Pereyaslav by force... at the very time sent against Chernihiv... led against Hlukhiv... while Mongka-Khan came to survey the city of Kyiv.” Under the year 1240 the following passage may be read: “Batu approached Kyiv with a great force... and the city was in a siege. And Batu advanced toward the city and his warriors surrounded the city. And one could not hear anything because of the noise made by squeaking carriages and by the roaring of a great many of his camels and by the terrible neighing of herds of his horses, and the Rus’ian land was full of them”<sup>26</sup>).

In addition, in the *Patriarchal* or *Nikon Chronicle*, the following entry was made for the year 1237: “Having come from the North through the forests to the Riazan land, the godless Tartars,” or “And the Tartars marched on Moscow and after having taken Moscow, they killed its governor,” and again, “... then in the Rostov and Suzdal lands, took fourteen towns in addition to villages and hamlets.” While on the other hand, under 1240 one can read the following: “During that summer Batu began to send his troops against the Rus’ian towns; the dispatched troops by Batu came and took the town Pereyaslav Rus’ian, and in Kyiv, they destroyed the Church of St. Michael, and killed Bishop Simeon, and

<sup>25</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 460-470.

<sup>26</sup>) *Hipathian Chronicle*, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 778-784.



took church golden and silver vessels with precious stones, and killed some people and took others captive, and ruined the city. During the same summer Batu sent other troops in large numbers against Chernihiv. After having heard that, Prince Mstyslav Hlibovych, grandson of Sviatoslav Olhovych, moved against them with his own large force, and it came to a great battle and a bad slaughter . . . ”<sup>27)</sup>).

Again, the *Vladimirian Chronicle* describes the following under the year 1237: “During that summer the Germans invaded Lithuania, the whole Chud land . . . ” or “In this very summer, when the winter was close, the Tartars under Batu came to the Riazan land and captured the whole Riazan land,” and, he continued, “and the Tartars, having set-up themselves at Vladimir, . . . , moved against Suzdal and took Suzdal . . . . And a great evil was created in the Suzdalian land.” Then further, one can read under 1239: “During this summer the Tartars took the Mordovian land, and conquered Murom, and fought along the Klazma river . . . . At that time fear spread through the whole land”<sup>28)</sup>).

In no other or different way from that in the above quoted chronicles, as well as in the later compilations of the chronicles (from 1497 and 1518) which were arranged on Muscovite territories and which, as was indicated in their introductions, regarded as “the all-Russian chronicle compilations,” were the North-Eastern lands of the European East described. For instance, the *Chronicle Compilation* of 1497 recorded the following: “In this winter the Tartars under Czar Batu came from the northern side through the forests to the Riazan land.” And further, “And the Tartars came to Moscow, took the city and captivated Prince Vladimir Yurievich,” or it continued, “. . . and they conquered all of the towns in the Riazanian and Suzdalian lands . . . ”<sup>29)</sup>. The identical terminology was also used in the *Chronicle Compilation* of 1518, or in the so-called *Uvarov Chronicle* under the date of 1237,

---

<sup>27)</sup> *Patriarchal (Nikon) Chronicle, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisей*, Moscow, 1965, Vol. X, pp. 105-106, 109 and 114.

<sup>28)</sup> *Vladimirian Chronicle, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisей*, Moscow, 1965, Vol. XXX, pp. 87-90.

<sup>29)</sup> *Chronicle Compilation of 1497, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisей*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1963, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 52-53.



where the following was entered: "In this winter... the Tartars came to the Riazan land... and began to destroy the Riazanian land." Then further on, "... and from there on they spread throughout the whole land: towards Rostov and Yaroslav and Gorodets, and along the Volga river; they took all towns... throughout the Rostovian and Suzdalian lands" <sup>30</sup>).

Moreover, the territories of the North-East of the European East continued to use their old and proper names, without calling themselves Rus' or parts of Rus', even immediately after the fall of the Kyivan Empire. Hence, for example, the *Vladimirian Chronicle* recorded under 1256: "In the winter Gleb Vasilkovich came from the Khan land, from the Czar, after having married into the Horde," meaning here the Mongol land. And, one can read further: "In this winter many people came from the Horde and, after having counted the whole lands of Suzdal and Riazan and Murom, they appointed the teniors, hundreders, thousands and officials; no nuns and monks and priests and deacons came" <sup>31</sup>).

Consequently, after having cited a whole series of examples, based on many of the oldest Ukrainian and then Muscovite chronicle source materials, the following question quite naturally may arise: why, in what way, and on what grounds did the Russian and the pro-Russian historians dare to identify Kyivan Rus' with Russia and, by the same token, to adopt for the Russians the entire Ukrainian historical inheritance?

Of course, the question could be answered in a very direct and simple way. Namely, Russian scholars have identified Kyivan Rus' with Russia by means of a highly tendentious interpretation of the oldest historical source materials and by means of distorting historical truths. Yet, in order not to be accused of being shallow and of making unfounded statements, some examples to prove the above assertion should be brought here to testify to the point. It is an interesting fact

---

<sup>30</sup>) *Uvarov Chronicle, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei, Moscow-Leningrad, 1963, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 210-211.*

<sup>31</sup>) *Vladimirian Chronicle, Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 92.*



that the very first victim of this tendencious and subjective interpretation of Ukrainian historical source materials was one of the most beautiful and precious literary creations of Kyivan Rus', namely *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* (Song About Ihor's Host), which was forged and adapted on Muscovite territory, at a later date, to correspond to its local political circumstances. On the basis of the *Slovo*, the *Zadonshchina* (Beyond the Don River) was subsequently prepared and later became a kind of "historical" source material for Russian interpreters of very complex socio-political processes of the peoples of the European East<sup>32</sup>). Even previous Russian, as well as present-day Soviet, historians and linguists concurred in the proof that the *Zadonshchina* was but a forged and distorted version of the *Slovo o polku Ihoreve*, fabricated on Muscovite territory and preserved as an original literary creation. For instance, M. Speranskii, in his *History of Old Russian Literature*, concluded on the basis of numerous comparisons of the two works, that "the author of the *Zadonshchina*, having felt an analogy between the theme of the *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* and the situation on Kulikovo field, resolved to use the former for his own plans and simply forged the *Slovo*, describing developments in 1185, and adapted them in order to the descriptions of the developments of 1380. At times he did not even dare to change factual material in the *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* (which, of course did not refer to 1380), but repeated it. At the same time he understood poorly his own scheme and possessed an inadequate comprehension of the *Song* as a poetic creation. He was using it only from the point of view of its terms and sentences, which he inserted into his work without skill or sensibility"<sup>33</sup>).

Ignoring the passage in the *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* which stated "Let us begin, brothers, that very tale from old Vladimir and carry it to the Ihor of today, who reinforced his mind with his strength and sharpened his heart with his manliness and led his courageous regiments against the Cuman

---

<sup>32</sup>) I. Vinogradov, *Slovar-spravochnik "Slovo o polku Igoreve"*, Leningrad, 1967, p. 128.

<sup>33</sup>) M. Speranskii, *Istoria drevnei russkoi literatury*, Moscow, 1921, Vol. II, pp. 36-37.



land in defense of the Rus'ian land" <sup>34</sup>) (i. e., in defense of the central regions of contemporary Ukraine), the author of the *Zadonshchina*, equated the term "Rus'ian land" with the "concept of the Muscovite principality, headed by Grand Duke Dimitrii Ivanovich, who united around himself the Russian princes for the struggle against the Tartars." Moreover, as asserted by N. Gudziĭ, when imitating the *Song*, the author of the *Zadonshchina*, "contrary to historical reality... stated, that 'all Rus'ian princes join the Muscovite prince,' whereas we know well that it was not that way, and that instead, Oleg of Riazan was in alliance with Yagailo Olgerdovich of Lithuania and with Mamai against the coalition of the princes, headed by Dimitrii Ivanovich. Remarkable also was the fact," continued Gudziĭ, "that Princes Dimitrii Ivanovich and Vladimir Andreievich in the *Zadonshchina* called themselves great grandchildren of Kyivan Vladimir Sviatoslavich on three occasions for the obvious reason of raising their prestige by pointing out this family genealogy." Thus, "in the *Zadonshchina*, the Muscovite tendency, which at that time, by virtue of the historical developments, already aspired to become an all-Russian one, was clearly exhibited" <sup>35</sup>).

Under the influence of such intentional acts and tendentious interpretations of the historical source materials we find the so-called *Stepennaia kniga* (Book of Grades), which was compiled in the sixteenth century. In it, "a bold attempt was made to illustrate the political achievements of the princes, starting with Volodymyr Sviatoslavych up to Ivan Vasilovich." The simple idea "of a community of all Slavic peoples was expressed" <sup>36</sup>), indicating beyond doubt that it became the very foundation of ideas formulated later about "the cradles of three brotherly peoples" and about 'one but three-united Rus'' (*tryiedinoi Rusi*), which was imposed and is still being imposed upon world historical studies by Russian and pro-Russian historians and students of the East European affairs.

---

<sup>34</sup>) *Slovo o polku Ihoreve, ta yoho poetychni pereklady i perespiv*, ed. by Makhnovets, L., Kiev, 1967, p. 51.

<sup>35</sup>) N. Gudziĭ, *Istoria drevnei russkoi literatury*, sixth ed., corrected, Moscow, 1956, p. 226.

<sup>36</sup>) *Ukrainsko-rosiiski sviazky v XIV-XVI c.*, Kiev, 1959, p. 145.



Moreover, while in all previously quoted chronicles and chronicle compilations from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the North-Eastern lands of the European East, in particular during the Mongol-Tatar invasion, were clearly identified by their proper and original names, in the so-called *Ustiug Chronicle Compilation*, arranged under the impact of the "all-Russian" tendencies at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the above-quoted geographical names of the north-eastern regions and territories have been completely linked with the central lands of Kyivan Rus' and covered by the common term "Rus'ian", although there are still there no references to any Muscovite princes or the Muscovite land, or to the Muscovite principality, similarly, as in all other earlier and already cited chronicles. And so, in that "all-Russian" chronicle compiled in the year of 1237, one can read: "Czar Batu came from the North, through the woods and without being preceded by any news, into the Rus'ian land with an army of a great force. It happened on 7th of February, on the day of St. Father Paphennii, in the morning hours. And there occurred a great battle, a wrath of God; the Rus'ian princes were taken into captivity or slaughtered and Rus'ian lands occupied. Then Prince Yurii Vsevolodovich and his children and nephews were all killed, and Vladimir was ruined and many towns such as Riazan, Kolomna, Murom, Suzdal, Yuriev, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Pereyaslav, Moscow, Voloklamsk, Dmitrov, Tver, Kashin and others were captured; many princes and princesses, men, women and children, nuns and monks, and priests and deacons were killed; nuns and wives of the priests, and other women and virgins were raped in front of their mothers. That was the misery permitted by God and imposed upon the Rus'ian land. After coming some 100 *versts* (65 miles—B.F.K.) before raiding Novgorod, he turned away..."<sup>37)</sup>. It is most interesting to note here that the chronicle compilation does not even mention the terrible destructions suffered at that time by the central regions of Rus' proper, and the awful "Kyivan ruin," so ex-

---

<sup>37)</sup> *Ustoizhskii Letopisnii Svod*, ed. by Sebinol, K., Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, pp. 46-47.



tensively described by all the other, earlier chronicles, as quoted above.

Furthermore, it would be very appropriate at this point to emphasize one particular instance which would most clearly illustrate how tendenciously and one-sidedly present Soviet historians and students interpret historical details and facts, which have been rather inconvenient for the centralistic proclivities of the Moscow of to-day as well as of yesterday, and which the old chronicles described unambiguously. For example, although it has been clearly asserted, without ambiguity, in the *Novgorod Pergament Chronicle*, that "the Muscovites fled and did not see anything, while the Tatars took the city" <sup>38)</sup>, the Soviet historian V. Pashuto, claiming to refer to the *Laurentian Chronicle*, where there is not the slightest hint of any battle of the Muscovites with the Tatars in 1237, presents the following interpretation of the event: "the Muscovites, led by Philip Nianka, the governor, heroically defended the land of their own" <sup>39)</sup>.

An utter disregard of facts, as clearly illustrated by the examples quoted above, proves the futility of any attempts at identifying the central territories of Kyivan Rus' proper as "Russia." These attempts are without a historical basis. For example, the Russian historian A. Nasonov asserted that "The term 'Rus'ian land', which sometimes was applied only in reference to the Southrussian land, with the passing of time, was applied to the whole country. This all-Russian meaning was also maintained at the time when the Southrussian land was no longer ruling over other 'lands.' The name 'Russian' has been applied to the entire country and with that name, the idea of the common social role of the Southrussian land and of Kyiv was closely connected" <sup>40)</sup>. Subsequently, Academician Tikhomirov, although fully aware of the fact that the term "Russia" has been based on all kinds of literary wheeling-dealings of the Muscovite scribes,

---

<sup>38)</sup> *Novgorodian Kharateinaia Chronicle*, ed. by Tikhomirov, M., acad., Moscow, 1964, p. 250.

<sup>39)</sup> B. Pashuto, *Ocherki po istorii Galitsko-Volinskoi Rusi*, Moscow, 1950, p. 56.

<sup>40)</sup> A. Nasonov, *Russkaya zemlia i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, Moscow, 1951, p. 220.



and that "it appeared first in the fifteenth century"<sup>41</sup>), still dared to assert the nomenclature 'Russia' in identifying the entire country and, equated it with the Muscovite Czar-dom "which included the territories of almost all of Northern Europe" (at that time—only of North-Eastern Europe—B.F.K.), an identity he claims "had been firmly accepted at the end of the sixteenth century, having gradually forced out the old name 'Rus' "<sup>42</sup>).

Having finally achieved the "affirmation" of that tendentious name, on the basis of which the identification of "Russia" with "Kyivan Rus'" was made possible for the Muscovite Czar-dom, the Muscovite rulers never ceased to undertake all possible measures to impose that newly created nomenclature and that new concept on world historiography and politics, while, as recently as the time of Peter I, the North-Eastern territories of the European East, continued to be called the Muscovite Czar-dom. This becomes apparent from Peter's order, issued in 1713 through Menshikov and delivered to V. Dolgorukii in Copenhagen, in which the following was maintained: "In all publications our state is called Muscovite and not Russian, and because of that you are requested to call their attention to print it as Russian. All concerned and all courts were also advised as to this point"<sup>43</sup>).

The manner in which the above undertakings of the Muscovite rulers—who developed long-range political plans—were carried out practically, and forced upon world literature and politics, has been convincingly illustrated by the letter of A. Bestuzhev, a Muscovite diplomat, to Czar Peter I, dispatched from Denmark in 1723, where among other things the following was stated: "... before the request to use the imperial title would be renewed, it would be unavoidable, in order to achieve success there, first to give Chancellor Holst 10,000 gouldens, secrete concilman... 6,000, secrete councilman Lent 6,000, and to the administrator of foreign

---

<sup>41</sup>) M. Tikhomirov, *Rossia v XVI stolete*, Moscow, 1962, p. 25.

<sup>42</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>43</sup>) S. Soloviov, *Istoria Rossii s drevneiishikh vremien*, Moscow, 1862-1879, Vol. XVIII, p. 404.



affairs von Hagen 3,000, since in an identical manner the Hanover court persuaded Denmark not to ally herself with Russia" <sup>44</sup>). Thus, Bestuzhev hoped to gain the allegiance, as Soloviov indicated, of Holst, Lent and Hagen with a bribe of 25,000 gouldens.

Finally, it must be understood that in the original edition of the remarkable French *History of Charles XII* written by F. Voltaire, the famous French philosopher and historian, and which by the end of nineteenth century reached over 100 editions, the territory of present day "Russia" was identified by the term "Muscovy" and the people which populated that territory as "Muscovites." Neither in its Paris edition of 1802, nor in the Leipzig one of 1845, were the terms Russia and the Russians used. In the 1831 English translation and edition of the *History*, the territory of present Russia was still identified as "Muscovy," but whenever the people are mentioned the original name of "Muscovites" was "corrected" and changed to "Russians." In the English edition of 1908 the original and old names "Muscovy" and the "Muscovites" were fully eliminated and tendenciously replaced by the improper terms "Russia" and "Russians" <sup>45</sup>).

These are undeniable historical facts, supported by numerous historical sources; "*contra factum non est argumentum.*"

---

<sup>44</sup>) *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 109.

<sup>45</sup>) M. Gambal, *Rus', Ukraine and Muscovite Russia*, Scranton, 1937, p. 14.



Omeljan Pritsak and John S. Reshetar, Jr.\*)

## UKRAINE AND THE DIALECTICS OF NATION-BUILDING

### *EAST OR WEST?*

One of the merits of Professor Rudnytsky's article is his recognition of the need for particular methodological approaches to the study of the Ukrainian past. However, in his opinion the Ukraine is a typical East European nation in that its history has been "marked by a high degree of discontinuity" in contrast with such Western nations as England and France which "have enjoyed, in spite of some periods of revolutionary upheaval, a millennium of continuous growth." In addition, the Ukraine is supposedly a "non-historical" nation, by which Rudnytsky does not mean that it has lacked a historical past but only that it has suffered "discontinuity" as a result of having lost the "traditional representative class." Consequently, the Ukrainian national movement in the nineteenth century was not in the hands of the traditional gentry and was supposedly not characterized by historical legitimacy. The Ukrainian leading stratum had, according to Rudnytsky, to be "created anew" in order to direct the "'natural,' ethnic community to a politically conscious nationhood."

In spite of their originality and attractiveness, these theoretical formulations of the author cannot be accepted without reservation. The loss of statehood as well as the

---

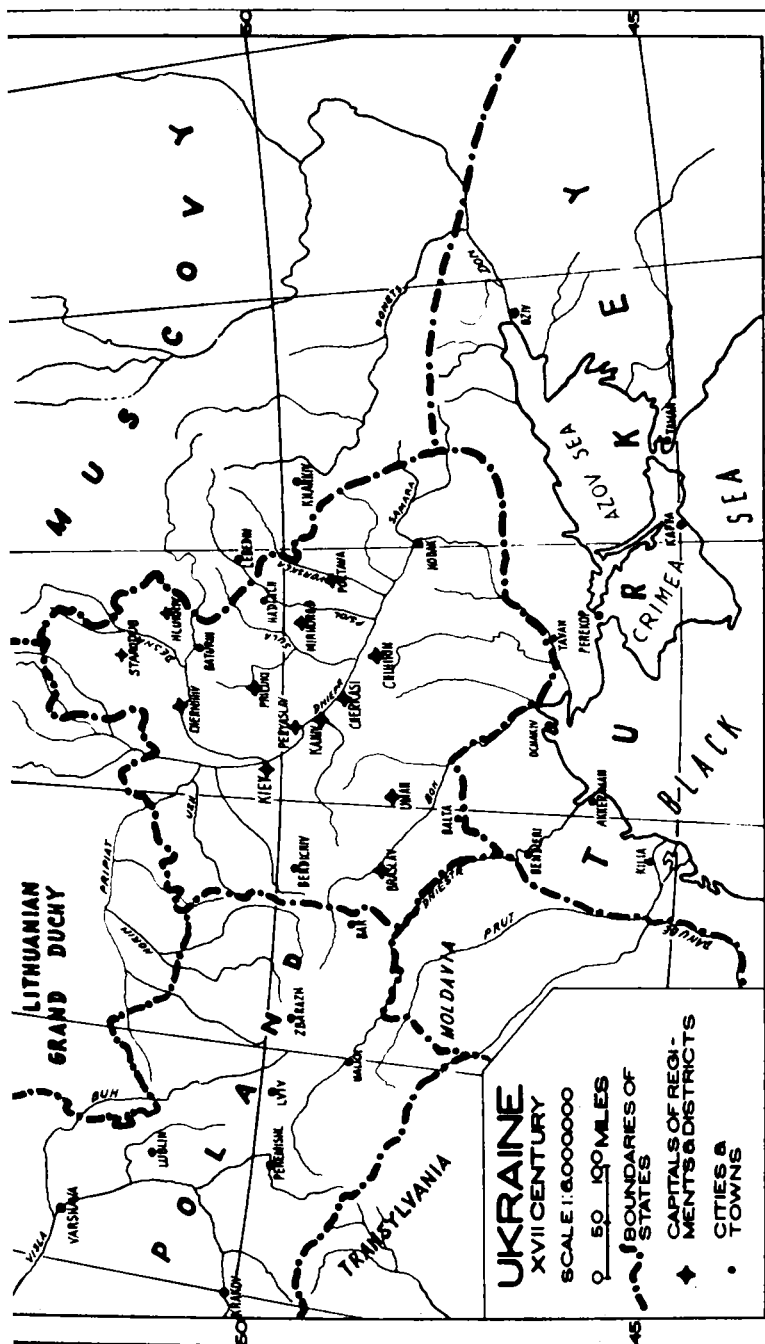
\*) O. Pritsak, Orientalist and historian, professor at Harvard University, published extensively among others *Karachandische Studien* and *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste*. J. Reshetar, historian, is professor at Washington University; his leading publication is *The Ukrainian Revolution*. The above article originally published in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (June 1963), pp. 224-255. Reprinted by permission of the publisher and the authors.



unification of ethnographically homogeneous territory in a single state cannot be regarded as sufficiently characteristic to provide criteria for the division of Europe. Such "Western" states (in Rudnytsky's terminology) as Italy and Norway have also suffered decline or discontinuity at times. In employing the terms "East" and "West" with respect to Europe one cannot rely on geographical location or on the current political situation and include Poland, Hungary, or the Czech territories in "Eastern" Europe. Although Rudnytsky has defined what he means by the "East," we regard it as necessary to discuss this methodological problem in some detail, bearing in mind that the terms "East" and "West" are so specific and meaningful that it would be unwise to introduce new concepts even as working hypotheses.

In the late eleventh century two opposing cultural spheres emerged in Europe: the Western-Catholic-Roman and the Eastern-Orthodox-Byzantine. Only the former provided the basis for a culture characterized by a degree of universality—that of Western Europe. A people converted to Catholicism became an equal member of a large family united by a common cultural language and an understanding of the need to learn from the works of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Each people had an opportunity to learn from the ancient model and to make its own contribution to the development of this common culture. Originally the leadership was exercised by the clergy, which was interested in learning and was motivated by the idea of *ora et labora*; this brought the church closer to the people and raised their cultural level. The acceptance of Roman Law and the rise of autonomous cities (for example, the Magdeburg Law) created the basis for coexistence and the later emergence of the third estate in addition to the clergy and nobility. Concessions obtained by the nobility led ultimately to the development of the constitutional order. The wars of investiture, on the one hand, preserved the independence of the church from the state and, on the other hand, led to the churches' acquiring a national character. Humanism and the Reformation secularized culture and promoted the development of popular literary language along with the progress in the exact sciences and geographical discoveries. These developments in their ulti-







mate form came to constitute Western culture, which is based upon individual freedom.

Byzantium knew but one universality: the idea of a single ruler of the Rhomaioi and of all Christians—the Byzantine emperor. It viewed the world as divided into Rhomaioi and “barbarians.” The Orthodox Church, being dependent upon secular authority, concerned itself with the salvation of individual souls; *ora et labora* was replaced by the anchorite and hermit. The monastic communities did not become centers of learning in the full sense. The Slavs who accepted Christianity from Byzantium never participated fully in the high Byzantine culture, for they were regarded as inferior and their cultural development was largely limited to the sphere of the monastic communities. For the Slavs there was prepared a translation of selected religious texts in the Slavic (“Church-Slavonic”) language—a language not possessing a literary tradition and often not capable of conveying the subtleties of higher learning and secular culture <sup>1</sup>).

Although the classical Greek traditions persisted in Byzantium, the Slavs, especially the Eastern Slavs, derived little benefit from this fact for the reason discussed above. As the Eastern Slavic languages developed, Church Slavonic—the sole source of culture—became less and less comprehensible. The Reformation—as a reaction—was possible only in a Catholic milieu; conditions in the Orthodox world were not conducive to the secularization of culture. Thus it is not surprising that Marxism remained a body of social and political theory in the West, while in Russian Leninism it assumed the form of a quasi religion.

Does Ukraine belong to the East or the West? At the time of the emergence of Western culture, between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ukraine, though of the Orthodox faith <sup>2</sup>), constituted a component of states of

---

<sup>1</sup>) For example, see the viewpoint of G. P. Fedotov as described by Georges Florovsky in “The Problem of Old Russian Culture,” *Slavic Review*, XXI (March, 1962), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>) In this context mention should be made of the cult of St. Clement, Pope of Rome, in Kiev. He was the patron of the Kiev Cathedral, the Tithe Church of the Virgin, built by Volodymyr the Great. In his honor there was compiled a book of miracles, Чудо (two known versions date



the West European type. The Galician-Volhynian King Danylo sought a union of the two churches and received his crown from a papal legate in 1253. Earlier, in 1245, the Kiev metropolitan, Peter Akerovych, went to Lyons and concluded a Union with the Church of Rome. The Galician-Volhynian state employed Latin in its official documents. With the demise of the dynasty (1340) part of the Ukrainian lands came under the Hungarian state and later under the Polish state; part joined the Lithuanian state, which originally (1386) entered into a real union with Poland, which later (1569) became a personal union.

The various cultural achievements of the West did reach Ukraine, though with some delay or without the possibility of full development. Humanism, the Reformation, and the Counter Reformation all left their mark in Ukraine. Thus the Reformationist Mykhailo Vasylevych (1556-61) and the Unitarians Symeon Budny (1562) and Vasyl Tiapynsky translated parts of the Scriptures into the living Ukrainian language of their time<sup>3</sup>). That Church Slavonic was not replaced by the Ukrainian language for another two centuries was due in no small part to the authority of the apologist for Ortho-

---

from the twelfth century). Михайло Грушевський, *Історія української літератури*, III (Kiev and Lviv, 1923), 105-9. When in 1147, as a result of political tension between Kiev and Byzantium, the question arose as to how to obtain a new metropolitan, the Bishop of Chernyiv, Onufrii, offered an interesting solution. He proved that just as the patriarch of Constantinople in consecration employs the sacred relic of the hand of St. John, so in Kiev a metropolitan could be consecrated with the reliquary of Pope Clement. It is significant that when this method was approved by all six bishops of Southern Rus' (the present Ukrainian territory) the Kiev Orthodox Metropolitan Клим Смолиатич („книжник и философ, так якоже в Руськой земли не бяшесть”—*Нурathian Chronicle*, s.a. 1147) was consecrated by means of the pope's reliquary. The bishops of Northern Rus', under the leadership of Niphont (who effected the Novgorod separatism discussed elsewhere) refused to recognize the validity of this method.

<sup>3</sup>) Михайло Грушевський, *Культурно-національний рух на Україні в XVI-XVII віці* (2nd ed.; n.p., 1919), pp. 46-57. Also see Грушевський, *Історія української літератури*, V (Kiev, 1926), Part I, and the preface by D. Olzevsky in the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, III, No. 1 (1953), 485-87.



doxy, the anchorite from Athos, Ivan Vyshensky <sup>4</sup>). It is well known that the Kiev metropolitan, Peter Mohyla (1596-1647), introduced the study of Latin in the College founded by him as a means of combating the Jesuit Counter Reformation. The distinctive Ukrainian baroque in architecture, literature, and the arts also testifies to a unity with the West <sup>5</sup>).

The tragedy of the Ukrainians is that since the fifteenth century their territory has been a "borderland" between East and West, incapable of committing itself entirely to either side and denied a free choice because it has been coveted by both <sup>6</sup>). Yet, if the Ukrainian nation exists to this day, it is not only because of the linguistic differences between Russian and Ukrainian but mainly because of a distinctive cultural tradition.

#### "NONHISTORICAL" OR "INCOMPLETE" NATIONHOOD?

Rudnytsky's use of the term "nonhistorical" with reference to the Ukrainian nation in the nineteenth century is not entirely accurate. The Ukrainian national rebirth began in

---

<sup>4</sup>) Indicative of Vyshensky's quaint and intolerant attitude is the following statement (1599-1600): „Евангелиа и Апостола в церкви на литургии простым языком не выворачайте. По литургии ж для зроу-меня людского попросту толкуйте и выкладывайте. Книги церковные всё и уставы словенским языком друкуйте. Сказую бо вам тайну великую: як диавол толикую завист имаєт на словенский язык, же ледве жив от гнѣва; рад бы его до щеты погубил и всю борбу свою на тое двигнул, да его обмерзит и во огиду и ненавист приведет.” Иван Вишенский, *Сочинения* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), p. 23.

Significantly, the language used by Vyshensky was far from being Church Slavonic; it was rather the Ukrainian language of that time. As a product of Humanism and the Reformation, philological studies emerged in Ukraine of the late sixteenth century. Two of the most important works should be mentioned here: *The Slavenorosskii* (Church Slavonic-Ukrainian) dictionary by Pamvo Berynda (Kiev, 1627) and the first grammar ever written of the Church Slavonic language, by Meletius Smotrytsky (Eviu, 1619).

<sup>5</sup>) Дмитро Чижевський, *Історія української літератури: Від початків до доби реалізму* (New York, 1956) provides a discussion of the Baroque in Ukrainian literature, pp. 248-317. A separate province of Ukrainian literature from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century consists of that written in Latin. For a brief characterization of this literature see *ibid.*, pp. 318-20.

<sup>6</sup>) This problem is discussed at length in Eduard Winter, *Byzanz und Rom im Kampf um die Ukraine, 955-1939* (Leipzig, 1942).



the latter part of the eighteenth century among the Left Bank gentry descended from the officer class of the former hetmanate. It is from this milieu that the *Istoriia Rusov* emerged to demonstrate that the rupture in historical continuity was far from complete. The Ukrainian national movement in the nineteenth century, instead of being "nonhistorical," can be said to have been "incomplete"<sup>7)</sup> in terms of the hetmanate state form following the fall of Mazepa (1709).

The Ukrainian Cossacks, both the Zaporozhian Host and the "town Cossacks," acquired significance in the second half of the sixteenth century. Originally this was a social or corporate movement without political or religious overtones. The Host acquired a national character during the second decade of the seventeenth century when it intervened, under the leadership of Hetman Peter Sahaidachny (1616-22), in the struggle of the Orthodox Rus' against Catholicism and Church Union in the Polish state. Their crowning achievement in this sphere was the re-establishment in 1620 of the Ukrainian Orthodox ecclesiastical jurisdiction, under the Host's military protection, in the persons of a metropolitan and five bishops consecrated by Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem<sup>8)</sup>.

Ecclesiastical circles soon appreciated the worth of this new ally and began to see in the Host not only defenders of the Orthodox Church but also the direct descendants of the Princely Rus'. However, when the Orthodox hierarchy, under the leadership of Metropolitan Job Boretsky (1620-31), began to develop a plan for an alliance of Orthodox rulers ostensibly directed against the Ottoman Empire but in fact against Poland, they relied not on the strength of the Zaporozhian Host but on the more effective power of an Orthodox ruler—the Muscovite Orthodox Czar. However, the Kiev clergy viewed the Czar from a distance in highly idealized terms.

---

<sup>7)</sup> The definition of "incomplete" nationhood as applied to eighteenth-century literature is discussed in Чижевський, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-23.

<sup>8)</sup> After the annexation of Kiev by Lithuania, the Grand Prince Olgerd re-established the Kiev metropolitanate in ca. 1354. However, until 1448 the Moscow and Kiev metropolitanates were often occupied by the same person, who was usually of Greek origin. From the Union of Brest (1596) until 1620 the Kiev metropolitanate was Uniat.



The Orthodox College established in Kiev in 1632 by Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (later known as the Mohyla-Mazepa Academy) played an important role in raising the educational level, but its membership, with certain exceptions, regarded the issue of Ukrainian statehood with equanimity, once serious political difficulties arose. Like the socialists in the nineteenth century, the Ukrainian elite of the Orthodox Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were interested not in local but in "universal" problems. In order to attract the support of the most powerful Orthodox ruler, the Muscovite Czar, the Kievan Orthodox Church elite manufactured—or at least gave their approval to<sup>9)</sup>—the historic conception of the "transfer" of the princely seats: Kiev—Vladimir-on-the-Klazma—Muscovy. This concept was most precisely formulated in the *Synopsis*, which was first published in 1670 or 1674 and was re-issued in approximately thirty editions and used as a history textbook until the mid-nineteenth century. In this first textbook on East European history no mention was made of the Zaporozhian Host, although the author or authors of the *Synopsis* had lived under the protection of the Cossack State. It was only in 1904, 230 years later, that the Kiev historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky demonstrated the unscholarly and harmful effect which this artificial scheme of lineage had upon both Russian and Ukrainian historiography<sup>10)</sup>.

Despite its generally apolitical attitude, the Kiev clergy actively collaborated with the revolution led by Hetman

<sup>9)</sup> Two recent studies on the *Synopsis* are: И. П. Еремин, „К истории общественной мысли на Украине второй половины XVII в.," *Труды отдела древнерусской литературы*, X (Moscow and Leningrad, 1954), 212-22, and С. Л. Пештич, „‘Синопис’ как историческое произведение," *ibid.*, XV (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958), 284-98. According to data cited by Peshtich the 1674 edition was not the original. There are indications that two other editions, of 1670 and 1672, existed, which unfortunately have not been investigated. Peshtich also demonstrated that the *Synopsis*, before being printed in Kiev, was subjected to Muscovite censorship. Not having the text of the original uncensored version, we are not in a position to determine what additions or deletions in the text resulted from censorship.

<sup>10)</sup> See Hrushevsky, "The Traditional Scheme of 'Russian' History . . .," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, II, No. 4 (1952), 355-64.



Bohdan Khmelnytsky which began in 1648. Its success confronted the hetman with numerous problems. Beginning as a Zaporozhian military dictatorship, the enlarged new state required a broader form of government. At this time the representatives of the old elite of Rus' and Lithuania-Rus', the magnates and gentry (both Orthodox and Catholic), came in great numbers to serve the new state<sup>11</sup>). Thus emerged the concept of a tradition-based complete state—of the type of a hereditary Rus' principality—with religious tolerance and cooperation between social classes. The nature of this state—unique for its time—was most fully reflected in the Swedish-Ukrainian treaty of 1657 and in related documents<sup>12</sup>).

However, Khmelnytsky was unable to consummate this effort. During the limited tenure of his rule (1648-57) numerous wars on various fronts compelled the hetman to conclude treaties with his neighbors. One of these treaties, that with Muscovy concluded at Pereiaslav in 1654, proved to be a heavy burden impeding the development of the Cossack State. The Muscovite Czar Alexei Mikhailovich, finding it easier to extend his domain by means of direct negotiations with Poland than by waging war, quickly forgot about the terms of the Pereiaslav Treaty and hastened to conclude a profitable settlement at Vilna (1656), ignoring the Ukrainians and their interests. This occurred because the Czar chose to interpret the quasi-protectorate relationship between himself and Khmelnytsky (stipulated in the text of the Pereiaslav Treaty) as an act of submission by the hetman (see note 34).

After Khmelnytsky's death, Muscovy succeeded in inflaming class and religious differences within the Hetman State and, employing the so-called *chern'* and part of the Orthodox clergy, provoked a civil conflict—the so-called Ruina (Ruin) between 1663 and 1674. As a result, the aristo-

---

<sup>11</sup>) See W. Lipiński, *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1912) and also Вячеслав Липинський, *Україна на переломі, 1657-1659* (Vienna, 1920).

<sup>12</sup>) Архивъ Юго-Западной Россіи, Part III, Vol. VI (Kiev, 1908), 332-37; Липинський, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49; 282, n. 185; and Михайло Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, IX (Kiev, 1931), Part II, pp. 1392-97; X (Kiev, 1937), 64-69.



cracy and gentry, the bearers of the concept of the complete state, were physically liquidated. The re-emergence of a gentry-officer class under Hetman Ivan Samoilovich (1672-87) led to the renewal of the idea of a Rus' principality during the hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709) and to his treaty with Charles XII of Sweden. The defeat at Poltava in 1709 destroyed forever the idea of a Rus' principality<sup>13</sup>). The repressive measures of Peter I led to the decline of all independent political thought. There emerged the notion of a *modus vivendi* in which an incomplete "Little Russian" state would exist as an autonomous part of the Russian Empire.

The plight of Ukraine lay not so much in the fact of the destruction of the Hetmanate State and the Zaporozhian order (historical discontinuity) as in the fact that after 1709 the use of harsh and repressive measures by Peter I and the emergence of Russian imperialist centralism caused the concept of a *complete* Ukrainian Cossack State to be replaced by a Cossack class autonomy which could be defined as an *incomplete* state. Under these circumstances the granting to the Ukrainian Cossack officer class of rights equal to those of the "All-Russian nobility" in 1835 was a way of satisfying, to a certain degree, the needs of this "incomplete" nation.

The ideas of romanticism, democracy, and socialism reached Ukraine and influenced the gentry youth. However, not having inherited from their parents the national and political ideas of a "complete nation," they limited their efforts to enlightening the local peasants or were attracted to democratic or socialist movements on the imperial level. The so-called Ukrainophiles and *khlopomany* are of particular interest. They viewed the nationality question in class terms, identifying their gentry status with the Russian (or Polish) nation; by associating themselves with the serfs they were severing their old ties as identified in terms of class and nation. However, their ideal was not nationalization

---

<sup>13</sup>) On Ukrainian political thought during the Cossack State see Олександр Юглоблін, „До історії української політичної думки на початку XVIII віку”, *Записки історично-філологічного відділу У.А.Н.*, XIX (1928), 231-41.



of the gentry but their own individual "democratization"<sup>14</sup>). Despite their dedication and their love for the Ukrainian people, the "Ukrainophiles" perpetuated the concept of the "incomplete" Ukrainian nation. During the second half of the nineteenth century the Ukrainian populist movement was taken over from the gentry by persons from other classes, the intellectuals or so-called "conscious Ukrainians." However, this group unconsciously followed in the footsteps of the gentry and also preserved the "incomplete" nation. The socialist element devoted its energies to opposing the Ukrainization of the nobility and the emerging bourgeoisie and in this way hindered the process of advancing the Ukrainian nation to a state of "completeness."

### SEPARATISM

The term "separatism" in the sense of a cultural-political secession of a part of the territory of ancient Rus' is frequently associated by publicists and even by specialists in East European history with the Ukrainian movement of the nineteenth century. In actual fact separatism in Eastern Europe commenced much earlier—and in the north.

Great Novgorod and Vladimir-on-the-Klazma departed from the Kievan model to such a degree that they can be said to have set a separate course for themselves early in the twelfth century. Novgorod became wealthy as a result of its intermediary role in east-west trade and soon found a common language with the other centers of Baltic commerce. The German Hansa, which was emerging at this time, was closer to Novgorod than was "continental" Kiev after the decline of the trade route "from the Varengians to the Greeks." In 1136 Novgorod—under the ideological leadership of Bishop Niphont (1130-56)—dethroned Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, sent from Kiev, and laid the groundwork for the unique (in Eastern Europe) republican system of "Great Lord Novgorod" and of "Saint Sophia." Authority now reposed in the

---

<sup>14</sup>) Typical of this approach is В. Антонович, „Моя исповѣдь," in *Основа*, Vol. I, 1862, pp. 83-96. An interesting characterization and criticism of the so-called "conscious Ukrainians" is provided by Вячеслав Липинський, *Листи до братів-хліборобів* (Vienna, ca. 1926), pp. 1-62.



representatives of the commercial aristocracy, in the *veche*. The *veche* elected the bishop (*vladyka*), who, as head of the "Council of Lords," became the *de facto* head of the state; it also elected the executive in the persons of the mayor (*posadnyk*), the head of the town militia (*tysiatsky*), and the prince, who was now in fact only a military commander. Great Novgorod demonstrated its independence by establishing its own *svod* or revised collection of chronicles, the *Sofiiskii vremennik*. The other attribute of independence in the Rus' of that time—a separate metropolitanate—was not acquired, but the *vladyka* did obtain the title of Archbishop in 1165 <sup>15</sup>).

As a result of being located very advantageously on trade routes far removed from the chronic danger presented by Turkic nomads, the colonial part of ancient Rus'—the Vladimir-Suzdal territory—flourished during the second half of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century. The cities and population grew, and the conditions of a colonial way of life were conducive to the strengthening of princely authority. In place of the Kievan system of a *viche* and a class of boyars, there arose a system of rule based upon a military service class derived from various lands and classes and loyal to the prince.

It was Andrei Bogoliubskii (1157-74) who effected the separatism of the Vladimir-Suzdal territories. Andrei's father, Yurii Monomakhovych, still recognized the primacy of Kiev in Rus'; and when, after various attempts in 1149 and 1150, he finally obtained the throne of Kiev in 1155, Andrei as his son obtained the Kievan Vyshhorod in accordance with the traditional system. However, Andrei fled from Vyshhorod to the North that same year, without his father's knowledge, in order to take over the Vladimir-Suzdal territories within two years. After the death of the father, Andrei refused to reign in Kiev. This demonstrative act was the first mani-

---

<sup>15</sup>) See Д. С. Лихачев, „Софийский Временник' и новгородский политический переворот 1136 года," *Исторические записки*, XXV (1948), 240-65. Also see *Очерки истории СССР, IX-XII вв.* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 334-57.



festation of a reappraisal of values in Kievan Rus' <sup>16)</sup> and was soon to be reinforced by another act. The Polovetsian hatred of Kiev and its cultural worth prompted Andrei-Kitai (Andrei Bogoliubskii's mother was a Polovetsian, and in addition to his Christian name of Andrei he had the Polovetsian name of Kitai) <sup>17)</sup> to plunder and ruin Kiev in 1169, employing these barbarous means to cause this older center to lose its attraction. *Thus, the Vladimir-Muscovy period of East European history began not with the acceptance of the Kiev tradition but with its negation and destruction.* In order to separate his territories from Kiev Andrei attempted to obtain from Byzantium approval for the establishment of a separate metropolitanate in Vladimir, but these efforts met with failure.

However, the other attribute of sovereignty—a separate *svod* of chronicles—was achieved by Andrei's successor, Vsevolod (1176-1212) in 1177. In this revised chronicle, preserved in the Laurentian Chronicle of 1377, the Kievan tradition is accepted only up to the time of Vladimir Monomakh (1113), that is, up to this formative period of the Vladimir-Suzdal dynasty <sup>18)</sup>. The northern chronicles came to reflect a declining interest in southern affairs, and after the ruination of Kiev by the Tartars in 1240 the fate of the southern Rus', especially the Galician-Volhynian state, receives no mention. This silence was all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the northern Rus' and southern Rus' remained within the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that of the metropolitan of "Kiev and all Rus'" and, in addition, were subordinated to the same political order—that of the Golden Horde, which had a highly developed postal system.

<sup>16)</sup> Andrei's refusal to accept the Kiev throne is regarded by the Russian historian S. Soloviev as a "sobytie povorotnoe." С. М. Соловьев, *История России с древнейших времен* (Moscow, 1959), I, 529-34.

<sup>17)</sup> Andrei „иже прежде крещенія нарицашеся Кятай, а потомъ отъ великіе ревности и вседушныя любве своея к Богу, прозванъ бысть Боголюбскій." Синопис (5th ed.: St. Petersburg, 1762), p. 107. Cf. Д. С. Лихачев, *Повесть временных лет* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), II, 423: „сын половчанки Андрей Боголюбский имел половецкое имя Кятай”.

<sup>18)</sup> М. Д. Приселков, *История русского летописания XI-XV вв.* (Leningrad, 1940), pp. 64-78.



Thus, it was not Mongol domination which separated the northern Rus' from the southern Rus' but rather the lack of any sense of community and the absence of mutual attraction and interest. The attempt to lay claim to the Kiev tradition manifested itself in Muscovy only in modern times under the influence of the imperial political design.

In contrast, it should be noted that the attitude in the southern Rus' toward Kiev and its tradition was very different. When Roman of Volhynia acquired Galicia in 1199 he became the most powerful ruler in southern Rus', and it is not without reason that the contemporary chronicler termed him the "autocrat of all Rus'." However, neither Roman nor his successors inflicted ruination upon Kiev. Roman accepted the entire Kiev tradition. The *Hipathian Chronicle*, which transmitted the Galician-Volhynian *svody* (the last of which was edited in 1298), preserved in its entirety the Kiev *svod* of the twelfth century (to 1198).

The entire question of the relations between the northern and southern Rus' might be better understood in terms of a geographic analogy and a historical model. Let us assume for a moment that the southern mother Rus' territory (the present Ukrainian territory) was divided from the northern colonial territory of Rus' (the present Russian territory) by a sea in the same way that mother country England was divided from the colony of New England by the Atlantic Ocean. Let us further assume that George Washington, after having proclaimed the independence of the colonies, had plundered and ruined London (as Andrei Bogoliubskii had sacked Kiev in 1169), and that five centuries later the head of the renewed state of the mother country had concluded a quasi-protectorate agreement with the head of the United States government. Let us also assume that the United States interpreted this quasi protectorate as an act of submission and as a perpetual union of the two "English" countries in a manner analogous to that which occurred in Eastern Europe after the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654. Let us in addition assume that the Americans now imposed an official politico-historical concept regarding the transfer of the state center in accordance with the scheme: London—Boston—Philadelphia—Washington, D.C. (in a manner analogous to the



official Russian scheme: Kiev—Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma—Moscow—St. Petersburg). Let us in conclusion assume that, relying on the fact that English colonists came and settled in the United States before and after it declared its independence, American political leaders officially proclaimed the entire culture and history of England prior to American independence to be the first period of American history and culture; Englishmen in the mother country are permitted to begin their history and culture approximately two centuries after the proclamation of American independence<sup>19</sup>). Under these hypothetical but analogous circumstances if English historians (England has now become Britain just as southern Rus' has become *Ukraina*) were bold enough to treat the history of England-Britain as a single whole commencing with the beginnings of English history and culture (Beowulf, Chaucer, Shakespeare)—which the Americans had now appropriated—such historians would be officially branded as “nationalists”<sup>20</sup>) and would be imprisoned or exiled. To

---

<sup>19</sup>) According to official Soviet historiography the Ukrainian nation and its culture are said to have begun in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Pre-revolutionary Russian historiography was based firmly on the assumption of the transfer of centers, and consequently had no place for the history of Ukraine except to associate it with separatism in the modern period. Beginning with the *Замечания по поводу конспекта учебника по истории СССР И. Сталина, А. Жданова и С. Кирова* (Moscow, 1937), the following scheme has been dominant: prior to the thirteenth century there existed a common Old-Russian nation (*sic*), which during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries developed into three East European nations—the Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian—but for the period prior to the fourteenth century the terms “Old Russian” or “Russian” are used interchangeably, and this period is in fact appropriated for the Russian nation by official Soviet historiography. Research on this early period is centered in Moscow and Leningrad. Studies published in Ukraine are permitted to deal with this early period only in a cursory manner.

<sup>20</sup>) A curious practice is occasionally encountered in the works of certain American specialists on the history of Eastern Europe. In bibliographic annotations a double standard is sometimes evident: tendentious works of Russian and other historians are frequently cited without any qualifying adjectives, while Hrushevsky is referred to as a “nationalist” because he dared to demonstrate the incorrectness of the concept of the “transfer” of centers. In actual fact Hrushevsky was, in his politics, not a “nationalist” but a socialist and a leader of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Party. Clearly, if the adjective “nationalist” is to be employed it should



complete the analogy, any political movement which would attempt to liberate Britain from foreign occupation would be denounced as "separatist."

## REUNION?

Histories of Eastern Europe have reflected a particular methodology. The linguistic term "Old (or "common") Russian language" (*древне-русская язык*, used for "Old Eastern Slavonic")—which is as much of a linguistic abstraction as a "common West Slavic language," a "common Indo-European language," and the like—has frequently been adopted by historians as a historical datum for the purpose of defining the first stage of the so-called "Old Russian nationality" (*древнерусская народность*)<sup>21</sup>).

By way of contrast, no historian of Poland or of the Czech lands commences his history with the period of "common West Slavic linguistic unity." Nor do these historians write of a common culture of a hypothetical "common West Slavic nationality" but rather of separate Polish and Czech cultures. However, the term "Old (or "common") Russian culture" is used in spite of the fact that the cultural "unity" of the Russian and Ukrainian lands between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries was not different from that of the

---

be on the basis of the same standard. In accepting unquestionably the terminology of official Soviet Russian historiography, American scholars should know that the Soviet use of the epithet "nationalist" does not correspond to the Western meaning of the same term, since a former member of the Central Committee of the CPSU can also be branded as a "nationalist" if his viewpoint should conflict with the current general line of the party.

<sup>21</sup>) See, for example, the chapter on the emergence of the "Old Russian nationality" in *Очерки истории СССР: Период феодализма IX-XV вв.*, I (Moscow, 1953), 251-58. It is worth noting that in this chapter, as in other works of this character, the terms "Old Russian" (meaning "Old Rus'") and "Russian" are used synonymously. In this context one is prompted to ask if it is not time that American historians of Eastern Europe abandon the terminology used by Russians (for reasons of their own) and employ one that is strictly objective. For example, the term "Kievan Russia" connotes a nonexistent relationship of Kiev with a Russia which emerged several centuries later; obviously the accurate term is "Kievan Rus'," since *Rus'* is not identical with *Russia*.



Poland and Bohemia (Czech lands) of that period. This cultural "unity" was based on the fact that Ukraine (in its modern sense), like Bohemia, was the donor, while Muscovy, like Poland, was the recipient. Poland received Christianity from Bohemia just as the Kiev missionary, Saint Kuksha, was converting the Viatichians—ancestors of the present Russians—in the second half of the eleventh century and was martyred by them<sup>22</sup>). The eastern counterpart of Latin as the cultural (foreign) language of the Western Slavs was the alien Church Slavonic language. Similarly, the ancient Russian literary language of Muscovy and its literature developed under the influence of the literary language and literature of the Ukrainian lands (Kiev, Chernihiv, Halych) in the same way that the Polish literary language emerged as a result of Czech influence. The East Slavic-West Slavic parallel should be qualified to the extent that in the Ukrainian and Russian lands there were two branches of a single dynasty, while Bohemia and Poland had their own dynasties—although at times these dynasties were united in marriage. Thus on occasion both countries were ruled by the same king (for example, Boleslaw I of Poland, Wenceslaus II of Bohemia). Poland also acquired its own archbishopric in the year 1,000, just as the Vladimir-Suzdal lands, after their separation, endeavored to obtain their own metropolitanate (which occurred only at the end of the thirteenth century).

It is generally accepted that the Viatichians provided the basis for the Muscovites (later the Russians), while the Polianians were the ancestors of the Rus' (later Ukrainians)<sup>23</sup>).

---

<sup>22</sup>) An account of Saint Kuksha is to be found in the Kievan *Patericon*. For a Russian translation see *Художественная проза киевской Руси XI-XIII вв.* (Moscow, 1957), pp. 158-59.

<sup>23</sup>) On the Vitichians as the basis of the later Muscovite or Russian literary language (*akan'e*, etc.) see the various works by A. Shakhmatov, for example: *А. А. Шахматовъ, Введение въ курсъ истории русскаго языка* (Petrograd, 1916); *Очеркъ древнѣйшаго періода истории русскаго языка* (Petrograd, 1915); *Древнѣйшія судьбы русскаго племени* (Petrograd, 1919). See also П. Н. Третьяков, *Восточнославянские племена* (2nd ed.; Moscow, 1953), pp. 221, 238-41.

A lengthy polemic on the character of the language of the Polianians and the Old Kievan language resulted in acceptance of its Ukrainian character.



The Kiev Chronicler Nestor, author of the *Povest' vremennykh let* (written approximately in 1113, or fifty-six years years prior to Andrei Bogoliubskii's separatism) did not express any sense of unity with the Viaticians. Nestor constantly emphasized that the Polianians existed apart (*osobo*); he did not regard the Viaticians as an Eastern Slavic tribe but as having emerged from the Western Slavic *Liakhi*. While the Polianians, according to Nestor, had civilized customs and laws and knew the institution of marriage, the Viaticians "lived in the forests like beasts, ate unclean food, employed foul language in the presence of their fathers and [*de facto*] daughters-in-law, did not practice marriage..."<sup>24</sup>). Since in Nestor's time Vladimir Monomakh (1055-1125) waged war against the Viaticians, their chief Khodota and his clan, and since Christianity came to the Viaticians only in the second half of the eleventh century or in the first half of the twelfth century, it is clear that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was no sense of oneness which could have later served as the basis for the emergence of an "old (or "common") Russian nationality." Similarly, if the nations of Western Europe had not yet emerged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, why should an "old (or 'common') Russian nationality" have existed at that time? Indeed, is it not, at long last, time to identify this anachronism as the legend that it is and lay it to rest?

During the course of more than four centuries, from 1240 to 1654, the ancestors of the Russians and Ukrainians lived in different states and in entirely different cultural spheres. Before 1620 there were no significant regular contacts be-

---

See Л. А. Вулаховський, Питання походження української мови (Kiev, 1956), pp. 104-24.

It is known that the Russian philologists N. P. Pogodin and A. I. Sobolevsky propounded the thesis that the inhabitants of Old Kiev were Great Russians who migrated to the north after Kiev was seized by the Mongols in 1240: Bulakhovsky has cast doubt upon this hypothesis in the following terms: "The linguistic facts do not support the hypothesis of Pogodin and Sobolevsky regarding the 'Great Russian' population of Old Kiev and the Kievan Principality (Kyivshchyna"; *ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>24</sup>) *Повесть временных лет*, edited by Д. С. Лихачев, I (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), 14-15.



tween cultural representatives of the two peoples<sup>25</sup>). In 1954, as part of the Soviet tercentenary of the Pereiaslav Treaty, there occurred in the Soviet Union a reaffirmation of the political thesis regarding the "eternal oneness" of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples based on the legendary common "Old Russian nationality" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries discussed above<sup>26</sup>). Thus the 1654 treaty was interpreted as a "reunion" of the Ukrainian and Russian "fraternal peoples" by applying to an event of the seventeenth century populist ideas which emerged under the influence of nineteenth-century romanticism. In actual fact the Pereiaslav Treaty, like all other treaties of that time, was between two rulers or two states and not between two peoples. It is evident that "reunion" in 1654 would have had to be preceded by a previous act of union of which, as we have indicated, there is no record.

Let us turn to this meeting of Russians and Ukrainians in 1654<sup>27</sup>). Let us commence with the alleged feeling of one-

---

<sup>25</sup>) It is for this reason that in the Pereiaslav Tercentenary edition of selected documents none is dated prior to 1620. See note 27.

<sup>26</sup>) It is significant that both nations, the Muscovites and the Ukrainians, developed different messianic concepts: while in Muscovy the political "Third Rome" concept emerged, one finds in Ukraine the Kiev religious concept viewing that city as the "Second Jerusalem." See R. Stupperich, "Kiev—das Zweite Jerusalem," in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, XII, No. 3-4 (1935), 332-54.

<sup>27</sup>) The collection of selected documents on the "reunion" is: *Воссоединение Украины с Россией: Документы и материалы в трех томах* (Moscow, 1953); Vol. I (1620-47), 585 pp.; Vol. II (1648-51), 559 pp.; Vol. III (1651-54), 645 pp.

In our discussion of the differences between Muscovy and Ukraine in the mid-seventeenth century we have relied almost exclusively upon this official Soviet selection of documents designed to demonstrate the thesis of "reunion." The representative quotations from these documents included in our discussions are not footnoted separately; reference is made in parentheses in the text to specific citations from these volumes. (The title of this collection is hardly accurate in view of the fact that prior to 1654 the term *Rosiiia* was applied to Ukraine and not to Muscovy, for which the term *Rustia* or "Muscovite state" was used.)

The accounts of foreigners who visited Ukraine and Muscovy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and who were impressed with the many basic differences between the two nations can be found in Б. Сичин-



ness. For the Russians of that time the Ukrainians were foreigners or *inozemtsy* (I, 318), "Cherkas-foreigners" (I, 463), "foreigners of the Lithuanian lands" or *inozemtsy litovskoi zemli* (I, 258), "Lithuanians" or *litvin* (I, 252), "Cherkasy of the Lithuanian people" or *iz litovskih liudei cherkasy* (I, 260). The Russians always distinguished between themselves and these "Lithuanians" or "Cherkasy" (for example, II, 244; III, 532). At the time of the Ukrainian Cossack uprising led by Khmelnytsky in 1648 the tsarist government ordered a reinforcement of the frontiers for defense "against the Cherkasy and Tatar advance" (II, 51). Ukraine was, for the Russians, either the "Lithuanian land" (I, 252) or "White Rus'" (II, 152, 303), while the Russians referred to their country as the "Muscovite state" or *Moskovskoe gosudarstvo* (II, 280, 281). The Ukrainians sharply distinguished themselves from the Russians, calling the latter *Moskali* (III, 88) or as *narodu moskovskoho liude* (III, 215). The Ukrainians, using the old terminology, referred to themselves as (singular) *Rusyn* (III, 344) or (plural) *Rus'* (II, 66, 255; III, 264) and their land as either *Rosiiia* (III, 157, 215) or *Ukraina* (II, 3789). Thus Khmelnytsky refers to the Muscovite tsar as *tsar moskovskii* (II, 35), and only after being instructed by the Muscovite envoy Unkovsky (March 13, 16489—II, 144) does he commence to address the tsar by the official title of *vseia Rusii samoderzhets* (II, 132).

The differences between the Ukrainian and Russian languages were sufficiently great to require that documents written in Ukrainian (*beloruskim pis'mom*) be translated into Russian (see "*perevod s lista z beloruskogo pis'ma*"—II, 350, 370; III, 277, 354). The negotiations had to be conducted with the aid of interpreters. Thus the Muscovite delegation headed by Buturlin in December, 1653, included two Ukrainian language interpreters (III, 417)—Bilial Baitsyn (probably a Tatar) and Stepan Kolchitsky (a Galician trained in the Kiev—Mohyla College). The Ukrainian delegation headed by Bohdanovych and Teteria (March, 1654) included an interpreter for Russian,

---

ський, *Чужинці про Україну* (Lviv, 1938), pp. 36-135. An English translation is available: V. Sichynsky, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions* (New York, 1953), pp. 39-138.



Iakov Ivanovich ("tolmach' voiskovyi" <sup>28</sup>). Illustrative of the linguistic relationship of the time was the account of the Muscovite diplomat-monk Arsenii Sukhanov of 1649. Khmelnytsky had granted refuge to a pretender to the Muscovite throne, Timoshka Akundinov, who claimed to be Ivan Shuisky, grandson of Tsar Vasili Shuisky (1606-10). Sukhanov attempted in vain to persuade the Ukrainian government to extradite the pretender and endeavored to use the influence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Paisius, with whom he was travelling in Ukraine. He asked the Patriarch to write to Khmelnytsky; the Patriarch consented but asked Sukhanov to prepare a draft of the letter to be sent. Sukhanov states that he "wrote in Russian and the Russian was translated into Greek and the Patriarch ordered a translation into Latin for the Hetman [Khmelnytsky]" (II, 184). It is clear that Khmelnytsky knew Russian only poorly and required a letter in Russian to be translated into Latin, a language of which he had a good knowledge. In addition, Latin was widely used in the Cossack State of that time.

It is common knowledge among specialists that literary intercourse between Ukraine and Muscovy in the seventeenth century was that of two peoples totally foreign in language and in spirit. Muscovy's low cultural level at that time led to the persecution of Ukrainian literature and its authors <sup>29</sup>).

Ukrainian and foreign ecclesiastics as well as the Ukrainian administration in the 1649-54 period regarded the Cossack State as an independent political unit, the equal of the Muscovite State. Thus Sukhanov reported to the tsar on May 89, 1649, that the visiting Orthodox high clergy, the metropolitans of Corinth and Nazareth, "in the prayers for long life and in the litanies pray for the Hetman as Sovereign

---

<sup>28</sup>) Акты, относящиеся къ исторіи Южной и Западной Россіи, X (St. Petersburg, 1878), 427.

<sup>29</sup>) See, for example, В. Эйнгорнъ, Сношенія малороссійскаго духовенства съ московскимъ правительствомъ въ царствованіе Алексѣя Михайловича (Moscow, 1894-99); И. П. Еремин, „К исторіи русско-украинскихъ литературныхъ связей в XVII веке," in Труды отдела древнерусской литературы АН СССР, IX (1953), 291-96. See also А. Н. Пылянь, Исторія русской литературы (4th ed.; St. Petersburg, 1911), Vol. II.



and as the Hetman of Great Rosiia" (II, 187). In correspondence between Ukrainian and Russian authorities in the 1649-53 period it is clear that the Ukrainians assumed complete equality between Muscovy and Ukraine. Thus the form of titling the hetman was the same as that of titling the Muscovite tsar—both were referred to as "By the Grace of God Great Sovereign"<sup>30</sup>). Trade between Muscovy and Ukraine was attributed to the fact of consent by both rulers — "your tsar and our Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host"<sup>31</sup>). When the Muscovite frontier authorities in 1651 addressed correspondence to Polish officials in Ukraine in accordance with previous practice, they were informed that the Polish officials had fled three years before and that correspondence should be addressed to the Ukrainian authorities if they wished to have friendly relations (III, 25-26). In dealing with frontier incidents the Ukrainian local governor refused to act except upon an order from the hetman<sup>32</sup>).

The uprising led by Khmelnytsky occurred at a time when the idea of dynastic legitimacy was dominant in Europe. Since Khmelnytsky was from the gentry but was not a member of a ruling dynasty, his sole means of obtaining support was to enter into a treaty with a sovereign on the

---

<sup>30</sup>) See the *intitulatio* in the letter of the *sotnyk* of Hlukhiv S. Veichik to the Muscovite *voevoda* of Sevsk, Prince T. I. Shcherbatov (April 22, 1651; III, 25): „Вожію милостию великого государя нашего пана Богда[на] Хмельницького, пана гетмана всего Войска Запорозкого... Вожію милостию великого государя царя і великого князя Алексія Михайловича, всея Русії самодержца...” The letter also contained the following Ukrainian admonition: „Теди живіт з нами подрузкий і знайте як писат.”

<sup>31</sup>) Cf. the Russian translation from Ukrainian (*perevod zhe z belorusskogo pis'ma*) of the letter of the *sotnyk* of Kotel'nytsia H. Tripolev to the Muscovite *voevoda* of Vol'noe V. Novosiltsev of March 2, 1653 (III, 254).

<sup>32</sup>) Cf. a letter of the *polkovnyk* of Poltava M. Pushkar to the *voevoda* of Belgorod Prince I. P. Pronsky of June 5, 1650: „Прислал ти ко мні воевода в Полтаву станічнова голову Спіфана с товарищи для сиску москаля Мишкі, што збежал з Білагорода, воровство зділавши. Ест у нас тот москаль Мишко; але я не могу без росказання его милости пана гетмана видат, естлі грамота от его милости пана гетмана до мене будет, і я его зараз видам...”



basis of a quasi-protectorate, protectorate, or vassal relationship. In order to launch the uprising Khmelnytsky required the military support of the Crimean khan, a vassal of the Ottoman Porte (in the Ottoman Empire the system of vassalage was highly developed and widely used), and thus himself became in 1648 a quasi-protected ruler under the Ottoman Porte. This relationship was never annulled by either side. Two years after the Pereiaslav Treaty, Khmelnytsky decided to participate in an anti-Polish coalition of states led by Sweden (including Prussia, Transylvania, Moldavia, Walachia, and Lithuania), and he concluded a treaty with Sweden which established a quasi-protectorate relationship with the Swedish king.

Although Sweden was in conflict with Muscovy, the Muscovite tsar did not protest categorically against the Ukrainian ties with Sweden, and Khmelnytsky did not regard his accepting a Swedish protectorate as being incompatible with a continuation of the tie with Muscovy. Thus, after the Pereiaslav Treaty Khmelnytsky continued to conduct his own foreign policy, which was based on the establishment of good relations with all neighboring states except Poland. This meant that he had to enter into a (quasi-) protectorate relationship with each of these neighboring rulers. At the end of his life Khmelnytsky was simultaneously a quasi-protected ruler of three sovereigns—the Ottoman Porte, Muscovy, and Sweden—who were engaged in mutual conflict<sup>33</sup>).

---

<sup>33</sup>) In June, 1657, Hetman Khmelnytsky insisted upon maintaining the tie with Sweden, in a statement made to the Muscovite envoy Buturlin, in the following terms: "I will never sever my ties with the Swedish king because our alliance, friendship, and understanding are of long duration having commenced more than six years ago before our subjection to the high hand of the tsar"; *Акты, относящиеся къ истории Южной и Западной России*, III (St. Petersburg, 1861), 568.

In April, 1657, the Ukrainian envoy to the Ottoman Porte, Lavryn Kapusta, presented a diplomatic note in which the sultan was addressed as "our highest lord" (*dominum nostrum supremum*) and in which emphasis was placed on "testifying to our old friendship, sincere fidelity and service" (*ut nostrum antiquam imicitiam ac sinceram fidelitatem ac servitia erga eandem Portam declararemus*) *Архивъ Юго-Западной России*, Part III, Vol. VI (Kiev, 1908), 216-17.



Khmelnysky was reared in the Polish-Lithuanian gentry-democracy in which the bilateral acts of ruler and subjects and such political institutions as the personal and real union, protectorate, and the like were rooted in tradition; he also knew, through personal experience, the political practices of the Ottoman Porte. When in 1653 Khmelnysky required Muscovite military aid, he decided to submit to the "high hand of the Orthodox tsar" of Muscovy<sup>34</sup>). However,

---

<sup>34</sup>) There is a vast literature dealing with the nature of the Pereiaslav Treaty, discussed in Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, IX, Part II (Kiev, 1931), 865-69; H. Fleischhacker, "Aleksiej Michajlovič und Bogdan Chmel'nickij," in *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, N. F., XI, No. I (1935), 11-52; А. Яковлів, *Договір Богдана Хмельницького з московським царем Олексієм Михайловичем 1654 р.* (New York, 1954), pp. 64-69.

Various interpretations have been offered: personal union, real union, protectorate, quasi protectorate, vassalage, military alliance, autonomy, incorporation. In our opinion the Pereiaslav Treaty, which was a result of lengthy negotiations between two signatories having different systems, cannot be subsumed under a single category. In view of our discussion it is reasonable to conclude that in substance, from Khmelnysky's point of view, it was a military alliance (Hetman Orlyk termed the Pereiaslav Treaty implicitly "le Traité d'Alliance," see the end of this note) like others he had with the Ottoman sultan and the king of Sweden. In a formal sense the Pereiaslav Treaty had as well elements of a personal union and of a quasi protectorate. It can be regarded as a personal union, since the treaty had been concluded with the tsar (and there were no common institutions apart from the person of the tsar) and because of the preservation of a separate Cossack State and its continuing to be a subject of international law capable of imposing tariffs.

There is also a basis for regarding the Pereiaslav Treaty as a quasi protectorate in view of the following considerations: Since the tsar as an absolute monarch identified his person with the state, the Pereiaslav Treaty was not only an agreement between two rulers but was also a treaty between two states. This is also evident in the fact that in addition to Khmelnysky, the Zaporozhian Host appeared as an official treaty partner whom Hetman Orlyk described as "les États de l'Ukraine" (see end of note). If it were only a personal union there would have been no place for a hetman and the tsar could have assumed the title of sovereign. Instead, Khmelnysky remained as hetman and was empowered to conduct foreign relations (having full competence with certain precisely defined limitations); had Pereiaslav established a complete protectorate (as contrasted with a quasi protectorate), the hetman would not have had the right to conduct foreign relations. In addition, Ukraine preserved her full state apparatus after 1654, and the Muscovite troops



despotic Muscovy, representing a very different tradition, could not comprehend any contractual relationship between the tsar and his subjects<sup>35</sup>). Muscovy knew only a unilateral submission to the tsar, and Khmelnytsky could not conceive of such a relationship. For this reason the ceremonial aspects of the establishment of this treaty relationship commenced very dramatically on January 8, 1654. Khmelnytsky was dumfounded by the statement of the Muscovite envoy Buturlin, who refused to take the oath on behalf of the tsar and declared that in Muscovite practice it was unthinkable that a subject could demand an oath from the tsar. Khmelnytsky refused to take the oath and walked out of the church in Pereiaslav in which the ceremony was to take place (III, 464-66, and note 38 *infra*).

After the conclusion of the treaty, on March 21-27, 1654, a joint military campaign was undertaken against Poland. Both armies operated in Byelorussia but independently of each other. Thus began the strange phenomenon of "a bat-

---

stationed in Ukraine were circumscribed in their rights in the same way that American troops stationed in Western Europe under NATO have been forbidden to intervene in the internal affairs of the host country.

The duration of the treaty had been determined as *voveki*; in the Russian language of the seventeenth century this word did not have the meaning "eternity" but "perpetual" in the sense "for life," for example, in a document of 1641 the word *voveki* is explained by means of *do smerti zhivota svoego* ("to the end of his life"; I, 318). Therefore, each of Khmelnytsky's successors was supposed to renew the treaty.

Hetman P. Orlyk gives in 1712 the following definition of the Pereiaslav Treaty: "Mais l'argument et la preuve la plus forte et la plus invincible de la Souveraineté de l'Ukraine est le Traité d'Alliance solennel conclu entre le Czar Alexei Mikhailovitch et le Duc Chmielnicki et les Etats de Ukraine. Ce Traité fut arrêté en 1654 et signé par les Plénipotentiaires nommez de part et d'autre pour cet effet. Un Traité si solennel et si précis qui étoit appelé Traité Perpétuel..." Philippe Orlik, *Deduction des droits de l'Ukraine: D'après un manuscrit, conservé dans les archives du château de Dinteville avec une introduction et des notes* (Lviv: publié par I. Borshchak, 1925), p. 9.

<sup>35</sup>) See, for example, H. Fleischhacker, *Die Staats- und Völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der moskauischen Aussenpolitik (14-17. Jahrhundert)* (2nd ed.; Darmstadt, 1959), pp. 168-69.



tle of two Rus' for the third"<sup>36</sup>). The Ukrainian Cossack army, in response to the request of the local population of Byelorussia, introduced the Cossack system establishing a Byelorussian military-governmental region (*polk*). The Ukrainian army attempted to outmaneuver the Muscovite army in taking Byelorussian territory under its protection, and this even led to armed clashes between the two "allies."

All of the documentary evidence makes it perfectly clear that Khmelnytsky's relations with Muscovy were rationalized not by any sense of common national, linguistic, or other ties but only by the fact of a common religious faith. Nowhere in the Pereiaslav documents is there any reference to "reunion" or to dynastic claims of the Muscovite tsars to the Ukrainian lands. It should also be borne in mind that the various Eastern Slavic branches of the Orthodox Church of that time had developed their distinctive characteristics, even though all, including the non-Slavic Rumanian principalities of Moldavia and Walachia, used the Church Slavonic language. As a result, the dialectic manifested itself here as well: thus the Kiev Orthodox ecclesiastical leadership, which between 1620 and 1648 had been interested in obtaining support from the Muscovite Orthodox tsar for an Orthodox alliance, categorically refused—in the person of the Kiev metropolitan, Sylvester Kosov—to take an oath to the tsar apart from that of Khmelnytsky (III, 481-82). Nor did the Kiev clergy wish to leave the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople and accept that of the Moscow patriarchate<sup>37</sup>).

---

<sup>36</sup>) В. Липинський, *Україна на переломі*, I (Vienna, 1920), 35-39; Ffelschacker, pp. 176-90. See the decree (*universal*) of Khmelnytsky of February 2, 1656, appointing Ivan Nechai as governor (*polkovnyk*) of White Ruthenia in the collection of Khmelnytsky's documents published in 1961 by I. Kryplakevych and I. Butych (cited in note 37), pp. 470-71.

<sup>37</sup>) Metropolitan Sylvester Kosov, speaking through his representative, Innokentius Gizel, in July, 1654, based his refusal to submit the Ukrainian Church to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Muscovy on the following considerations: Kiev's ties with Byzantium were said to date from the times of the Apostle Andrew (the old Kievan legend of the Princely Period); only a decision of an Ecumenical Council could determine a change



The Ukrainians understood the Pereiaslav Treaty as obligating both signatories<sup>38)</sup> and as a military alliance in the form of a personal union and (quasi) protectorate. For the Muscovites the treaty was simply the first step toward the military occupation of the Ukrainian Cossak State. Conflict was inevitable. Within four years, in 1658, Ivan Vyhovsky, Khmelnytsky's successor (who had been chancellor at the time of the Pereiaslav Treaty), directed a manifesto in Latin to the rulers of Europe (*Regibus, Electoribus, Principis, Marchionibus, Rebus Publicis*) in which he explained what had prompted his decision to oppose Muscovy:

"We, All of the Zaporozhian Host, do declare and testify (*Nos Universus Exercitus Zaporovianus notum testatumque*

---

in the jurisdiction of a metropolitanate. Акты, относящиеся къ исторіи Южной и Западной Россіи, X (St. Petersburg, 1878), 751-54.

The frequently expressed view that the existence of a common religious faith between Muscovy and Ukraine was a determining factor in bringing about the Pereiaslav Treaty must not be accepted without question. Indeed, before 1685 Ukrainian religious ties were with the Constantinople patriarchate and not with the patriarch of Moscow. A revealing letter sent to the Sultan Mehmet IV by Khmelnytsky on December 7, 1651, gives evidence of this: "Since all Greece accepts the suzerainty of Your Majesty, my gracious Lord, all Rus' [Ukrainians] which are of the same faith as the Greeks and having their [religious] origins with them, wish each day to be under the rule of Your Majesty, my gracious Lord." Документи Богдана Хмельницького, edited by I. Крип'якевич and I. Бутич (Kiev, 1961), p. 233. Thus it is clear that in emphasizing religious ties Khmelnytsky was simply employing a stylistic element of his political lexicon.

<sup>38)</sup> Although the text of Buturlin's account to the tsar (in the form in which it is available) does not refer to any official promises made to Khmelnytsky on behalf of the tsar in place of the oath which the hetman wanted Buturlin to take, it is apparent that such promises were made. Gizel's petition addressed to the tsar in connection with the Pereiaslav Treaty, written but six months after the conclusion of the treaty, emphasizes in two separate passages official promises made to Khmelnytsky by Buturlin on behalf of the tsar. „О семь прежде въ Переяславѣ гетману вашего царского величества запорожскому бояринъ твой Василей Васильевичъ Бутурлинъ извѣщол и имянемъ вашего царского величества общалъ, яко не токмо войску Запорожскому, но и всѣмъ намъ духовнымъ права и волности ваше царское величество подтвердить изволить... По общанью Василья Васильевича Бутурлина, именемъ вашего царского величества..." (Акты ЮЗР, X, 751-54). It is impossible to question the accuracy of this source.



*facimus*) before God and the entire world... Our Host, having received promises and obligations from the Grand Prince of Muscovy and having expected—because of a common religion and having voluntarily accepted protection—that the Grand Prince would be just, sympathetic and generous towards us; that he would act honestly, that he would not persist in the destruction of our liberties but would actually enhance them in accordance with his promises. But our hopes were not to be fulfilled... In Kiev, our capital (*in civitate nostra principali Kioviensi*), this was not the case even during Polish rule—a fortress has been built and a Muscovite garrison stationed there in order to place us in bondage. We have seen examples of such bondage in Byelorussia where two hundred gentry families—though sympathetic to them [the Muscovites]—were forcibly deported to Muscovy; 12,000 free men from the Mohyliv and other parts of Byelorussia were deported to the forests of Muscovy and in their places were brought Muscovite colonists... Following the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky of eternal memory, Muscovy determined to ruin the entire Little and White Rus'. Upon the election of Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky Muscovy introduced dissension among us, planting rumors that the Hetman is a Pole and favors Poland more than the Zaporozhian Host... The [Muscovite] commander Romodanovsky, under the pretext of maintaining order, intervened in our internal affairs: he had the audacity to distribute the Hetman's titles and insignia, replacing [Ukrainian] military governors, instigating subjects against the Hetman and destroying cities which supported their own Hetman... In this way there has been revealed the cunning and deception of those who—first with the aid of our civil war (*nostro interno et civili bello*) and later openly turning their weapons against us (without any provocation on our part)—are preparing for us the yoke of bondage. Declaring our innocence and invoking Divine succor, we are compelled in order to preserve our liberties to have recourse to a just defense and seek the aid of our neighbors so as to throw off this yoke.



Thus it is not we who are responsible for the war with Muscovy which is everywhere becoming inflamed" <sup>39</sup>).

The first actual meeting of Russians and Ukrainians in 1654 was a meeting of two different worlds, which, in spite of the superficial aspects of a common Orthodox faith, led not to "union" (let alone "reunion") but to chronic misunderstanding and mutual conflict <sup>40</sup>).

### *RUS', MALOROSSIIA ("LITTLE RUSSIA"), UKRAINA*

The term *Rus'* (from a grammatical point of view a Slavic collective noun derived from *rus*; the singular form being *rus-in*) is derived from the name of the Norman Varangians, who in the middle of the ninth century became soldiers of fortune and, later, rulers of all Eastern Europe. Kiev became the center of their rule, and the Kiev territory came to represent the land of *Rus'* par excellence. The princes of *Rus'* in the broadest sense included all lines of the *Rus'* dynasty (the Riurikovichs), their retinues (*druzhina*) and territories. After the acceptance of Christianity, the metropoli-

---

<sup>39</sup>) Архивъ Юго-Западной Россіи, Part II, Vol. VI (Kiev, 1908), 362-69. See also the statement made by Hetman I. Mazepa (1708) in which he announced his decision to annul the treaty with Peter I (as is known, in the Muscovite-Russian interpretation this act of annulment was regarded as "treason"—*izmena*): "I had decided to write a letter of thanks to his tsarist highness (Peter I) for the *protection* [*protektsiu*], and to list in it all the insults to us, past and present, the loss of rights and liberties, the ultimate ruin and destruction being prepared for the whole nation, and, finally, to state that we had bowed under the high hand of his tsarist highness as a *free people for the sake of the one Eastern Orthodox Faith*. Now, *being a free people, we are freely departing*, and we thank his tsarist highness for this protection. We do not want to extend our hand and spill Christian blood, but we will await our complete liberation under the *protection* of the Swedish King." „Письмо Орлика къ Ст. Яворскому" in Основа, Листопадъ, 1862, p. 15.

<sup>40</sup>) A similar conclusion has been drawn by Kliuchevsky: "Not comprehending each other and not trusting each other, both sides in their mutual relationship did not say what they thought and did what they did not wish to do . . . . Therefore, the Little Russian [Ukrainian] question, so falsely posed by both [Russian and Ukrainian] sides, encumbered and corrupted Moscow's foreign policy for several decades . . . ." В. О. Ключевский, Сочинения, III: Курс русской истории, Part III (Moscow, 1957), 118-19.



tanate which united all of Eastern Europe in a single ecclesiastical jurisdiction was termed "of all Rus'" (πάσης Ῥωσίας). Since the metropolitan was usually a Byzantine Greek, an agent and guardian of the idea of the universal rule of the Byzantine emperor and his interests, the political concept of a single *complete Rus'* state did not emerge in the Kiev period<sup>41</sup>). The sole unity which Rus' possessed at that time was limited to the metropolitanate "of Kiev and of all Rus'".

The process of creating a political concept of the state related to the name Rus' began only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when on the peripheries of the Rus' territories there emerged two states: the *Regnum (Ducatus) Russiae* (the Galician-Volhynian State) and the Great Muscovite Principality. The rulers of the latter, beginning with Ivan Kalita (1325-41), titled themselves Princes "of all Rus'" (since Ivan the Terrible: *всея Русii* "of all Russia") imitating the metropolitan's title. Before the reign of Peter I both in the East and in the West the term "Rus'" (Russi, Rutheni; Russia, Ruthenia, ar-Rūs, etc.) was customarily applied to the present Ukrainian territory and its inhabitants; for what is today known as the center of Russia proper the term "Muscovy" was employed.

The term *Malorossia* ("Little Russia") was of Greek origin (ἡ μικρὰ Ῥωσία); in Latin, *Russia Mynor*). The term was employed by the Byzantine patriarch to identify the second Rus' metropolitanate established in 1303 at the insistence of the Galician-Volhynian rulers in response to the decision of the then metropolitan of Kiev "and of all Rus'," the Greek Maxim, to take up residence in Vladimir-on-the-Klazma in 1299. In adopting the title of metropolitan, the rulers of the Galician-Volhynian State called themselves the rulers of "all Minor Rus'" as, for example, Boleslav-Iurii II:

---

<sup>41</sup>) М. Дьяконов, *Очерки общественного и государственного строя древней Руси* (4th ed.; St. Petersburg, 1912), p. 388. Ф. И. Леонтовичъ, „Национальный вопросъ въ древней Россiи," *Варшавскія университетскія извѣстія* (1894), IX, 1-16, (1895) I, 17-65. С. В. Вахрушин, „Держава Рюриковичей," *Вестник древней истории* (1938), No. 2 (3), pp. 88-98.



"Dei gracia natus dux tocius Russie Mynoris"<sup>42</sup>); in the same way the princes of Muscovy claimed to be rulers "of all Rus'."

It is important to note that this assumption of the title of the metropolitanate testifies to the fact that sovereignty in Eastern Europe until the fifteenth century (Ivan III) was closely related to the metropolitanate<sup>43</sup>).

The Byzantine concept which lay behind the use of the terms Major Rus' and Minor Rus' is a matter of conjecture. It is known that amongst the Greeks the *metropolis* or mother polis was denoted with the adjective μικρός ("minor") in contradistinction to the colonies which were termed μέγας ("major," "great"), as, for example, "Magna Graecia" in reference to the Greek colonies in Southern Italy. An analogous situation exists with reference to the term "Asia Minor." This interpretation is also supported by the fact that the Lithuanian Prince Olgerd in 1354 referred to Kiev as "Mala Rus'"<sup>44</sup>).

Under the influence of humanism the Greek term Ῥωσία (adopted by Muscovy as a result of its interpretation of the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654) came to be used among Kiev clergy in the fifteenth century and became prevalent in the Mohyla College in Kiev during the seventeenth century<sup>45</sup>). The ancient name *Roxolania* also was used at that time with

---

<sup>42</sup>) See photo plate IX in the symposium *Волеслав-Юрій II: Князь Русей Малої Руси* (St. Petersburg, 1907).

<sup>43</sup>) The Fathers of the Synod of the Church of Constantinople in 1389 declared: "Since it was impossible to concentrate secular authority in Rus' in one person, the Holy Fathers of the Synod established a single spiritual authority." *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, ed. F. Miklosich and I. Müller (Vienna, 1860), I, 520. A monastic rule of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century prescribes that prayers shall be offered on behalf of „князей наших, а не царя, засе нѣсть царствія здѣ, въ нашей Руси." В. Иконниковъ, *Опытъ русской исторіографіи*, II, Part II (Kiev, 1908), 1085.

<sup>44</sup>) Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, V (Lviv, 1905), p. 389.

<sup>45</sup>) П. Житецький, *Нарис літературної історії української мови в XVII віці* (Lviv, 1941), p. 5.



reference to the Ukrainian territories<sup>46</sup>). There then developed the concept of three Rossiia's: the Major Rossiia, the Minor Rossiia, and the White Rossiia (as in the *Synopsis*). Under the influence of these ideas of the Mohyla College the Muscovite tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, after the conclusion of the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654, changed his official title from tsar "of all Rusiia" (*vseia Rusii*) to "of all Great and Little and White Rosiia" (*vseia Velikiiia i Malyia i Belyia Rosii*)<sup>47</sup>). This change, effected in 1655, elicited considerable opposition in European diplomatic circles at the time<sup>48</sup>).

The hetmans of the Ukrainian Cossack State prior to 1709 did at times designate the people of their territory—which they commonly called *Ukraina*—as *malorossiiskii*, as Mazepa did in 1707<sup>49</sup>). In 1713 Peter I by means of a decree established the practice of referring to the old Muscovite State as *Rossiia* and using the term *Malorossiia* instead of

---

<sup>46</sup>) Chancellor Vyhovskiy insisted during negotiations with Sweden in 1657 that the basis of the treaty should be "das Jus totius Ukrainae antiquae vel Roxolaniae, da der Griechlesche Glaube gewesen und die Sprache noch ist, biss an die Weixel..." Липинський, Україна на переломі, p. 282, n. 185.

<sup>47</sup>) In the middle of the seventeenth century in the Ukraine the term *Rostia* was employed, while in Muscovy the term *Rusia* was used. The Kiev Metropolitan Sylvester Kosov bore the title "Mytropolyt Kylevskyl, Halytskyi i vseia Rostii" (III, 215) or "vseia Malyia Rosii" (III, 157). The title of the tsar of Muscovy was "vseia Rusii" (III, 7, 60, 372). Also in the documents relating to the Pereiaslav Treaty the tsar called himself "vseia Velikila i Malyia Rus(s)ii Samoderzhets"; Полное собрание законов Российской Империи (1830), I, doc. no. 119, p. 325. After May 8, 1654, the tsar completed the title as follows "vseia Velikila i Malyia i Belyia Rosiil Samoderzhets"; *ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>48</sup>) See Грушевський, (Kiev, 1931), IX, Part II, p. 1396; cf. p. 1113. As a result of the unhappy experience after the Pereiaslav Treaty, the hetmans endeavored to guard against the usurpation of the Ukrainian name in a foreign monarch's title. In the treaty between Mazepa and Charles XII there was a special provision dealing with this matter: "5. L'on n'innovera rien à ce qui a été observé jusques à présent au sujet des Armes et du Titre de Prince de l'Ukraine. S.M.R. ne pourra jamais s'arroger ce Titre ni les Armes." Philippe Orlik, *Deduction des droits de l'Ukraine* (see note 34), p. 11.

<sup>49</sup>) See „Письмо Орлика Стефану Яворскому,” *Основа*, Листопадъ, 1862, pp. 13-14.



*Ukraina*<sup>50</sup>). Prior to this the term *Ros(s)iiia* had been used only in the tsar's title and not with reference to the Muscovite state. The association of the term *Malorossiiia* with the incomplete nature of Zaporozhian Cossack statehood, as a result of the repressive measures employed by Peter I and his successors, caused the term to become unpopular among Ukrainians. *Malorossiiia* when employed by the Russians, especially in the nineteenth century, was felt by the Ukrainians to be derogatory.

The term *Ukraina* in the Kiev (twelfth century) and Galician-Volhynian (thirteenth century) Chronicles is used in a general sense to refer to "country" or "borderlands" (1187, 1189, 1213, 1268, 1280, 1282). In the sixteenth century *Ukraina* was used as a more specialized geographic term to refer to the Middle Dnieper region; accounts of the period refer to the inhabitants of the territory as "Ukrainians." The prominent polemicist Meletius Smotrytsky (1587-1633) in enumerating in his *Verificacia* the various Rus' (Ukrainian and White Ruthenian) "tribes" in the Polish State mentions the Volhynians, Podolians, Ukrainians, and others.

Since the Middle Dnieper region became at that time the center of Ukrainian Cossackdom (the town Cossacks as distinct from the Zaporozhians) they came to be called "Ukrainian" in a manner comparable to the Russian practice of calling both the urban and Zaporozhian Cossacks *Cherkasy* after the city of the same name. The term *Ukraina* became intimately associated with the Ukrainian Cossacks. They began calling Ukraine their "mother" and "fatherland," and some of the hetmans and colonels of the Zaporozhian Host even used the term in their titles<sup>51</sup>).

As the Cossack movement broadened, the term *Ukraina* was extended to all lands embraced by the movement. *Ukrain-*

<sup>50</sup>) В. Сичинський, *Назва України* (Augsburg, 1948), p. 22. It was only after the uprising led by Mazepa that Peter I changed the title of "vseia Velikiia, Malyia i Belyia Rossii Samoderzhavets" (quoted for the last time in a document on Nov. 1, 1708, in *Полное собрание законов Российской Империи* (1830), IV, 424, to the new form of "samoderzhavets Vserossiiskii," which was used for the first time in the *Gramota malorossiskomu narodu* of Nov. 9, 1708. *Ibid.*, IV, 426.

<sup>51</sup>) See Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси* (2nd ed.; Kiev and Lviv, 1922), VIII, Part I, p. 263.



*na quae est terra Cosaccorum* or *l'Ukraine* ou *Pays de Cosaques* of the Western authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is not only the name of the territory but designates the relation of the land to the people inhabiting it <sup>52</sup>). This meaning of the term "Ukraine" penetrated the masses.

The population of the Ukrainian lands did not experience any general emotional uplift either in the Kiev Rus' or in the Galician-Volhynian Rus'. The wars with the Polovtsy never had an "all-national" character. In addition, the Polovtsy, like the Poles and Magyars and other peoples, were an inseparable part of the princely Rus'; war was waged against them one day, and the following day they became allies in a military campaign of one Rus' prince against another.

The Khmelnytsky era elicited an emotional upheaval of a kind never before experienced by the Ukrainian masses; this elemental force, misled by demagogues in foreign service after Khmelnytsky's death, was more destructive than creative (especially during the *Ruina*, 1663-74), but it aroused an individual and collective feeling which was to leave an indelible mark. The Ukrainian masses idealized Khmelnytsky's struggle against the "Polish lords" and yearned for this "Ukraine"—a utopian state of ideal Cossack freedom. Hence it is not surprising that after the term *Malorossiiia* became discredited (because it had become a symbol of the colonial policies of the Russian state after 1709), the son of the people, Taras Shevchenko, associated his great talent not with the name *Malorossiiia* but with *Ukraina* and thus resolved the question of what his people should be called.

## STAGES AND THE DIALECTIC

The process by which the Ukrainian national movement acquired a political character can be understood more readily in terms of certain aspects of the dialectic. Its emergence

---

<sup>52</sup>) See the numerous maps by de Beauplan, Homann, and others. For a recent account in English which surveys this cartographic documentation see Bohdan Krawciw, "Ukraine in Western Cartography and Science in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, XVIII (Spring, 1962), 24-39.



occurred in spite of its having been consigned (prematurely) to the historical archives and written off as a "lost cause." What began as an apolitical and cultural movement was transformed into a political phenomenon, although few of its earlier nineteenth-century proponents had this as their professed goal. The movement developed in a series of stages, each of which often gave the appearance of being self-contained and inconsequential but actually contained the seeds of further development and provided the basis for the following stage. A series of official policies designed to keep the Ukrainian masses helpless, voiceless, and submerged gave the appearance of being very effective in the nineteenth century but in the end bred the very forces which these harsh measures were designed to eliminate entirely or render impotent.

If, as Rudnytsky suggests, the Ukrainian peasant masses were barely touched politically by the national movement prior to 1905, it is hardly surprising in view of their inertia and benighted condition as serfs prior to 1861—thanks to Catherine II. In the period between the emancipation of the serfs and the 1905 Revolution, any political activity under the conditions of an autocratic monarchy could only be conspiratorial. The peasantry, in spite of its willingness to rebel sporadically, was hardly qualified for sustained political activity. Indeed, it is surprising that some of them were able to participate in the First and Second Dumas and defend Ukrainian rights in spite of Russian efforts to destroy Ukrainian national identity in the name of an artificial "All-Russian" nation<sup>53</sup>). This vain effort embraced a wide range of policies and techniques.

The attempts to outlaw the use of the Ukrainian language in print began as early as 1720, when Peter I forbade publication of all books except those dealing with religious matters, and these had to be verified with the Russian texts<sup>54</sup>). The need for more effective measures led to In-

---

<sup>53</sup>) J. S. Reshetar, Jr., *The Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920* (Princeton, N.J., 1952), pp. 34-36, 40.

<sup>54</sup>) П. Пекарский, *Наука и литература при Петре Великомъ* (St. Petersburg, 1862), II.



terior Minister Peter Valuev's secret circular of July 20, 1863, prohibiting publication of Ukrainian scholarly and popular books except for belles-letters. The Ems Decree of Alexander II (May 18, 1876) forbade the importation of Ukrainian publications from the Western Ukraine, which was under Austrian rule, and permitted only historical works and belles-lettres to be published by Ukrainians living under Russian rule (on the condition that Russian orthography be used) and forbade theatrical productions and publication of Ukrainian folk songs and lyrics. Other techniques for denationalizing Ukrainians included the development and propagation of a distorted "All-Russian" historiography centered on Muscovy and claiming the Kiev principality as the cradle of the Russian state. The official use of the term "Little Russian" served to create an invidious effect. The absence of public Ukrainian-language schools retarded the emergence of a national intelligentsia, although it could not deprive the Ukrainian masses of their native tongue in daily life.

A most damaging technique, though one which failed in the end, was that of corrupting the Ukrainian upper classes with titles, rewards, estates, and serfs in return for their joining the ranks of the "All-Russian" nation. This process resulted in formidable losses for the Ukrainians and gains for the Russians. Thus the composers Maksym Berezovsky and Dmytro Bortniansky were appropriated by Russian music; Bortniansky was taken from Ukraine in 1759 at the age of eight to sing in the choir of the royal court. Feofan Prokopovych and Stefan Yavorsky, alumni of the Kiev Mohyla-Mazepa Academy, were induced by Peter I to come to Russia and aid in implementing his reforms; these two Ukrainians, whose names symbolize this phenomenon, made their not inconsiderable talents available to the monarch and in return received high ecclesiastical office<sup>55</sup>). This willingness to serve resulted, in part, from the fact that Muscovy in 1685 had succeeded in obtaining the approval of the patriarch of Constantinople for its annexation of the Kiev metropolita-

---

<sup>55</sup>) See К. Харламповичъ, *Малороссійское вліаніе на великорусскую церковную жизнь* (Kazan, 1914).



nate, which had been within the Constantinople jurisdiction before that time.

The Petrine practice of recruiting talented foreign personnel wherever it could be found was a vital aspect of the creation of an "imperial culture" embracing various nationalities. For those recruited to serve this empire it was easy to identify with a larger integrating unit—one which enjoyed success and which, to its instruments, represented a new and "higher" development. If certain of the Ukrainian higher clergy played a role here, it was because they had been educated abroad and were indispensable to Peter I in his efforts to Europeanize Muscovy at a time when the less educated Russian clergy were resisting reform. The Ukrainian higher clergy were also attracted to this service early in the eighteenth century by the prospect of enjoying the support of a very firm political authority—something which was lacking in Ukraine at times.

Rudnytsky's tripartite periodization of the development of the Ukrainian national movement (in terms of the ages represented by the nobility, populism, and modernism) is useful, but it does not reveal fully the range of contradictory forces which shaped the movement. To appreciate the distinctiveness of each and to understand their mutual relationship it is necessary to distinguish between at least five stages.

The *first stage* might be called the Novhorod-Siversk stage, after the region in the northern part of the Left Bank in which the *Istoriia Rusov* was apparently written. The author of this unique work cannot be identified with absolute certainty, but it is clear that he was a member of the Ukrainian gentry, a man of considerable erudition who wrote with wit and sarcasm<sup>56</sup>). The *Istoriia Rusov*, a historico-political tract disguised as a chronicle, was written in the late eight-

---

<sup>56</sup>) For data regarding the controversy over the authorship of *Istoriia Rusov* see Andriy Yakovliv, "*Istoriia Rusov and its Author*", and Olexander Ohloblyn, "Where Was *Istoriia Rusov* Written?" in *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, III, No. 2 (1953), 620-95. Also see Elie Borshchak, *La légende historique de l'Ukraine: Istoriia Rusov* (Paris, 1949). For a general work on the Novhorod-Siversk stage see Олександр Оглоблин, *Люди старої України* (Munich, 1959).



eenth or very early nineteenth century in a language close to the literary Russian of the time but abounding in purely Ukrainian expressions and proverbs <sup>57</sup>). The work first circulated in manuscript form among the Left Bank gentry and was not published until 1846. It traces Ukrainian history back to the princely period and stresses the earlier ties with Lithuania and Poland but deals primarily with the Ukrainian Cossack state and with Khmelnytsky and Mazepa. The author is very critical of the Muscovites and their mistreatment of the Ukrainians. He has Mazepa, in a speech, declare that Muscovy appropriated from the Ukrainians their ancient name of Rus' <sup>58</sup>). In a speech attributed to Hetman Pavlo Polubotok, Peter I is referred to as a hangman and "Asiatic tyrant" <sup>59</sup>). *Istoriia Rusov*, in lamenting the fate of the Ukrainians, implied the right of each people to self-development free from foreign domination, but it also conveyed a certain feeling of resignation. *Istoriia Rusov* was far removed from the arid *Synopsis* of 1674 (earlier attributed to Innocentius Gizel). Thanks to its colorful style and its emphasis on the Cossack State, *Istoriia Rusov* was to have an influence far beyond the narrow circle within which it first circulated.

The *second or Kharkiv stage*, originally centered on the Left Bank in the Poltava region, is characterized by the development of modern Ukrainian literature. Representatives of the gentry or persons associated with them decided to write in Ukrainian rather than in Russian. These included Peter Hulak-Artemovsky, Hryhor Kvitka-Osnovianenko, and, above all, Ivan Kotliarevsky. Thus Kotliarevsky, like the other Ukrainian authors of the late eighteenth century wrote as the representative of an "incomplete" literature wishing to compliment the new complete Imperial Russian literature. His travesty on the *Aeneid* became an epopee of Ukrainian Cossackdom and breached the confines of the "incomplete" literature; this made him, in retrospect, the father of an independent modern Ukrainian literature. While these belletrists were apolitical and did not challenge Russian

---

<sup>57</sup>) Чижевський, *Історія української літератури*, pp. 304-5.

<sup>58</sup>) *Історія Русів*, ed. O. Ohloblyn and trans. V. Davydenko (New York, 1956), p. 275.

<sup>59</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.



rule, the fact that they wrote in Ukrainian—whatever their motives—was of great consequence. In the end it overcame the pessimism expressed by Alexander Pavlovsky, the compiler of the first Ukrainian grammar in 1818, who regarded Ukrainian as a “disappearing idiom” <sup>60</sup>).

The 1840's witnessed the emergence of the *third or Kiev (Right Bank) stage*, which saw the Ukrainian movement begin to assume a political form and acquire its most eloquent literary spokesman. The impetus provided by the originally apolitical Left Bank gentry and by *Istoriia Rusov* led to the formation, early in 1846, of the secret Saints Cyril and Methodius Society (*Bratstvo*) <sup>61</sup>). Rudnytsky's discussion of this first consequential Ukrainian political group, which had no more than a hundred members, correctly stresses its political nature. Several distinctive but neglected aspects of its program merit attention. The Society was Christian in its outlook as reflected in its program, Kostomarov's *Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People*. In addition to the basic freedoms and republican government, it advocated the absolute equality and fraternal union of all Slavic peoples, but it also glorified the Ukrainian past, especially the Cossack State, and was critical of Muscovy and its tsars <sup>62</sup>). The emphasis on

---

<sup>60</sup>) М. Грушевський, Очеркъ исторіи украинскаго народа (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 411.

<sup>61</sup>) An early secret political group among the Left Bank gentry in the Poltava region at the time of the Decembrist movement was the Lukashevych Circle, whose members were said to have advocated an independent Ukraine. See Юліян Охримович, Розвиток української національно-політичної думки: Від початку XIX століття до Михайла Драгоманова (2nd ed.; Lviv, 1922), pp. 7-8, and Д. Дорошенко, Нарис історії України (Warsaw, 1933), II, 289.

<sup>62</sup>) Thus in verse 84, in discussing Khmelnytsky's Pereiaslav Treaty with Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich: “Ukraine soon perceived that she had fallen into captivity because in her simplicity she did not realize what the Muscovite tsar signifies, and the Muscovite tsar meant the same as an idol and persecutor.” Regarding Peter I and Catherine II the *Books of Genesis* had this to say: “the last tsar of Muscovy and the first [St.] Petersburg emperor [Peter I] destroyed hundreds of thousands [of Ukrainian Cossacks] in ditches and built for himself a capital on their bones.” “And the German tsarina Catherine [II], a universal debauchee, atheist, husband slayer, ended the [Zaporozhian] Cossack Host and freedom because having selected those who were the *starshyny* [elected



Slavic unity based on genuine national equality should not obscure the Society's insistence (in verse 104—or 1089 in the later enumeration) that "Ukraine will be an independent Republic (*Rich Pospolyta*).” Quite clearly, the failure to achieve complete national equality would imply a solution outside a Slavic union. The arrangement advocated was not federalist in fact (though called that), because it did not provide for a Slavic central government but was more in the nature of a loose confederation. However, Kostomarov's *Books of Genesis* depicted the Ukrainians as willing to forgive Muscovy and Poland their depredations. Indeed, the Cyril and Methodians preached a benign kind of Ukrainian messianism with which the *Books of Genesis* concluded: "Then all peoples, pointing to the place on the map where Ukraine will be delineated, will say: Behold the stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone" <sup>63</sup>). Thus the Ukrainians were to play a leading role in the projected Slavic union, since they were the least corrupted and most democratic Slavic people as a result of not having their own gentry (apart from those who were Russified or Polonized) and of having suffered national oppression and foreign rule.

The suppression of the Cyril and Methodius Society in March, 1847, and the arrest of its members constituted an important turning point. Some, like Kostomarov, were frightened into conformity. The impact which this experience had on Taras Shevchenko was profound, and, as Rudnytsky points out, the poet's role as national prophet had consequences which were to be felt long after his death in 1861. In the mid-nineteenth century the Ukrainian movement was at a crucial juncture. Shevchenko's decision to write in the Ukrainian language and to combat tsarist Russian rule rather

---

elders] in Ukraine, she allotted them nobility and lands and she gave them the free brethren in yoke, she made some masters and others slaves." Микола Костомаров, *Книги биття українського народу* (Augsburg, 1947), pp. 20-21, 22. For an English translation see *Kostomarov's "Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People"*, with a commentary by B. Yanivs'kyi [Volodymyr Mijakovs'kyj] (New York: Research Program on the U.S.S.R. Mimeographed Series, No. 60, 1954).

<sup>63</sup>) Костомаров, *op. cit.*, p. 24.



than accommodate himself to it meant that Ukrainian was to develop fully as a literary language and that the banner of national liberation was to have a worthy bearer.

Cultural Russification had by now become a very real threat. This had not been the case in the eighteenth century, because culturally the Russians had little to offer the Ukrainians at that time. The works of Kotliarevsky and Lomonosov could compete as exponents, respectively, of the Ukrainian and Russian languages, and Lomonosov even studied in Kiev. However, with the appearance of Pushkin and the full and rapid development of the Russian literary language the balance shifted in the nineteenth century to the detriment of Ukrainian. This is well illustrated in the case of Nikolai Gogol, who wrote in Russian as the leading representative of the "Ukrainian School" of Russian literature; however, his father, Vasyl Hohol'-Yanovsky (1780-1825), wrote in Ukrainian. Shevchenko's decision to devote his great talent to the preservation and enrichment of the Ukrainian language made possible the course of events which followed.

If there may be some uncertainty regarding where a dialect ends and an independent language commences, it is an indisputable fact that an independent literary language is not so much a linguistic as a cultural phenomenon. A prerequisite for an independent literary language is the creativity of a poet of genius who shapes the raw linguistic material into an instrument capable of conveying the most sensitive feelings and abstract ideas. This poet of genius who assured the existence of an independent Ukrainian literary language was—in the spirit of dialectical development—not a member of the gentry with a university education but the self-taught, redeemed serf, Taras Shevchenko. However, Shevchenko's role was not confined to literature. Relying upon the heritage of the three preceding stages (as exemplified in *Istoriia Rusov*, Kotliarevsky, and the Cyril and Methodius Society) and also upon the popular tradition and interpretation of the Ukrainian Cossack revolution, Shevchenko created in fully developed poetic form not only the vision of an independent Ukraine (separate from Catholic Poland and Ortho-



dox Russia) but also the idea of an armed struggle for its attainment <sup>64</sup>).

If prophets are not theologians, poets of genius are not political ideologists. Shevchenko's visions, which transcended the limited horizons of his contemporaries, could influence Ukrainian political thought only with the passage of time and the advent of appropriate conditions. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the Ukrainian movement limited to an apparently apolitical cultural Ukrainophilism. The *Hromada* (community) movement grew, emphasizing education in the Ukrainian language and love of the Ukrainian past and of the peasantry. The first such *Hromada*, formed among Ukrainians in St. Petersburg, published the journal *Osnova* in 1861-62 with the financial support of the Ukrainian gentry. The *Hromada* movement quickly spread to the Ukrainian cities and led to the *fourth or Geneva stage*, in which the Ukrainian movement acquired a clearly political character. This occurred as a result of the removal by Alexander II of Mykhailo Drahomanov from his professorship at the University of Kiev. Drahomanov went to Switzerland in 1876 and with the financial support of the Kiev Community began to publish *Hromada*, the first Ukrainian political journal, as well as brochures designed to develop Ukrainian political thought and to inform Europeans of Ukrainian problems and of the plight of his countrymen under Russian rule <sup>65</sup>). He was the first to appreciate the true content and the political essence of Shevchenko's works and took the first steps to realize in political practice Shevchenko's poetic visions. Drahomanov's contribution was to insist that the Ukrainian movement could not remain apolitical and purely cultural, that all political movements in Ukraine had to have a Ukrainian national character, and

---

<sup>64</sup>) Shevchenko's attitude towards Russian rule and the misbehavior of Russians in Ukraine is especially evident in the poems „Кавказ,” „Великий лях,” „Катерина,” „Иржавець,” „Суботів,” „Розрита могила,” and „Сон” (1844). It is also significant that Shevchenko consistently referred to the Russians as „*Moskali*.”

<sup>65</sup>) On the Ukrainian publishing house in Geneva see Євген Вачинський, „Українська друкарня в Женеві,” *Науковий збірник*, II (New York, 1953), 58-104.



that the Ukrainian nation had a right to complete equality <sup>66</sup>).

Drahomanov's work bore fruit in the form of the *fifth or Galician stage*, in which, as a result of his influence, the first Ukrainian political party was formed in 1890. The Galician Radical Party took an important step forward and laid the groundwork for the demand for independent statehood, although Drahomanov personally favored a genuine East European federalism based on national equality. In 1895 this demand was expressed by Yulian Bachynsky in his *Ukraina irredenta*, whose Marxist conclusions and naivete Rudnytsky criticizes without recognizing the significance of his having advocated Ukrainian political independence as a goal <sup>67</sup>). The circle is closed with the advent of Ukrainian political groupings within the Russian Empire, beginning in 1900 with the founding of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP) by a group of students in Kharkiv. Significantly, the founder of this political party, Dmytro Antonovych, was the son of the typical apolitical Ukrainophile, Volodymyr Antonovych (see note 14). Although RUP was to split over the issue of whether it should be socialist, its beginnings reflect the close contacts which had developed between the two parts of the Ukraine under Russian and Austrian rule. These had begun several decades earlier, as, for example, when Elisabeth Miloradovych of the East Ukrainian gentry financed the purchase of a printing press for the scholarly publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which had been founded in Lviv in 1873. As a result of Hrushevsky's endeavors, the Shevchenko Society soon acquired the status of a national academy of sciences <sup>68</sup>). The development of Ukrainhood now reached a new stage at which Shevchenko's poetic vision began to approach realization.

---

<sup>66</sup>) See Mykhailo Drahomanov: *A Symposium and Selected Writings*, Vol. II, No. I (1952), of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* Also see Охримович, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 and 111.

<sup>67</sup>) Юліан Бачинський, *Ukraina Irredenta*, (Lviv, 1895), pp. 74, 131-32. Also see Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Drahomanov, Franko and Relations between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, VII (1959), 1542-66.

<sup>68</sup>) See the discussion in Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography," in *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, V-VI (1957), 261-75.



The fact that the Ukrainian movement developed in spite—and in part because—of the existence of the Austro-Russian political frontier which divided the Ukrainian territories reflects an important aspect of this broad topic which Rudnytsky has avoided. Thus he has chosen to define the Ukraine's role in modern history in terms of the origins of its struggle for self-determination and the background of its efforts to extricate itself from the toils of Russia's empire. However, he has eschewed consideration of the implications which any significant change in the status of the Ukrainians has for an understanding of the international relations of East Central Europe <sup>69</sup>).

Rudnytsky has also exercised the historian's prerogative of confining his treatment to the events preceding 1917. This has enabled him to offer some important guideposts to an understanding of the origins and nature of Ukrainian claims, but has obscured somewhat the interplay of conflicting forces which has been at the heart of Ukrainian development. It is in the understanding of this contradictory process that the dialectic can be of use.

In addition to being characterized by struggle and the conflict of opposites, the Ukrainian movement has time and again led to the emergence of forces quite the opposite of those intended either by the movement's supporters or detractors. Thus the literati who wrote in Ukrainian early in the nineteenth century were loyal subjects of the tsar but unknowingly made possible the later political manifestations of nationalism. It was among the largely Russified Left Bank gentry that the movement had its modern origins; yet a class which gave every appearance of having been bought off by the Russian regime actually served an opposite purpose. Another example is provided by the Orthodox theological seminaries, which, though designed to serve as instruments of Russification, produced some of the leading exponents of Ukrainian nationalism as well as the clergy who affirmed the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 1921. The Union of Brest (1596), unlike preceding efforts to this

---

<sup>69</sup>) See, for example, Leon Wasilewski, *Kwestia Ukraińska jako zagadnienie międzynarodowe* (Warsaw, 1934).



end, was brought about by Polish pressure on the Ukrainians, but the Ukrainian Catholic Church which resulted from it became an important means for preserving the nation and resisting Polish (and Russian) encroachments.

Nor has the post-1917 period been exempt from this dialectical process. The anti-Communist Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), led by Symon Petliura, was supposedly defeated, though it won a victory in compelling the Russians to abandon the practice of calling Ukrainians by the pejorative term "Little Russians" and to concede, at least in theory, that the Ukrainian SSR was "sovereign." The Ukrainian SSR, the UNR's most bitter antagonist, soon found itself compelled to defend Ukrainian rights. Khristian Rakovsky, who helped destroy Ukrainian sovereignty in 1919-20, became its advocate in 1922-23. Mykola Skrypnyk, Mykola Khvylovy, and other enemies of the UNR found it impossible to be loyal executors of policies made in Moscow.

There are numerous paradoxes and contradictions, not the least of which is that in spite of frequent Russian collective expressions of antipathy to manifestations of Ukrainian self-reliance, there have been individual Russians who have devoted themselves to the Ukrainian cause. Thus the historian Mme. Efimenko was of Russian descent but identified herself with Ukrainians. Kostomarov was partly of Russian descent. The Russian philologists Shakhmatov and Korsh, along with others, were instrumental in obtaining recognition for Ukrainian as a Slavic language distinct from Russian. Herzen and Bakunin expressed sympathy for the Ukrainians. Brullev was responsible for obtaining Shevchenko's redemption from serfdom, and the governor-general Nikolai Repnin encouraged the poet in his career and treated him as an equal.

A dialectical approach also recognizes the need to avoid being misled by appearances. Thus an ethnography and a "Southwestern Geographical Society," which on the surface appeared to be harmless and apolitical, led to a greater appreciation of Ukrainian distinctiveness. Galicia remained under Polish rule for centuries but became at one time the indispensable center of Ukrainian nationalism. The Russian monarchy appeared to have reduced the Ukraine to the status



of a province, but subsequent events were to confirm the prognosis offered in Kostomarov's *Books of Genesis*: "And Ukraine was destroyed [by Catherine II]. But it only appears to be so"<sup>70</sup>). If the larger Ukrainian cities have contained substantial numbers of Russians in spite of Stalin's promise of March 10, 1921, that they would "inevitably be Ukrainianized"<sup>71</sup>), one cannot judge Ukrainian developments exclusively in terms of superficial aspects of urban life.

The struggle for and against Ukrainian national identity, in addition to being fierce, is taking place on many levels and is assuming varied forms, although it is often not recorded directly. Yet it is no less meaningful for that fact. It would be naive to underestimate the modern counterpart of the "splendid Juggernaut" and its willingness to employ any and all means to stunt Ukrainian cultural development and render the nation "incomplete." Yet 37,000,000 Ukrainians chose to declare their nationality in the 1959 Soviet census, and who can say with certainty that the Ukrainian cause may not receive new form and meaning from quarters from which such aid would appear least likely to come? May not Ukrainian membership in the United Nations and in other international bodies also, in the long run, have objective results different from those intended by Stalin in 1945? The role of Ukraine is fraught with imponderables and even risks—as it has been in the past—but it is also the embodiment of promise. Such a nation as Ukraine has had to be both refractory and resilient in order to survive, and in surviving it makes possible the ultimate fulfillment of its hopes.

---

<sup>70</sup>) Костомаров, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>71</sup>) И. В. Сталин, *Сочинения* (Moscow, 1952), V, 49.



Clarence A. Manning \*)

## THE KREMLIN'S NEW THESES ON UKRAINE

On January 12, 1954, in preparation for the Soviet celebration of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party published in *Pravda* the so-called "Theses on the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Unification of Ukraine and Russia." These were intended to set the key for the celebration and they are a highly official and authoritative statement on Russian-Ukrainian relations in the past and present. They are to be followed by all scholars and journalists in the USSR and any deviation from them is a punishable offence.

Of course these "Theses" are not to be regarded as embodying the results of scientific or historical study. They are purely a political document compiled to suit the needs of the Soviet Union in 1954 and they present a bald combination of arbitrary assumptions, unsupported assertions, deliberate misstatements and halftruths. It would take a volume to analyze them fully and show all the errors in them. It is sufficient to say that they cover the entire field of Ukrainian history both before and after the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654 and clearly express the old Russian conviction that Moscow is and always has been the elder brother and protector of all the Slavs.

The first thesis section on Ukrainian-Russian relations through the Pereyaslav Treaty offers the most interesting material and deserves some comment. It is important for what it asserts, what it omits and what it denies.

---

\*) Clarence A. Manning, Professor of Russian and Ukrainian Languages and Literature at Columbia University. Author of *The Story of Ukraine, Ukrainian Literature, Ukraine under Soviets* and others. The article is reprinted by permission of the publisher: *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Winter, 1954, pp. 22-31.



According to it, "the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples descend from the common root of the Old Russian nation which created the Old Russian state and Kievan Rus'"<sup>1)</sup>. This is merely a variation of the old tsarist attempt to preempt the entire four-century-long past of Ukraine and claim the first period of Ukrainian history as a part of Russian history since the history of the Suzdal-Moscow state on the northern colonial area of the old Ukrainian Kyivan state—the Kyivan Rus'—only began in the early part of the twelfth century.

We must note that the tsarist historians were able to develop a logical theory for their claims, the continuation of Kyivan dynasty in Suzdal-Moscow. There is no doubt that Prince Yurii Dolgorukii was the son of Volodymyr Monomakh, the ruler of Ukraine; he received the principality of Suzdal and his successors transferred their seat of government to Vladimir and later to Moscow. Furthermore this branch of the descendants of St. Volodymyr maintained its throne in Moscow nearly three centuries after all the other branches of the family had been deprived of sovereign power. Under the older conceptions of history this was sufficient to prove the right of Moscow to dominate Ukraine but it became impossible to defend, when the ideas of democracy and the right of individual peoples to have their own national states found its way into the general European acceptance. Once the idea of monarchical legitimacy was abandoned, this theory fell of its own weight.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the great Ukrainian historian, then proposed a new historical outline based upon the existence of three separate nations in Eastern Europe. He recognized the differences between Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians as existing in the earliest times. On the basis of these differences in language, culture, temperament and history, he proposed to write the history of three nations which inhabited since the earliest times their own territories and met only on their frontiers. His views were accepted by all Ukrainian and Byelorussian historians and by several Russians as Presnyakov, Pokrovskii and some others. Early

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Pravda*, Jan. 12, 1954.



Communist historians, like Pokrovskii, accepted it and for 15 years it dominated Soviet historiography. Stalin condemned it in 1934 when it was decided by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to glorify and magnify the position of the Great Russians in the Soviet Union.

After the condemnation of Pokrovskii, the Russian Communists decided to find a common origin for the three peoples, and they argued for the existence of a never existing one common Old Russian people that dominated Kyiv, as well as Ukrainian, Russian and Byelorussian territories. This was to avoid the difficulties of the legitimist theory but it raised new questions why or how Moscow became the truest and most representative of the Eastern Slavs and how the entire character of the Kyivan state and its people was changed to that of Moscow.

The present "Theses" are very clear on this. "The social and economic development of Rus' during the feudal period, during the difficult Tatar-Mongolian invasion brought about the individualization of the separate parts of the Old Russian nation but the consciousness of descent from one root always existed." They regard the old Kyivan Rus' as the ancestor and source of Muscovite authority. They speak of an Old Russian nationality (*drevno 'russkaia narodnost'*) and a common Old Russian language which was spoken by the entire population. There is of course no historical or scholarly evidence for this statement or for the view that the division of the Old Russian people came under foreign pressure and that Moscow as a centralized and strong state continued unchanged the old tradition. In accordance with the Soviet view Kyiv and the other pre-Tatar cities were Old Russian and Lviv (founded in 1253) was the oldest Ukrainian city. In other words within 13 years after the Tatar-Mongolian invasion, the separation of the three peoples was complete. There is no need to comment further. The theory satisfied Stalin and that was enough and his successors have only elaborated it.

The Ancient Chronicle of Kyiv that lists the various Slavic tribes later incorporated into Rus' makes it very clear that the population of the IX-XI centuries had very different manners and customs and varied greatly in their stage of



According to it, "the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples descend from the common root of the Old Russian nation which created the Old Russian state and Kievan Rus'" <sup>1)</sup>. This is merely a variation of the old tsarist attempt to preempt the entire four-century-long past of Ukraine and claim the first period of Ukrainian history as a part of Russian history since the history of the Suzdal-Moscow state on the northern colonial area of the old Ukrainian Kyivan state—the Kyivan Rus'—only began in the early part of the twelfth century.

We must note that the tsarist historians were able to develop a logical theory for their claims, the continuation of Kyivan dynasty in Suzdal-Moscow. There is no doubt that Prince Yurii Dolgorukii was the son of Volodymyr Monomakh, the ruler of Ukraine; he received the principality of Suzdal and his successors transferred their seat of government to Vladimir and later to Moscow. Furthermore this branch of the descendants of St. Volodymyr maintained its throne in Moscow nearly three centuries after all the other branches of the family had been deprived of sovereign power. Under the older conceptions of history this was sufficient to prove the right of Moscow to dominate Ukraine but it became impossible to defend, when the ideas of democracy and the right of individual peoples to have their own national states found its way into the general European acceptance. Once the idea of monarchical legitimacy was abandoned, this theory fell of its own weight.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the great Ukrainian historian, then proposed a new historical outline based upon the existence of three separate nations in Eastern Europe. He recognized the differences between Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians as existing in the earliest times. On the basis of these differences in language, culture, temperament and history, he proposed to write the history of three nations which inhabited since the earliest times their own territories and met only on their frontiers. His views were accepted by all Ukrainian and Byelorussian historians and by several Russians as Presnyakov, Pokrovskii and some others. Early

---

<sup>1)</sup> *Pravda*, Jan. 12, 1954.



Communist historians, like Pokrovskii, accepted it and for 15 years it dominated Soviet historiography. Stalin condemned it in 1934 when it was decided by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to glorify and magnify the position of the Great Russians in the Soviet Union.

After the condemnation of Pokrovskii, the Russian Communists decided to find a common origin for the three peoples, and they argued for the existence of a never existing one common Old Russian people that dominated Kyiv, as well as Ukrainian, Russian and Byelorussian territories. This was to avoid the difficulties of the legitimist theory but it raised new questions why or how Moscow became the truest and most representative of the Eastern Slavs and how the entire character of the Kyivan state and its people was changed to that of Moscow.

The present "Theses" are very clear on this. "The social and economic development of Rus' during the feudal period, during the difficult Tatar-Mongolian invasion brought about the individualization of the separate parts of the Old Russian nation but the consciousness of descent from one root always existed." They regard the old Kyivan Rus' as the ancestor and source of Muscovite authority. They speak of an Old Russian nationality (*drevno 'russkaia narodnost'*) and a common Old Russian language which was spoken by the entire population. There is of course no historical or scholarly evidence for this statement or for the view that the division of the Old Russian people came under foreign pressure and that Moscow as a centralized and strong state continued unchanged the old tradition. In accordance with the Soviet view Kyiv and the other pre-Tatar cities were Old Russian and Lviv (founded in 1253) was the oldest Ukrainian city. In other words within 13 years after the Tatar-Mongolian invasion, the separation of the three peoples was complete. There is no need to comment further. The theory satisfied Stalin and that was enough and his successors have only elaborated it.

The Ancient Chronicle of Kyiv that lists the various Slavic tribes later incorporated into Rus' makes it very clear that the population of the IX-XI centuries had very different manners and customs and varied greatly in their stage of



civilization. The population of the middle and lower Dnieper, the present Ukraine, were the most advanced. Culture and civilization dropped toward the northeast where the Slavs penetrated Finnic territory, the present area of the Great Russians.

The statements of the Chronicle are amply confirmed by archaeology. Excavations made before 1914 and by the Communist scholars show a rich culture in Ukraine with many Iranian and Greek elements which are markedly lacking in the Muscovite regions which knew influences from Central Asia.

We are hampered in our study of the languages of these early Slavs by the fact that the early Christian missionaries from the Byzantine Empire introduced the liturgical Church Slavic language which had been developed by Sts. Cyril and Methodius in the Balkans and Moravia. This language, employed wherever the Liturgy was used in the vernacular, played the same role among the Eastern Slavs as Latin did in the West and since it was used for all purposes, it gave the appearance of a superficial unity and only slowly did national elements permeate it. By the time we can trace these, the languages are already so diverse that they again disprove the views of the "Theses" as to the existence of unity of any Old Russian language.

It was this Church Slavic that was the vehicle for the dissemination of Kyivan-Ukrainian culture among the other Slavic and non-Slavic tribes, but the Kyivan state with its many component parts was unable to unify them. The state disintegrated even before the Tatar invasion in much the same way that the Roman Empire did before the coming of the barbarians and the resemblance of the Roman and the Kyivan state is very striking.

The contrast between Kyiv and Moscow cannot be overstressed. Pre-Mongolian Rus' was an integral part of the Europe of the day. Yaroslav the Wise sought far and wide for matrimonial alliances. One daughter married a king of France and others were wed to various rulers. A daughter of Harald, the last Savoy King of England, married Volodymyr Monomakh, the last of the great rulers of Kyiv. This tradition was continued by the Ukrainian rulers of Halych and Volyn'



as the Kyivan center slowly retreated westward before the advance of the nomads of the steppes. These rulers felt themselves a part of Europe and consistently fought against the Asiatic invaders until they were overwhelmed.

On the other hand these European influences were markedly weak in Moscow which easily accepted the Tatar supremacy, opposed Europe and by its servility and opportunism saved itself for future expansion.

We must note here that the word Rus' is not adequately translated by the term Russia. It was used under the tsars and still is to promote confusion. In its ethnic sense it denotes the area of Kyiv and this was extended in the XII century to include Volyn', Polissya and Galicia, Chernihiv, Pereyaslav and Volodymyr Volynsky, in a word the territory now inhabited by Ukrainians. Politically Rus' denoted the whole of the territory under the control of Kyiv. For the identification of which the chroniclers were careful to use the phrase the Rus' Land (*Rus'kaia Zemlia*). That this covered important differences is shown by the fact that when Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii of Suzdal attacked Kyiv in 1169, he did so not to acquire Kyiv as his capital but he sacked it so as to ruin Kyiv and transfer the seat of political authority to Suzdal in the northeast.

It would take too long to trace all the differences between the spirit of Kyiv and of Moscow. It has been admitted by all Russian writers who have touched the subject. Thus Fedotov in his discussion of the *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* of the XII century emphasizes the sense of personal honor and of dignity in the work and the democratizing trends in Kyiv as something alien to Moscow<sup>2</sup>). Count A. K. Tolstoy in his Trilogy and his poems on the past of Kyiv stresses the fact that Kyiv was a part of Europe from which Moscow had withdrawn. It is implied in the writers of the eighteenth century who sought for pictures of the "freedom in Russia" in the stories of Novgorod and Kyiv. We have enough evidence to show that these differences did not arise out of the period of feudalism and the Tatar conquest but that they existed from the very beginning.

<sup>2</sup>) G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, Cambridge, 1946, pp. 330, 400, etc.



## II

The second Thesis says: "The Polish squires with the help of the Vatican by brutal force planted Catholicism in Ukraine, introduced the Church Union and carried on a policy of forcible Polonization, endeavoring spiritually to enslave the Ukrainian people and break its bonds with the Russian people."

This is a typical Kremlin mixture of truth, half-truths and fabrications for the Russian political purposes—namely to prove that Muscovite enslavement of the Ukrainian people was done for their own good. It is true that the Poles did persecute the Ukrainians. It is only a half-truth that they wanted to force them into Catholicism which they understood to be merely Latin Polish Catholicism. It is utterly false that it established the Church Union for these evil purposes. The question of the Church Union is very complicated. It won a large part of the Ukrainians because it offered them a way to preserve against Moscow their traditional ties with the West and it came after Ukraine had been culturally isolated by the fall of Constantinople.

It is invoked here because the Vatican is at present the most implacable foe of Soviet atheistic Communism and, also, to apologize for the brutal destruction by the Soviets of the Ukrainian Catholic Uniat Church in Western Ukraine and to argue for the absorption of the Ukrainian Orthodox by Moscow, something desired by neither the Ukrainian Orthodox or the Catholics and as alien to Ukrainian thinking in the seventeenth century as it is today.

The same thesis explains that "the Russian centralized state played a tremendous role in the fate of the Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other peoples of our country". This is a cynical phrasing of the Russian conception that the subjection by the Russians of other peoples and the destruction of their national states is for the good of the people enslaved. The same arguments might have been applied equally apt when the Soviets decide to incorporate their present satellites as "independent Soviet republics."

Twenty years ago the Soviets had a very different idea of Khmelnytsky and the Treaty of Pereyaslav. Before the period



of Russification reached its full course, the Large Soviet Encyclopedia says: "In this policy toward the revolutionary peasantry Khmelnytsky used purely provocative methods with the one aim of destroying the dynamic peasant revolution. Negotiations with Moscow continued for three years and were ended with the well-known Pereyaslav Treaty by which the alliance of the Ukrainian and Russian feudal lords was made. It laid the legal foundations for colonial Russian domination of Ukraine"<sup>3</sup>). That was the view of the Russian Communist Pokrovskii school of history until 1934.

Today the Tsar and the boyars of Moscow are the progressive element and Khmelnytsky deserves the thanks and honor of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples for his extension of Russian rule and its benefits. The Kozak officers and the people constantly yearned to become part of the strong, concentrated and centralized state of Moscow. The Communists have grasped at the fact that various Kozak leaders had at time appealed to Moscow for help and been rebuffed. They ignore the fact that the same leaders before and after had appealed in the same way for the aid of other countries.

It is a historical fact that the troubles between the Kozaks and the Poles began even before the Union of Brest in the late sixteenth century. Today the "Theses" emphasize that the Kozaks were inspired by the Russian uprising against the Poles during the Troublous Times after the dying out of the old Muscovite dynasty. It was the example of the Muscovite rebel Ivan Bolotnikov, with his proposals to make the peasants *boyars*, that was the decisive factor in the seventeenth century. It was the inspiration of the Russian patriots, Minin and Prince Pozharskii who took the lead in the overthrow of the Poles and the election of Michael Romanov as tsar that spread the influence of the Russians over the Kozaks. They omit the fact that at the time of Bolotnikov, Minin and Pozharskii, the Ukrainian Kozaks were bitterly anti-Russian. Despite their quarrels with Poland, the Kozak army under Hetman Petro Sahaydachny fought the Russians at the gates of Moscow as bitterly as did the Poles despite the Soviet "Theses."

---

<sup>3</sup>) *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 59.



By 1648, in accordance with the new Kremlin "Theses," the tsar and the *boyars* who dominated Moscow were the idols of the Kozaks. The entire war was merely an effort to free the Kozaks from Poland and bring them into the centralized state of Moscow. It was the Tsar of Moscow and his officials who sent all the supplies, the grain (!), the arms to the Kozaks, so that they could win over the cursed alliance of the Poles and the Vatican. They do admit that Khmelnytsky had Moldavian assistance but they omit the aid, weird as it was, of the Khan of Crimea and the Sultan of Turkey. They pass over the question whether he would have applied for help to Moscow, had it not been for the death of his son Tymosh in Moldavia, and the fact that he was hard pressed by Poland.

The "Theses" ignore the fact that Bohdan wanted the Tsar's envoy to swear on the Tsar's behalf to maintain the Kozak liberties and dwell on the false statement that the Kozaks wished only to rejoin the elder brother from whom they have been separated centuries earlier. They omit the reference to the negotiations at Pereyaslav and to the March articles in Moscow which confirmed to Ukraine its position as a separate state with its own foreign policy and its own administration. They cynically treat the Treaty as an act of submission and not an international pact. "Fulfilling the several times repeated pleas of the Ukrainian representatives, the *Zemsky Sobor* (Land Assembly) in Moscow on October 1-11, 1653, agreed to incorporate Ukraine with Russia," state the Kremlin "Theses." The original Pereyaslav Treaty said not a single word about the incorporation of Ukraine into Moscow. The "Theses" pass over in silence that fact that only two years later the Muscovites at Wilno by an alliance with Poland broke *de facto* the Pereyaslav Treaty and caused Khmelnytsky to seek an alliance with Sweden before his death in 1657. They do not mention the fact that Khmelnytsky's successor, Hetman Vyhovsky, after defeating the Russian at Konotop in 1658, preferred an alliance with the hated Poland to one with Moscow, after the events of 1656 and that in 1667 Moscow in defiance of all obligations handed back part of Ukraine to Poland. They fail to mention the repeated breaches of the Treaty of Pereyaslav by the Russians



and their constant effort to annul all the guaranteed rights and privileges of Ukraine according to the Treaty.

After this shameless rewriting of the history of Ukraine and the events before and after the Treaty of Pereyaslav, the "Theses" go on to the case of the Ukrainian Hetman Mazepa who sought to liberate Ukraine from Russia by an alliance with Charles XII of Sweden, an attempt which ended disastrously in the battle of Poltava in 1709. Mazepa is regarded by all Ukrainians as their great patriot but Moscow has no words bad enough to condemn him as "traitor of the Ukrainian people."

### III

It is next the turn of the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. According to the "Theses," "Shevchenko was an implacable fighter against the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and liberalism." It is obvious that Soviet semantics here regard bourgeois nationalism as a synonym for independence of the non-Russian peoples. The truth about Shevchenko is diametrically opposed to the Soviet statements.

In at least three of his great poems Shevchenko bitterly blamed Khmelnytsky for making the Treaty of Pereyaslav which brought Ukraine under the Russian domination. In *Subotiv*, he says, "So, so, Bohdan, you have brought disaster upon Ukraine." In the *Profaned Grave*, he represents Ukraine as a suffering mother speaking of Khmelnytsky as the author of Pereyaslav, "O Bohdan, Bohdan, unwise son! Look now on your mother, on your Ukraine... O Bohdan, Bohdan, had I foreseen all this, I would have suffocated you in your cradle, I would have made you sleep forever under my heart." Then in the *Great Vault*, he goes into even more detail. He shows three souls who are forbidden to enter heaven for their treason to Ukraine. The first is that of a young woman who suffered because she had given a good omen to Khmelnytsky on his way to Pereyaslav in 1654. The second soul, a little girl, had watered Peter's horse after the battle of Poltava and the sacking of Mazepa's capital of Baturyn. The third was the soul of a baby who had smiled at Empress Catherine II as she and Potemkin were sailing on the Dnieper



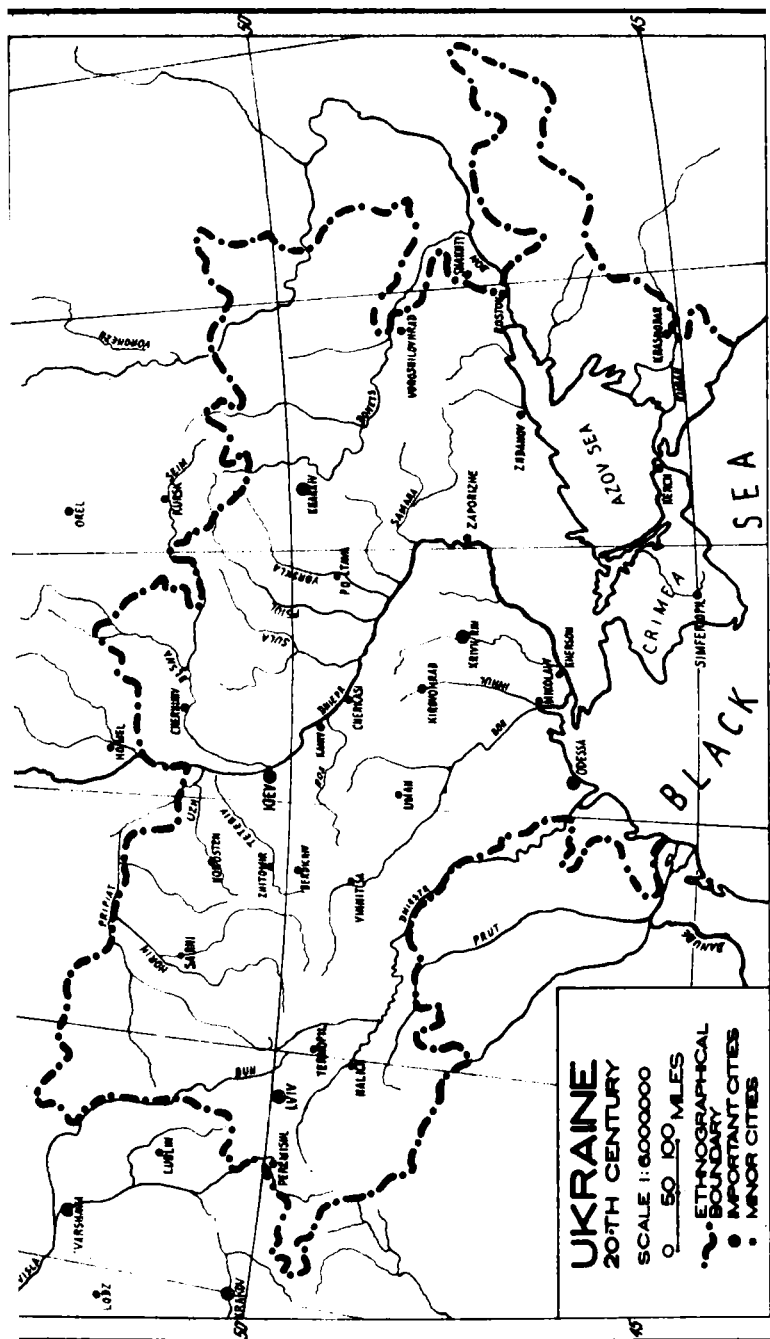
after the final destruction of all the privileges granted to Ukraine at Pereyaslav. But the truth about Shevchenko's attitude toward Pereyaslav Treaty is not to be found in the present "Theses" of the Communist Party.

Then the "Theses" turn to the foundation of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic on December 25, 1917. This of course is treated as the culmination of all Ukrainian hopes and aspirations. Derision and scorn are heaped upon the men who fought for the democratic Ukrainian National Republic, the Central Rada, Hetman Skoropadsky, Petliura, the bourgeois nationalists who did their best, as the paid agents of foreign capitalism, to split the two brotherly nations which had come together as in the remote past to find liberty in close co-operation and the protection of the older brother, founder of the Soviet Union.

Then with admiration and self-satisfaction the Kremlin describes the reunion with the Ukrainian Soviet Republic of the "oldest Ukrainian city, Lviv." It paints in glowing colors the way in which the brotherly Great Russians have transformed the city by bringing it more truly to the high cultural level of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. What has it meant in reality? The destruction of all that was gained under "reactionary Austria and landlord Poland," the driving of eighty percent of the Western Ukrainian intelligentsia into exile, the destruction of the National Ukrainian Church of Western Ukraine, the sending of its seven bishops to prison, concentration camps or death, while Western Ukraine continued to be the center of the most ardent opposition to Soviet rule.

Turning to the principle of proletarian internationalism, the "Theses" emphasize "the necessity of a united action of the proletariat of all nations assembled around the Russian proletariat." This is the cynical interpretation of Lenin's principle of self-determination. It merely means the necessity of world domination by the Russians, for there is no place according to the Kremlin for any national Communism save that of Russia. "Only thanks to the friendship with the Russians, the Ukrainian people like the other peoples of the USSR have protected their freedom and independence." The Communists of the United States and Western Europe should







study this text and see what independence means to the Kremlin.

These are the main points of the "Theses" for the celebration of the Treaty of Pereyaslav. They form an important document on the present temper and thinking of the men in the Kremlin. From the standpoint of unbiassed scholarship they are another step in the return of Soviet thinking to what has been long regarded as the worst features of the tsarist reactionary regime.

The document is well prepared but from the beginning to the end it is permeated with the opinion that Russia knows best. It breathes in every line the assurance that Moscow is truly the Third Rome, the destined center of the world and the sole peace-loving nation. At the same time it is abundantly clear that Moscow is rewriting the past as much as it is trying to mold the present and shape the future.

The most bitter opponent of Ukraine who has any regard for the criteria of science and any knowledge of the rise and fall of governments and cultures can see at once that the hypotheses of Moscow cannot be true. They are so worded that they can easily be extended to absorb into its Old Russia and the Old Russian language the Southern and Western Slavs, whenever it so sees fit.

It is true that a language can break into dialects and that these can either coalesce again or die out. Yet it is clear that the entire theory of an Old Russia which was later split into three nationalities between the foundation of Moscow and that of Lviv is merely a chauvinistic fiction created for a definite political purpose.

The "Theses" contradict all that has been gained in a couple of centuries in the fields of history, archaeology and ethnography. In creating the Old Russian nationality and the Old Russian language, it postulates an impossible situation. If such had existed in Kyiv, it would have been Ukrainian, for Suzdal-Moscow did not then exist. It could not have been transported and it can only make sense if the stress is laid not on the people and their characteristics but on those despised and condemned feudal lords who dominated the country and adapted themselves to be the masters of non-Slavic population speaking a non-Slavic language.



From the first word to the last, the "Theses" breathe an unhistorical spirit. They speak in that Aesopean language in which all words lose their obvious meaning and their main object is to show that all Ukrainian work from the beginning has been inspired by Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. A cynic once defined Ukrainian as "la langue russe, a la polonaise, sauce tartare." The modern "Theses" in the name of Communist science go even beyond this and with glib assumptions of treason, dishonesty and bribery, they remove all basis for sober and intellectual study. They are another aspect of that curious return of the Muscovite mentality to the ideas of its greatest and most reactionary tsars and are another reason why the world must press on toward making and aiding a truly free and independent state of the Ukrainian people, able to follow their national inclinations and play their part in a free world.