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# SLAVS AND TEUTONS

The Oldest  
Germanic - Slavic Relations

*by*

Roman Smal Stocki, Ph.D.

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**Roman Smal Stocki, Ph.D.**

*Marquette University*

**with a preface by**

**Alfred Senn, Ph.D.**

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## **FOREWORD**

**These pages could not have been written without the extraordinary kindness and support of the Vice-President of Marquette University, the Very Rev. Father Max G. Barnett, S.J., A.M., and of the Deans, Rev. Fathers Virgil Roach, S.J., A.M., S.T.L., and Edward J. Drummond, S.J. I express to them my sincere appreciation and gratitude.**

**Prof. A. Senn, University of Pennsylvania, very kindly read the manuscript and honored me with a preface. I offer my sincerest thanks to this distinguished American scholar.**





## PREFACE

An unhealthy type of exaggerated nationalism rampant in Central and East European countries for decades has considerably hindered progress in our studies of the earliest relations between those three Indo-European branches which more than others were thrown by geographic location and historical forces into a fateful community of interests: Slavs, Balts (Lithuanians, Letts, Old Prussians), and Teutons (the ancestors of the Germans, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians). Some German scholars and politicians have in the past unbearably exaggerated the role of their ancestors as cultural missionaries for the East (the German term *Kulturträger* became even an invective in some East European languages), while on the other hand in all Slavic and Baltic countries there were those who actually considered it a national shame to be in any way indebted to other nations. Fortunately, there have been exceptions on both sides. The author of the present study, Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki, formerly a professor of Slavic Philology and Ukrainian language and literature at the Universities of Warsaw, Poland, and Praha, Czecho-Slovakia (Ukrainian University) is beyond any doubt the most competent Slavic authority on this complexity of problems, combining with his outstanding Slavic erudition absolute familiarity with the Western bibliography on the subject.

The earliest Germanic (Teutonic) and Slavic relations reach back into prehistoric times, that is into an epoch for which we have no or almost no written records commonly used by the regular historian. The disciplines primarily competent in this field of scholarly research are archaeology and historical linguistics or philology. A more or less adequate picture of those remote periods can only be obtained by close cooperation of these two disciplines. A regular historian trying to include prehistoric periods in a work of his own realizes quite naturally that he has to rely for this part on other authorities and he would want to consult the latest publications. In the field of Germanic-Slavic relations the task is made more difficult by the fact that the pertinent studies have appeared in a number of different languages, mainly German, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and French. In view of possible national or ideological bias on the part of such authors, one may get a completely distorted picture by limiting oneself merely to one group and neglecting the others. The situation has become even more delicate because of the fact that linguists living in the Soviet Union are now forced either to accept the dictates of the Communist Party or to keep quiet. Historical linguistics is now outlawed there and what has been substituted for it is nothing but a farce disregarding

actual facts. Two sets of facts are of first-rate significance in pre-historic studies: linguistic and archaeological. The archaeological facts are the finds made in excavations. They testify to the material culture or civilization of a prehistoric population, but very rarely can they give evidence for the linguistic identification of such people. The factual material provided by historical and comparative linguistics is of a twofold nature: (a) the genetic relationship of certain languages and, to a certain degree, of their speakers, (b) words of foreign origin, so-called loanwords. The former type is more abstract, while the latter is quite concrete. Neither archaeology alone nor linguistics alone can attain a satisfactory solution. The two have to work together. As long as a reconciliation of the two sets of conclusions is not reached, the problem remains unsolved.

It is a fact that all the Slavic languages (Russian, White Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Slovak, Czech, Lusatian, Polabian, Kashubian, Polish) have much in common that is not shared by other languages. The differences between the various Slavic languages are far less distinct than those separating the various Germanic dialects, and the farther back we go in history the more they disappear. The division into the three groups of East Slavic, South Slavic, and West Slavic is only a matter of convenience and even denied altogether by some scholars (cf. P. Diels in M. Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XII, p. 291), since in most instances the transition from one Slavic language to another is almost unnoticeable. The various strictly fixed standard languages do show clear differences. However, they are based on specific local dialects whose geographic location may be far apart. As a result, standard Serbo-Croatian is quite distinct from standard Bulgarian, but where do the local Serbian dialects end and the Bulgarian begin? Between the undoubtedly Serbian and the undoubtedly Bulgarian dialects lies an area of transitional speech called Macedonian. Similarly, there is a gradual transition from the "South Slavic" Slovenian and the "West Slavic" Slovak.

At all times languages have been strongly influenced, both favorably and unfavorably, by the political organization, the state, in which they are spoken. Some language is needed for administrative purposes, and the language or dialect selected as the administrative language has always a tendency to level out and assimilate similar dialects and to displace other languages spoken within its sphere of influence. The area of a standard language expands and diminishes together with the expansion and reduction of the political territory. Add forced or voluntary resettlement of population, as has happened repeatedly in the past, and you get clear-cut language boundaries along the state boundaries. The only more or less clear-cut language boundary in the Slavic world is the one between Polish and East Slavic, and there is ample historical reason for this. The fluidity of the

other internal Slavic language boundaries, combined with the above-mentioned observation of even closer similarity of the Slavic languages in earlier historically documented centuries, forces us to the positive conclusion that in a not too remote past there was one single Slavic language. That language must have been spoken by one people organized, at least for a while, in a primitive state of its own.

The Germanic loanwords in the Slavic languages interest the student of Germanic and German philology, both for historical and strictly linguistic reasons. Studied together with the early Germanic loanwords in Finnish, and checked against archeological findings as well as reports given in Greek and Roman literary sources, they allow some conclusions concerning the movements of the early Germanic tribes and their cultural level. In the present book, on the other hand, Professor Smal-Stocki uses the Germanic loanwords in Slavic to obtain a picture of Slavic standards of living around 400 A.D. His special philological contribution consists of a much stronger emphasis on the role of the Bastarnae and especially the Goths than is customary among Germanic scholars. He supports the Gothic theory of the origin of Slavic Christianity, revived by the Danish Slavist A. Stender-Petersen after World War I, but still opposed by some Slavists. However, considered as part of the general picture presented here, it has its merits. A good case is made for a superior role of the Goths during their stay at the shores of the Black Sea. The author is exceptionally well qualified for this unusually meritorious work by his own Ukrainian background.

Alfred Senn  
Professor of Germanic and Balto-Slavic Philology  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

Cz. - Czech	O.C.S. - Old Church Slavic
E. - English	O.N. - Old Norse
G. - German	O.U. - Old Ukrainian
Gr. - Greek	P.G. - Primitive Germanic
Goth. - Gothic	P.S. - Primitive Slavic
H.G. - High German	Pol. - Polish
I.E. - Indo-European	Russ. - Russian
Lith. - Lithuanian	Slav. - Slavic
O.E. - Old English	Skr. - Sanskrit
O.H.G. - Old High German	Ukr. - Ukrainian
O.B. - Old Bulgarian	W.Ruth. - White Ruthenian

## **Chapter I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Two historians, Prof. George Vernadsky and Prof. Michael Karpovich, are publishing *A History of Russia in X Volumes*. To date there have appeared the first (1943, 1944, 1946 editions) and second (1948) volumes of Prof. G. Vernadsky's *Ancient Russia and Kievan Russia*. We are witnessing an attempt to present to American scholars and students a history of the state, now called the USSR, and of its roots, on a really large scale. These volumes will obviously have a deep influence on the attitude American scholars and students will assume towards basic problems in Slavic history. We are certain, therefore, that in the interests of scholarly objectivity and historical truth, American scholars would welcome a broad critical discussion of these basic problems. Thus it was decided to initiate such a discussion and to invite American historians to act as arbiters. The subject is limited in this book to: (a) ancient Slavic history, (b) the earliest Slavic-Germanic relations. All other problems will be discussed in the next volume of our work. In the present book we wish to investigate the following problems:

- I. The Proto-Slavic question, the Proto-Slavs and their aboriginal home;
- II. The relations between the Proto-Slavic and the Proto-Germanic peoples;
- III. Gothic-Slavic relations and Gothic cultural influences on the Slavic world;
- IV. The Rus' problem; a new explanation of this old historical term, a partly "Gothic" explanation - in opposition to the opinion of Prof. G. Vernadsky.

Let us first summarize briefly the opinions of Prof. G. Vernadsky which we shall then try to refute: Prof. Vernadsky\* believes there is "no sufficient evidence and no need" to postulate the existence of an "aboriginal Pan-Slav people," or that of an "aboriginal mother country." Therefore, indicating the problem of ethnogenesis, the author declines to approach it in the light of "oversimplified traditional schemes such as the genealogical tree of languages" which has been regarded as a panacea by philologists and historians, and qualifies these conceptions as "generalizations" which must be avoided. On the contrary, the author believes that evidence supplied by early

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\*George Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, Yale University Press, pp. 1-8.



authors supports "the existence in ancient times of several, at least three groups of Proto-Slavic tribes" - the "West Slavic," the "Middle Slavic," and the "East Slavic"; each of them "even in remote antiquity spoke its own language" and had developed its own peculiar customs.

At the time of Christ's birth the West Slavs had settled on the middle and upper Vistula, the Middle Slavs were in the region stretching from the Carpathians to the middle Dnieper, while the Eastern Slavs in the former provinces of Kharkiw (Russ. Kharkov), Kursk, Poltava and Voronezh were probably expanding southwards as far as the lower Don river. These Slavic tribes were not newcomers to these territories; they occupied them for a millennium from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. These territories constituted during this period a "homogeneous cultural sphere" and, according to the author, this sphere is identical with the "Proto-Slavic cultural sphere."

Each of these Proto-Slavic tribes, however, was the neighbor of different peoples and therefore subject to an admixture of different ethnic features. The West Slavs had the Germans as their neighbors in the west and had "some intercourse" with the Baltic (Lithuanian) tribes; the Middle Slavs had a common border with the Thracians of Transylvania and the Balkans, and the East Slavs were "more open to intermixture with nomadic and seminomadic tribes of the steppes." Some of the "aboriginal Middle and East Slavic tribes" may be considered as the ancestral group of the "Russian people." The early East Slavs were also builders of boats, their skill as sailors permitting them to descend to the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea and to venture on the open seas.

Having traced the ethnogenesis of the Eastern Slavs Prof. Vernadsky at once separates them from Europe. Already in ancient times Western Eurasia (comprising European and Asiatic Russia) formed the general background of the East Slavs. The author approaches the early history of the East Slavs by considering their pre-historic background within the larger Eurasian geographic frame. In order to discuss the culture of burial urns in the Ukraine, which he dates in the millennium from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. and identifies with the Proto-Slavs (Neuri, Budini), Prof. Vernadsky returns in the succeeding chapters to the Paleolithic Era, measured in terms of millennia, and includes a survey of Eurasia from the remotest times of the receding glaciers in 4000 B.C. through the Neolithic Age and its culture, including Western and Central Siberia, through the Copper and Bronze Ages, including the Caucasus, Turkestan and Siberia, to the Cimmerian and Scythian Era (1000 - 200 B.C.), including Siberia and Turkestan. This is the starting point for Prof. Vernadsky's history of the East Slavs.

To sum up his conception of Slavic origin: (a) He rejects the unit of an "aboriginal Proto-Slavic people, language, and mother country," but he postulates "one homogeneous Proto-Slavic cultural sphere."

(b) He postulates three groups of Proto-Slavic tribes, the West Slavs, the Middle Slavs, and the East Slavs, with their own languages, but coming under different influences. The "Germans" influenced the West Slavs, the Thracians the Middle Slavs, and nomadic and semi-nomadic steppe tribes the East Slavs. In spite of these various influences, he postulates however, a homogeneous "Proto-Slavic cultural sphere" for a millennium from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. (c) The East Slavs, who early developed navigational skill in the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, came at the beginning of their history under the sway of an Eurasian influence.

There are obviously some inner contradictions here which do not elucidate the important question: Where did the three Slavic groups come from?

Why is this problem neglected, while the archaeology of the Caucasus, Turkestan and Siberia from the earliest times is considered in detail? On what principle is the above division of the Slavs based? Where are their frontiers? Does Slavic history really start with three branches which are supposed to be not the branches of the "old genealogical three of languages," but are based on the "evidence" of early authors? Does not the "Proto-Slavic cultural sphere" accepted for a millennium 500 B.C. - 500 A.D., also have a history? Why has the Eurasian background influenced only the East Slavs and not the other Slavs? Is it possible to speak about a "homogeneous Proto-Slavic cultural sphere" if only the East Slavs were influenced by their Eurasian background? Are not these ideas of the "Proto-Slavic cultural sphere" merely "oversimplifications and generalizations"?

The following remarks can be made about Prof. Vernadsky's basic conception of Slavic origin and the Eurasian background of the Eastern Slavs:

(I) While fully appreciating the very-instructive archaeological survey from the beginning of the Paleolithic Era, and the comprehensive Eurasian background of the Caucasus, Turkestan and Siberia, every student of Slavic history must feel that in comparison with that archaeological survey the actual Slavic history, as given by Prof. Vernadsky, is much too brief. Archaeology is used very extensively up to the Paleolithic Era, but why were modern linguistic researches not also used to illuminate the darkness of ages? \* Has linguistic archaeology, which settled so many problems for the whole Indo-European family of languages and which has already developed into a separate science, nothing to say about the centuries before (according to Prof. Vernadsky) Slavic history really starts? The results of linguistic research cannot be disregarded; indeed, they may be more valuable than those of archaeology. The discoveries of linguistic archaeology are not

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\*Cf. the monumental works of V. Hehn, O. Schrader, J. Hoops, S. Feist, etc.

mute, they are "speaking." Of course in the Soviet Union Western European linguistics and comparative Indo-European philology are regarded by the orthodox Marxist scholars as bourgeois deceit and nonsense, but this branch of knowledge cannot be ignored in America.

As to the Eurasian background of the East Slavs we believe that the East Slavs also had a (West-) European-Slavic background, and that it deserves at least as much attention as the supposed Eurasian one. We oppose the constant exaggeration of Eastern and Asiatic influences and the underestimation of all connections with Western Europe. It seems probable that quite modern Eurasian conceptions are here reflected back into ancient times, creating some distortions.

(II) The author is badly informed about the present state of research in linguistics and Slavic Studies in Western Europe when he believes that there is no sufficient evidence for the existence of an "aboriginal Slav people" and their "aboriginal home." He is badly mistaken when he believes that the existence of such a people is demanded by the "oversimplified scheme of the genealogical tree of languages." The genealogical tree of languages for the Indo-European family including the Slavic group was sketched by the German linguist August Schlei-cher (1821-1868), under the influence of Darwin's theory. He thus established the so-called "Stammbaum"-theory for comparative philology. His *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* appeared in 1861. But already by 1872 Johannes Schmidt had refuted this theory and created his own "wave" (Wellen)-theory in his work *Verwandschaftsverhaeltnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Schmidt, instead of using the picture of a "genealogical tree," describes linguistic phenomena as "waves" which diffuse gradually from the center to the periphery, all the time becoming weaker in impulse. In 1876 this theory was supplemented by the German Slavist August Leskien in his *Die Deklination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen*, where he illustrated disturbances and interruptions of the "waves" by historical events, migrations, etc., whereby "splittings" are produced. These "Spaltungs-" and "Wellen-" theories complement each other and are the basis of the modern "Isoglossen" theory.

These are the facts. To attack in 1942-46 the "genealogical tree" theory disproved in Europe around 1870, is quixotic. In spite of the fact, however, that philologists gave up the "genealogical tree" theory long ago, they believe that there is sufficient evidence to postulate not only an "aboriginal Slavic people, language, and home," but even a previous "Proto-Balto-Slavic" unit or a very close linguistic relationship existing between the Balts and the Slavs. Historians cannot disregard these theories in favor of such beliefs as those held by Prof. Vernadsky about Slavic history and origins.

The theoretically accepted "Proto-Balto-Slavic" linguistic community evolved, it is supposed, from the East Indo-European (satem)

language branch in the second millennium B.C. This theory has arisen from such important and definite linguistic evidence that the distinguished linguists I. Endzelin, W. Porzezinski, J. Rozwadowski, V. Pisani, J. Kurylowicz, R. Trautmann believed that only the existence of a common basis can explain them. The supposed "contact place" between the two groups was in White Ruthenia at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. In this territory there occurred interpenetration of vocabulary, while common sound-, accent-, and suffix-formation evolved together with common syntactical phenomena.

During World War II this question of Slavic Baltic relationship was reconsidered in America by Professor A. Senn,\* a recognized authority in this field. After a penetrating critical review he turns for an explanation of the unquestioned conformities between Baltic and Slavic to Johannes Schmidt's "wave theory" and proves the idea of the "Proto-Balto-Slavic unit" to be superfluous. During the I-E period the ancestors of the Balts and Slavs had as their immediate neighbors in the west the Proto-Germanic, and in the east the Proto-Iranian people, forming between them the "central group" which "shared in a greater number of isoglottic areas (isoglottic area - territory encircled by an isogloss) than the peripheral groups." Therefore this central group of Balts and Slavs had "more in common with each other." After the dissolution of the I-E unity the Slavs and the Balts became separated by a lake (which later disappeared), and impenetrable marshes. The Balts settled north and north-east of this lake between Vilna and Moscow, while the Slavs settled between the lake and the Carpathian mountains. After a millennium, about 300 - 200 B.C. the Slavs who had expanded to the north again met the Balts who in the meantime had been pushed westwards to the Baltic coast. Another scholar of an established reputation in this field of Slavic-Baltic relationship, R. Trautmann,\*\* the author of the Balto-Slavic Dictionary (Baltisch-Slavisches Woerterbuch, 1923) has changed his attitude towards the theory of a Balto-Slavic unity and now speaks only about "a common basis of some kind." The common vocabulary proves only a common culture, a cultural affinity between the Balts and the Slavs, not a genealogical kinship. As we see this problem has produced a vast literature, and the establishment and explanation of the close linguistic and cultural relationship between the Balts and the Slavs is of paramount importance for Slavic history especially as far as the location of the "original home" of the Slavs is concerned.

The study of Slavic languages teaches us that the deeper we go into the past the more all Slavic languages resemble each other in all

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\*Alfred Senn, On the Degree of Kinship between Slavic and Baltic, Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. XX, 1941, p. 264.

\*\*Reinhold Trautmann, Die Slavischen Voelker und Sprachen, Goettingen, 1947.

aspects: sound, declension, conjugation, word-formation, vocabulary, and syntax. Therefore the logical conclusion is that they originated from a common source, a common original language and its dialects spoken by an aboriginal Slavic people in an aboriginal Slavic habitat. Prof. Vernadsky uses (vol. I., p. 1) in parenthesis for the "aboriginal Pan-Slav language" the term "Ursprache." This term is not used in modern linguistics; it has been replaced by a better term: "Grundsprache" - "basic language" which expresses more truly the idea of modern philology. The term "Pan-Slav" is very confusing because of its association in America and England with the "Pan-Slav movement," and therefore should be excluded from linguistic terminology.

Just as linguistic analysis of the history of the Germanic languages postulates a "primitive or aboriginal Germanic language," and an analysis of Semitic languages demands an "aboriginal Semitic language unit," so do the Slavic languages postulate their common aboriginal existence. All Slavic languages developed from the dialects or dialectal tendencies of this aboriginal basic language, used once by an ethnic-cultural group, a people in their aboriginal mother country. Studies of the Slavic vocabulary and the whole grammatical structure of Slavic languages led to the theory that there was a period of many centuries during which the peculiarities of this aboriginal Slavic language evolved, matured to a unit (of course with dialectal differences), expanded in space, and dissolved in the course of time. One of the best proofs of the existence of this aboriginal language is its common ancient loanword strata. Moreover, this aboriginal Slavic language can be reconstructed with great accuracy.

It is not, therefore, the "genealogical tree" theory which postulates an aboriginal basic Slavic language, people, and mother country, but facts of linguistic research, a study of the history of Slavic languages, and the observation of modern Slavic languages and their dialects. If Prof. Vernadsky's "East Slavs" developed into Russians, Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians, the "Middle Slavs" into Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and the "West Slavs" into Czechs, Slovaks, Sorbs, and Poles, does not logic demand that the origin of these three branches be traced to a common aboriginal Slavic people having a common language? Why has the principle of linguistic evolution, manifest in the later development of all these supposed branches, the West, Middle, and East Slavs, to be excluded from an explanation of their own origin?

Finally, we must also stress that Prof. Vernadsky's belief that the West, Middle, and East Slavs "even in remote antiquity spoke their own language" is unacceptable to modern linguistics. This idea presupposes a clear linguistic demarcation line between the West and the Middle, and between the Middle and the East Slavs. We believe that the contrary is the truth, and we are inclined to agree with the "wave" theory and the modern "Isoglossen" conception, according to which

these three separate languages did not exist and that the Slavic territory was differentiated by isoglossic waves gradually changing dialectally from the west to the east and from the north to the south at the period in question.

Prof. Vernadsky's starting point with the supposed division into three groups of Slavs refers actually to a fairly advanced stage of Slavic history. Earlier history can be traced back to the aboriginal Slavic period. This "three group" conception is, in our opinion, but a truncated edition of the old genealogical tree of languages.

(III) Aboriginal Slavic and Germanic relations demand elucidation in the interests of history, especially in the interests of common Slavic history. The "East Slavs" have been put at once under "Eurasian" influences, and Prof. Vernadsky maintains that the "West Slavs" alone had "some intercourse" with the Germans in the west, and with the Balts (Lithuanians) in the north.

The science of linguistics demands:

(a) Not only for the "West Slavs," but for all aboriginal Slavic people, not "some intercourse," but as we have already shown, at least a Proto-Balto-Slavic common culture for the earliest period. During the later period, not only the "West Slavs" but also the "East Slavs" together with the Baltic groups (including the Latvians and the extinct Prussians as well as the Lithuanians) participated in the very restricted intercourse possible at that time. (b) Not only for the "West Slavs" but for the whole aboriginal Slavic people, not "some," but a very intensive intercourse (not with the Germans, because the Germans did not then exist) but with the Proto-Germanic tribes, the Teutons. This intercourse resulted in important cultural influences on all Slavs; influences which represent the oldest pages of Slavic cultural history and surely merit a presentation.

Gothic-Slavic relations in their cultural aspects are summed up by Prof. Vernadsky in four lines (vol. I, p. 120), in which the following loanwords are meant to show Gothic cultural influences on the ("East"?) Slavs: kniaz' (prince) from Goth. k u n i (clan elder); peniazi (money) from Goth. p a n n i n g s; polk (armed people, regiment) from Goth. v o l k; shlem (helmet) from Goth. h i l m s. We should like to point out that: (1) kniaz' is not derived from Goth. k u n i; Goth. k u n i does not mean "clan elder" but "family, tribe"; such a Gothic word as p a n n i n g s is not recorded and must be marked with \* as a reconstruction; Gothic v o l k does not exist at all. (2) These four lines and examples do not adequately represent Gothic influence on the Slavs as a whole. This influence was more extensive and is, in our opinion, of fundamental importance for Slavic and especially Ukrainian history.

(IV) In connection with this Gothic period we shall put forward a new explanation of the term "Rus'" in opposition to the etymology set forth by Prof. Vernadsky.



Germanic influences on the Slavic world are not exhausted with Gothic influences. There were also West Germanic cultural influences, but they have to be dated later than 600 - 700 A.D. It is better, therefore, to connect them with the Old High German period.

In conclusion, we deeply deplore the fact that Prof. Vernadsky disregarded the achievements of linguistics in the study of the oldest Slavic period. Many problems of Slavic linguistic archaeology are, of course, still under discussion and research, but many well established results have been obtained. In addition, the work of Prof. Vernadsky contains much doubtful linguistic material which will have to be investigated.

We have assumed, therefore, the task of filling in these gaps in the picture of the oldest Slavic cultural history. There can be no doubt that Germanic influences shaped to a great extent the cultural character of the old Slavic world. It would seem to be worthwhile to investigate the earliest Slavic-Germanic relations, and it is unfortunate that no such attempt is made in Prof. Vernadsky's book which is intended for American readers. Americans of English, Scandinavian, Dutch, and German origin will discover in the following pages a cultural bridge with the old Slavic world, which still exists for all "wordlovers" who are able to see behind wordsounds the romance of their meanings. To Americans of Germanic extraction we hope to bring the Slavic world a little closer. To Americans of Slavic extraction we hope to bring nearer the American language and Americans of Germanic extraction.

In order not to leave the reader in doubt, it must be stated that in our belief frank acknowledgment of cultural influences does not represent a depreciation or degradation of one's own race or extraction. For history has taught us that none of the European nations developed its own culture without foreign gifts and stimulation. On the contrary, we are deeply convinced that the acceptance of foreign cultural values, their digestion, transformation, and further development are convincing evidence of the cultural talents of a race.

During the whole World War II I was, while a professor at the university of Warsaw, interned by the Gestapo, and used the time for an extensive study of the problems in question. These studies appeared under the title: *Die Germanisch - Deutschen Kultureinflüsse im Spiegel der Ukrainischen Sprache*, Hirzel-Verlag, Leipzig 1942. In them I tried to sum up all Western influences (from the earliest times to World War I and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) on the Ukrainian language, which merits special attention because of its central position in the Slavic world.

The Germanic part of this work now follows, somewhat expanded, with one difference. Examples are chosen from the oldest written Slavic language, Old Bulgarian or Old Church Slavic not from Ukrainian, and only exceptionally are examples chosen from modern Slavic languages, though the present "semantic sphere" of a loanword in Slavic languages is always recorded.

## Chapter II

### THE PROBLEM OF MUTUAL GERMANIC - SLAVIC RELATIONS

#### 1. The Indo-European background.

The Germanic and Slavic languages both belong to the large, so-called Indo-European family of languages. This linguistic relationship was scientifically proven by the German scholar Franz Bopp (1816), the real founder of Indo-European comparative philology. His fundamental work appeared in 1820 in an English translation under the title: *Analytical Comparison of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Teutonic*. The linguistic facts, common to all Indo-European languages, he proved, have their common origin in an Indo-European aboriginal language and the people who spoke that language, an aboriginal Indo-European people.

Even in early times this Indo-European family of languages appears divided into two groups. The principle\* of this division separates also the Germanic from the Slavic language: (1) The centum (kentum) - languages which retain a k-sound or its Germanic equivalent h in the word for "hundred," e.g. Gr. ἑκατόν, Lat. centum, Goth. hund. To this group belong English, German, Greek, Latin, and Welsh. For palatal g these languages retain a g or k sound. (2) The satem-languages including the Slavic, Baltic, Albanian (Illyrian) languages in Europe and all Indo-European languages in Asia, Indo-Iranian, and Armenian (Phrygian) - (except Tocharian and Hittite), in which an s- or š- sound appears in the word for "hundred," e.g., O.B. SĀTO, Russ. STO, Avesta satem, Ind. śatam. In place of the palatal g these languages have j or z, and they also drop the labial in qʷ and gʷ.

Today the Indo-European languages are spread over a very large part of our planet. As the very term Indo-European indicates, this territory extends from India in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west, embracing the sea-shores of the Germanic nations. Moreover, this territory now includes the immense spaces of other continents colonized by Indo-European emigration in modern times.

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\*A study of the recently discovered Indo-European languages Tocharian and Hittite compels the conclusion that this principle is not as old as was previously thought. Cf. A. Meillet, *Les gutturales et le tocharien* (Germanen und Indogermanen, Festschrift f. H. Hirt, Heidelberg, 1936; K. Kuryłowicz, *Stosunki etniczne w przedhistorycznej Europie* (Zbiór prac poświęconych E. Romerowi), Lwów, 1934.



The problem of the original boundary of the Indo-European language territory, its cradle and primeval home has not yet been finally solved in spite of the intensive researches in languages, religions, comparative ethnology, archaeology, and history during the last century. Modern scholars have already tried to divide the period of the "primeval home" into an "early" Indo-European period and a "later" one. Its location in Central Asia is now being suggested by few scholars,\* but the overwhelming majority seek it in Europe. Great authorities, such as the Germans O. Schrader and A. Nehring, who support the ideas of Latham and P. Giles, believe the cradle was in the steppes of what is now the Ukraine, extending westwards into the Danube basin and eastwards beyond the Caspian Sea to the Sea of Aral. Recent investigations by J. Kalima\*\* and E. Benveniste\*\*\* strongly support this idea against the theory of those German scholars who believed the Indo-European cradle to be in North-West Europe, in the woodlands of North and Central Europe. We can accept as a definite fact that the original home was in Europe, though not in the Balkan, the Apennine, or the Pyrenean Peninsulas, or in France, areas which were colonized later by the Indo-Europeans. Their migration into Asia Minor, Iran, and India is also historically definite; therefore Asia has to be excluded as a possible habitat. The territory in Europe, remaining as possible cradle, is consequently very limited. In addition the racial problem of the original Indo-Europeans has not yet been conclusively elucidated.

Both problems are still being investigated, together with the question as to when and how the division from the Indo-European stem into individual branches was accomplished. One must regard the original Indo-European language as being already differentiated dialectally, and one can only guess that the Indo-European extension and diffusion began probably at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. The division into language branches was accelerated by the wandering of old tribes into new territories. This fact, together with the natural obstacles to intercourse and communication (rivers, forests, and mountains), separated old neighbors and established new, secluded territories with special centres of traffic and trade. Gradually, the new boundaries of communication became the boundaries of dialects-languages. These newly occupied territories with new geographical surroundings became the areas of development of new branches of the

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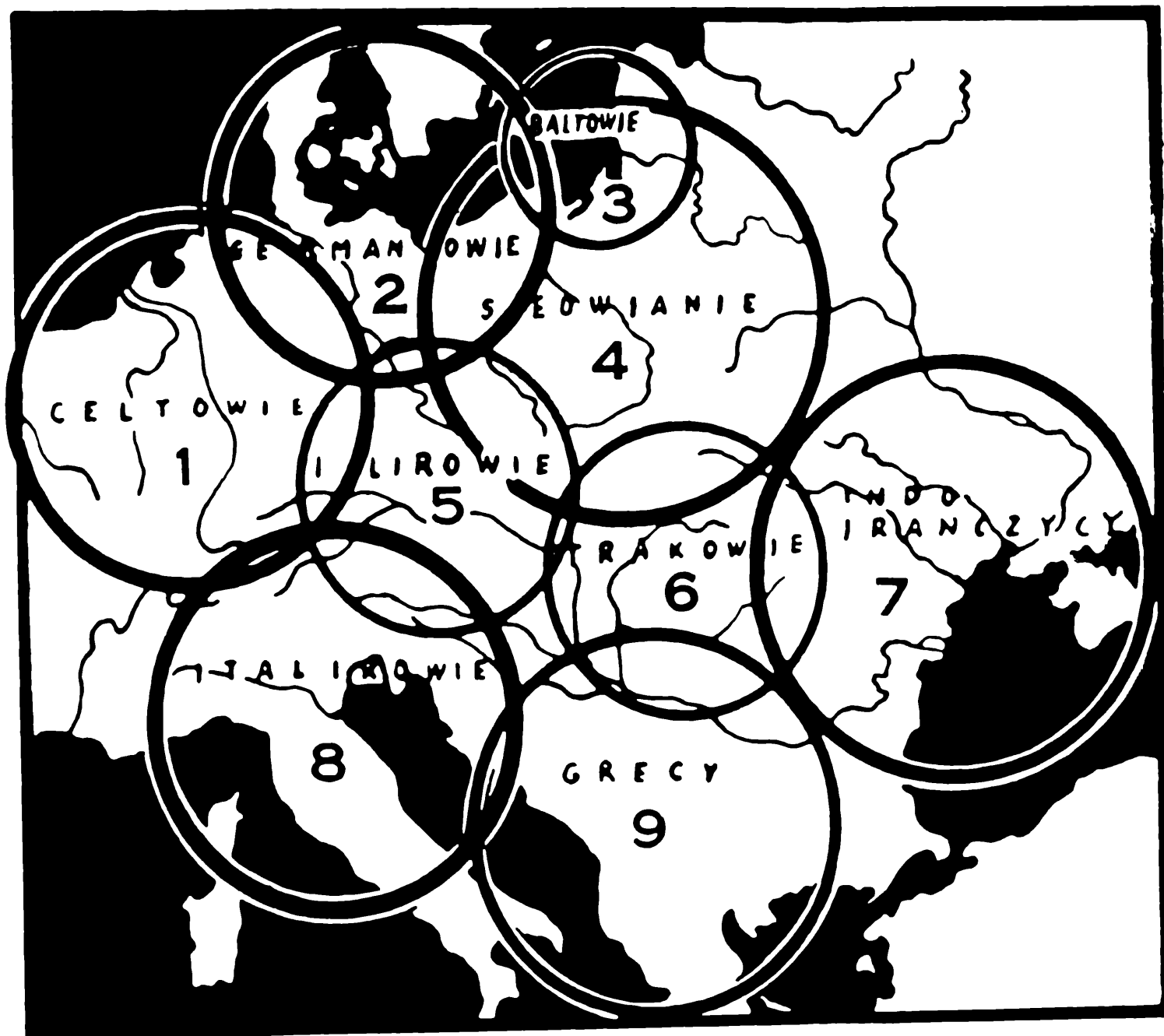
\*The so-called "Eastern conception" before World War II was represented by B. W. Schmidt, *Rasse und Volk*, Salzburg, 1935; Wilhelm Koppers, *Die Indogermanen und Germanen Frage*, Salzburg-Leipzig, 1935; Alfons Nehring, *Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat* (in: *Wiener Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Vol. IV, 1936).

\*\*Hirt *Festschrift*, Heidelberg, 1936.

\*\*\*Tokharien et Indo-Européen.

Indo-European aboriginal language. The native, indigenous inhabitants of these territories were culturally and linguistically absorbed and penetrated in various ways by the Indo-European immigrants. Certainly this process linguistically, culturally, and racially had far-reaching consequences.

A study of the relationships between the various groups of the Indo-European family of languages has proved convincingly that the nearest



The kinship of the Indo-European languages.

The Scheme of J. Schmidt and H. Hirt, relative to the kinship of the Indo-European languages, superimposed on the map of Europe by Tadeusz Sulimirski (Cracow).

Key: 1. the Celts; 2. the Teutons; 3. the Balts; 4. the Slavs; 5. the Illyrians; 6. the Thracians; 7. the Indo-Iranians; 8. the Italics; 9. the Greeks.

relative of the Slavic languages is the Baltic group which includes the present Lithuanian, Latvian, and some now extinct languages, such as Old Prussian. The common linguistic structural peculiarities and common vocabulary (of more than 1600 words) which unite the Baltic and Slavic groups demand the assumption of a very close linguistic

relationship and of common Balto-Slavic culture before and after dissolution of the original Indo-European community. On the other hand, careful investigation of peculiarities of grammatical structure and vocabulary convinced the Polish scholar Lehr-Splawinski\* that the nearest relation of the original Proto-Baltic and Proto-Slavic was primitive Germanic. The etymological analysis of the Baltic and Slavic groups on the one hand and the Germanic (the present West) group on the other established 425 common words in comparison with only 120 common to Aryan and Armenian (the present East), and 98 common to the Greek-Latin groups. These facts allow us to place the presumable location of the Proto-Balts and Proto-Slavs in the original home during the common Indo-European period.

Gradually, one by one, the Indo-European peoples appeared out of the dark pre-historic times before the footlights on the stage of history. First came the Aryans, then the Greek tribes, the Thracians and Illyrians, Italic peoples, Celts, the Germanic peoples, and still later the Slavs and the Balts. For a general guide to these new territories and their location the map of the Swedish scholar F. K. Johanson may be of service. This map also shows the supposed cradles of the Germanic peoples and of the Slavs, in which the special peculiarities of their language branches and races finally crystallized.

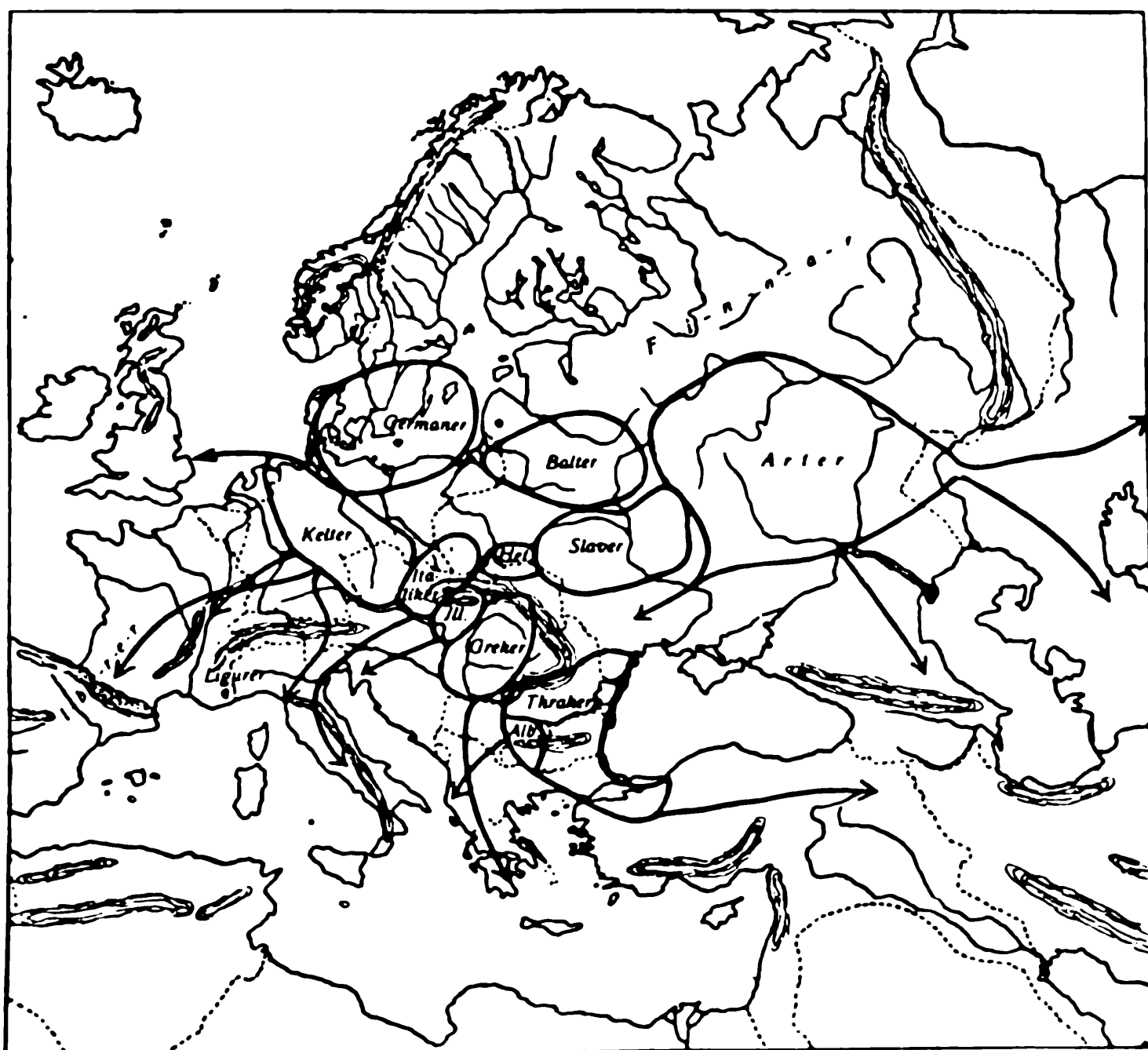
As we see from the map, the ancestors of the Germanic and Slavic peoples during the course of several centuries turned away from one another and withdrew into the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic original homes where they developed and matured linguistically, culturally, and ethnically into separate units. When did the ancestors of the Germanic and Slavic peoples meet one another again - as separate nuclei, already formed and established? When, in other words, does the oldest history of Germanic-Slavic relations begin? What method has scholarship developed to elucidate this darkest period of history?

## 2. The loan-word study as a method of research into cultural history.

The study of reciprocal loanwords has brought an important contribution to the problem of when and where the ancestors of the Germanic and Slavic peoples met again. It is clear that reciprocal loanwords must have as a prerequisite close contact. Only changes in the settlement and establishment of common frontiers could be the starting point for the cultural and linguistic processes which created these reciprocal loan-words and which wrote the first chapter of Germanic-Slavic cultural relations. We should like to investigate and answer the above-mentioned questions, but first we have to define the term "loan-word" and its importance for the cultural history of these ancient times.

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\*T. Lehr-Splawinski, *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian*, Poznań, 1946.



The original homes of the Indo-European peoples according to the Swedish scholar K. F. Johansson.

The "loan-word" is closely connected with the "foreign" or "adopted" word. The loan-word is a linguistic-cultural phenomenon as old as language itself. Peoples, as the living carriers of languages, live as human beings, not separated from one another, but always around them, near or far, they have neighbors with whom they "live together." Not even living on an island isolates people; on the contrary it is a challenge to discover the neighbor across the sea and to establish relations with him. These relations between neighbors may be of a peaceful or a warlike kind. The type of reciprocal linguistic traces in the languages in question depends on the kind of relationship involved.

Peaceful neighborly relations include later commerce or trade - that means an exchange of ideas too. These material and intellectual exchanges of values create apart from the existing language differences between neighbors small unifying language-bridges in the form of "adopted" words. These peaceful relations flourished especially

along the old highways of trade and commerce. Not only did goods and merchandise flow on these routes, but in addition names and distinguishing marks passed from one people to another, striking roots in the host-language as "adopted foreign" words. When the roots of an adopted word have grown so deep in the host language that successive generations have felt the word not as a foreign but a homebred word, then a "foreign adopted" word has become a "loan-word." Loan-words already possess, so to speak, the citizenship of the language concerned and therefore are subject to all its phonetic laws and sound changes.

Warlike relations and the ensuing stay of foreign armies in a native territory, or a stay of a native army in foreign countries, were always occasions for the adoption of foreign words into a language. The last decade is very instructive from this point of view. Warlike events may result in one nation gaining political and cultural supremacy over another. In this way the doors are open for an influx of its words into the language of the conquered people. The upper classes of the submerged people become gradually bilingual and begin to mix with their own mother tongue foreign words from the victorious people. The lower classes of the subdued people imitate their own upper classes. The use of foreign words and their adoption develops into a sign of "belonging to the ruling class," even of "higher culture and education." So the foreign words are spread and disseminated as current fashionable words in a language-community.

Words are carriers of either material or intellectual meanings and are intimately connected with the whole language of the people, its grade of civilization and its cultural sphere. Language and its words are a mirror of the material and intellectual culture of a people, not only of its present but also of its history and development. All words of native origin in a people's language give us a clue to its natural self-taught values; all adopted and borrowed words show us the cultural influences which a people have undergone, and at the same time show us the sources from which they have received their foreign cultural values.

The loan-word branch of linguistics (Lehnwortkunde) consequently developed into a very valuable auxiliary in the investigation of cultural influences and relations, because the adoption or borrowing of a word is not only a linguistic fact but above all it has a great significance for cultural history. On the kind of mutual relations between two peoples, on the grade of their civilization and culture depends whether one people influences another or is itself influenced, whether a people acts as donor or recipient in a cultural relationship. In this way we have in the loan-words of the vocabularies of every language a documentary archive of the cultural relations of a people, from ancient times up to the present. Just as an archaeologist searches through the strata of the earth for remains on the basis of which he can draw far-reaching conclusions about the pre-history of a land or a people,

so a linguist, on the basis of the loan-words can penetrate into the oldest history of a people and illuminate it. He is in reality a "word-archaeologist." Where no writing and no archaeological discoveries can speak to us, the loan-words of a language can clearly indicate the origins and development of the culture of a people and its cultural relations from the earliest times. In the number and the kind of loan-words with which one people has fertilized and enriched another we have an indication of its creative or mediating role in the cultural sphere. In the number and the kind of loan-words which a people has received from another people we can detect its earlier civilization and culture.

Thus the study of loan-words has become a very important auxiliary branch of cultural history, especially in its most ancient periods. This study is also of very great importance in the investigation and exploration of ancient Germanic-Slavic relations and for this purpose we have sufficient linguistic material. We intend on the basis of reciprocal loan-words to draw conclusions about their cultural history which will also enlighten us about the oldest cultural level of the ancestors of the Germanic and Slavic peoples. In our cultural and historical research we must not lose sight of the important fact that these ancestors played a part in the original Indo-European home and in a common Indo-European culture, and that both proto-peoples, the Germanic as well as the Slavic, entered into their separate lives with a common cultural inheritance.

### 3. A sketch of Indo-European culture.

Another method has also been developed in linguistics for the reconstruction of the old Indo-European history. The establishment of word-cognates between the Indo-European languages gives a clue as to whether the thing or idea which the meaning of a word represents was already known to the aboriginal Indo-European culture or not. The existence of cognates of a word among all Indo-European languages leads to the conclusion that the thing or idea represented by the meaning was already a part of the common Indo-European culture. The common Indo-European culture was quite considerable, and, by a systematic comparison of the vocabularies of the Indo-European languages and the establishment of cognates by etymological methods, we are in a position to reconstruct this primeval, original culture in its general outlines.

Our Indo-European ancestors existed either as husbandmen or cattle-raising herdsmen. They lived in large family clans which embraced at least three generations and were probably monogamous. They had clear designations for all grades of family relationships. They inhabited dwelling-cavities, huts with wicker and loam-plastered walls (mud huts) or simple quadrangular log-cabins with open fire-places. Each village or clan had its own stronghold, a place of refuge

in times of danger. There were also pile-dwellers near the lake-shores, who enjoyed great safety in those unsafe times. They bred flocks of domestic animals which are also raised today. The horse, ox, swine, goat, sheep, even the dog, were well known to them, but not the cat, ass, mule, camel, elephant, or lion. The hunters had already named the deer, hog, bear, wolf, lynx, beaver, hedgehog, hare, adder, squirrel, and mouse, while the fishermen recognized trout and tench. Among the still undomesticated fowl the duck, pigeon, and goose were known, and among the birds: the eagle, crane, crow, cuckoo, and owl. Primitive agriculture with a wooden plow, wooden harrow, and wooden sickle included the following cultivated plants: barley, rye, flax, hemp, beans, lentils, rape, spelt, and it had already developed special terms for "to plow," "to sow," and for "seed" and "ears of grain." Oak, birch, the common spruce, maple, ash, and linden were also clearly discerned.

Our original ancestors still had no knowledge of the use of metals for tools, but they knew of the existence of copper and bronze, and probably also of gold and silver. As weapons they used stones, bones, wooden clubs, wooden lances, bows, and wooden shields. As implements they used hatchets, axes, hammers, and knives. For travel they used a kind of cart with two wheels and a shaft, and there were also river row-boats. However, they had no word for "sea." The following arts and crafts were already developed: pottery (but without a wheel); weaving (of wool), and sewing. Clothes consisted of shoes (made of leather or the inner bark of trees), kilt, loin-apron, a kind of bodice coat, a sleeve-coat, and a large cloak. Furs were also used. The following foods were commonly known: a kind of bread, paps-pulps, soups, meat, and salt. Mead made from honey was an intoxicating beverage. In the preparation of meals the words for "to bake," "to grill," and "to grind" were used.

The Indo-Europeans knew the year, the moon-months (but not the week), and they gave names to seasons. They had their own way of life in laws, morals, and customs. They distinguished friends and enemies, sin, revenge, blood-money, property, an oath, and they had special ceremonies for name-giving, marriage, and funeral. In the religious sphere they developed alongside a belief in primitive ancestors, ghosts, and demons, a later worship of heaven-god (god of the firmament), of the sun-god, and of other gods which were worshipped by songs and offerings at the holy hearth-fire.

#### 4. The development of separate Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic cultures.

As we see, the ancestors of the Germanic and Slavic peoples received from the point of view of culture and civilization, a considerable dowry from their Indo-European parents, and they both shared the same or at least a similar grade of culture and civilization. This



common cultural capital was later, during the separate existence of the ancestors of the Germanic and Slavic peoples, administered and developed in a different way. Different cultural and geographical influences influenced the life in their separate territories, and therefore different cultural results were brought about.

Above all, the original grandeur of nature must be mentioned with its great power of landscape. In the landscape a powerful might is hidden, and this close brotherhood and deep intimacy of earth and man are glorified by the peasant writers of all nations. The native soil enters into bone and tissue, binding the human being to itself - the mother country. The earth stamps the human being like a coin leaving its mark on the whole culture of a people. The landscape and the soil are also a kind of fate for a people; they not only form the style and character of the culture, but they also shape the soul of the people.

Where was the original Proto-Slavic home supposed to be? Let us sketch the history of the present state of research on this important problem connected with Proto-Slavic ethnogenesis, the solution of which has been far advanced during the last few decades.

Already in medieval times this problem began to interest the Slavs. The Rus' chronicler Nestor, the Pole Kadhubek, the Czechs Dalimil and Pulkava, were searching already for Slavic ancestors, who according to Biblical tradition had to migrate from the tower of Babel into Europe, obviously through the Balkans. Therefore these chroniclers thought of the countries on the middle Danube - ancient Illyria, Pannonia, and Dacia - as the original home of the Slavs. Later, Slavic scholars, under German and Italian influence, accepted the theory of the Slavic migration into the Black Sea hinterland, identifying the Slavs with the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans, and Roxolans, and regarding, what is now the Ukraine, as their original homeland. These two theories, the Balkan-Danubian and the Sarmato-Ukrainian, were generally accepted until the nineteenth century, when the whole question became an object of real scientific research. Historians put an end to arbitrary identifications of ancient ethnical names with the Slavs, and, at the same time, the foundation of Indo-European Comparative Philology was laid through the work of Rask, Bopp, and Schleicher, which helped to clarify the position of Slavic within the Indo-European family of languages and demanded, because of its close relationship - an original location in the neighborhood of the Balts and the Germanic peoples. Subsequent systematic research in linguistics, history, archaeology, ethnography, and anthropology, especially during the last sixty years, established a clear southern boundary for the supposed Slavic homeland - the Carpathian mountains and the Black Sea. But as far as the other boundaries were concerned, there is no country from the Elbe and the North Sea in the west to the Volga in the north and east, which has not been suggested as the Slavic homeland with more or less important reasons from all the above-mentioned



sciences as evidence.

We must limit ourselves to a brief presentation of these theories about the Slavic homeland and ethnogenesis, giving a short statement of the scientific evidence in their support and indicating the geographical location of the supposed homeland of the Slavs on the map of Europe. The Slovak, Šafařík, \* influenced by Indo-European philology, placed the original homeland on the northwestern and northeastern slopes of the Carpathian mountains, roughly including Galicia, Volhynia, and Podolia. Thus, the Slavic homeland was located nearer the linguistically related Baltic and Germanic peoples. The Czech, Niederle, accepting this theory as a basis, extended it to the west and northeast for archaeological and historical reasons. According to Niederle, the original home stretched from the Carpathian mountains to Mohilew on the Dnieper in the northeast, and from the Vistula to Kiev.

The fine, speculative mind of the Russian Shakhmatov, in considering the various changes in the ethnographical configuration in the course of time, developed the theory of a series of successive homelands - the first in the basin of the Dvina and Niemen, from which territory the Slavs migrated as Veneti into the second homeland on the lower Vistula. From this territory the Goths had migrated into the Black Sea hinterland, the present Ukraine. However, after the Gothic retreat from here - after 375 A.D. - the Slavs expanded to the east and south replacing the Goths in these Black Sea areas. The first two territories are the home of the western Slavs, the third, in the east, the home of the eastern and southern Slavs. A. I. Sobolevskii\*\* looked for the Slavic home (for the time around 2 - 1 centuries B.C.) on the shores of the Baltic Sea, where Ptolemy located the Venedi.

The Pole, Rostafinski, after profound research on Slavic words representing fauna and flora, established the Polesie territory as the center of the Slavic homeland, but he admitted the possibility of an early Slavic colonization from this territory up to the Vistula in the west and the upper Dnieper in the east, including the Desna, Pripet and Berezina. The distinguished Polish scholar, Rozwadowski, after an intensive study of names of rivers and places, decided that the Slavic homeland was situated somewhere behind the Niemen and the Dnieper.

In the period after World War I the Polish archaeologists, Kostrzewski\*\*\* and Kozłowski, the anthropologist Czekanowski,\*\*\*\* and

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\*A nearly complete bibliography of the problem of the Slavic original home up to 1936 is contained in Z. Rysiewicz's article, O praojczyźnie Słowian, "Lud," vol. XXXIV, Lwów, 1936.

\*\*In Russko-Skifskie Etiudy, Petrograd, 1923-24.

\*\*\*J. Kostrzewski, Prastłowiańszczyzna, Poznan, 1946.

\*\*\*\*Jan Czekanowski, The Ancient Home of the Slavs, The Slavonic and Eastern European Review, 1947.

the linguist, Rudnicki, developed a theory according to which what is commonly known as "Lusatian culture" is regarded as the original Slavic culture, the Lusatian territory being, therefore, the location of the original home of the Slavs. On the basis of archaeological data, J. Kostrzewski developed a theory of Slavic ethnogenesis which included the following territorial changes of the homeland: 1) 1300 B.C. the Proto-Slavs, the bearers of the Lusatian culture, expanded from the middle Elbe to Vistula, from Pomerania to what is now the Czech and Moravian territory in the south; 2) 1100 - 900 B.C. an extension to the west and the east up to the territories behind the Bug took place; 3) 900 - 400 B.C. the Proto-Slavs expanded to Grodno, Polesie, Volhynia, and Eastern Galicia, where a separate Wysockian culture was developed near Brody; 4) around 300 B.C. the Proto-Slavic territory in the west and south was overrun by Germanic and Celtic tribes.

The Ukrainian archaeologist, V. Shcherbakivsky, since 1920 teaching in exile at the Ukrainian Masaryk University in Prague, during the Congress of Slavic geographers and ethnographers at Sophia, in 1936, propounded a theory which has been published in the reports of the Congress. This theory has had some influence on Vernadsky, who mentions it in the literature of the second volume of his history. Shcherbakivsky maintains that the Slavs emerged from a mixture of Indo-European and Asiatic races which populated the Dnieper and Danube basins before them. There developed not one but many Proto-Slavic languages in the territory of what is now Poland, Rumania, Hungary, the Balkans, and in the Ukraine from the Carpathian mountains to the Caucasus. There were many Proto-Slavic languages in areas other than that of the Vistula too, and therefore, there were many Proto-Slavic homes. That explains why in the era of Pliny and Tacitus, the Slavs extended from the Black to the Baltic Seas. In my opinion this archaeologist has in part misunderstood the substratum theory of Meillet, Pokorny, and Feist, and therefore it is difficult for a linguist to follow his argument.

The German, Vasmer, dedicated many of his publications to this question, especially after the First World War and during World War II. Important is his publication, unobtainable in the United States, *Die Alten Bevoelkerungsverhaeltnisse Russlands in Lichte der Sprachforschung*, Berlin, 1941, Vortraege und Schriften der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Nr. 5. It is based primarily on etymological research of the names of rivers and places. Vasmer maintains that the original home of the Slavs was situated in the triangle between Lwiw (Lemberg) in the west, Kharkiw in the east and Minsk in the north, including the territories of Volhynia, Podolia, part of Minsk, Mohilew, Kiev, Chernyhiw, Kursk, and Orel. The present author asked Vasmer by letter about his present opinions, and he replied in a letter dated April 17th, 1949, "previously I was inclined to exclude Eastern Galicia, but now I also include this territory into the original home

because of its very ancient river-name formations."

Another German scholar, Trautmann, differs considerably from Vasmer except for the date which they both accept as being around the beginning of the Christian era. In his *Die Slavischen Voelker und Sprachen*, published in 1947, Trautmann states that the original home was between the Warta and Dnieper, between the Carpathian mountains and a line in the north from the lower Vistula to Smolensk. He based his opinions on the pure Slavic names of rivers and places in this territory. The Balts separated the Slavs from the Finns, the Teutons and the Balts from the Baltic Sea, and the Thracians and Skythians from the Black Sea and Mediterranean.

Lehr-Spławinski, a Pole, published the results of his studies in 1946 - *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian*, in which he tries to make a synthesis from the results of archaeology, ethnology, anthropology, and linguistics in order to solve the problem. Lehr-Spławinski's theory accepts four stages of Slavic ethnogenesis, but all the four stages in the course of 2000 years, according to him, took place in the basins of the Vistula and the Oder. Therefore, he regards this territory as the nucleus of the original homeland. The various stages are: (a) 2000-1700 B.C. the Indo-Europeans expanded from Central Germany (Thuringen) towards the east, into the territories behind the Oder which were populated by the Proto-Ugro-Finns. By ethnical, cultural, and linguistic assimilation of this population the Indo-Europeans created the Proto-Baltic unit, which included the Proto-Slavs and Proto-Balts within a large territory extending from the Oder to the Oka and the middle Volga. Following Pokorny\* Lehr-Spławinski accepts some Ugro-Finnic influences on these "Proto-Balts."

(b) After 1700 B.C. a new invasion of the Indo-Europeans from the west created the Lusatian culture, identified with the Venedi. This culture disrupted Proto-Baltic unity and created the Proto-Slavic unit, which occupied the territory extending from the Oder to beyond the Bug in the east and from the shores of the Baltic Sea to the upper Vistula, San, and Dniester in the south. This period ended about 700 B.C. (c) In the time from 700-400 B.C. a merger of the Lusatian culture with the Pomeranian culture was accomplished. This latter culture developed on the shores of the Baltic and extended eastwards into Volhynia, Podolia, and Eastern Galicia with its Wysocka culture.

(d) The final ethnic and linguistic crystallization of the Proto-Slavs has been completed about 200 B.C. in the territories of Volhynia, Podolia, and Eastern Galicia in the east, and as far as the middle Elbe in the west. The Slavs did not begin to expand over the western Carpathians into Slovakia until after 400 A.D.

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\*J. Pokorny, *Substratfrage im Balto-Slavischen*, in: *Substrattheorie und Urheimat der Indogermanen*, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. LXVI.

The late distinguished American scholar S. H. Cross presented his opinion in the *Harvard Handbook of Slavic Studies*, 1949. He visualizes the original Slavic home as an irregular area north and east of the Carpathians, extending from the middle Vistula to the Dnieper north and south of Kiev, bounded by Narew and Pripet in the north and touching the sources of Pruth, Dniester, and southern Bug in the south.

Finally, I should like to mention the theory of the Polish ethnologist, Moszyński, based on some 30 Turkish-Tatarian loan-words of rather uncertain date. He looks for the Slavic homeland far in the east. According to him, it was probably located in Asia, on the north boundaries of the large steppe. But already a few centuries before Christ, Moszyński finds the Slavs in Europe in the territory extending from the Ukrainian steppes to the Baltic shore.

To sum up, if we exclude the Asiatic theory of Moszyński, we have at present three groups of theories: (1) the eastern European concept of Shakhmatov and Rozwadowski; (2) the western European concept of Kostrzewski, Kozłowski, Czekanowski, Rudnicki, Lehr-Splawinski, and, in part, Trautmann; (3) between them is the intermediate concept, which considers the center of the original home to be the Polesie territory with its surroundings, a theory expounded by Rostafinski, Vasmer, and partly by Cross.

Let us evaluate now the present state of research on the Slavic homeland: 1. The background for all these theories is common acknowledgement of the basic ideas of Indo-European Comparative Philology about the original Indo-European homeland, language, and people, the common recognition of its principles regarding etymological methods and common respect for objective research in archaeology, ethnology, and anthropology. The problem of the original Slavic homeland, therefore, remains closely connected with the above-mentioned Indo-European problem. 2. In that Indo-European frame we see the following questions: (a) We have noticed in the last decade a revival of the theory about an Indo-European homeland in Asia. The course this discussion takes will influence our problem also. (b) The idea of an Indo-European homeland includes "the people" and its ethnogenesis; therefore, the idea of a Slavic homeland includes "the original Slavic people" and its ethnogenesis, parallel with the Germanic and Baltic ethnogeneses. Must a common Balto-Slavic period and home be assumed? The distinguished American linguist, A. Senn, has, in our opinion, given a final blow to this idea. (c) Next, in the problem of homeland and ethnogenesis the questions of race, language, culture, and migration are also involved. All these must be placed not only in a territory, but also in a certain period of time, which in the case of the Slavic homeland includes at least two or three millenniums. All scholars who are aware of the problem of Slavic ethnogenesis consider it necessary to trace the territorial changes involved in the course of time. 3. There are still some difficulties. The problem of

the exact location of the Slavic homeland is still unsolved but is concentrated within a small area. Today, a new stimulus has been added to this discussion by the publications of Lehr-Splawinski and A. Senn, and the work of Rozwadowski, published by the Polish Academy *Studja nad nazwami rzek słowiańskich*, 1948 (the manuscript of which remained unpublished for nearly 40 years).

It is clear, then, that only through coordination of research in linguistics, anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, and to a certain extent, history, can a final solution to our problem be found.

The opinions presented here were those of European scholars with whom American scholars are in a general agreement. After 1920, however, the world of science and liberal arts was divided into the east and the west. The east is the Soviet Union in which party dictatorship holds sway over all branches of science and liberal arts, including linguistics.

Let us now state the problem of the original Slavic homeland as seen through the eyes of official Soviet philology: 1. According to the Soviet linguistic theory of Marr, Indo-European philology is bourgeois nonsense. Its etymological method is also essentially false, for all words of all languages consist of only four elements: Sal, Ber, Yon, Ro. 2. As there has never been an Indo-European people and homeland, there has never been an original Slavic people, homeland or migrations. Academician Picheta in the *Yuvileyney Sbornik* of the Soviet Academy, 1947, writes in his article *Osnovnye problemy sovetskogo slavyanovedeniya* "the theory about the original homeland and the original Slavic people is a myth created by the Indo-European linguists." A whole school of Soviet linguists (Udaltsov, Tikhanov, Arta-monov, Passek, Derzhavin) developed the Soviet theory of Slavic ethnogenesis along the lines of Marr's theories. 3. It is customary nowadays to insert a quotation from Stalin in every scientific article published in the Soviet Union. Academician Picheta thinks that Stalin has solved the problem of Slavic ethnogenesis in the following lines: "the present Italian nation originated from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, etc., the French nation has developed from Gauls, Romans, Britons, Teutons, etc., the same has to be said about the English, the Germans, and other nations which developed from persons of different races and peoples." We are sorry to say it, but Stalin's sequence of the peoples who influenced the Italians racially - Romans, then Teutons, then Etruscans, then Greeks, then Arabs - does not show mastery of historical facts. The application of the modern national idea to the problems of pre-history does provoke some objections, and besides, he seems to have missed the most essential point: the language. In spite of all the influences, from Latin emerged Italian, a Romance language, not Arabic, Germanic, Greek, or Etruscan. 4. Following the party line set up by Stalin and Marr, Udaltsov solved the problem of Slavic ethnogenesis in the following way

(see Proizkhozhdentye Slavian, 1937): "the basic territory in which the Slavs originated, extends from the Oder in the west to the Dnieper, the upper Volga and Oka in the east; from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Carpathian Mountains in the south. This territory was populated by the ancestors of the Slavs: the Skolots of the middle Dnieper, neighbors of the tribes of Dyakova Gorodyscha near Moscow, and the Lugians in the basin of the Warthe and Vistula. The nucleus of the Slavic ethnogenesis has been in the territory of the middle Dnieper, on the left-bank Ukraine and in Byelorussia, where, 3000 B.C. blossomed the Tripolye culture." To sum up the Soviet point of view: we think our colleagues in the Soviet Union see these problems as we do, but they are compelled to use a different terminology in order to avoid accusations of "cosmopolitan or capitalist" influences. They call the original homeland the "nucleus of ethnogenesis," the territory of Slavic penetration and migration - "basic territory." These are examples of current Soviet semantics.

If we consider all the territories discussed, one central territory remains constant: the Polesie (the land along the forests) Marshes. Both, the western and eastern concepts accept the fact that this territory was already occupied by the Proto-Slavs a few centuries B.C. Taking into consideration the fact that even Lehr-Splawinski believes that the final ethnic and linguistic crystallization of the Proto-Slavs was accomplished around 200 B.C., when the Polesie territory was surely already Slavic, we believe that the "intermediate concept" is the best proved, and that this part of the Eastern European plain together with the Polesie marshes was the center of the original Slavic home. Well defended by its forest isolation this territory was a natural place for the aboriginal home, which surely for many centuries was also used as the Slavic refuge.

What kind of country is it? It is barren, abounding in swamps, forests, rivers, and lakes. A fairly cold continental climate with hard winters lasting for many months transforms the country into a snowy desert. In addition, there is the endless width of the plain; the eye wanders desperately into the depth of the landscape without finding a resting place, till the contours of the open space merge into each other on the horizon. It is a landscape which imprints on human beings a melancholic frame of mind; a landscape, which because of its monotony offers little stimulation to the human intellect and spirit.

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The Proto-Slavs, therefore, distinguished themselves by a stiff and obstinate guarding of old traditions, the more so, as their original land was also remote from the Mediterranean cultural sphere and its direction of expansion. Thus the Proto-Slavic land influenced the people, as the Czech scholar L. Niederle stresses, hindering the development of Slavic culture. For this reason, Slavic culture seemed a little backward, poor, and less developed not only in comparison with the Greek and Roman, but also with the German cultures.



The Proto-Germanic destiny was formed in another way. The original Germanic territory (a region comprising Southern Scandinavia, Denmark, Schleswig Holstein, and Northern Germany between the Weser and the Oder) with its seashores was much better located for cultural relations. So the ancestors of the Germanic peoples early became acquainted with those excellent blacksmiths, the Celts, and they learned from them the craft of welding. Skill in metal work is also good for the development of character. But their greatest instructor was the sea, for which they were also well equipped physically. It is remarkable that of all the Indo-Europeans only the Greeks and the ancestors of the Germanic peoples evolved this genius for mastering the sea. The Aryans (Indians and Iranians), the Balts, and the Slavs preferred the security of the continent\*; even the Romans learned their navigation from the two first mentioned peoples. The Germanic ancestors were the creators of the oldest terms for naval affairs, for the peculiarities of the maritime countries, for the sea-breezes, sea-animals, and sea-fishes. Courage, will-power, and resolution unfolded in them during the struggle against the elemental forces of the sea, and navigation awoke the conqueror spirit, widened reflection and imagination, hardened character, formed leaders, and compelled sailors by constant risk at sea to discipline and obedience. So, for centuries, the North and Baltic Seas trained and educated bold, courageous generations of Germanic seafarers and sea-fighters, eager for plunder, future Vikings.

As a consequence of these different geographical and cultural influences two quite separate cultures also developed during the separate lives of the Germanic and Slavic ancestors. The Proto-Slavs kept the old Indo-European culture in a patriarchal way as husbandmen, hunters, and fishermen conservatively governed; the Proto-Germanic ancestors in the course of centuries as sailors and sea-fighters developed farther and higher culturally. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that when the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic ancestors came into contact again later, the Proto-Germanic tribes appeared more developed, both culturally and socially, than the Proto-Slavs.

Those factors which contributed to the differences between the Germanic and the Slavic culture can only be outlined here. Yet the problem merits special investigation, especially from the point of view of American scholarship which made a distinguished contribution to "environmentalism" through its geographers, psychologists

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\*We do not believe that Prof. Vernadsky's theory about the early navigation of the East Slavs is well founded. We find no such traces in their vocabulary. O.B. korablъ, korabb(ship) is from Gr. καράβιον -κάραβος, an old loan-word, common to all Slavic languages. The Greeks and later the Goths instructed the Slavs in navigation. Cf. Ernst Schultze, Meeresscheue und Seetuechtige Voelker, Stuttgart, 1937.

("regional psychology") and sociologists ("behavioral environment"), etc.\* In all European languages also an immense literature exists about the reciprocal relationship between physical environment and human beings.

One point is certain: the closer we approach to modern times, the lesser grows the environmental factor and the greater appears the importance of man's work in creating the cultural landscape. But the further we go back into the dark and darkest ages, the more dominating is the environmental factor. Thus, we believe, there can be no question but that physical circumstances stamped themselves on the culture and character of the Proto-Slavic and Proto-Germanic peoples.

Special attention should be drawn to one factor in our problem: the climate, which has become very important in the last few years of research and is closely connected with the whole structure of a language. The geographical environment acts through the landscape and climate directly and indirectly (through psychic impressions) on the human body, especially on breathing and language.\*\* The climate by means of electrically charged particles of the air forces human beings to special kinds of breathing. This also accounts for the energy-giving properties of health-resorts, of the stimulating sea-climate with its freshness and joyous, adventurous spirit. It illustrates Leonardo da Vinci's saying "All the genius that I have comes from the air (climate) of my native province." The "air" of the supposed Slavic homeland was different from the Germanic.

We can learn from Louise A. Boyd\*\*\* the impression made by the Polesie Marshes (nearly 30,000 sq. mi.), the supposed center of the Slavic home, on an American shortly before World War II. With the exception of some foreign foods, coffee, tea, and sugar (very seldom used) these people of the marshes of Pinsk build their life entirely from the material at hand - as did the early Egyptians. Food, clothing, furniture, implements, houses are homemade. Surrounding this primitive, self-sufficient life is a level horizon of monotonous and sombre marshes. The silence of the country, in particular, made a

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\*From the extensive American literature on the subject we can only mention the following works: Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*; Roderick Peattie, *Geography in Human Destiny*; Archibald Geikie, *Landscape and History*; Franklin Thomas, *Environmental Basis of Society*.

\*\*Cf. F. Roedemeyer, *Atmung, Atem und Sprache; Forschungen und Fortschritte. Nachrichtenblatt der Deutschen Wissenschaft und Technik*, 1936.

\*\*\*Louise A. Boyd, *Polish Countrysides*, American Geographical Society, Special publication No. 20.

Louise A. Boyd, *The Marshes of Pinsk*, *Geographical Review*, Vol. XXVI, 1936. The photographic record of the country and people, published by the author, is excellent and very instructive.



great impression on the American visitor; a silence, broken only by the call of a duck or by the sound of oars. The seriousness and sadness of the population were also noted. There is little laughter among the fishermen and farmers. Characteristic productions are the hand-hewn, flat-bottomed boats, and beautifully woven willow basket work. This provincialism with its intense isolation already in the earliest times tended towards conservatism and stagnation. Even today the population lives in "wooden-age" houses; all other buildings as well as farm tools are of wood. Even today this country is a living reminder of the primitive Slavic past.

## Chapter III

### THE BEGINNING OF SLAVIC-GERMANIC RELATIONS AND THEIR PERIODS

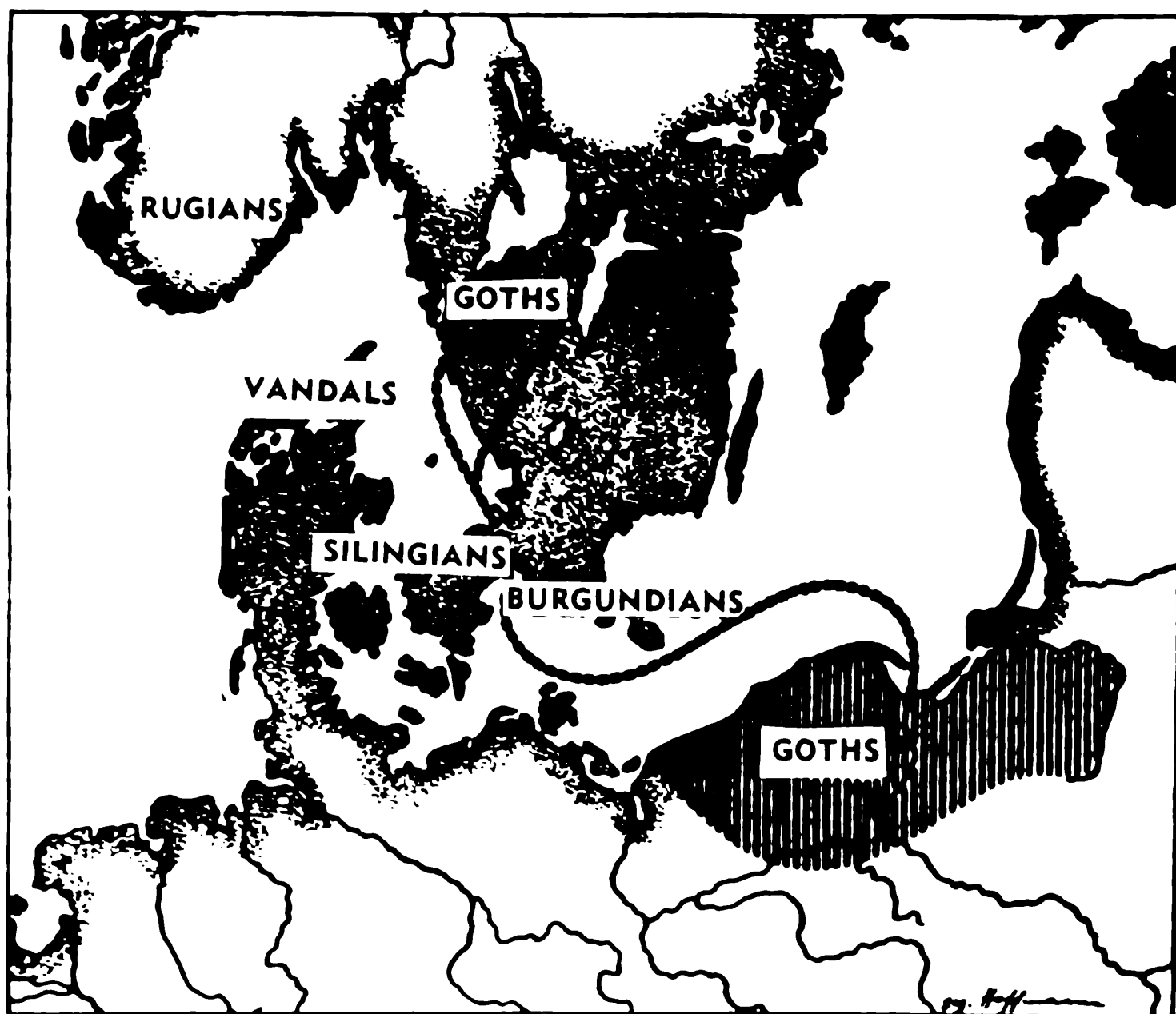
#### I. The historical background.

After the elucidation of cultural and linguistic foundations, we can now proceed to answer the question as to where and when did the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic ancestors meet again in the course of history.

For that purpose we must glance at the ethnographical state of Eastern Europe before the birth of Christ. Germanic tribes were settled on the lower Vistula and along its left bank. They were the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Rugians. The central valley of the Vistula eastwards to the Bug including Western Volhynia and Eastern Galicia as far as the Carpathians were also, by the first centuries A.D., settled by the Germanic tribes of Bastarnae and Sciri. Eastwards from the Bug, the original home of the Proto-Slavs stretched from the basin of the Prypet river to the central Dnieper, bounded in the south by the steppes. In the north the neighbors of the Slavs were the Balts; their tribes occupied the territory of Vilna, Minsk, Vitebsk, and Smolensk as far as the upper Dnieper and the upper Dvina. The Balts and the Slavs had no access to the Baltic seashores where the Finnish tribes settled. The Finns populated the north and extended into the east where Iranian tribes were scattered between the Slavs and the Finns.

At a very early date Germanic migrations began on the Baltic seashore. These migrations in Western Finland and Northern Esthonia were of Proto-Germanic origin. Just as here the Germanic migration used the Alands islands as a bridge to the east, so Gotland island was employed as a springboard for expansion towards the Baltic seashores. The seashore, as the Danish scholar A. Stender-Petersen points out, was colonized at an early date by the East-Germanic tribes, which resulted later in the establishment of a Gothic state on the former East-Prussian territory, from where the Germanic tribes expanded to the south as far as the Vistula.

It is evident from these ethnographical conditions and their gradual transformation in the course of time that the Slavs could come into contact with the Germanic tribes in two ways. First, with the Bastarnae and the Sciri, or later with the Gothic state in the former East-Prussia.



The original home of the Goths in Sweden and their state on the Baltic Sea

It is known that the Bastarnae, an East-Germanic tribe, expanded around the 5th century B.C. up the Vistula, that they occupied the northern and eastern slopes of the Carpathians, and that they settled here - in central and eastern Galicia - for a few centuries. The topographical terms of the rivers and places of this territory (of Eastern Galicia and the neighboring Volhynia) are good indications of their centuries-long settlement in this territory. Whilst the bulk of this tribe remained in this country, Bastarnae bands pushed on into the south-east till they reached the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube during the third and second centuries B.C. According to Pliny, they still lived there in the second part of the first century A.D. A little more to the north from the Bastarnae history identifies the Sciri, who settled between the central Vistula and the river Bug, and later together with the Bastarnae advanced towards the Black Sea.

L. Niederle took for granted that the Proto-Slavs not only came in touch with these Germanic tribes, but that these Slavs in what is now Podolia and Volhynia were also dominated by the Bastarnae. Therefore

we must also look here for the first sources of Germanic influences on the culture and language of the Proto-Slavs. An opposite view is presented by A. Stender-Petersen. He denies emphatically every possibility of contact between the Proto-Slavs and the Germanic tribes in the above territories. The Bastarnae and Sciri were settled in the triangle bounded by the Vistula, the Bug, and the Carpathians, and were separated from the Proto-Slavic home by the barrier of the marshes of Pinsk and Rokitno. Therefore, he argues, it is impossible that these Germanic tribes could have culturally influenced the Proto-Slavs here. Furthermore, during the later advance of the Bastarnae and Sciri south-eastwards to the Black Sea contact between the Slavs and these Germanic tribes is out of the question, because - according to A. Stender-Petersen - the Slavs during pre-Christian times were located east of the Niemen-Styr line. They possessed the Pripet-land and did not extend on the other side of the western Bug or into Galicia, not to mention to the Carpathians. Therefore every possibility of Germanic-Slavic relations has to be ruled out. On the other hand A. Stender-Petersen tries to prove that the first Germanic influences on the Proto-Slavs constitute part of the great cultural emanation of the East-Germanic tribes, which had earlier impregnated the Finns and, in a lesser degree, the Balts. That is to say, the first waves of Germanic influence came over the Proto-Slavs from the Gothic state in former East-Prussia during its expansion into the interior of the continent. This Gothic state, which existed from a few centuries B.C. up to 150 A.D. and extended in the south as far as Polesie, embraces the oldest Proto-Germanic cultural period and the first Proto-Germanic influences on the Proto-Slavs.

We should like at this stage to present briefly our own opinion on this question of the earliest Germanic - Slavic relations. Everyone who knows the marshes of Pinsk, from experience knows very well that they do not constitute an insurmountable obstacle to human relations. Certainly, they are a heavy obstacle, but even in the most difficult places the inhabitants have constructed detours which make it possible, in spite of all difficulties, to maintain relations either by land or waterway with one's neighbors. So it is at present - and so it certainly was also in the oldest times. Therefore we believe that the marsh-barrier of Pinsk and Rokytno is not conclusive evidence for the impossibility of Slavic relations with the Vistula-Germanic tribes. We also believe that both points of view united - Niederle's and Stender-Petersen's - would approach closer to the facts and historical truth if joined together. We believe that the Proto-Slavs while in their original home came under a crossing of Germanic influences from the Bastarnae and Sciri on the one hand, and from the Gothic state on the Baltic Sea on the other hand, and that this epoch includes the oldest and first period of Slavic-Germanic relations.

The historical destiny of the Goths, who settled on the Baltic Sea

and established the Gothic state, brought about later a second period of Slavic-Germanic relations and mutual cultural influences. That is, from this Gothic state on the Baltic Sea at about 166 A.D. began the greatest migration of these Gothic tribes into the present Ukraine. Much information about its riches and sunny climate must have reached the Goths along the amber-roads trod by the adventurous merchants. The way into Ukrainian territory followed the course of the Niemen river, through the swamps between the upper Dnieper in the east and the Pripet river in the south, into the Oium country (this fact of the swamp-crossing supports our opinion on the swamp-barrier) where the Goths established around 200 A.D. their Gothic dominion, a kind of loosely composed but steadily expanding Empire. Oium is supposed by some students to have been the Pripet basin; others locate it in the present Poltava-country on the left-bank Ukraine. According to S. Feist (*Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*, Leiden, 1939) Oium is to be explained as Aujom - ablative from ahwa "river, waters"; the word is contained in Ukrainian river names: Stynawa (\*stin-ahwa), Morachva (\*mar-ahwa); the same word is also in: Scandinavia (from old: Skaden-awia). The Germanic stem is \*aujo - "water, river, island, land reach on water, rivers." Cf. cognates E. is-land "a place of land completely surrounded by water"; G. Au, Aue "watered place, meadow."

After the expulsion of the Iranian Spalen-tribe, the Goths opened for themselves a road to the Black Sea and to a further expansion towards the Don, the Sea of Azov in the East and the Dniester in the west. Numerous Finnish tribes along the Volga were included in this empire in the north-east. Amongst them Gothic bands probably settled, so that Gothic civilization extended in the north as far as a line Tambov-Riazan-Kaluga, even to the upper Oka and the Volga. In addition, the Slavs, especially the ancestors of the present Ukrainians, the Antes, had close relations with the Goths and constituted also a part of the Gothic Empire. For the study of mutual influences it is very important to keep in mind that through the whole Slavic territory stretched the communication roads of the Goths going back to their old mother country: along the Dniester or the southern Bug; the western Bug to the Vistula, or along the Dnieper-Niemen waterway. Thus Gothic dominion began to flourish in the Ukraine, to which the Herules from Denmark were later joined. The Empire expanded mightily including vast territories. It was then that the second period of Germanic-Slavic relations (the Gothic-Slavic) began.

The Goths appeared at the beginning as a more or less united people, but later on they were divided in the east into two parts: the Ostrogoths (in the east - "East" Goths), and the Visigoths (in the west - "West" Goths). The basis of this development were the old tribes Terwingi (West Goths) and Greotingi (East Goths). We cannot support

the conclusion at which Prof. Vernadsky\* arrived because of the apparent conformity in meaning between these Germanic tribal names and the old Slavic tribal names: "Poliane" - the steppe people (from O.B. pole - the field) and "Drevliane" - the forest people (from O.B. drěvo - tree). He repeats the opinion that at the time of Gothic supremacy the forefathers of the Polianians were subject to the Greotingi (plain-people), and those of the Drevlians to the Terwingi (forest-people) - therefore the names "Polianian" and "Drevlianian" refer to these political connections. We cannot support this opinion because (a) the custom of forming tribal names as a reference to the nature of the landscape could also be found originally in Slavic, cf. Doliane - the valley people, Iezerity - the lake people, etc.; (b) the etymologies of the Gothic words are not yet sufficiently explained. S. Feist\*\* notes: Tervingi may be related to Goth. triu, cf. cognates E. tree, O.B. drěvo (from der-vo) and explained as the "Forest People," but underlines that in Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde there are also other explanations. Regarding Greotingi (Greutungi, Grutingi) and its meaning S. Feist is silent and leaves the problem still unsolved. The comparison with the cognates O.E. ȝrēot and OHG. grioz "rock, stone, sand" does not give a basis for an explanation similar to that of the meaning of Polianians - the Field People (not "the Steppe People")\*\*\*. (c) In any case the explanation of Drevlians as the "Forest People" is not satisfactory. It is based on the information of the Kievan annalist who wrote that they are so called because "they settled in forests." But this explanation is at least several centuries later than the term itself and apparently is his own "interpretation" influenced by the parallel pole: Poliane. Semantically it is impossible. We have had and still have in all Slavic languages a special term in P.S. for the forest; cf. O.B. lěsъ - "forest." In O.B. as in all Slavic languages drěvo means "tree, timber," not "forest." Therefore we

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\*Vol. I, p. 314.

\*\*S. Feist: Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der Gotischen Sprache, Leiden, 1939.

\*\*\*We regard the explanation of this word given by the Slavonic Encyclopaedia (s.t. Poliane) as mistaken. The name is derived there from Ukr. poliuvaty "to hunt," and the original meaning is established as "the hunters." In addition the word pole, "the battlefield," is mentioned. Thus Poliane is supposed to mean "hunters" or "fighters."

Pole, however, means originally in Slavic "the battlefield" only under the same conditions as E. field means a "battlefield." Further, a derivation with a suffix - ěninъ is impossible from a verb. Besides the word "poliuvaty" did not exist in old Ukrainian and in modern Ukrainian it is regarded as a Polonism. This etymology presented already Karłowicz (O imieniu Polakow i Polski, 1881) and it was rejected by V. Jagić and all leading Slavists.

believe that if this old Slavic tribe had intended to call itself "the Forest People," or had such an intention existed among its neighbors, we would have a "Lěsnianians" form, but surely not "Drěvlianians." Consequently there must have been a reason why *drěvo*—"timber, tree" and not *lěs*—"forest" was used. We believe the reason was that the characteristic feature of this tribe was that it lived in timber log-cabins, or built these cabins on piles. In every case we have to look for an explanation of the original meaning of Drevliane in the semantic sphere "tree - timber." This explanation, however, is not quite satisfactory. The suffix *-ŕninъ* usually indicates "origin from a place or locality," hence "Drevliani" ought to be "a man from a place called Drevo," which we doubt could ever have existed.

We must also investigate another possibility. The annalist of Kiev writes about the Drevlians that "they live like wild animals or cattle." This information may be an echo of the old tribal animosity between the Polianians and the Drevlians (the annalist apparently was a Polianin), the more so as the former plowed and sowed the land and supported themselves by harvesting grain. On the other hand it may be that the form "Drevliane" is a product of popular etymology and was traced back to "*drěvo*" under the influence of the relation: *pol'e* - Poliane. Perhaps we have to look for the original stem of the word in O.B. *drevl'e* "before," *drevl'ъnъ* "old"; perhaps it was formed from a place once called Drev - and Drevliane means "the old natives"? The words are still obscure (cf. Berneker, *Etymologisches Woerterbuch der Slavischen Sprachen*) and therefore we should like to draw attention to this problem.

Now we return to the masters of the Polianians and Drevlians, the Goths. The East-Goths were concerned with the defence of the eastern frontiers. They conquered the Crimea, the eastern seashores of the Black Sea, and the Bosporan Empire. The Western Goths conquered the territories west of the Bug and Dniester, of the Pruth and Sereth. Around 250 A.D. this partition became manifest also politically, and the Dniester appears as a frontier between the two peoples. Also, the two Gothic states came under different cultural influences.

The East-Goths, with their centre around Kiev, came under Greek-Byzantine influences, which radiated very strongly into the hinterland through numerous and very rich Greek colonies along the Black Sea shores. The bold, conquering spirit of the East-Goths showed itself in many expeditions across the Black Sea to Asia Minor and Greece. These lands laid open to the Goths wider cultural horizons and established them as a dreaded sea-power.

The West Goths clashed with the Roman world. Around 213-214 we find them already on the frontiers of the Roman Empire in Dacia, which extended as far as the Dniester. They remained for nearly 160 years in constant touch with Roman culture and civilization. In the

course of the next few decades they entered into many fierce battles with the Romans, till the conclusion of a treaty of alliance secured a peaceful period of 35 years. The close trade and cultural relations with the Romans are proved by many Latin loan-words in Gothic. In the year 369 A.D. the alliance ended, and around 400 A.D. the great march of the West Goths towards Spain began. They were hard pressed by the East Goths whose Empire crumbled under the terrible assault of the Huns and was ended by the suicide of King Ermenrich (Goth. Airmana-reiks).

New leaders conducted the fighting retreat of the East Goths towards Italy. But pockets of the Goths remained on the Crimea, in the Caucasus, and probably there remained also some Gothic principalities amongst the Slavs, who later gradually absorbed the Gothic element. The Crimean Goths\* kept their own state organization until the last quarter of the XVth century. Their capital Mankup was not conquered by the Turks until 1475. Gothic bishoprics existed even up to the second half of the XVIIIth century, when the Gothic language died out. Catherine II resettled some remnants of the Goths near Mariupil in the Ukraine (called Taty). They were later completely absorbed by the Ukrainians.

We have described in general terms the historical background of the first and second periods of Germanic-Slavic mutual relations and tried to recall to the mind of the reader the general developments of East European history. They will be further supplemented in the course of our linguistic and cultural-historical explanations.

## 2. State of research.

The study of mutual Germanic-Slavic loan-words, especially of the Germanic loan-words in Slavic, can already boast a history. One century after the investigation of this problem of loan-words and their cultural and historical importance started, it can be said that, beginning with "the father of Slavistics" P. J. Šafářik, up to to-day every distinguished linguist, and above all the Slavs and Germans, have contributed to the elucidation of this question. Two opinions were put forward, each usually defended with much passion and emotion. The first opinion tried to reduce to a minimum the number of Germanic loan-words in Slavic and consequently also the old cultural influences of the Germanic peoples on the Slavs. The second opinion greatly exaggerated the number of Germanic loan-words and the resulting Germanic cultural influence on the Slavic World. These exaggerations found their way into the Cambridge Medieval History (vol. II, pp. 422). The number of Slavic loan-words in Germanic is very small; thus no discussion could centre round them.

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\*Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).



In the last two decades two scholars have accomplished very well an objective and passionless scientific investigation of these problems\*: the Danish scholar A. Stender-Petersen and the Russian V. Kiparsky.

A. Stender-Petersen is celebrated for having proved the existence of two Germanic sources for the oldest Slavic loan-words. He has shown us the oldest Proto-Germanic loan-word period which has to be separated from the later, Gothic one. V. Kiparsky who had the advantage of using in his study the results of A. Walde & J. Pokorny's *Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (I, II, III, Berlin, 1927-32) tried to distinguish three Germanic loan-word periods in Slavic: (a) Proto-Germanic, (b) the Gothic, and (c) according to R. Loewe's theory\*\* - the Balkan-Gothic period. The latter embraces the period of the Goths' stay in the Balkans and their passage through this territory. The expansion of the Slavs is closely connected with this phase. Since the number of the supposed Balkan-Gothic loan-words is negligible and since we do not possess Balkan-Gothic linguistic materials (V. Kiparsky himself admits that "Balkan-Gothic was very near to Wulfila's Gothic"), we believe that the third group can be included in the second. In addition, we are convinced that the majority of the supposed Balkan-Gothic loan-words came into use in this Gothic period. A. Senn\*\*\* and especially M. Vasmer have also made very valuable contributions to the solution of the Germanic-Slavic loan-word problems.

In spite of the fact that the steady improvement and refinement of linguistic methods have, step by step, solved many problems of Germanic-Slavic relations, there still remain a lot of unsolved questions. A clear decision cannot be made as to whether some words are cognates or loan-words. Scholars' opinions on some words often differ a great deal. However, we must endorse A. Stender-Petersen's opinion that the complicated Slavic-Germanic word relations cannot

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\*A. Stender-Petersen: *Slavisch-Germanische Lehnwortkunde*, Goeteborg, 1927.

V. Kiparsky: *Die gemeinslavischen Lehnwoerter aus dem Germanischen*, Helsinki, 1934, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, vol. XXXII b.

A popular presentation of the problem was given by K. H. Meyer: *Germanische Woerter in Slavischen Sprachraeumen*, *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik*, 1942, vol. XIX.

\*\*R. Loewe: *Altgermanische Elemente der Balkansprachen*, *Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 1904.

The whole literature on the subject is collected in the work of V. Kiparsky (up to 1934).

\*\*\*A. Senn, *Die Aeltesten Beziehungen zu den Slaven und Balten*, at: *Germanische Lehnwortstudien*, Heidelberg, 1925.

always be solved by the methods of classic etymology, purely by the sound-laws method, and that we must also use cultural-historical analysis of every loan-word for the solution of these problems. In addition, all the peculiarities of the ancestors of the Germanic and Slavic peoples, including their social forms and usages must be taken into account.

As an account of the state of research up to the beginning of World War II the summing up of M. Vasmer\* is very characteristic. He states that "the authors of the recently published articles cannot be spared the reproach that they have hardly troubled to enrich scholarship with new examples apart from the material collected by Miklosich and Berneker. This material is already exhausted, and only a fundamental investigation of the old texts can make a new contribution to research into the old period of Slavic-Germanic relations." Surely he is right. But in our opinion all Ukrainian and White Ruthenian dialects ought also to be thoroughly studied, and especially the topographical designations of these countries, because many surprising results will be found here which will contribute to the solution of the problems in question. Anglo-American linguists and Slavists apart from A. Senn confined themselves to carefully prepared reports of the results of A. Stender-Petersen's, A. Senn's, and V. Kiparsky's studies, made by A. S. C. Ross and S. H. Cross.\*\* In the posthumous book by this distinguished and impartial American scholar\*\*\* we do not find any evaluation of the Proto-Germanic - Proto-Slavic period of relations. The Gothic influences are well outlined, although not fully appreciated. He listed the following loan-words: military terms: armed band, helmet-armor, sword; commercial words: usury, debt, earring, purse, buy, kettle, plate, sack, camel, vinegar, glass; agricultural items: plow, stall, vineyard, cattle, garden, donkey, fig, bread; learned professions: doctor, scribe. As our later explanations will show some of the words (e.g., sword) must be dropped, but others have to be included.

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\*M. Vasmer: Zu den alten germanischen Lehnwörtern im Slavischen, Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie, 1938.

\*\*A. S. C. Ross: A summary of V. Kiparsky, Leeds Studies in English and kindred languages, vol. III., 1934.

S. H. Cross: Gothic loan-words in the Slavic vocabulary, Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, vol. XVI, 1934.

\*\*\*S. H. Cross: Slavic Civilization through the Ages, Cambridge, Mass., 1948.

## Chapter IV

### PRIMITIVE GERMANIC LOAN-WORDS IN SLAVIC

#### I. Cultural-historical background.

For ancient Slavic times we are not provided with written reports such as the "Germania" of Tacitus for Germanic history. In Tacitus' work we find only a short mention of the Slavs which indicates that the ancestors of the Germanic and Slavic peoples had already been in contact with one another for a long time. He describes how the Slavs built houses like the Germanic tribes and used similar tactics in fighting (they fought on foot and made use of shields). Consequently he even includes the Slavs amongst them. We get very meagre and insufficient information from the Byzantine writers, and then only from the VIth century onwards. Arabic and Germanic reports from IXth century also constitute modest sources about the Slavic world.

As to what existed before these times, and under what social or political conditions the Slavs lived before recorded history began, research tries to find out by comparing corresponding conclusions reached a posteriori. For this investigation the Slavic conservative attachment to the old traditions is very valuable. The distinguished Czech legal historian K. Kadlec\* supposes that the Slavs lived in their original home, organized in family-communities, brotherhoods, clans, and tribes, and that these primitive tribal organizations, partly tribal states, survived for centuries. At the head stood elected leaders, but the whole power belonged to the public meeting - the assembly. A differentiation into classes with a leading nobility or aristocracy cannot be confirmed for this old period. As the Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky underlines, the Slavs in their earliest period had developed neither a strong monarchical power nor a considerable military organization.

Compared with this picture the Germanic neighbors show already a more rigid state organization. Amongst the Germanic tribes also the public meeting, the "thing," in the beginning played an important role. It elected the "king" from among the peasant nobility for peaceful times, and it elected the army commander as dictator of life and death to lead them in time of war. The public meeting possessed also supreme judicial power. However, constant wars and expeditions in search of conquest soon brought about a fusion of the "king" and

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\*K. Kadlec: O politycznym ustroju Słowian (in Encyklopedia Polska, vol. IV., Krakow, 1917).

"duke" functions - an even greater concentration of power since the king's dignity was also connected with the highest office of priest. The origin of the old Germanic royal power is to be found in the unification of these originally separate functions, whereby the royal dignity became gradually the backbone of the Germanic states and peoples. The people, the Germanic community of free persons, included the nobility, originally the heads of families, and the rest of the family members who were free human beings. Slaves and freed persons did not belong to the "people." In the Germanic tribes the principle of a kind of universal military service was realized. Everyone who could use weapons - except those who were too young or too old, and the women - was a soldier. The Germanic tribes appear from the earliest times to be a weapon-loving people. As we see there developed very early amongst the Germanic tribes a monarchical, central power; especially amongst the East Germanic tribes. Their strong sense of kingship astonished Tacitus.

The influence of this principle became especially noticeable during the first contact between the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic ancestors. On this question we have the recorded reports of Procopius, a Byzantine author of the VIth century. He writes in his history of the Gothic wars (VII, 14) about the Slavs: "these nations, the Sclaveni and Antae, are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from ancient times under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or ill, is referred to the people." Also Mauricius, the author of Strategicon (582-602) reports on the Slavs: "both the Sclaveni and Antes live in freedom and do not let anybody subjugate them "...they manage without a ruler and hate one another mutually "...because of the different opinions amongst them they never come to a decision - for when one part of them agrees, the other at once annuls the resolution; they all hate one another mutually, and nobody wishes to obey another person." The Greek writers, descended from the nations with monarchical traditions, designated these conditions amongst the Slavs as Democracy (Prokopius), or Anarchy (Mauricius).

The way in which Kadlec comments on these Greek reports is noteworthy. Democracy, the principle of the rule of the people, who at public meetings decide all affairs of state - is a Slavic constitutional form. The monarchical form, the principle of one-person rule is a Germanic constitutional form and therefore found on Slavic territory of Germanic origin. It is a foreign influence to which separate Slavic tribes succumbed. Because of quarrels amongst the Slavic tribal princes the conditions seemed, to a Greek, anarchical. It was in reality the historical process of the struggle, the rivalry between the Slavic and Germanic principles which the Greeks witnessed; the former tended towards a federation of tribal states, the second to the development of a monarchy.

Naturally the question emerges as to why the Slavs lived so long in primitive tribal organizations and why they did not develop larger political units. Kadlec answers that the reason why the Slavs have not shown from the beginning of their history greater political capacities, is connected with their psyche, with their inferior energy and passive mental constitution; in addition, the Slavs are unsociable, intolerant, and quarrelsome. We should like above all to emphasize the tremendous influence the location and landscape of the Proto-Slavic homeland had in forming the foundations of the Slavic psyche. Because they afforded good natural defence against enemies the Slavs preferred to settle in forests and marshes. This advantage led in turn to the great disadvantage of limited possibilities of traffic and communication, which consequently made the political development of a large-scale organization impossible and which also furthered all asocial tendencies. The result of all these different factors was an absence of the urge for a state organization; all impulses in that direction always came from outside.

## 2. The Primitive Germanic loan-words in Primitive Slavic.

We have tried in the foregoing lines to present in general terms the psychic structure and the earliest form of organization of the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic peoples. We have also tried to formulate their most important differences and to establish the probable reasons for their rise and development. In this way we can reach a deeper understanding of the historical and linguistic processes which now started between the two proto-peoples.

The encounter between them must have been of a warlike character because the motives of the Germanic tribes, especially of their younger generations, their adventurous spirit and desire for conquest and plunder led them to penetrate into the interior of the continent. Probably from the Gothic state on the Baltic Sea or from the west, armed Germanic bands invaded Slavic territory and clashed with the Slavs. The Germanic tribes, facing the Slavs, appeared as a warlike people armed with their superior weapons of the iron age. The pressure of their attack resulted in the subjugation of the Slavic tribes under the Germanic rule. Later, peaceful, neighborly relations developed. This gave an opportunity to the Slavs to sort out the invaders and their leaders and to become more closely acquainted with their life and organization. We can also surmise a similar development of relations with the Bastarnae and Sciri. Such peaceful neighborly relations and the consequent bartering and trading left many traces in Slavic culture and language.

In the sphere of political organization, state and military power we can trace the following loan-words:

O.B.  $k\bar{n}e\acute{d}'z'\bar{b}$  (\* $k\bar{n}e\acute{g}\bar{b}$ ) "prince, chief" from P.G. \* $kuningaz$  - "of noble descent, young nobleman, leader of nobility, tribal leader, prince"; from this source are derived the E. king and G. Koenig. We see that the "noble leader of the clan" was not yet a ruler. Amongst the Ukrainians in the Carpathians (Boyken) we found this oldest meaning preserved but not mentioned in Berneker's Etymological Slavic Dictionary. It is: "mayor of the village, originally the head of the family-group." This loan-word became the nucleus of the monarchical idea amongst the Slavs and soon in all Slavic languages meant "prince"; in derivations: "principality, -to rule."

From the word P.S. \* $duma$  "thought, care, -council" are derived important Slavic verbs for "to think, to mean, to ponder, to meditate." The Russian Parliament was also officially called Duma after 1905. The Slavic word originated from P.G. \* $domaz$  "judicial decision, act, thought," Goth.  $doms$  "judgment, act, thought,"  $domjan$  "to judge, to try," This root is preserved in the German suffix - $tum$  (Koenigtum, Christentum) denoting "state, condition or quality," and corresponds to the E. suffix - $dom$  in kingdom, christendom, etc.

In these ancient times of primitive legal procedure both partners recognized the matter in dispute as an affair of the whole clan. The original jurisdiction was a popular jurisdiction, in which all members of the community were obliged to take part. This popular justice was administered in public meetings whereby the people present through suitable questions put by the judge-king took part in the establishment of the judgement. In such a way the judgement found a kind of approval by the people present at the meeting. The meeting was the real transmitter of the right of the people. This administration of justice was exercised by the elected tribal leaders or kings who had to hear all the speeches and counterpleas of both parties during the meeting. With the development of the kingly power the judicial function of the king also developed in such a way that the administration of justice became the business of the state-authority. Authorized peoples' judges nominated by the king had to administer justice. However, at the time of the loan-word we have to suppose that there was a public administration of justice.

The Slavs surely had opportunity not only to see these meetings but also to take part in them either as plaintiffs or defendants. In the life of the Germanic tribes the administration of justice had an immense importance because peace constituted an order based on justice which regulated the mutual relations of neighbors. Therefore all Slavic-Germanic disputes and quarrels were surely tried in such public meetings. It has also been supposed that there were persons from both sides who were bilingual. The Slavs looked upon the public administration of law as a principle similar to their own legal administration. Perhaps along the frontier a type of mixed Slavic-Germanic meeting had developed, which prepared the ground for the

borrowing of the word.

The following word throws some light on the question as to how Slavic territory was invaded:

O.B. *pъlkъ* "a military formation, detachment"; in nearly all modern Slavic languages it means "regiment" and is the stem of the word for "colonel." It came from P.G. *\*fulka* "armed troop" and is still found in English: folk-song (lore), American: folks, Germ: Volk - "people." It was not the word for "organized army" (P.G. *\*harja*; Goth: *harjis*; Germ: Heer) which penetrated into Slavic, but the word for the "armed bands". So we can guess that such armed bands invaded Slavic territory and, with weapons in their hands, established their rule. The way into Slavic territory had its difficulties which remained after the establishment of peaceful relations:

O.B. *prěgynja*, O. Ukr. *peregynja* - "a place difficult to pass"; now extinct with exception of place-names like Ukr. *Perehyns'ko* from P.G. *\*fergunja* "mountain,-wooded mountain," cognate E. *fir* (a loan-word from Danish.)

We are informed as to the arms of the invading troops by:

O.B. *brady* "axe," a rather archaic term, used now only in South-Slavic languages, originally *\*bordy*, from P.G. *\*bardō<sup>n</sup>*, *\*bardū<sup>n</sup>* "axe"; cognate Anglo-Saxon *bered* "to cast down"

O.C.S. *\*okъši*, gen. *okъšъve* "axe" from P.G. *\*akusiō*, Goth. *aqisi* "axe"; cf. cognates E. *axe*, G. *Axt*.

Of course the Slavs had known weapons: lance, spear, knife, bow, arrow, which were already familiar during the stone age, but which were above all hunting weapons. The invading Germanic bands brought to the Slavs iron-forged arms of war - the mighty battle-axes. German superiority was based on these more effective weapons, especially on the axes and long swords. The swords were taken by the Germanic ancestors from the Celts, and these arms were of great importance in their public life. They developed a liking for very long swords (90-110 cm) which became a terrible weapon in cut and thrust encounters. This weapon was celebrated in old folk songs, had special names and an oath had to be taken on the sword. In spite of all this the Slavic *mečъ* "sword" is not a Germanic loan-word but has descended from a wandering word of the old Caucasian forges. Iron came to the Caucasus around 1000 B.C. from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, where it was known from 1300 B.C.; about 900 B.C. it became known in Greece and Central Europe and also in the Black Sea territories. But here the smithy trade spread very slowly. From the old stone hatchets the Germanic ancestors evolved a heavy war weapon with a cutting edge, which on a light handle had a broad iron bar with a broad edge. Sound, historical reasons postulate an early loan of:

O.C.S. *šlemъ* (*\*selmъ*) from P.G. *\*χelmaz*, Goth. *hिल्ms*, cf. cognates: G. *Helm*, E. *helmet*. The original meaning may be found in the present Ukr. *šelom-ok*, *šolom-ok* "a kind of cap



from thick cloth." Therefore we suppose the original Germanic helmet to have been made not from metal but from cloth or hide, and used for the protection of the head. The old meaning has been preserved in the given forms of the Polesie-dialect which is spoken in that part of the swamps where the first contacts were probably established between the Germanic invaders and the Slavs. Only later, under Roman influence, did the "helmet" become in its meaning a "metal helmet," first amongst the Goths and then, later, amongst the Slavs.\* Two loan-words illustrate the influence of the clothes of the Germanic invaders:

O.C.S. *šatŷ* "clothing, pieces of clothing" from P.G. *\*hētaz* "dress, garment, coat"; found in all Slavic languages. From this word names for "suit, skirt, headcloth, kerchief, handkerchief" were formed. Cognate Anglo-Saxon *haetern* "garments."

O.C.S. *chъzъ* "skin, hide" from P.G. *\*husan* "cover garments," cf. cognate E. *hose*. From the earliest times the names of clothes as "fashionable" articles have easily become "fashionable" words.

Weapons as symbols of the power of the state brought two very important ideas into Slavic territory, which sum up the Germanic influence in the sphere of the "state":

O.B. *myto* "toll, duty, tribute" from P.G. *\*mōta - mōtō -* "toll, duty, tribute," Goth. *mota* "toll," cf. cognate OE. *mot* "toll," G. *Maut* "toll." The fundamental duty of the citizen towards the ruler and the state was hereby introduced. This was evidently a "tribute," a payment in kind. The Germanic word had originally the meaning of every "forced tribute" which in the form of farm products, cattle, wool or animal-hides had to be delivered to the ruler by the free men and the slaves alike. The tributes of the free men were regarded as "voluntary presents," but they were equivalent to taxes. These customs were introduced by the Germanic invaders in the Slavic territory by demanding toll from the natives for the use of certain roads or for entering market-places. The Slavs also accepted from a Germanic source the important idea of a "fine":

O.B. *želedъ* "fine, penalty" *želeděti* "to pay a fine" from P.G. *\*γeldan* "to pay, to pay taxes," P.G. *\*γelda -* Goth. *gild* "tax," cf. cognates G. *Geld*, related to E. *guild* "confraternity, to which were originally paid 'money sacrifices' for common purposes."

Germanic influence on the house-and farm-culture of the Slavs has been important. As to house construction, it is even possible by means of Germanic loan-words to follow the development of architecture amongst the Slavs. We still find in the meanings of the loan-words traces of the oldest kind of human lodging, the perch-tent, constructed from raw trunks of trees. These tree-trunks were put on the ground

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\*J. Brutzkus, *The Khazar Origin of Ancient Kien*, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. XXII, p. 122, believes the Slavic word originated from Turk. *šalma*; I disagree.



in a circle or a quadrangle; the tops were connected by wicker-work to a roof with a smoke opening for the fire. The whole tent was fortified by putting on soil, clay, turf, and stones. Later, the tent was deepened inside by a ditch-like cavity so that the holy fire, dispenser and distributor of warmth, might be tended without constant bending. Some scholars regard this later form as the older one.

For nomad-hunters and cattle-breeders these tents may have been sufficient as dwellings, but not for the primitive husbandmen who had already settled down. The master-builder, the architect in the mind of the peasant made himself felt. The roof of the tent was gradually elevated on beams; timber walls were vertically laid around the dwelling pit. Thus the old hall-house developed, with the ground floor in what had been the old dwelling pit, and a new upper storey in addition. The smoke went out in the old way by means of a hole in the roof. Slowly the pit diminished and disappeared; the pillars of the roof rose stronger and higher, and that is the type of Germanic house described by Tacitus (*Germania* I): "They have no knowledge of stones or bricks; they use above all shapeless tree-trunks without beauty or friendly appearance." These houses could easily be transported on carts or wagons. From this type evolved the East-Germanic peasant house which had an almost quadrangular form and, in front of the gable end, a porch for protection against wind and rain. On the ground floor a hearth was to be found. In the roof was a hole to clear away smoke; it could be closed and also served as a window.

This type survives in its basic construction today in many varieties over the whole former East-Germanic settlement territory and is widely used also amongst the Slavic peasant population. Peasant houses, cottages, even timber churches keep the old practical porch. This characteristic East-Germanic method of building remained basically unchanged. Its influence we can see clearly in the following loan-word:

O.B. *chyžъ* "house" from P.G. *\*χusa*, Goth. *-hus*, cf. cognates: E. *house*, G. *Haus*. The word exists in all modern Slavic languages and is used in many derivations in the following semantic field: "mud-hut, subterranean hut, cellar, shepherd hut, cottage, house, room." The original meaning of timber house we find well preserved amongst the Ukrainians in the Carpathians: *chyža* means a timber hut, often with an open fireplace and a roof hole for the smoke. After popularization of the newer house-types the meaning of the word changed to "store-room, pigsty." An older type of dwelling is preserved in:

O.C.S. *kotъcbъ* "fishing tackle," W. Ruth. Russ. *kotuch* "stall, hen-house," Pol. *kojec* "hen-coop," Ukr. *kotec'* "creel, a fishing tackle" from P.G. *\*kuta*, *\*kota* "a dwelling pit with wicker-walls and a roof." Cf. E. *cot* "a small house, a little cottage, a small erection for shelter or protection as for sheep, a bell, etc."; preserved in numerous compounds: *cot-tage*, *cot-folk*, *cot-town*. The Slavs did

not borrow the word in its original meaning, but in the new meaning evolved from the basis "wicker"; wicker for the poultry, hen-coop, weir-basket, wicker-basket. The oldest type we find in:

O.B. *chlěvъ* "stall, stable," *chlěvina* "lodging, building" from P.G. \**χlaiwam* "lodging constructed from perches, perhaps even with a dwelling - pit," Goth. *hlaiw* "grave." In modern Slavic languages the word is a term for "stable, stall, pit-sty." The original meaning was "cave, den, grave," and they were originally used as stables. Xenophon (Anabasis IV, 5, 25) reports how the Armenians dwell in caves together with their cattle. If we consider all these meanings, we must suppose that the Germanic word was originally accepted as a name for a "timber-cot, perhaps with a dwelling-pit," which at the same time was used as a stall especially for the small farm animals: pigs, sheep, goats.

To sum up, it can be said that at the beginning of Germanic influences on architectural terminology amongst the Slavs the Germanic tribes had long passed the primitive stage of roof-tents, using these latter as stables for domestic animals. For dwelling purposes they used log-cabin constructions with crossed logs overlapping at the corners and a fore-place in the middle of the house. The Proto-Slavs still dwelt, according to K. Moszynski, in earth-pits without timber walls, only with a timber roof. In several places they also used pile-dwellings.

Agriculture is closely connected with architecture. Here we also find a strong Germanic influence. The Germanic tribes preferred to settle on single farms. Therefore the enclosure was a very important constituent part of the farm, for many reasons. A firm fence surrounded the farm and marked out the cattle yard, separating the cattle from the cornfields. At the same time it limited personal property; it was a legal symbol, establishing a legal title, and in times of danger the fence could also be used for defence. The Slavs knew the wicker fence; the Germanic fence which originally consisted of strong timber props was unknown to them. It found its way into Slavic:

O.C.S. *tyнъ* "wall," in the modern Slavic languages "fence, wall, wooden wall, partition wall," also used in topographic names, cf. Pol. *Tynieć*, Czech *Karlovy Tyn*; from P.G. \**tūna* "firm fence, -farm premises," cf. cognates G. *Zaun*, E. *town*, originally "an enclosed place or piece of ground, an enclosure, garden, court, yard." We see how the Germanic economic individualism began to infiltrate into the Slavs for amongst the latter group this type of settlement of individual, fenced, farms was still unusual. Many reasons support the belief that the Slavic word for "pillar" which was used as a fence-support, door-post foundation pillar is also of Germanic origin:

O.B. *stolpъ* "pillar" from P.G. \**stulpa* "jamb, pier." The same is very probable in the case of "bridge":

O.B. *mostъ* "bridge, timber floor" (the word exists in many

derivations in all Slavic languages), from P.G. \*masta - "tree-trunk, plank," cf. cognates: G. Mast, E. mast "a long pole or spar of timber, a piece of timber suitable for mast." The original Slavic meaning was probably "balk, with balks, sticks, clogs covered pathway, woodpath," which is even to-day still constructed in the Polesie swamps; from this basis later there developed the meaning "bridge." The "well" became very characteristic of the Slavic landscape:

O.B. kladędzь (From P.S. \*koldędźь) "the well with a large tree-trunk in a bifurcated pillar, usually pretty deep, with cold water," even today characteristic for the Ukraine ("kolodiaz"), from P.G. kaldinga -, which included kald and was probably an implement for drawing the cold water from the well; cf. cognates: E. cold, G. kalt. The following special tool for carpentry, which is still preserved in Czech, must be mentioned:

O.C.S. nabožězь "drill, gimlet" from P.G. \*nabagaiza, cf. cognate E. (n)auger.

Poultry and cattle breeding were closely connected with house-keeping and domestic economy. Although we regard O.B. gasь "goose" as a cognate of P.G. \*γans (cf. E. goose, G. Gans) we are of the opinion that goose-breeding was a peculiarity of the old Germanic husbandry. The Germanic tribes spread it widely throughout Europe, not only among the Slavs, but also amongst their other neighbors. The feather-pillow was also a Celtic-Germanic innovation. The loan-words in the field of cattle-raising are very noteworthy. The Slavs were experienced cattle-breeders and had a well developed terminology for all domestic animals such as: cow, bull, oxen, heifer, calf, sheep, lamb, ram, goat, swine, etc. In spite of it two words for "cattle" penetrated into Slavic. This happened, according to A. Stender-Petersen, for two reasons: (a) the Slavs lacked the collective idea of cattle (the collective is a higher abstraction); (b) the cattle played a more important part among the Germanic tribes than amongst the Slavs, because cattle were not only the sign of individual wealth but also of the relative value of another property-object. Tacitus (Germania, 2) stresses the attitude of the Germanic tribes towards cattle: "they enjoy having a number of cattle, and this is their only and most beloved property." This is completely understandable if one realizes what cattle represented to a whole household in those days. They were milk-producers, meat-producers, draught-animals and the source of animal hides and furs. In addition, "blood-money" and court fines were paid in cattle. The ease in counting cattle, and, living or slaughtered, their usefulness to everyone made them the "money" of the period. (Compare also: Lat. pecunia "money" from pecus "cattle"; rupee "Indian money unit" from Sansk. rupa "cattle-flock"; E. fee is cognate with G. Vieh "cattle.") This cattle-money was certainly very important for Germanic-Slavic trade relations, therefore we find:

O.C.S. *nut a* "oxen, horned cattle" from P.G. *\*naut a* "cattle-property," which reflects very well the old idea of the property value of the cattle; cf. E. *neat* "an animal of the ox-kind, an ox or bullock, a cow or heifer" (now rare), cattle used appositively in *neat-cattle*;

O.B. *skotъ* "horned cattle, property, money" from P.G. *\*skattaz* "property, possession, wealth," Goth. *skatts* "cattle," cf. cognates: E. *scat* "a tax, tribute" now only used in England (Orkneys and Shetlands) as "the land-tax paid to the Crown by a feudal tenant"; also used in compounds: *scat-field*, *scat-tax*, *scat-land*; G. *Schatz* "treasure." All the old meanings clearly indicate the importance of cattle as barter and a standard for trade. Closely linked with the conceptions of "barter" and "capital wealth," the conception of "debt" arose, which must soon have developed in the trade between the neighbors:

O.B. *dlъgъ* "debt"; *dlъžьnikъ* "debtor"; *dlъžьnъ jesmъ* "I owe," existing in all Slavic languages to-day, from P.G. *\*đulga* "debt"; Goth. *dulgs* "debt"; cf. O.E. *dolg* "wound." The following was of some importance in this primitive trade:

P.S. *glazъ* "small ball, globular little stone"; still used in all Slavic languages in similar meanings, from P.G. *\*glāza* "dropping resin - amber"; cf. cognates: E. *glass*, G. *Glass* (amber was transparent!) Apparently the word is connected with the amber-trade, which had its own routes in ancient times. The property of amber acquiring electrical charge by friction, known to the Greeks, made amber (Gr. ἡλεκτρον - electricity) a covered magical medicine. Prof. Gordon Childe thinks that the evidence is not sufficient to establish between the Baltic and the Hellespont anything like the amber-road, which existed between the Baltic and the Adriatic. But he accepts the intercourse from the Baltic to the Vistula and into Galicia with the extension to the Bug. Perhaps also:

O.B. *zjupьlъ*, O.C.S. *župьlъ* "sulphur." S. Feist suspects this word to be of Germanic origin from P.G. *\*sweblaz*, *\*swezwlaz*, cf. Goth. *swibls* "brimstone"; cf. cognates G. *Schwefel*, Anglo-Saxon *swefl*.

We can now imagine a general picture of an old Germanic settlement on the Slavic frontier or in Slavic territory with its dwellings and farm buildings, fenced by a plank-fence, and we can also picture the extensive cattle-breeding which was the basis of the domestic economy. A clear indication of the settlement places preferred by the Germanic invaders we find in:

O.B. *chъlъmъ* "hill, hillock"; in modern Slavic also used in topographical names: Pol. *Chełmno*, Ukr. *Cholm*, and as a designation for the "boundary - hill - marks between properties"; from P.G. *\*χulma* - , *χolma* - "an elevation above the ground or the surface of the water"; cf. cognates: G. *Holm* "river, sea-island" (Bornholm), related to E. *hill* "originally: natural elevation of the earth's surface rising more or less steeply above the level of its surrounding."

It must therefore be supposed that the invaders located their farms "on the hill," and the hill-farm became later a fortified place, a stronghold which allowed the invaders to have a clear view over the neighboring countryside. The later G. Burg "castle" is the end of this development. Into their farms the guests also brought a special breed of dogs. It is supposed that:

P.S. \*chъrtъ "greyhound"; which we find in all Slavic languages, is from P.G. \*χrupjān - "big dog," cf. cognate Anglo-Saxon: (h)rop, hryppa "the male dog" originally "growler."

If we now try to estimate the cultural influences of the loan-words quoted above, we can state that the old Germanic invaders had considerable influence over the old Slavs in the spheres of state, weapons, house, and farm especially in the use of timber for human requirements. It is obvious that Germanic carpentry was on a higher level. In addition, fortified farms must have been constructed on the hills in Slavic territory in order to rule and administer the invaded land and collect tribute from the Slavs.

On these farms, surrounded by strong fences, the Slavs also worked as hands or farm servants or as prisoners, who in order to speak with the invaders acquired a primitive vocabulary and later disseminated these words amongst the Slavic population. In many places peaceful relations must surely have developed between the Slavs on the one hand and the Goths, especially the Bastarnae and Sciri, on the other hand. This is confirmed by the loan-words in Proto-Slavic. The Slavic peasantry soon digested the foreign borrowed words to loan-words including them into the Slavic vocabulary. Thus they were no longer felt as "foreign" in speaking and thinking. We must also suppose that many persons from both sides, gifted with a talent for languages, soon mastered both languages. That was certainly not difficult if we take into account the great number of cognate words and the number of formations based on sound-imitations. As a consequence of the development of mutual Germanic-Slavic relations there came into being in practical everyday life a "language-bridge," a border dialect, a mixture of both languages. This auxiliary dialect for everyday life with the Germanic invaders comprised, besides Slavic words understood by the invaders, also many borrowed Germanic words. In the succeeding centuries this Germanic-Slavic "pidgin-language" certainly became fairly rich. The loan-words from Proto-Germanic are only the remnants; much of the linguistic improvisation along the frontier to facilitate mutual understanding was of a limited duration and disappeared in these times without being written down.

It remains for us to find out what the new neighbors, Slavic natives and Germanic invaders, called one another at this period. The name of the "Slavs" even to-day is still not satisfactorily explained and traced to its source. Therefore A. Stender-Petersen's idea that this

name is of Germanic origin cannot be excluded:

O.B. Slověninъ "a Slavic person, a Slav" from P.G. \*Slawōz or Slawandōz, an adjective from the verb existing in Goth. slawam- "to be silent, to be dumb"; later assimilated to such tribal names as Polianians, Drevlianians, etc. The old Slavic designation of the present Germans would present a remarkable parallel: Pol., Ukr., Cz., Slov., Niemiec, Nimec, Nemeц "dummies" from O.B. nēmъ "mute, silent." "Slav" therefore, could have been a nickname applied to the non-Germanic population by their Germanic neighbors, just as the designation "Němьcь" is the nickname applied by the present Slavs to the Germans. For all neighbors in the South who spoke a non-Germanic language the Germanic tribes used the designation: P.G. \*walχaz: walχōz (which also to-day remains in the Swiss-German Welsch "unintelligible, foreign"; compare also: Kauderwelsch, kinderwelsch, rotwelsch). The Celts were also called thus by the Germanic ancestors of the English; cf. Welsch-man, wal-nut, Wales, Corn-wall; cf. G. Walnuss; the first part of the compound is the stem of the original designation first applied to the tribe of Volcae, later to the Celts and Romance peoples. The Slavs borrowed this word:

O.B. vlachъ "a human being of Roman extraction." To-day this term is used sometimes to denote the Italians (by Poles and Czechs), sometimes the Romanians (by Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Serbians) and their countries.

It is probable that O.B. štuzьdъ, stužьdъ, tužьdъ, tuzь "strange, foreign" (this meaning is kept in all modern Slavic languages) is a Slavic formation from P.G. \*þeudja - "belonging to the Germanic people, Germanic." Cf. cognates: Anglo-Saxon þéod "people," E. Dutch, G. deutsch. For the Slavs "Germanic" and "foreign" were identical, therefore the second meaning has displaced the first. By a contamination with P.G. \*þeudā - z "to be of Germanic extraction, belonging to the Germanic race" one tries to explain:

O.C.S. študъ, čudъ "giant" or in the current derivations in Slavic languages "giant - monster - wonder." So the term which persons belonging to the Germanic race gave to themselves acquired on Slavic ground the meaning "giant-monster." Perhaps we have here an indication as to the impression which the Germanic invaders made by their physical appearance. They may have been taller than the average Slav.

As to topographical names (e.g., names of rivers, mountains, and places) in Slavic territory, there was a good deal of research going on before World War II. The Polish linguist J. Rozwadowski in particular, and M. Vasmer established a whole series of etymologies, which were supposed to have been Germanic loan-words. For example: Sian, Vjar, Horyn', Ikwa. However, a careful analysis proved their common Indo-European or Slavic origin. At the moment the

following Slavic topographical names are regarded as Germanic:

P. Skrwa, a tributary of the Vistula; Skrwa or Skwa, a tributary of the Narew, originally Strkwa from P.S. \*Strǫky, and this from P.G. \*strukō (compare Struka-river in Norway), cognate E. to strike, originally "to move on."

Ukr. Poltva, a tributary of the Buh (Bug); P. Pelta (older Peltew), a tributary of the Narew; Ukr. Poltva, a tributary of the Horyn', from P.S. \*pǫlty: polta, which were loaned from P.G. \*fuldo; compare Germ. Fulda, Folda.

Ukr. Tanew, a tributary of the Sian, from P.S. \*Tany, from P.G. \*tānu - "river, water."

Ukr. Stynava, a tributary of the Dniester, Pol. Ścinawa, a river and village in Silesia, from P.G. \*stinahwa; compare Germ. Steinau.

Ukr. Morachwa, Morafa, a tributary of the Dniester from P.G. \*mar - ahwa "swamp-river." The two last words include the Germanic stem \*aujo - "water, river, island, land rich in water, rivers"; cf. cognates: Germ, Au, Aue "watered place, meadow," related to E. is-land "a piece of land completely surrounded by water."

These groups of Germanic river loan-words make it certain that the river between the mentioned rivers: Ukr. Buh, Pol. Bug, a tributary of the Vistula, may also be of Germanic origin; from P.G. \*bauga "winding."

The loan-words presented above underline the fact that the Germanic tribes had settled in these territories for a longer period of time. The Slavic assimilation of these terms is a proof that after the migration of the Germanic tribes to the south-east, some Germanic remnants remained there. These tribes bequeathed names of rivers to the Slavs. There even existed Germanic names for the Dniester: Agalingus (Tabula Peutigeriana VIII, 4) from the stem included in Goth. algus "difficult," and later also for the Dnieper: Nusacus (Tabula Peutigeriana VIII, 5) from P.G. nusags: nosags "rocky, rich in rocks." These words record the Germanic advance into Eastern Europe.



## **Chapter V**

### **GOTHIC LOAN-WORDS IN SLAVIC**

#### **1. The cultural-historical background.**

Under the leadership of the strong and energetic Gothic tribe the East-Germanic tribes began in approximately 166 A.D. to migrate partly through the Polesie swamps into a new homeland, the present Ukraine and the Black Sea countries. Many old popular traditions of the swamp territories through which they passed report that they suffered great losses in men, animals, and weapons. The reasons for this migration are not known for certain. Perhaps the old mother country was overpopulated; perhaps they set out on this long journey from sheer desire for conquest and adventure. But maybe the deep underlying reason for this migration was the instinctive longing and yearning of the northern Scandinavians for the sunny, warm south. Like a migration of birds, there seem to exist also human migrations between the north and the south. Here, on what is now Ukrainian soil, the Goths founded their new State which soon, by leaps and bounds, grew into a vast dominion.

The Ukraine is an old European cultural sphere. Beginning from the later stone-age we can prove here the existence of three succeeding cultures. Of these three cultures the so-called Try-pilja (Tri-polje) culture is supposed to have belonged to the Indo-Europeans. For one millennium B.C. the bronze age flourished in this territory. The Cimmerians, probably a Thracian or an Iranian tribe, were its carriers. Already by 700 B.C. the colonization of the sea-shores of the Black Sea by the Greeks had begun. This resulted in a Greek cultural supremacy over these territories for the next millennium. The Black Sea and its sea-shores became a Greek province.

However, only after a hard struggle did the Greeks achieve this victorious advance which had begun earlier and is connected with the origins of European culture (the Trojan War, immortalized by Homer's poem, the first work of world literature). Let us view the background of this turning point of world history, which concentrated itself along the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean, embraced by three continents: Europe, Asia, Africa, and their neighboring cultural spheres of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete - later Greece. The Greeks arrived here from the Thracian cultural sphere of the Danube basin and the Black Sea between 1800 and 1700 B.C. and became the heirs of the Cretans. The sea performed a great educational work in the eastern



Mediterranean basin. Seamanship developed here and fostered step by step an exchange of goods and ideas between peoples. In this environment Greece began to blossom and to expand as a naval power towards Asia Minor and the Black Sea. This resulted in the Trojan War. If we strip the poem of beautiful pictures and heroic figures seeking only facts, we realize that behind the story of the epic is concealed the fight of the Greek tribes (around 1200 B.C.) against the dictatorship of the Dardanelles - city Troy, in order to obtain freedom of the sea - the entrance into the Black Sea, and to conduct free trade with the inhabitants of what is now the Ukrainian hinterland. Homer (Iliad XIII, 1) wrote of the dwellers of this hinterland: "Zeus gazed afar on the land...of the lordly Hippemolgi who live on milk, and the Abii, the most just of men." Troy had a key position in this situation; on the one hand it ruled over the sea-route from the Mediterranean into the Black Sea; on the other hand it kept watch over the land route from Europe to Asia. Troy, backed by the Assyrians and the Egyptians, tried to stop the rising Greek economic and naval power. Consequently, the Trojan War was the first war fought in order to gain control of the Dardanelles\* - a problem which has engaged man's attention ever since, and which illustrates the immense geo-political importance of the Black Sea territory. This territory the Greeks now began to colonize.

The harbours of the Greek merchants and traders developed into factories, the factories into towns. In the course of time the whole Black Sea-shore was transformed by the flourishing and rich Greek towns. In the beginning the famous Greek cities of Klazomenae, Mytilene, and Teos founded there their colonies. Later Miletus sent out colonists and became known as the "mother city of many towns in the Pontus and Egypt." To this town the following cities owe their foundation: Tyras (at the mouth of the Dniester), Olbia, Theodosia, and Ponticapaëum. The city of Heracleia helped to found Chersonese and Tanais.

These Greek colonies were organized in the same way as the mother-cities, as sovereign city-communities. However, the aristocracy which evolved early, soon limited the power of the legislative bodies. One of the cities, Ponticapaëum, became the nucleus of the Bosporanian Empire, which, under that foe of Rome, Mithridates, was the center of great political power.

The basis of the wealth of the Greek colonies was their trade and commerce. Their trade reached deep into the hinterland. Greek caravans passed through what is now Ukrainian territory to the Baltic Sea, to Central Asia and India. The trade of these colonies with their Greek mother-country was very substantial, so that the Ukrainian

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\*Cf. Felice Dessi: *La guerra di Troja, Storia diplomatica e militare*, Corrente edizioni, Milano, 1942.

hinterland was already in ancient times the granary of the Eastern Mediterranean lands. The exports consisted of: grain, fish, furs, hides, wheat, millet, lentils, timber, wax, honey, and numerous slaves. The imports were chiefly: textiles, wine, olive oil, weapons, implements, craftwork of all kinds, gold and silver jewelry, vases, earthenware, and all types of pottery. Thus there bloomed after a short time an unparalleled wealth, comfort, opulence, and splendor in the Greek Black Sea towns. The towns were surrounded by mighty walls. Their high towers watched over the vast fields of grain and the pastures with numerous heads of cattle, which extended in front of these fortifications. In the towns, temples, shrines of Zeus, Apollo, Athena, and Poseidon rose up. They were adorned by many works of art. There were also many theatres, gymnasiums, thermal baths, and public halls, the centers of public life. The private houses, built of stones or bricks, were most elaborately furnished with mosaic floors, frescoes, artificial heating systems; the rooms were decorated with marble and bronze statues, carpets, and costly furniture. This luxury and pomp, especially of the Ponticapaean merchants and landowners, is shown not only by archaeological excavations, but also by the very rich discoveries of graves made in ancient cemeteries, which contained treasures of gold and silver dinner services, plates, golden rings, tiaras, ear-rings, and the finest vases. Science and the arts, but, above all, sports were eagerly cultivated. Various games were organized in towns, but there was also a close connection with the old mother-country. The Olympiades, the Panathenean Games, were visited by the Black Sea Greeks.

The hinterland of this Greek cultural sphere in the north was inhabited by the Scythians, an Iranian people, who succeeded the Cimmerians. In Hellenistic times "Scythians" was a collective term for all northern peoples. The leadership amongst the Scythians was held by the Royal Scythians, a warlike, nomadic tribe, who ruled over the "agricultural Scythians," that is over the settled peasants, the supposed Slavic tribes. The neighbors of the Scythians, on the middle and lower Dniester, were the Neuri, who are also regarded as Slavs by several scholars. The Scythians had a great deal of intercourse with the Greeks and this resulted in the Hellenization of the Scythian upper classes and the Scythization of the Greek lower classes. Under the influence of the Greeks all the Scythians settled down during the IV and III centuries B.C. Their warlike spirit, virtue, and urge to create a state were stifled in Greek luxury and pomp and drowned in Greek wine. Therefore, around 200 B.C. the Scythians were subjugated by their Iranian neighbors in the east, the Sarmatians, and later became absorbed by this related people. The Empire of the Sarmatians extended over the whole Ukrainian black-earth territory, from the

river Don in the east to the Danube in the west.\* The expansion and pressure of the empire were soon directed against the Greek colonies. These towns saved themselves partly by accepting the protectorate of the Bosporanean Empire, partly by putting themselves under Roman rule. Many of the Greek colonies experienced a second blossoming under Roman patronage.

But soon, about the beginning of the second century B.C., we find already in the lands bordering on the Black Sea the Germanic fore-runners of the great migration carried out by the Goths after 166 A.D. The spearhead of this invasion evidently traversed the Dnieper. Around 200 A.D. the Goths reached the northern shores of the Black Sea. They conquered Olbia, Tyras, Ponticapaëum; only Chersonese could resist them successfully. About 214 A.D. the Goths clashed with the Romans at the Dacian frontier. In the middle of the third century the Goths conquered Dacia, the territory in the southern Carpathians and Transylvania. They stormed the Roman Empire by sea and land. They attacked the sea-shores of the Black Sea, the Balkans, Greece, and Asia Minor. From victory to victory the Goths advanced, their Empire expanding all the time. This Empire flourished for nearly 200 years, till the beginning of the Hun attacks in 375 A.D.

Here, in what is now the Ukraine, the Goths reached the climax of their political power by uniting under their rule on the geo-political backbone of the Dnieper, the vast territory between the Urals and the Carpathians, from the shores of the Black Sea to the shores of the Baltic. Here they passed in constant battle and war the heroic period of their history, which, glorified in popular songs and folk-poetry, penetrated into all the Germanic tribes in the west and in the north.

By its migration into the Ukraine the northern Germanic "barbarians," the Goths, suddenly came into contact with the old southern mediterranean Greek and Roman cultures which were predominant in the Black Sea area. At the same time the Ukraine and the lands bordering the Black Sea were the meeting places of different cultures, languages, races, and religious movements, which were discharged there from Iranian, Caucasian, and Asiatic (Asia Minor) sources, in return receiving cultural impulses from the old classical world. A curious, primitive people, craving for knowledge and learning, the Goths invaded what are now Ukrainian territories. With their weapons they fought their way to Greek towns on the Black Sea shores, where to their astonished eyes the classical world appeared in all its beauty.

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\*Joseph Wiesner: *Kimmerier und Skythen in Lichte neuer Indogermanen forschung, Forschungen und Fortschritte der Deutschen Wissenschaft und Technik*, XIX, 1943.

Joseph Wiesner: *Skythen und Kimmerier in der Weltgeschichte der Fruehzeit*, 1943. - The author accepts pre-Scythian tribes in the Danubian Basin.

So the Goths came into touch with the refined Greco-Roman culture and civilization, so superior to their own. The achievements of this new culture they eagerly tried to appropriate, and for decades they were influenced by it. In this way, under the influence of these Eastern-Roman Greek and Western-Roman Latin cultural spheres there evolved amongst the Goths a new Gothic culture. Here one of the most precious values of this Gothic culture developed: the art of writing. Later, the Goths accepted Christianity in the Black Sea lands (Dacia and Chersonese) and there originated also the first written monument of the Germanic world: the Gothic translation of the New Testament by Bishop Ulfila (or Wulfila).

It is also supposed that the Odin-cult had its sources in the Black Sea lands and then spread from there to Scandinavia and the Danish islands. Beginning with the third century A.D. there developed also here a mixed style of Gothic-Greek art, which spread over what are now the territories of Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Silesia, and even reached Scandinavia. A stimulating cultural stream flowed from the Goths back to the old Scandinavian mother-country, passing on the way through the whole Slavic world and enriching it.

In the south-west the Goths caught sight of the Danube, "stream which was to play such an important role in later Germanic life. Together with the news of Rome, the capital of the world, the name of Caesar, the ruler of the mighty Empire also reached them. These terms, which proclaimed a new epoch, they passed on to the Slavs:

O.B. *Dunavъ*, O.C.S. *Dunavo* "Danube"; the southern Slavic languages have preserved the -av ending. In the other languages the loan-word crossed with *dunaj* "an old Slavic river-name," accepting the -aj ending; from Goth. *Dōnawi*: *Dūnawi* "Danube"; cf. G. *Donau*.

O.B. *cěsarъ*, O.C.S. *cesarъ*, *csarъ*, shortened *carъ* "emperor"; both forms are preserved in Slavic languages; from Goth. *kaisar* or *\*kaisareis*; cf. G. *Kaiser* "emperor"; originating from Lat. *Caesar*.

Already during the march to their new home the Goths had come into close contact with the Slavic population. In the succeeding decades there surely developed a Gothic-Slavic "mixed speech" in some territories which favoured the establishment of "pontal dialects" and mutual word borrowings in everyday life. It must also be borne in mind that the languages of the Slavic natives and the Gothic invaders had not only a number of common sound-imitation forms (cf. O.B. *trěskъ* - Goth. *þriskan* "to thresh"; *krukъ* - *hruk* "crow," etc), but also many cognates. Nobody had to study philology to understand, for instance, that O.B. *otъ* - *ьсѣ* meant Goth. *atta* "father"; *dъšti*, *dъštere* - *daúhtar* "daughter"; *sestra* - *swistar* "sister"; *bratъ* - *broþar* "brother"; *synъ* - *sunus* "son"; *gostъ* - *gasta* "guest"; *žena* - *qino* "wife"; *vъdova* - *widuwō* "widow";

noštъ - nahts "night"; sněgъ - snaiws "snow"; svinъ - swain "swine"; volja - wilja "will"; morje - marei "sea, ocean" dolъ - dals "valley"; liubъ - liufs "beloved"; milъ - milip "mild"; nagъ - nagap "naked"; rѣdъ - raup "red"; lъgati - liugan "to lie"; moga - magan "to be able"; vѣjati - waian "to blow"; lajati - laian "to abuse"; plakati - flokan "to weep"; mъnogъ - manags "many"; etc., etc. This close likeness facilitated the adoption of other Gothic words which were peculiar to special cultural fields:

O.B. chlěbъ "bread" to-day found in all Slavic languages, from Goth. hlaifs, stem: hlaiba - "baked, flat cake, originally paste of oats or rye flour, grilled on fire"; cf. cognates E. loaf, G. (Brot-) Laib. The Goths primarily used corn or millet grains for bread; both were roughly ground by stones. The paste was mixed with water without yeast and then was formed into round, flat cakes and baked on hot stones. The loan-word does not mean that the Slavs did not know the preparation or cooking of grain (they had their kaša "gruel") but only that the Slavs took over the Germanic invention of the baked "bread - cake" because this method of grain preparation was still unknown in the east.

O.B. lěkъ "medicine," lěčъba "cure," lěčiti "to heal, to cure," lěčъcъ "medical man, physician"; in all Slavic languages the derivations from this stem cover the important semantic field of "remedy, medicine, to cure, cure, doctor, chemist, hospital"; from Goth. lēkeis "medical man," lēkinōn "to cure"; cf. cognates: E. leech (now rare and archaic) "to cure, to heal"; leech "physician, one who practises the healing art"; leecher, leech-craft; these Germanic words are loanwords from Celtic. These loan-words compel us to the conclusion that the Gothic healing art was apparently more skilled than the Slavic, and that the Slavs surely called Gothic doctors to ill human beings or domestic animals. With the help of the Celtic Druids ("priests" or "medicine men," skilled in the art of healing) the Germanic tribes compiled a fairly broad pharmacology. The Germanic women in particular cultivated the traditional art of medicinal herbs: the roots, grains, berries, leaves, blossoms, all of which were dried and ground. Soothing and narcotic medicines were already known, and so were special treatments of wounds and inflammatory conditions by the application of certain parts of plants. Incantation and magic, of course, were closely connected with herbal potions, as was the whole medical art. Indeed, magic is still used to-day in "popular" medicine by the Slavs. The Gothic "doctor," who was highly esteemed by the Goths, played a prominent part amongst the Slavs too, and he taught them medicinal skills and the use of different drugs. With him was closely associated:

O.B. vlъchъ "sorcerer," and old term in Slavic languages, which is supposed to come from a Germanic source; cf. O.N. vōlva

"fortune-teller." Apart from "healing" we also learn something about "cunning." This information is given to us by the following:

O.B. *l̥st̥* "sly, cunning, craft, deception," *l̥stiv̥* "deceptive," *l̥stiti* "to deceive, to delude," *pre-l̥stiti* "to outwit"; this semantic sphere is preserved in many derivations in all the Slavic languages, with a tendency also to assume the meaning of "flattery, seduction"; from Goth. *lists* "cunning, cleverness, artfulness, astuteness"; cf. cognates; O.E. *list* "craft, stratagem"; G. *list* "cunning, craft, astuteness"; the original meaning of the Germanic stem was "to know - knowledge." The "knowledge" comprised "the strategy of war," the smith's trade and sorcery. (The word was also adopted by the French: *leste*, and by the Italians: *lesto* "agile, keen, skilled, clever.") With their "knowledge," artfulness, and tricks the Goths amazed and surprised the Slavs, and therefore the word was borrowed as a special term.

Similarly, O.C.S. *gorazd̥* "apt, experienced, skilled," in all Slavic languages used as adjective "skilled, clever, nice, good," from Goth. *\*ga-razds* "dialect, language," originally: "apt to speak, speaking intelligently" (perhaps a kind of interpreter); cf. cognates: O.E. *reord*, *rerd* "to roar, to make a noise"; G. *roehren* "to cry, to roar." (A. Stender-Petersen [Slavia, 5, p. 665] disagreed with this etymology.) There were also adopted some names of human qualities appreciated and respected in human beings:

P.S. *\*ščir̥* "actual, true, genuine, exact, sincere"; still retained in western and eastern Slavic languages as a designation for "sincerity, uprightness, heartiness"; probably from Goth. *skeirs* "clear, distinct"; cf. cognates: E. *sheer* "clear, acquitted (from guilt or crime), bright, shining"; G. *schier* "pure, candid, true."

O.B. *dr̥z̥* "bold, daring, impudent"; in many derivations in all Slavic languages embraces the semantic field of "boldness, impudence, rage" and may be supposed to be from Goth. *gadaursan* "to risk, to dare"; cf. cognates: E. *dear*, G. *teuer* "costly, expensive, dear."

O.B. *chqdož̥stvo* "artifice, trick, knack" from an adjective preserved in O.C.S. *chqdog̥* "able, wise," in modern Slavic languages is used in the senses "clean, to clean, neat, fine, art, artist"; from Goth. *handugs* "wise"; cf. E. *handy* "skillful (with an a for e by influence of hand), handy-man." Manifestly the word was descriptive of the skill of a craftsman or of the artistic execution of his work. One can guess that Slavic workmen executed some work in collaboration with Gothic workmen and learned this special term. But the following was not respected:

O.C.S. *chlak̥* "unmarried"; now extinct, from Goth. *halks* "empty, needy, poor" - apparently used in contempt originally.

An important tailoring term of those days has also a Gothic source:

O.B. *skut̥* "hem, border" from Goth. *skaut* "hem, border, of a garment, flap"; the word is now extinct. Cf. cognates: G. *Schoss*



"tail or flap of a coat, coat-tail"; E. sheet. Between friends there existed:

O.B. *likъ* "round dance," *likovati* "to dance, to jump, to sing" still used to-day in Slavic languages for "choir, troop, meeting, to shout with joy, to triumph"; from Goth. *laikan* "to dance, to leap for joy."

O.C.S. *lěkъ* "game at dice" presently extinct, from Goth. *laiks* "game"; cf. cognates for both words: O.E. *lākan* "to leap, to fly, to sing"; *lāc* "game, fight"; G. Leich "song of unequal stanzas, play-song." But attacks against the invaders also occurred which they called:

O.B. *chqsa* "robbery, theft," original meaning was "armed band, marching out for plunder," from Goth. *hansa* "multitude, company, band of men"; cf. cognates: O.E. *hos* "band of men"; G. Hanse "Hanse."

After the meeting of the Goths with the Greeks and the Romans their new role in the Slavic world began. They became the transmitters of the Greek-Roman culture. We have already described how the Greek cultural zone met its fate. Before the Gothic advance it had been partly under the rule of the Roman Empire which the conquered peoples tried by means of fortifications and splendidly built military roads to hold and to defend. Over these roads the Roman traders came as far as the frontiers and settled under the protection of the frontier-camps in order to trade with the other side. As a rule they were innkeepers, who tried to quench the constant thirst of the legionaries with wine, but who in addition traded in all sorts of ways. With loaded asses and mules they appeared on the frontier and tried to sell their wine and goods. It must be borne in mind that the Goths on the Danube became acquainted with the Roman money lending system and they began to spread these methods amongst the Slavs. In this way a word of immense importance was loaned:

O.B. *kupiti* "to buy," *kupьcbъ* "trader," *kupl'a* "trade"; the vast number of the various verbs and nouns with different prefixes from these stems in all Slavic languages embraces semantically the whole field of trade and modern commerce. One can say that the Gothic *kaupōn* (possibly \**kaupjan*) "to trade, to traffic," which is the source of the loan, and which is derived from Lat. *caupo* "shopkeeper, innkeeper," became the ancestor of the greater part of modern Slavic commercial terminology. Cf. cognates: E. chapman "merchant, trader, dealer" old: "hawker, pedlar, chapmanhood, chapmanry; G. Kaufmann, kaufen.

Gradually there developed in towns, instead of the primitive barter-trade, a new form of trade by means of money. Step by step there developed the concept of legal tender, of a money-payment, and therefore of a new idea of trade, whereby the purpose of trade was no longer the acquisition of an object, but of a trade profit, of a surplus.

Thus began the development of a special merchant class. But the Roman coins, of course, did not at one stride become general tender amongst the population on the Black Sea hinterlands. At first the coins were appreciated as valuable objects, articles of value, but later, especially amongst the women, they were valued as ornaments. Up to World War II the practice existed amongst the peasantry of almost all the Slavic nations of adorning the necks of girls with chains of old silver coins, serving both as ornament and as a sign of wealth. The fate of the name given to an old coin is instructive:

O.B. *cęto-imbstvo* "money-acceptance, prostitution," O.C.S. *c'ata* "Dinar-coin," Ukr. *C'ata* "trifle," *c'atka* "tinsel, spangle"; from Goth. *kintus* or *\*kinta*, and this from Lat. *\*centus* "a very popular Roman small change coin." We see that the glittering metallic foil in the first place was used as "tinsel for decorations, for false lustre." The small coins were perforated and sewn on as ornaments and embroideries.

Two old Germanic coin-denotations, obviously coin loans, present some sound difficulties and are therefore dated by some scholars a little later:

O.C.S. *pěnězъ*, *pěněgъ* "money, silver - or coppercoin," still used in all Slavic languages as a designation for money or coins. The word is supposed to be of Gothic origin, but in Gothic sources the word is not recorded. The reconstruction of the source is: Goth. *\*pinnings*, *\*pannings*, supposedly meaning "a piece of metal used as money"; cf. E. penny, G. Pfennig.

O.B. *skъlędzъ* "coin"; term now extinct, from Goth. *skillings* "gold-coin"; cf. E. shilling, G. Schilling. The following term clearly shows the beginning of money transactions and the circulation of money:

O.B. *lichva* "profit, interest, usury," covers in all Slavic languages the field "interest, usury," from Goth. *\*leihwa* "loan," *leihwan* "to lend, to borrow"; cf. cognates: E. loan, G. leihen "to loan, to lend." The start of money-trading acquainted the Goths with new enjoyments and pleasures which they transmitted to the Slavs. For the establishment of the price of the goods in luxury trades "sampling" was necessary. The designation of this action was apparently so important in Gothic-Slavic trade relations that it became adopted:

O.B. *is-kusiti*, *po-kusiti*, *o-kusiti* "to taste, to probe," *vъ-kusъ* "taste, flavor"; in all the Slavic languages there are many derivations covering the semantic field "to taste, to probe, to experience, to eat and drink, food, taste, experiment, skill, art"; from Goth. *kausjan* "to try something by testing, to relish"; cf. related to E. cost "quality, kind, character"; G. kosten "to taste, to try." Later, under the influence of Christian terminology, this original meaning assumed a religious flavor:



O.B. o - kusa "temptation," is - kusitelb "tempter, seducer." Both the trade and the flora of their new home brought surprises to the Goths, surprises, which they passed on to the Slavs:

O.B. \*smoky, gen. smokъve "fig, fig-tree," an archaic word of limited use, from Goth. \*smakka "fig"; smakkon "to taste." The original meaning of this word was "the very good tasting food, the delicacy"; cf. E. smack, to smack; G. Geschmack "taste, flavor," schmecken "to taste." It is supposed that the Goths themselves borrowed the word from a Caucasian language spoken in the Caucasus where the cultivation of the fig-tree is very old.

In the Crimea and Bessarabia the Goths found rich vineyards. But Roman and Greek wines were the most desirable. The Goths and the Slavs, like all primitive races, liked to be intoxicated. On this subject we have definite reports on the Germanic tribes by Tacitus in his Germania, and about the Slavs in Nestor's Chronicle, which in spite of its later date surely reflects old Slavic customs. Intoxication was once a part of a religious cult and was achieved by the use of different stimulants. In carousal men tried, at least temporarily, to escape from the difficulties and hardships of life into serenity and cheerfulness and freedom from care. Wine dissolved all troubles into euphoric feelings, while the songs also contributed to the harmonious mood of easy comfort and contentment. Man, full of vitality believed himself approaching nearer to happiness through intoxication, nearer to the transcendental forces - until alcohol benevolently blotted out any remaining consciousness. However, great dangers lay in wait for the Germanic tribes behind the sparkling, red, speedily intoxicating beverage of the south. Their western tribal leaders were soon aware of it, trying by rigorous prohibitions to suppress the drinking of wine. We have no such records about the East Germanic tribes, and therefore we must suppose that the Goths very soon appreciated the wine because they introduced it to the Slavs.

O.B. vino "wine, vine-plant" is used in all modern Slavic languages, from Goth. \*wīna: wein, from Lat. vinum. But not only was "wine" welcomed; the Slavs also took over the cultivation of the grape:

O.B. vino - gradъ "vine-plant, vineyard, vinehill," used in all Slavic languages, from Goth. weina - ga rds "vinehill, vineyard"; cf. the related E. vine, G. Wein, E. vineyard, G. Weingarten. Also probably coming from the Goths, we find:

O.B. ocъtъ "vinegar," the word is still in use in Slavic languages, from Goth. \*akit-, which is derived from Lat. acetum. Not only do we find the influence of the Goths in the cultivation of the wine, but also in all kinds of gardening:

O.C.S. vrъtъ - gradъ, vrъto - gradъ "garden," now extinct, from Goth. aúrti - ga rds "orchard." The English word is a cognate. Now the Roman orchard with cultivated fruit-trees, garden-

plants, and vegetables begins to appear in Slavic lands. Therefore it is supposed that:

P.S. \*rѣdъky: rѣdъka "radish," used in modern Slavic languages, originated from a Gothic source and its Germanic stem \*redikō "radish"; cf. E. radish, G. Rettich (the original source is Lat. radix). The black radish, in particular, is to-day in Slavic countries a popular remedy against illnesses of the kidneys and the gall-bladder; probably it was introduced as a Gothic medicine. Finally, in this connection, a name of a tree must be mentioned, the derivations of which will be explained later:

P.S. \*buk "beech-tree," used in all Slavic languages for the sphere "beech-tree, forest, country," from Goth. boks "beech." This loanword is regarded at the same time as marking the expansion of the Slavs, recording that in the west they had reached the beech-limit, a line Koenigsberg-Warna-Crimea (cf. Hoops, Reallexicon der germanischen Altertumskunde), where they came into touch with this tree and its Gothic designation. Cf. the cognates: E. beech, G. Buche.

We should now like to consider some innovations in dress and household utensils by which Slavic cultural life was enriched by the Goths in that period. Commerce along the Black Sea shores acquainted the Goths with various luxuries and utensils in the classical world. These later became everyday utensils, and therefore their designations entered into Slavic:

P.S. \*usoręďzъ, O.C.S. useręzъ "ear-rings"; the word is limited to the east, from Goth. \*ausahriggja: \*ausihriggs "ear-rings"; cf. E. ear-ring, G. Ohr-ring. The household, with its primitive utensils of wooden cups, boxes, clay-pots, and cow-horns, is indebted to the Goths for:

O.C.S. stъklo "drinking glass," O.B. stъklnica "drinking cup"; in many derivations in all Slavic languages expressing the meanings "glass, glazier, vessel, especially vessel for drinking"; from Goth. stikls "goblet, cup, bowl"; cf. cognates from the very prolific Germanic stem, E. stick, stake, G. sticken, stecken. The loanword has, as to its ending, adapted itself to the Slavic meanings of raw materials: cf. zalēzo "iron," zlato "gold," etc. The Gothic word passed through a remarkable evolution in meaning. Originally it meant "peak, top" and became the "peak, top of a drinking horn"; later it assumed the meaning of "glass goblet, drinking glass, vessel." The Slavs adapted the Gothic word and the Gothic designation of "vessel" became in Slavic the designations of the raw material of the vessel, that is - "glass." Glass originated in Asia Minor, probably in Mesopotamia, around 12.000 B.C. It came early to Egypt and this country remained the center of glass manufacture until the beginning of the Christian era. Alexandria was especially famous for its glass, and from here this craft spread over the Mediterranean

countries, coming fairly late to the Slavs. A special innovation was the kettle-boiler, from bronze or iron, for cooking food:

O.B. *koťlъ* "copper kettle"; used in all Slavic languages for the semantic field: "excavation, basin, kettle," from Goth. *\*katils* or *\*katilus* "kettle"; cf. E. kettle, G. Kessel, from Lat. *catillus* - *catinus* "bowl, dish, pan." A revolution began in the Gothic kitchen. The Germanic tribes from the earliest times did not cook their meat but grilled it on long spears over the fire. Now they learned a new method of food preparation which was passed on to their Slavic neighbors. We see also the beginning of a refinement of eating habits from the adoption of:

O.B. *bludo*: *bludъ* "dish," in the majority of Slavic languages existing with the meaning "dish, basket, table," from Goth. *biuþs*, gen. *biudis* "table," originated from P.G. *\*beuða* - "food-board, tray, that on which anything is offered"; cf. O.E. *bēod* "table," *bēodas* "dishes, cups"; O.H.G. *bied* "table." We accept also a Gothic origin for the loan of:

P.S. *\*misa* "a large bowl," used to-day in all Slavic languages for the designation of vessels of various sizes, from Goth. *mes* "table-bowl"; cf. O.E. *mēse*, O.H.G. *mias* "table" - from Lat. *mesa*: *mensa* "table." The introduction of the "table" into the house-culture and furniture of the Slavs is connected with these two words. As we saw P.G. *\*beuða* - meant a "tray," which probably had in the center a small hollow to hold the food. So the "tray" transformed itself into a "bowl." In imitation of the Greek and Roman customs the Goths during their lunches and suppers began to put these tray-bowls on suitable trestles or wooden stands, transforming them in this way into "tables." After the meal these "trays" were lifted, therefore there still remains in modern German a phrase "die Tafel aufheben" - to end a supper or a dinner. The Goth. *biuþs* had this meaning already. The Slavs designated this trestle, the wooden stand as: O.B. *stolъ* (which apart from the "table" could also mean "a chair"), from *stojati* "to stand," or better from the stem: *\*stel-* "to spread." Later it became the designation for "table," and the Gothic loanword preserved the old meaning "bowl." The Lat. *mensa*-*mēsa*, Goth. *mēs* "table" was loaned at a time when there was still no great difference felt between a "table," that is "a tray on the wooden stand" and "a tray without a stand." This "mensa on the stand" was for the Goths originally also a "bowl," and this meaning remains in Slavic languages to-day. In this context the story of the following word is very interesting:

O.B. *dъska* "board, table," still retaining the meaning of "board, plank" in all Slavic languages; from Goth. *\*disk-*, originating from Lat. *discus*, which comes from Gr. *δίσκος*; cf. E. dish, desk, G. Tisch. The Latin and Greek words designate a "round dish, bowl" because of their common round form. These dishes were probably

very similar to the old "food-trays or bowls." Therefore the word *Tisch* means in German "table." The original Germanic meaning was "food-tray, bowl," which in the modern Slavic meanings, as a consequence of the common raw material, acquired the meaning "wooden board, plank." But the meaning "table" was in force in O.B. *dъska* and is still hidden in Ukr. *skatert'*, from *dъska-tъrtъ* (-*tъrtъ* from *tъrō*, *terti* "to wipe, to rub") literally "tablecloth for wiping."

The new geographical situation and the neighborhood of the Ancient World brought to the Goths not only new plants and objects for everyday use, but also informed them about new kinds of animals which were unknown to the Indo-Europeans. The descriptions of new animals were also eagerly accepted by the Slavs as all primitive races always showed a special interest in exotic animals. This innate curiosity which every child has, must now be satisfied by visits to the Zoo. In those old times reports, often fantastic, had to satisfy this inquisitiveness. To the Goths the Slavs owe:

O.B. *\*kotъ* "tom-cat," *kotъka* "cat"; these words cover in all Slavic languages the sphere of "cat," "kitten," and the verb "to bring forth young"; supposedly from Goth. *\*katts*: *\*katta*, and this from the Lat. *cattus-catta*; cf. related E. *cat*, G. *Katze*. To the infinite patience of the Egyptians we are indebted for the taming and domestication of this shy little beast of prey; it was esteemed as a holy animal dedicated to the goddess Bastet of the Nile Delta. Gradually from the wild cat emerged our confiding house-cat, which slowly began to spread everywhere as the useful mouser, the deadly enemy of mice.

O.B. *osъlъ* "ass, donkey" in all Slavic languages now used both as a designation of this useful animal and in invective; from Goth. *asilus*, which originated from Lat. *asinus*; cf. E. *ass*, G. *Esel*. In ancient Egypt this wild donkey became gradually the indefatigable porter, which had the greatest value in the spread and extension of trade and commerce.

O.B. *lъvъ* "lion," in all Slavic languages used up to the present day, from Goth. *\*liwā-*; cf. E. *lion*, G. *Loewe*. Some fantastic tales about the king of the desert must have been circulated, especially when we consider the fate of the Turkish word *ar slān* "lion," which, in Slavic languages became *slon* "elephant." This etymology, however, is a little dubious. A Brueckner (*Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Kraków, 1927) regards the word as developed from Slavic sources. In any case, the etymology of Prof. Vernadsky (V. I., p. 98), attempting to prove that the Slavic word is borrowed from Tokharian *klon* is more than dubious. Similarly, one is not astonished at the semantic fate of:

O.B. *velъbōdъ* "camel," existing in all living Slavic languages; from Goth. *ulbandus* "camel." The source of the Gothic word is Gk. *ἐλέρας*, gen. *ἐλέραντος*, or the Latin form which originated from

the Greek: *elephas*: *elephantem*, *elephantus* "elephant." As the Goths had no clear idea about the elephant, the meaning of the word switched to another amazing animal, known only by hearsay, namely the camel. The Slavs also committed this "zoological mistake," and even to-day it is immortalized in the languages of the Slavic peoples. In Slavic, as a process of popular etymology, the word assumed the meaning of "the big wanderer," because the word became associated with "big" (*velii*) and "to drive around, to wander" (*blq diti*). The news about this new animal came to the Goths surely through the Christians, whose sphere of influence the Goths then entered. The diffusion of Christianity amongst the Goths must be dated with the year 264. It is very probable that in this movement the Christian community of Chersonese also took part. This town was from 62 A.D. in Roman possession and became a fortified base of the Roman navy. Later, during the struggle of the Roman Empire against Christianity, Chersonese was used as a Roman Siberia, for the exile and deportation of Christian leaders, who continued here their work among the inhabitants.

On the other hand it is believed that the Goths brought home from their wars and expeditions into Asia Minor, Cappadocia, etc., Christian prisoners, and amongst them priests and monks. These clergyment organized not only the spiritual care of the captured Christians, but they surely started with fanatical religious zeal to work on the conversion of the Goths. The result was that already in the year 325, the first orthodox bishop Theophilos appeared at the council of Nicea. At this time the Goths developed very friendly relations with the religious communities of Asia Minor. Finally the Goths came under the influence of Aryanism. The first Aryan Gothic bishop was the learned translator of the New Testament, Ulfila, who was consecrated in the year 340. In spite of persecutions of Christians and the attack on Aryanism by orthodox Christianity, in the middle of the fourth century Aryanism gained a victory amongst the Goths. The East Goths as a whole accepted this denomination and even spread it among other Germanic tribes, the Vandals, Rugians, Burgundians, and even Langobards.

This Goths missionary activity extended not only over the related Germanic tribes, but also, it is rightly believed, over their Slavic neighbors. From the fact that the words of the church-terminology, which the Goths took over from the Greeks, were also borrowed by the Slavs, A. Stender-Petersen draws the plausible conclusion that "the Slavs already centuries before the mission of the brothers and Slavic apostles, Cyril and Methodius were under Christian Asiatic missionary influence which emanated from the Goths and which, weak as it may have been, brought to them some inextinguishable impressions, basic information, and ideas."\* In the sphere of Slavic

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\*A. Stender-Petersen: *Slavisch-germanische Lehnwortkunde*, Goeteborg, 1927.

Christian terminology we notice the following loanwords:

O.B. *krъstъ* "cross," in all Slavic languages used in the meanings "cross, baptism, oath"; from Goth. *Xristus*; *Kristus*. In this way the name of the crucified Saviour "Crucifixus" became the designation of an object - the crucifix. Both meanings were adopted in Slavic. Cf. E. Christ, G. Christ.

O.B. *krъstiti*, *krъščъ* "to baptize, to christen," in all Slavic languages remains in the meanings "to baptize, to cross oneself," with many derivations, such as "baptism, godfather, christening-feast"; from Goth. *\*kristjan* "to convert to Christ."

O.B. *crъky*, gen. *crъkъve* "church," preserved in all Slavic languages, from Goth. *\*kyrikō* (*\*kirikō*) which was derived from Gr. κυριακόν, κυρικόν, "church"; cf. E. church, G. Kirche.\*

O.B. *popъ* "priest," once widely used in Slavic languages, now limited only to the Slavic nations which belong to the Orthodox Dissident Church; from Goth. *papa* "clergyman," derived from Gr. παπᾱς "clergyman"; cf. E. Pope, G. Papst.

O.B. *postъ* "fast, lent," preserved in all Slavic languages, from Goth. *\*fasta*; cf. the cognates: E. fast, G. Fasten.

O.B. *postiti se* "to fast," preserved in all Slavic languages, from Goth. (*sik*) *fastan* "to fast." This original Germanic word proves that even during the period of paganism a fast was kept for certain cultic reasons. Amongst the East Goths the word acquired a religious, specifically Christian meaning after their conversion to Christianity.

O.B. *gobino* "plenty, abundance," an archaic word, now extinct, from Goth. *gabei*, gen. *gabeins* "riches, wealth."

O.B. *gobъdzъ* "abundant, plentiful"; *gobъzovati* "to exist in plenty, in abundance," archaic words, now extinct, from Goth. *gabigs* (*gabeigs*) "rich, wealthy, copious"; *gabigjan* "to enrich"; *gabignan* "to be rich"; cf. cognates: O.E. *zifiȝ* "rich," O.H.G. *kepi* "wealth." Both words were very often used in prayers for "wealth and health," and therefore they became terms for an appeal to the goodness of the Christian heavenly Father and in this sense they were adopted.

O.B. *satana* "devil," in Ukr. *sotona*, probably from Goth. *satana*, derived from Gr. σατανᾱς, cf. E. *satan*, G. *Satan*.

It is quite possible therefore, in our opinion, that the Goths transmitted to the Slavs the teaching of Christ, His death on the cross, as well as about the church as a building and as a community, about the abundance of God's grace, about the devil, and the salutary effect of the fast. This theory is more probable as the Gothic neophytes, champions of the faith, felt obliged to preach the gospel, hoping by

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\*For a discussion of the whole problem see: G. Gunarson: *Das slavische Wort fuer Kirche*, Uppsala, Univ. Arsskrift, 1937.



successful propagation of the faith to earn special blessings and rewards for themselves. This "Gothic theory" of the origin of Slavic Christianity is also supported by the traces which pure Gothic Christian terminology has left behind in Slavic translations, although the study of these translations is not yet complete. Some noteworthy examples are:

O.B. *milosrbdŕ* "compassionate, charitable," composed from *milŕ* "dear, kind" and *srbd - bce* "heart" corresponds literally to the Gothic compound word *arma-hairts*, from Lat. *miseri-cors* "compassionate, charitable."

O.B. *božbskŕ* "divine" is formed with the loaned suffix *-isko*, from *bogŕ* "God" in the same manner as the Goth. *gudisks* "godly" from *gub* "God" with the suffix *-isko*.

In the names used for the days of the week in Slavic A. Stender-Petersen believes that there was a great Gothic influence, but the problem is, in our opinion, not sufficiently clarified as yet.

The spread of Christianity amongst the Goths in the lands bordering the Black Sea was aided by the invention of the Gothic alphabet by Ulfila in his epoch-making translation of the Bible. Such well-known scholars as Salin, v. Friesen and A. Stender-Petersen are of the opinion that the Gothic Empire in the lands surrounding the Black Sea was also the birthplace of the Gothic runic letters. They evolved there under mixed Roman-Greek influences. We find a trace of this influence on the Slavs in:

O.B. *\*buky*, gen. *bukŕvi* "writing, letter, document," in all Slavic languages covers the meanings "letter, book, primer"; in Eastern and Southern Slavic languages this word appears as a name for the alphabet:

O.C.S. *azbuky* (*az - azŕ* "I," the first letter); from Goth. *boka* "letter," which is connected with Goth. *\*bok-stabeis* "letter"; cf. E. *book*, G. *Buch-stabe*, *Buch*. We see from the German word that a "Stab" (the cognate of E. *stave*) was originally used for the engraving of runic letters on writing tablets, and that a "Buchstabe" meant originally a beech-bar with engraved runic signs. This fact induced A. Stender-Petersen to believe that the old Slavs in what is now the Ukraine, at that time, long before the introduction of Slavic letters by Cyril, already knew the Gothic letters or the Gothic runic letters. This assumption is supported by a report of a Bulgarian monk *Chrabrŕ* (at the beginning of the X century) who wrote that, before Cyril and Methodius, the Slavs had no letters but used a kind of runic script. He uses for the signs the designation O.B. *črŕta*, *rězŕ* "stroke, line, cut," which obviously refers to the old runic signs. *Chrabrŕ* relates distinctly that these signs were read. He also mentions that the Slavs had tried to use Latin and Greek letters for their language.

To sum up, all these facts lead to the conclusion that the Slavic

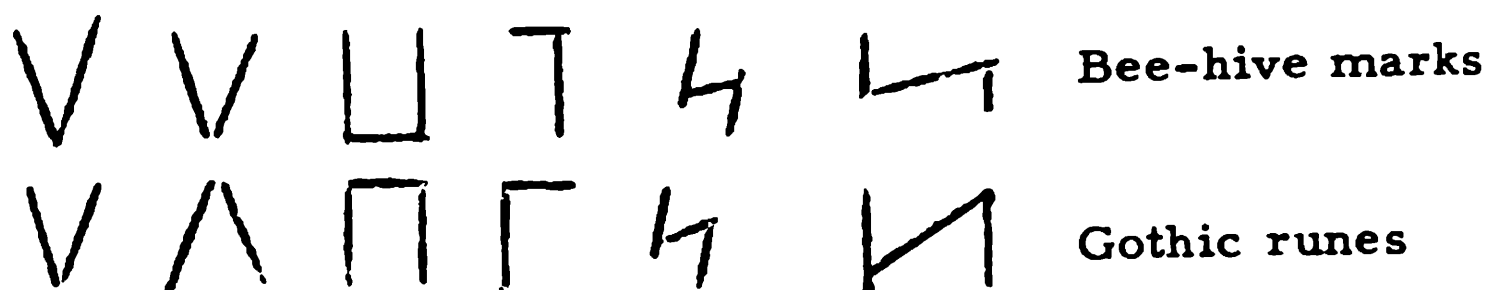
apostles did not "invent" their alphabet, but that they found a traditional use of runic letters which they used as a basis for their alphabet. This tradition, it must be remembered, is due to the Gothic-Greek-Roman learned circles who surely supplied the impulses to use letters. That Cyril did know that the Slavs in the lands bordering the Black Sea used letters, we conclude from the *Vita Cyrilli*. Here Cyril says, so it is reported, before his departure from Constantinople, that it gives him pleasure to go to a place where letters are used for the Slavic language. For this reason one of the great authorities in Slavistics, F. Miklosich has hinted at the idea of a close association between the Slavic and the Gothic alphabets. Some correspondences may be pointed out between the Slavic and Gothic names for letters in the alphabets. For instance, comparing Slavic letternames with the names of Gothic runic letters, we see the following:

- O.B. a z ʁ "I" is similar to Goth. a n s (aza) "balk, God";
- O.B. i z e "which" is similar to Goth. e i s "ice, winter";
- O.B. n a š "our" is similar to Goth. n a u "chain, need";
- O.B. o t ʁ "of" is similar to Goth. o p a l "hereditary possession";
- O.B. j e r ʁ is similar to Goth. u r u s "bison" etc.

Amongst the Roman Catholic circles of that time the Gothic tradition of Slavic letters was regarded as a matter of course. This is especially evident in the condemnation of this alphabet as "Gothic characters" by the Synod of Prelates at Spalato (1059-60).

To wind up this account, we should like to mention the very interesting discussion going on just now amongst Ukrainian scholars. A Soviet scientist published in the journal "Rid ta Znameno" No. 1 under the initials R.P. an article about the "bee-hive marks" found in the northern Kievan country. Prof. M. Miller in No. 3. (1947) of this journal added most valuable comments to this article. The bee-hive marks are found along the borderline of the forests in Eastern Europe, among a population which from the earliest times has engaged in bee-keeping. In the primitive household of these times bee-keeping played an important part as "sugar and wax factories." Laws, closely connected with the "bee-hive marks," which developed in these times, are mentioned already in the oldest codex, the *Russkaia Pravda*. In the Uralian forest bee-keeping was carried on by almost the entire population of the Bashkirs. The Bashkirian bee-hive marks developed from the "clan-tamgas" (clan emblems), which were used as "signs of property." Also in the Kievan land, and especially in the Polesie, the old apiculture is preserved with its "bee-hive marks," and Prof. Miller believes that they also developed from some "clan marks." *Russkaia Pravda* expressly legalized and protected these marks which originated much earlier. All six Ukrainian "bee-hive marks" Prof. Miller identified as old Gothic runes. He also believes that 40% of the Cyrillic alphabet shows Gothic influences, that Gothic runes





are often used in the geometrical forms of Ukrainian embroideries, and that the emblems of the old Ukrainian aristocracy originated also from Gothic runic signs.

Not only, during this period, were whole words adopted in Slavic, but in addition one suffix. It was especially often used in the formation of nomina agentis, cf. Goth. *boka-boka-reis* "writer"; *laisjan-laisaries* "teacher," etc. This suffix is also used in the formation of nouns denoting craftsmen. We believe that this suffix penetrated into Slavic from the Gothic crafts in which the Slavs participated. This adoption was also aided by Greek and Latin influences. This suffix became very common in word formations denoting professions:

O.B. - *arъ*, from Goth - *areis* (Lat - *arius*: Gr. - *αριος*). Examples: O.B. *myto* "toll" - *mytarъ* "publican"; *vino* "wine" - *vinarъ* "vintager." *ryba* "fish" - *rybarъ* "fisherman"; *vino-gradъ* "vineyard" - *vinogradarъ* "vine-dresser," etc., etc.

The problem remains as to whether, during this epoch, the Germanic influence was also obvious in the conception of the "state." In replying to this question we must consider not only Slavic-Gothic relations, but also early Ukrainian-Gothic relations. For we have now the first historical reports on the relations of the Goths with the Antes. And these Antes are regarded by the authority on Ukrainian history, M. Hrushevsky, as the ancestors of the present Ukrainians.

The question for the whole Slavic world and the Antes in particular can be answered in the affirmative. According to M. Hrushevsky,\* the Goths, as regards social differentiation, military organization, and leadership, were very highly developed in comparison with the Slavs. They had probably conquered the Slavs and exploited them economically, but simultaneously they gave to the Slavs an example of a more developed social order. Thus they became leaders and a model for the cultural and social development of the Slavs. Under Gothic influences Slavic life matured, especially amongst the Antes, in two directions. On the one hand the husbandmen grew stronger tilling the

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\*M. Hrushevsky: *Istoriya Ukrainy - Rusi I-III*, (2nd edition), Lviv, 1904-05.

M. Hrushevsky: *A history of Ukraine*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.

soil, peacefully and passively regarding the Gothic armed bands; on the other hand a military class arose, organized according to the Gothic pattern, ready to start active opposition against the Gothic ruling class. Thus the Goths stirred up and stimulated the instincts of the Slavs to form a state. This soon found realization in the Antic state.

The Antes were a large tribal union of the Eastern Slavs, including probably also some neighboring tribes from the west, in which, under Gothic influence a strong ruling power and military organization evolved in the course of time. They belonged to the Gothic Empire of Ermenrich and settled according to Jordanes between the Dniester and the Dnieper. Jordanes also reports that after Ermenrich's tragic death (he became one of the greatest figures of Germanic Saga), his son Vinitharius (in our opinion his other name Vithimir, by which he is called in some documents, is a result of popular etymology in Slavic of Vinithar) had to fight a war against the Antes king Boz (or Bozh). In the first battle Vinitharius was defeated, but he prolonged the war and finally defeated the King of the Antes. As an example to the Antes, Vinithar had Boz, his sons, and 70 noblemen (primates) crucified. However, the Huns threw themselves into this struggle and finally annihilated the forces of Vinitharius. On the basis of these reports about the fight between the Antes and the Goths, M. Hrushevsky states that in the fourth century the Antes had already hereditary or elected kings with full ruling power. A later war of the Antes, under the leadership of Mezamer, against the Avars, also proves the existence of the Antes state. Later, in the sixth century, Mauricius speaks already of βασιλες "kings" of the Antes. The contemporary of Mauricius, Theophylactus, clearly reports on Musokius (Muzhok?), an Antes leader, that he was called in the barbarian language: βασις. Therefore M. Hrushevsky believes that here the title of the Antes ruler is mentioned which was at the time used in the native language of the Antes. We would have here an Antes loanword:

P.S. \*riks 𐌹 "ruler" from Goth. reiks "ruler"; cf. E. rich, G. Reich "empire," reich "rich." With this Gothic tradition\* and not with Latin rex the title: riks 𐌹 in the Galician Chronicle is connected. Such is M. Hrushevsky's opinion on this subject. The complete conformity in meaning between O.B. stol 𐌹 "chair, throne" and Goth. stols "chair, throne, tribunal" is also very significant. The Gothic influence is here, in our opinion, definite. Therefore we can assume that the Goths decisively influenced the development of the Antes state and of the royal power of the king. From the same sources (with the help of the Lithuanian) originated in Old Ukrainian the word rykuńa "lady-ruler."

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\*"Konungs" as elected chiefs of the Goths (cf. Vernadsky, vol. I, p. 118) are not recorded. There is no such word in Gothic.

We can trace these Gothic influences also in the military organization of the Antes, which in the following period developed a quite non-Slavic aggressive spirit. After the Gothic retreat, by a mighty expansion the Antes reached the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea shores. The Antes now began expeditions according to the Gothic pattern, partly on their own initiative, partly as allies of the Huns and their neighbors. As a result of these expeditions the territory of the Antes expanded as far as the Danube and the Balkans in the west and Asia Minor in the south. Procopius describes the Antes as military professionals, eager for plunder, who do not cultivate the soil but dedicate themselves exclusively to war and plundering expeditions. They were dreaded fighters, unsurpassed in planning pitfalls, traps, and surprise attacks. M. Hrushevsky believes that the military formations of the Antes were trained under or along the lines of the great Gothic military leaders and their tactics. In military matters the Goths learned a great deal from the Greeks. O.E. *heretoza* "army leader, commander," G. Herzog (O.H.G. *herizogo*) are derived from the Gothic translation of Greek *στρατηγός*. It is possible, in our opinion, that O.S.C. *vojevoda* "army leader" developed under Gothic influence. The Antes also seemed to have developed the principle of ten-, hundred-, and thousand-men units for military purposes which later were generally accepted in the Ukraine.\* This principle, parallel to the ancient army divisions in accordance with the principle of the clans, was used only by the Roman and Germanic tribes, and among the Slavs by the East Slavs only - in particular by the Ukrainians. Schrader believed it to be a Germanic influence. These influences may be found also in the meanings of:

O.B. *drugъ* "comrade, friend," *družyna* "the military company of a leader, companions in arms"; this military aspect of the meaning is even to-day well preserved in some Slavic languages. Such a meaning developed in Old Slavic under the influence of the Gothic cognate: *drugan* "to perform military service." Also the following war-call is preserved in Ukrainian: *vara'* "attention! Take care! danger!," the origins of which can be found in O.B. *varovati(sę)* "to pay attention, to be on guard." It is believed to have been influenced by Gothic war-cries, cf. Goth. *vars(s)* "cautious, careful," *wardja* "guard." How deep the Gothic influence on the Slavs in a military direction must have been is shown by a comparison with the great influence exerted even on Byzantium in the same sphere. A Gothic clan in the 5th century occupied for three genera-

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\*Cf. B.D. Grekov: *Organizacia viiskovykh syl skhidnykh slovian i kyivskoi derzhavy*. Akademia Nauk USSR. Instytut istorii i arkheologii Ukrainy, Naukovi Zapysky, v. II, 1946. The author, in accordance with the party line, disregards the opinions of Hrushevsky.

tions the highest military and administrative posts in the Byzantine Empire.

The membership of the Slavs in the Gothic Empire for nearly 200 years (the Goths being at that time the greatest power in Eastern Europe) almost certainly deepened the old Germanic influence. The time during which they were a part of the Gothic Empire was a school of practical political training to the Slavs. Political and social forces were stirred to activity, a monarchy was developed and strengthened, especially amongst the Antes, and there evolved a military organization on the Gothic pattern. The Slavs were becoming active and politically mature.

If the loanwords of the Gothic period are now considered as a whole, it must be admitted that besides influencing the growth of the state, the Goths, after having gone through the school of Greco-Roman civilization, transmitted to the Slavs a higher grade of civilization in many and various fields. The beginning of a monetary system speeded up the approximation of the whole Slavic way of life (in architecture, agriculture, dress, fashions) to that of the Mediterranean Zone. The Slavs participated to a certain degree in the development of the Gothic civilization in the Black Sea territories, and they learned from the Goths not only to trade in strange objects and goods, but to imitate and reproduce those things. Thus a change was beginning to take place. Gradually, a higher development was spread amongst the Slavs, both in domestic and economic life. The full results of this development became manifest later. Only then was the process of the transformation of the Slavs from a primitive tribe into a civilized people to be accomplished.

We should like finally to stress that the influence of the Goths on the Slavs is not exhausted with the loanwords cited earlier. As M. Ebert\* emphasizes, these influences must have been important in other fields too, but they have not yet been systematically worked over. It should be mentioned that according to Niederle the Slavs began to bury their dead in the 4th century A.D. The old Slavic funeral ritual (burial in a boat) was of Germanic origin, as was the custom before marriage, of a bride removing her husband's shoe as a sign of obedience to him. The Ukrainian archeologist V. Shcherbakiwsky accepts the fact that the Goths influenced the institution of marriage amongst the Ukrainians to an extraordinary degree, and in addition influenced the formation of the entire Ukrainian nation. Under Gothic influence the old matriarchate of the Ukrainian peasants changed into the Germanic patriarchate. The male became the head of the family. Ukrainian marriage customs such as the symbolic kidnapping of the bride, the persecution of the bridegroom and his retinue by her relatives, and the peaceful conclusion on payment of a sum of money

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\*M. Ebert: *Suedrussland in Altertum*, Bonn, 1921.

originated in the Gothic epoch.\* The custom of lifting somebody by the hands (originally on the shield) as acknowledgement of his rule also began at this time, so do the ceremonies of majority\*\* (full age) during which the young man was put on a horse. The settlement of Ukrainian peasants in separate individual farms, popular to-day, is very old, and Procopius relates that it was a peculiarity of the Antes. We also know it was the form of settlement favored by the Goths. There are scholars\*\*\* who trace the Ukrainian national colors (blue and yellow) to the Gothic colors (blue and gold), which symbolized the rising sun on a blue sky. In our opinion they are of later Viking or Swedish origin, though such traditions might have come first from the Goths.

It is regrettable that the wide field of ancient customs has not been properly investigated. It is therefore difficult to say which customs and traditions are common to all Indo-European nations and which customs were peculiar to the Germanic and Gothic tribes, evolving in the Proto-Germanic home. Only further research can give us the right answer.

## 2. Soviet scholarship and the Goths.

What is the point of view of "official" Soviet scholarship on the Goths and their stay in what is now the Ukraine? Soviet scholarship is mainly preoccupied with this basic problem: Who were the Goths, whence did they come into Slavic territory, what was their cultural role in regard to the Slavs? Two of the most distinguished scholars of the Soviet Union answered these questions very clearly. Their opinions must be accepted by other Soviet scholars. Any criticism would be punishable by the Communist party which controls the state.

These two Soviet scholars are the late academician N.Y. Marr\*\*\*\* (of Georgian extraction) and the academician N.S. Derzhavin (of Russian extraction). N.S. Derzhavin\*\*\*\*\* supports wholeheartedly the theories of N.Y. Marr. Apart from these there are all the "smaller authorities" of Soviet scholarship. We shall present their views in their own words, translated literally as far as possible, so that American linguists and historians may receive a first-hand impression of their views.

\*Cf. Rudolf Koester: *Zur germanischen Raub-, Kauf- und Friedelehe* Berlin, 1942.

\*\*Cf. K. Potkowski: *Postrzyżyny u Słowian i Germanów*, *Rozprawy Akademji Umiejętności*, Wydział hist. fil. T. 32, 1895.

\*\*\*Cf. *Woche* 44, 1942.

\*\*\*\*N.Y. Marr: *Izbrannye raboty*, Vol. I-V, Leningrad, 1933-35.

\*\*\*\*\*N.S. Derzhavin: *Proiskhozhdenie Russkogo Naroda*, *Soviet-skaya Nauka*, Moskwa, 1944.

In the opinion of the Soviet scholars the reports of Jordanes about the Goths demand a deeply critical attitude because they are founded on legend, invention, and confusion between the Goths and the Getae and the Scythians. The report that Scandinavia was the "aboriginal home" of the Goths is regarded as a legend, together with the fact that the Goths migrated from the Baltic shores into the Slavic Black Sea hinterland. All "bourgeois" scholars, especially the Slavic scholars Shakhmatov, Niederle, Hrushevsky, and many others, who accepted this report as historical evidence, are ridiculed.

According to Soviet scholarship the Goths are regarded as a "native barbarian population" who under able leadership became, both politically and economically, the strongest tribe in the Black Sea hinterland and took over the "leadership in a native tribal union." Jordanes' report about the empire of Ermenrich and its extent is regarded as a hyperbole, but it is accepted as a fact that the Slavs at the end of the III century and the beginning of the IV century not only were "a part of the Gothic union," but constituted the "bulk of its population." The Goths were above all "an armed band, troop" under the leadership of an army commander - king. This, as a social form, favored the development of the royal power. The rise and evolution of such native bands was a characteristic stage of tribal development everywhere (according to Engels\*), and so it was with the Slavs. The "so-called" Goths were an armed troop, led by an army commander; they evolved from the "native population." This armed troop annihilated its "predecessor, the Antes-Union" and established its rule over the neighboring tribes. Originally the Goths were not even a separate tribe amongst the neighboring barbarian tribes, but they constituted "an inter-tribal military formation." Later, this armed formation subdued by force the neighboring tribes, or else they voluntarily accepted its rule and so it became the mighty "Gothic tribal Union," which had its eastern frontier on the river Don, and was later liquidated by the Huns.

But what about the "so-called Gothic language" and its great contribution to Slavic languages of which all "bourgeois scholars like to speak so much"? - asks N.S. Derzhavin. The answer has already been given by N.Y. Marr,\*\* who is very shocked about the "bourgeois linguists, none of whom has any doubt that the Goths are of Germanic origin."

In the opinion of Soviet linguists and historians N.Y. Marr's Gothic studies have "finally and irrevocably revealed the nonsensical fairy tale about the northern origin of the Goths, and at the same time, with

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\*F. Engels: The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Available in English translations. Now a Soviet historical classic.

\*\*N.Y. Marr: *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 261, 263.

the maximum of evidence, have destroyed the second legend: that the Goths were of Germanic extraction."

N.Y. Marr "proves" that the tribal name of the Goths was known from the moment of their appearance in the northern Black Sea hinterland and that it is "totemically" connected with them not on a Germanic but on a pre-Germanic basis. By their name the Goths, through the Scythians (of whom they are "the double"), are connected with the archaic population of the Caucasus and with the younger medieval nations, amongst them, the Georgians. The tribal appellation of the Goths:  $gu - \int \longleftrightarrow go - t$  has, according to N.Y. Marr, a duplicate:  $go - g$ , respectively  $gu - g$ , which is preserved in the Caucasus in the plural form:  $ar$ ; cf. Armenian  $gu + g = ar + q$ , Greek  $go + g - ar + en - e$ . Those are the Gogs and Magogs mentioned in Bible texts of pre-Assyrian sources and usually identified with the Scythians. They are the Gugar - s, Gogar - s, i.e., gugi or gogi "the ethnical basis for the development of the Georgian social formation, of the Georgian nationality. This early stage in that process, historically so important for the Caucasus, produced the Kart - s or Kartvel - s, with their old national hero Gorg or Gurg, transformed by the Iranian - ized society into the Persian Gorgosar."

The Soviet linguists believe that N.Y. Marr has "proved the connection of Gothic with the sound-languages of the population of the Japhetidean system, especially with the Mingrelian, Chanean and Georgian languages." The relationship of the Goths with their "Scytho-noide" relatives, who also had their origin in countries in the hinterland of the Black Sea, brings us to the Scythians - Skolot-ians ( $skot \longleftrightarrow sku \int$ ). The same "Scythian":  $sku - \int a$  and  $skol - ot$  is contained in Russ.  $zoloto$  "gold," and is found in many forms, such as the Finnish  $kulta$ , the Germ.  $gc'ld$ , the Chuvashian  $elta$ , the Turkish  $altun$ , etc. Thus the "proved connection" between the languages of the Goths and the Japhetidean languages of the "Scytho-noide" Caucasians, Mingrelians, Chans, and also with the Georgian and Scythian languages brings us to the Goths-Scythians, i.e., to the social milieu with which the Japhetides or Proto-Slavs were closely connected.

There was "some kind of a bishop Ulfila or Wulfila" who translated cultic books into Gothic, which some people were inclined until recently to regard as the "aboriginal Germanic language."\* But the language of Ulfila came to us in manuscripts of the V-VI centuries, written in Italy, and therefore it does not represent the Gothic language of the III-IV centuries. It is a "typical literary language for the

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\*It is an invention of N. S. Derzhavin that "until recently" the Gothic language was regarded as the aboriginal Germanic language. The truth is it was first regarded so more than 100 years ago.



feudalized Ostrogothic aristocracy," developed by their contacts with the ruling classes of Byzantium and Italy. This literary language is essentially different from that "inter-tribal Gothic language" used in "the Gothic and Hunnish Unions." Therefore it is clear that the question of the "so-called Gothic loanwords" has to be put in another form. They must be regarded not as loanwords, but as a "japhetidean contribution" common to the "so-called" Gothic and Slavic languages.

In the same way Soviet scholarship solves the problems of the "so-called Gothic culture" and "Gothic style." Gothic culture is not something brought from outside into the territory of the eastern Slavs. On the contrary, it is the product of the native population, known not only in the hinterland of the Black Sea, but also in the Altai, Kazakhstan, Volga, North Caucasus, and Siberian regions before the "Gothic Union." The bearer of this culture constituted a part of the "Sarmatic," then of the "Alanic" and later of the "Gothic tribal Unions," and finally of the "Hunnish tribal Union." Characterizing the "so-called" Gothic culture, M.A. Tikhanov, quoted by N.S. Derzhavin, asserts that the appearance of the Goths in the Black Sea hinterland brought about no changes in the archaeological fields and no essential change in the culture of the population. The elements of similarity between the culture in the basin of the Dnieper and in Central Europe, which appear very obvious in the first centuries of the new era, do not prove the influence of Germanic tribes (whether Bastarnae or Goths), but the formation of an ethnographical community amongst the population of the whole territory, in connection with which a new ethnical formation: the Slavs, develops.

We have presented above in almost literal, though condensed translation, the opinions held by N.Y. Marr and N.S. Derzhavin, authoritative speakers for present-day Soviet scholarship. Here is the "official Soviet opinion" on the origins of the Slavs, and on the Scythians, the Sarmatians, and the Goths. According to this opinion the "tribal unions" have the following chronological order: "The Scythian Tribal Union," "The Sarmatian Tribal Union," "The Gothic Tribal Union," "The Hunnish Tribal Union," and finally "The Tartar Tribal Union" and consequently "The Soviet Union."

This is not the proper place for an analysis of N.Y. Marr's linguistic methods or these historical phantasies. These views are presented to American scholars of Germanic philology and history, and a critical appreciation of these theories is left to them.

## Chapter VI

### SLAVIC CULTURE AS REFLECTED IN GERMANIC LOAN-WORDS

Surveying this earliest period of Slavic cultural history it must be stated that even in the Proto-Slavic "cradle" foreign influences from the more civilized or more energetic neighbors operated. Some of them ruled over the Slavs and passed on to them their own customs and habits; others transmitted influences from other civilizations and cultures. To the south-east there were the Scythians, then the Sarmates, and later other nomads of the steppes. In the Carpathians there were the Dacians. There was also a little contact with the Lithuanians in the north, and even less with the Finns. But along the west, and later the southern borders Germanic tribes dwelt continuously in close touch with the Slavs. It was, therefore, natural that this influence was the most important. Germanic loanwords in Slavic also proved that fact. This opinion was held by the distinguished Polish scholar A. Brueckner,\* and we should like to give it our support. In conclusion we should like to reconstruct a picture of Slavic culture, particularly of the Antes culture at the end of the fourth century A.D., following the departure of the Goths from the Ukraine.

Above all it must be realized that Slavic territory no longer was uniform in a cultural sense, but had divided into two cultural zones. The Slavic tribes in the swampy and heavily forested region of the old Slavic original home remained hunters and fishermen; cattle-breeding and agriculture were primitive there. The Slavic tribes of the other territories of the Slavic "cradle" expanded to the east, south, and west, developing agriculture and cattle-breeding to a fairly high level.

Life in the more primitive zone went on its conservative way; the second zone, however, through Gothic influence was stimulated further. Its development through several centuries led to the establishment of organized states. Princes (P.G. \*kuningaz) began to rule over Slavic tribes and were succeeded by kings (Goth. reiks) who regarded it as their prerogative to impose taxes on the population (P.G. \*mōta). The power of these rulers was still limited by councils (P.G. \*domaz), who also administered justice. Under the leadership of the rulers a warrior class developed (P.G. \*fulka) armed with axes (P.G. \*bardō<sup>11</sup>, \*akusiō-), later with helmets

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\*A. Brueckner, Wpływ Kultur Obcych, Encyklopedia Polska, vol. IV, Kraków, 1917.

(P.G. \*χelma-) clothed with tunics (P.G. \*hetas, \*husan) which had a border (P.G. \*skaut). Amongst these circles the clever (Goth. list), and the daring (Goth. \*ga-daursan) amongst men were chiefly appreciated.

The Slavs lived on farms which were surrounded by fences (P.G. \*tuna). There stood the house (P.G. \*χusa), constructed from timber-balks and pillars (P.G. \*stulpa) with a hut (P.G. \*χlaiw-am) nearby, stalls for domestic animals (P.G. \*kuta) and a well (P.G. \*kaldinga). Often, there was also an orchard (Goth. aúrtingards) and a place difficult to cross (P.G. \*fergunja-) ditches, which were spanned by wooden bridges (P.G. \*masta). A new kind of dog (P.G. \*χurþian) was employed as a watch.

The Slavs tilled the soil and bred cattle. The cattle (P.G. \*nauta, \*skatta) originally formed a medium for the barter trade and, it is certain, remained as a popular form of trade long after acquaintance with money (Goth. \*kintus, \*pinnings, skillings), used also as ornaments, began. The barter trade (amongst the articles were: amber-balls [P.G. \*glāza-] and sulphur [P.G. \*sweblaz]) and in particular money deals (Goth. kaupon) encouraged the rise of traders and merchants who learned to taste and to probe (Goth. kausjan) goods carefully. On the other hand commerce taught the Slavs the meanings of debt (Goth. dulga), interest and usury (Goth. leihwan) and their duty to pay fines (P.G. \*geldan).

By means of the traders, who acted as newspapers and radio for these ancient times, the Slavs learnt about the Danube (Goth. Dōnawi), the frontier of the mighty Roman Empire, ruled by an emperor (Goth. kaisar). They also learnt about exotic animals, e.g., the cat (Goth. katts), the ass (Goth. asilus), the lion (Goth. \*liwa), and the camel (Goth. ulbandus). The traders brought various luxuries: the wine (Goth. wīna), vinegar (Goth. \*akīt-) as a spice, and, a special delicacy, the fig (Goth. smakka) and the grape (Goth. weinagards), which was cultivated on hills in special vineyards.

In peaceful co-operation with their neighbors the Slavs learned round dances (Goth. likes), games (Goth. laik), to cook their food in kettles (Goth. katīl(u)s), to bake bread (Goth. hlaiba-), to use plates (Goth. biups), dishes (Goth. mēs), a table (Goth. disk-) and glass in the household (Goth. stikls). In addition they learned the use of ear-rings (Goth. \*ausahriggs) as ornaments.

Amongst their neighbors the open character (Goth. skeirs) the able (Goth. \*ga-daursan), the skilled artisan (Goth. handugs, suffix -areis), and "the healing man" (Goth. lēkeis) with his herbs (P.G. \*redikō) were highly esteemed. The sorcerer (O.N. vōlva), the bachelor (Goth. hawks), regarded with contempt - and robbery (Goth. hansa) were also known.

The Slavs regarded the ceremonies of the Gothic Christians with great curiosity and interest. Through the missionary activity of the

priests (Goth. *papa*) they learned about the message of the Son of God (Goth. *Xristus*), about the baptism (Goth. *\*kristjan*), about the church (Goth. *kyrikō*), about the devil (Goth. *satana*) and the value of the fast (Goth. *fast*, *fastan*). From the priests they learned also about the meaning of letters (Goth. *bōka*) and the Gothic translation of the Bible. Acquaintance with the alphabet stimulated some Slavs to think of using letters for their own language.

Thus from the Germanic loan-words we obtained a picture of the Slavic cultural standard about 400 A.D. Naturally some of the characteristics may be applied only to the Slavic upper classes.

This picture is very similar to that presented by K. Knutsson,\* based on A. Stender-Petersen's *Lehnwortkunde*, which Knutsson opposes. He asks the question: where can the best information about the cultural condition of the Slavs about 400 A.D. be found? Undoubtedly in Slavic archaeology is his answer, and so he compares the linguist's picture with the picture of this cultural epoch given by L. Niederle. Niederle believes that the principal feature of Slavic culture of the first half millennium A.D. was great poverty, a factor which has been established by the archaeologists. Only a few richer graves or cemeteries of the Slavs have been discovered; usually, little more is found in Slavic graves than a small pot, a knife, or a wire ring. Very often even these few remains are not found, but merely an earthenware fragment or nothing at all. It is therefore evident, Niederle assures us, that the original Slavic people lived until well on into the second half of the first millennium A.D. in complete simplicity. They required little; their houses were primitive huts; their utensils simple and rough. Only a few products of iron were used and there were even fewer ornaments of bronze or silver. This condition lasted until the great expansion of the Slavs in the V - VII centuries. During this period many Slavic tribes came into direct contact with the great cultures. They got to know the people of higher civilizations, whose settlements they imitated and took over. In the interior of the Slavic territories important centers of trade evolved, and these became the seats of princes and their retinues, as in Kiev, Novgorod, Rjazan, Prague, Krakow, Arcona, Julin. Only then did a change appear in the archaeological picture. The cultural level rose and became richer; the graves included more presents, sometimes pompous, but often artistic. In a word, the picture of Slavic culture changes considerably in the X - XI centuries, and the material culture can no longer be regarded as poor and simple, as it was a few centuries earlier.

Knutsson also tries to use as comparison Raudonikas' archaeological results obtained from the excavations in the Ladoga district. Raudonikas maintains that in the history of the material culture of

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\*K. Knutsson: Die Aeltesten germanischen Lehnwoerter im Slavischen, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, 1938.

Slavic and Finnish peoples of Eastern Europe there exists a sharp frontier which may be dated as about the second half of the IX and the first half of the X centuries. About this date one can find, from the social point of view, two cultural pictures as far as quality is concerned.

(1) The first, pre-feudal, period based on the clan-unions is characterized by poorly developed agricultural and hunting techniques, by the use of bone, roughly cast iron tools, primitive pottery, dwellings of the earth hut type and fire-brand graves with archaic interiors. All these features point towards poorly developed social differentiation.

(2) The second period, the feudal, is marked by the use of the plow in agriculture, and more highly differentiated handicrafts. In addition, the old settlements are by then developing into new towns, while foreign trade in its pre-capitalist form, is beginning with Arabia, Byzantium, and Scandinavia. At the same time the inventory of the graves becomes richer, showing that class differentiation in the social structure is more strongly marked.

Referring to Niederle's and Raudonikas' opinions, Knutsson states that between the results of linguistics on one hand and of archaeology on the other, there is a sharp and violent contrast, irreconcilable, at least for the present.

We should like to give our opinion on this antithesis in a few sentences: (1) In the first place, Raudonikas' argument is valid only for the far north; it is not valid for what is now Ukrainian territory, and it is this district which is under discussion. (2) Next, we are of the opinion that Stender-Petersen's results can very well harmonize with the picture drawn by Niederle, if we do not recognize the precious stones, metals, and jewelry as a necessary part of the Gothic cultural influence. For the rest, Niederle himself admits the influence of Gothic civilization, especially in the Kievan district.\* (3) On principle it must be declared that even if a discrepancy between the results of the two sciences over the cultural picture of this epoch should exist, then in spite of this the linguist's results would be correct and would not lose their value as scientific evidence. This is so for the following reasons:

Scientific archaeological investigation of the present Ukraine is of decisive importance for the whole problem. Two of the authorities on this country, Prof. I. Borkowsky (Prague) and Prof. V. Shcherbakiwsky (Prague) gave us the following information: (a) In a western European sense, the Ukraine is archaeologically a virgin country. (b) For more than a quarter of a century all archaeological research there has been at a standstill, moreover, the materials from the excavations made

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\*L. Niederle: *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, vol. I, p. 195.

before World War I and deposited in the Ukrainian museums, have not yet been scientifically evaluated. (c) L. Niederle was supported in the construction of his picture by the state of the archaeological research which existed in his day. It would be very hasty to regard this picture as final.

Therefore, if the linguists' results do not correspond with the archaeologists', then the archaeologists must go on digging. In any case, to disregard linguistic results because the archaeological findings as far as they are known do not quite support them would, from the scholarly point of view, be inadmissible.

There is a great future in the Ukraine for archaeology. In our opinion future archaeological findings may well support the conclusions of the linguists. The following opinion of A.M. Tallgren\* about the whole East is very characteristic: "And Eastern European archaeology! We must expect the most surprising finds almost anywhere in Russia; as yet we know so very little of the cultures that altered their form and character in the course of thousands of years in this fabulous and unreal part of the world." This is also a warning to historians not to overestimate the present state of archaeological research and not to use it for doubtful theories.

Let us now, in summing up the discussion of Slavic culture of this period, compare this picture with that of the original Slavic culture reflected in Slavic words. From the antiquated work of A.S. Budilovich, *Pervobytnye Slaviane*, I - II (Kiev, 1878-1882) Prof. Vernadsky (*Ancient Russia*, p. 110) accepted this list of words, which he believes originated in the very ancient Slavic period:

(1) Food and beverages; kitchen implements: *khleb* ("bread"), *miaso* ("meat"), *muka* ("flour"), *drozhdhi* ("yeast"), *testo* ("dough"), *pivo* ("beer"), *med* ("mead"), *kvas* ("near beer"), *chasha* ("cup," "bowl"), *noz h* ("knife"), *lozhka* ("spoon").

(2) Buildings and household furniture: *dom* ("house"), *izba* ("log cabin"), *klet'* ("storeroom," "small barn"), *stol* ("table"), *lavka* ("bench").

(3) Agriculture: *orati* ("to plow"), *rало* ("plow"), *kosa* ("scythe"), *serp* ("sickle"), *borona* ("harrow"), *voz* ("cart"), *koleso* ("wheel"), *seiat* ("rye-wheat"), *roz h* ("rye"), *zhito* ("rye-wheat"), *oves* ("oats"), *proso* ("millet"), *len* ("flax"), *konoplia* ("hemp").

(4) Fruit and vegetables: *ogorod* ("orchard"), *ovoshch* ("fruit"), *iablonia* ("apple-tree"), *grusha* ("pear-tree," "pear"), *sliva* ("plum-tree," "plum"), *orekh* ("nut"), *bob* ("bean"), *goroch* ("peas"), *luk* ("onion"), *repa* ("turnip").

(5) Cattle breeding and dairying; poultry: *byk* ("bull"), *vol* ("ox"),

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\**Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, X, 1936, p. 152.

korova ("cow"), telia ("heifer"), kon' ("horse"), baran ("ram"), ovtsa ("ewe"), vepr ("boar"), porosia ("pig"), runo ("fleece"), volna ("wool"), moloko ("milk"), syr ("cheese"), maslo ("butter"), gus' ("goose"), kuria ("chicken"), utka ("duck"), yaitso ("egg").

(6) Apiculture: pchela ("bee"), bort' ("beehive"), med ("honey"), vosk ("wax").

(7) Hunting and fishing: lov ("hunting"), luk ("bow"), strela ("arrow"), bohr ("beaver"), kunitza ("marten"), volk ("wolf"), olen' ("deer"), ryba ("fish"), uda ("angle"), nevod ("dragnet"), okun' ("perch"), losos' ("salmon"), shchuka ("pike"), ugor ("eel").

(8) Metals and forging; weapons: zoloto ("gold"), srebro ("silver"), med ("copper"), zhelezo ("iron"), kovat' ("to forge"), molot ("hammer"), mech ("sword"), kopie ("spear"), sekira ("ax"), shchit ("shield").

(9) Handicrafts and trade: tkat' ("to weave"), priazha ("yarn"), polotno ("linen"), gonchar ("potter"), torg ("market"), miera ("measure"), lokot' ("ell").

(10) Social organizations, types of settlement: pravda ("justice," "truth"), zakon ("law"), vlast' ("power"), rod ("clan"), plemia ("tribe"), voisko ("army"), selo ("village"), gorod ("town," originally "burg").

On the basis of this material of A.S. Budylovich, Prof. Vernadsky assumes that these words were present in the Slavic vocabulary in the Sarmato-Gothic period "if not earlier," and that they reflect the culture of the Eastern Slavs.

We should like to state: (a) that these examples do not characterize the culture of the Eastern Slavs alone, but of all Slavs; (b) the vast majority of them reflect not Slavic but Indo-European culture; (c) included amongst them are loanwords which are misrepresented as Slavic words: izba (?), khleb, chasha, konoplia, ovoshch (surely borrowed later), grusha, luk (borrowed later), mech, baran; (d) some of the meanings given are modern and they may therefore mislead the American reader: stol at this early period was certainly not a "table," but a "board or plank," perhaps a "chair"; lozhka was certainly not a "spoon," but a "wooden chip" (in spite of the fact that spoons were known to the ancient peoples of the Mediterranean countries, in Central and Eastern Europe they did not become common until about the XV century); kosa was certainly no "scythe," but an implement for "combing the grain," a "comb-sickle"; maslo was certainly not yet "butter," but "fat" cf. O.B. "oil," originally "grease" from mastiti "to grease"; syr was not "cheese," but a milk beverage; pivo was certainly not "beer," but "beverage" (real beer came to the Slavs in the XIII century from



Germany); *nozh* was not a "knife," but the original weapon used by the Slavs, who received the long two-edged sword from the Goths and the Vikings, the light, curved sabre from the eastern nomads; *dom* in these early times was not "a house," but certainly had a wider meaning including the "family" and "the yard"; *muka* was not "flour," but "dough," "paste"; *bort'* had at that time its original meaning "hollow tree"; *zakon* with the meaning of "law" is a part of Christian terminology, so was *pravda* "justice," "truth"; *sele* was probably not yet "village," but "farm."\*

This list ought to be supplemented by many words characteristic of this stage of culture.\*\* It is important, in our opinion, to mention among the food: garlic, mushrooms, a kind of sausage, bacon, raspberries, black raspberries; lunch and supper had already their terms; there were also names for meals and soups and for some typical pastries: Russ. *kolač* and *pirog*. The following garments should be also included: Ukr. *chodak* "a kind of footwear," *plachta* "a kind of skirt," *suknia* "a kind of skirt," *čepc'* "a head dress worn by married women," *šapka* "man's cap". *Hrebin' - enia* "a comb" and *mylo* "a kind of soap" were also known. The laundry was done in the running river: *praty* "to wash" (by beating wet washing with a club). Pottery made great progress by the end of the IV century by the introduction of the potter's wheel and an improvement of the potter's oven. The blacksmith's trade developed very well; we have Slavic terms for all his tools. A new handicraft was very much appreciated: the primitive foundry, which produced not only tools, but above all ornaments for women. Wood-carving was fairly common; it is still well preserved amongst the Ukrainians in the Carpathians. The copper's craft was just beginning.

In the comparison of these two lists of words characteristic of the period at the close of the Gothic epoch, the opinion of T. Lehr Spławinski,\*\*\* which we support, will appear well founded. "The review of adopted foreign words," he writes, "which can be established for the period of the primitive Slavic community, gives us a clear picture which conforms with the studies of grammatical structure and the original Slavic vocabulary of the primitive Slavs, that is: that the primitive Slavs kept far more close and lively contacts with the Western European peoples, above all with the Germanic tribes, in a lesser

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\*Regarding meanings cf.: E. Berneker, *Slavisches Etymologisches Woerterbuch* I, 1908-13, Heidelberg; Aleksander Brueckner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Kraków, 1927.

\*\*Cf. Kazimierz Moszyński, *Badania nad pochodzeniem i pierwotną kulturą Słowian*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków, 1925. Józef Kostrzewski: *Prasłowiańszczyzna*, Poznań, 1946.

\*\*\*T. Lehr Spławinski: *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian*, Poznań, 1946, pp. 49-52.

degree with the Celts\* and the Romans, than with the peoples of southern and eastern Europe, the Greeks and Iranians (the Scythians or Sarmatians). Specific but not very strong traces of Finnish influence, although based on an amount of historical and pre-historical material and on the settlements of Finnish tribes reaching far to the west, do not change the firmly established general picture that the primitive Slavs remained in closer intercourse with the west than with the east of Europe." Lehr Spławinski underlines this opinion in his summing up of the chapter on the vocabulary of the primitive Slavs: "We come, therefore, to the conclusion that the relation of the primitive Slavs in their early communal period bound them far more closely to the west than to the east of Europe."

We think, therefore, that Prof. Vernadsky's belief that the Iranians (the Scythians and Sarmatians) laid the foundations of the political organization of the Eastern Slavs and that the Iranian period was one of fundamental importance for the subsequent development of civilization must be reduced to its proper proportions and brought into line with these linguistic facts which reveal the oldest Germanic relations with the Slavic World. Or, rather, we do not wish to diminish the importance of the Iranian cultural influence in some spheres, but by diminishing and ignoring the Germanic influences the picture of the ancient Slavic culture and its development becomes distorted. In the languages of the Eastern Slavs no linguistic traces exist to support the statement that the Iranians laid the foundations of their political organization.

We hope that our analysis of this problem will also throw some light on the "homogeneous cultural sphere" of the Slavs, which has been postulated from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D., and the forces which formed it in the course of centuries.

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\*We oppose the etymology mentioned by Prof. Vernadsky in vol. I., p. 72 that the name of Ukr. Halych "name of a city," Halychyna "Galicia" may be connected with the name of the Celts, known as Gauls (Galli). The word is Slavic, from P.S. \*galъ "black," and formed derivations for the "crow"; and three crows are in the emblem of the country. Ukr. halych "flock of crows" which are characteristic of that country.

## Chapter VII

### SLAVIC LOAN-WORDS IN GERMANIC

The number of Slavic loanwords in Germanic is very small in comparison with the number of Germanic loanwords in Slavic. It is also obvious that Slavic influence on Germanic culture was very slight.

(1) During the earliest period, that of Primitive Germanic, according to the present state of research, no Slavic linguistic influences have yet been found. Surely, along the borders there must have been linguistic improvisations, but they left no lasting traces, because they did not penetrate the dialects of the Germanic ruling casts, which established the current patterns of speech. In addition, the wanderings of the Germanic tribes in these early times were not favorable to the retention of such traces.

(2) Slavic-Gothic relations had already left some traces in Gothic, but they were small. To explain this, we must bear in mind that, as a basis for tracing these influences there exists only the Gothic language of the Bible-translation. From this literary language with a specific and limited vocabulary, all Slavic influences were, of course, omitted. They were the influences of the lower classes of the Gothic state organization; therefore they were not very much appreciated, and were still felt as foreign, not as loanwords.

In spite of their small number, they are very characteristic and they verify the whole picture of Slavic-Gothic relations, which has been already described:

Goth. *stap* "goat" was transmitted to the Goths by the Slavs from *cap* "he-goat"; but the word is Crimean Gothic and, therefore a later borrowing. The original source is either an Iranian dialect or Albanian shepherd slang word.

The fact that the Goths were attracted by the Slavic dances and celebrations is clearly shown in:

Goth. *plinsjan* "to dance" from P.S. cf. O.B. *plęsati*, Ukr. *pleskati* "to clap";

Goth. *straua* (*straba*) "a kind of funeral repast" mentioned by Jordanes in connection with Attila's funeral, from P.S. cf. O.B. *strava* "food, which was consumed on a tumulus after the funeral ceremony"; these ancient customs are still kept by the peasants today. The Slavs also transmitted to the Goths some very important craft terms:

Goth. *plat* "patch" from Slavic, cf. O.B. *platъ* "patch," *platъ* - no "linen"; weaving in south-eastern Europe was superior to the

northern one because of the traditions of the old Danubian culture.

Slavic loanwords for the whole group of fur-animals, which were adopted by Western Germanic dialects, must be dated after 600 A.D. or even later:

O.B. *sobolъ* cf. G. *Zobel*, E. *sable*; O.B. *norъcbъ* cf. G. *Noertz*; O.B. *plъchъ* cf. G. *Bilch-maus*; O.C.S. *susolъ* cf. G. *Ziesel*; O.B. *\*kъrznо* cf. G. *Kuerschner*, OHG. *kursina* "fur-coat," "mantle."

Some scholars suspect that Old Slavic derived from the East E. *ape*, G. *Affe*; cf. Czech *opice*, O. Russ. *opica*, *opyni*, *opynia* from *\*opa*. The word is still etymologically obscure, but it is certain that Pol. Ukr. *malpa* originated from G. *Maul-affe*.

There are also reports that the Goths either directly from the Slavs or through their mediation acquired in the Black Sea district the following skills which not only deeply changed their way of life, but which they brought to the west of Europe.

First of all, the "oven-stove" and the development of our modern idea of a "room" must be mentioned. According to Bruno Schier\* the territory north of the Alps may be divided into two cultural spheres, the "central European cultural sphere of the hearth (Herd)" and "eastern European sphere of the cooking-stove (Kochofen)," which according to V. von Geramb\*\* is well preserved in the Ukrainian cooking-stove: *pič*, gen. *peči*. This is a big stone-and-loam structure, occupying nearly a quarter of the room and is even now used by Ukrainian peasants as a baking oven, a hearth, a fireplace, and a sleeping place (in winter); its big cavity was also used for "Turkish baths." These stoves in Ukrainian territory seem to be of pre-Scythian origin; they may be regarded as a peculiarity of the Trypilja culture.

This *pič* was the prototype of the modern "stove of Dutch tiles" (*Kachelofen*). The Goths entered this cultural sphere of influence during their stay in the Ukraine and later they introduced this acquisition into northern Italy, when they migrated there. Here the Roman engineers transformed it by curving the top and arranging for the refueling from the rear. All the dirty work of heating and stoking and cleaning could be done "from behind," from the anteroom. Thus the "sitting room" developed slowly into a more comfortable "drawing room" both for family life and social visits. In the beginning, of course, such rooms were limited to the courts, monasteries, and the houses of the nobility, but during the XIV century they were introduced into the peasant's house.

The Goths also brought from the Slavic east the frame for the

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\*"Das Deutsche Haus" in A. Spamer's *Deutsche Volkskunde*.

\*\*"Zur Geschichte der germanisch-slavisches Hauskultur" in *Zeitschrift fuer slavische Philologie*, vol. I.

"sitting room." This peculiar "sitting room" (the German *Stube*) had its prototype in the "bath-room," which the Slavs also introduced to the Goths, who brought it to western Europe. The "bath-room" consisted, in the East European multi-house system, of a small house with a special stove and a "sweating bench." In order to attain a higher temperature for the "Turkish bath" the room was insulated from the rafters by a ceiling. In this way the modern room developed, separated by a ceiling from the loft or attic. The Goths brought this "bath-room" to the west and built it into the large raftered space of the Germanic hall (*Halle*). At first the "bath-room" served its special purpose, but in winter it was used as a "sitting room" and after the modern "stove" was built into it, what we now know as a "sitting room" finally emerged.

A second acquisition of great importance must be mentioned - the beginnings of horsemanship. The horse as a wild animal may still be found in Mongolia. It is also reported that wild horses "tarpan" lived in the Ukrainian steppes even in the XVIII century. Wild horses were common enough in Europe during the early Stone Age. They began to be tamed probably in the Neolithic period. In 200 B.C. horses are mentioned in Babylonia; in 1700 B.C. they were used in the invasion of Egypt. It seems probable that the taming was achieved in Central Asia by nomadic herdsmen. In very early times horses had become an important factor in war, but the use of horses for tillage, transport and agriculture in general is comparatively modern (oxen were normally used for plowing).

The Indo-Europeans knew the horse, but the old name cf. Lat. *equus*, Old Lith. *ašva*, is not preserved in Slavic. It was replaced by P.S. *\*koń* and P.S. *\*komoń*; neither word has yet been given a satisfactory etymological explanation. Also the etymology of P.S. *\*kobyła* "mare" is doubtful; Berneker thinks it is a loanword from a pre-Indo-European or old European source.

The old Germanic tribes were also familiar with the horse and the Goth. *aihwa* is a cognate to *equus*. There is, however, no satisfactory explanation for E. *horse* and G. *Ross*. V. Brondal attempts even to regard these words as loanwords from Scythian. This etymological uncertainty illustrates the problematic character of this most important page of early history. But one point seems to be clear - we have to look to the East.

J. Wiesner\* believes that the introduction of the horse to the service of man occurred in the following way: (a) the horse was known to the Indo-Europeans, but was not used for war; horses were only used for the sacred cart, later for the king's cart; (b) in the Black

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\*Dr. Joseph Wiesner: *Kimmerier und Skythen im Lichte neuer Indogermanenforschung. Forschungen und Fortschritte*, vol. XIX, 1943.

Sea - Caspian territory the Indo-Iranians developed from a peaceful cart a war-chariot, with which in 1700 B.C. the Mitani invaded Asia; traces of this war-chariot even reached China; (c) amongst the Iranians we can trace the beginning of a cavalry, which gradually replaced war-chariots. This important development was brought about under the influence of the central Asiatic horsemen.

Of course, this development had its influence on the neighboring Slavs and after the Gothic invasion it also influenced the Goths and their military tactics. Originally the Goths fought on foot, but there, in the Ukraine they mounted the horse and developed cavalry, using the saddle. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans used saddles. The origin of the stirrups is still in dispute, though it seems certain that iron stirrups were used in western Europe only after the invasion of the Avars.

Peaceful, neighborly relations seem to have been established between the Goths and the Alans on the Don, which led to "Germanization" of the Alans (at least as regard the physical characteristics: blue eyes, blond hair). From the nomadic tent dwellers and horsemen the Goths took over the royal vestments (a special type of shirt, cloak, and cap), the use of dwelling waggons as a fortification in war, and a cavalry with lances and chain cuirasses. It is interesting that the Chinese also received all these innovations from the same sources at about 200 A.D.

In spite of this information, the whole problem is, in our opinion, still very involved and many questions must be answered before it can be solved. Horse breeding was also carried on in the Danubian basin and in the Carpathians, where even to-day a very interesting breed of mountain horses is preserved. The Slavs got the spurs from the Celts (according to J. Kostrzewski). Next, if the Iranians with their cavalry were really superior to the Goths, why had they to retreat before them? Also the problem of the origin of the Cossacks, systematically ignored and concealed by the "official" Russian history, must be elucidated. A voluminous literature exists already about the origin of the Cossack (Kozak) nation.\* It is not possible to verify the data of all the authors and to separate the wheat from the chaff. But many authorities regard this term as ancient, and related to the name of the Caspian Sea (B. Hrozny). In an old history of the Don-Cossacks\*\* the author states that from ancient times this territory was called "cassakia," and mentions that in Old Persian (in Median dialect)

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\*Cf. G. Vernadsky (op. cit., vol. I., p. 261.) believes that within the frame of "Russian history" the Vikings are to be regarded as the "forerunners of the Kozaks"; they will be dealt with only in XVI-XVII centuries.

\*\*A. Popov: *Istoria o Donskom Voiske*, Charkov, 1814.

**k a z a k means Scythian.**

**The revolution in men's clothing seems to be connected with horses. Originally the Slavic men clothed themselves with a knee-long shirt and only wore trousers in imitation of the Scythians. It is believed that the Goths, while in the Black Sea hinterland, also change to the wearing of trousers.**

**In any case, however, the Black Sea territory became the riding academy for the Goths and in this state of affairs the Slavic horse-breeder was used as an assistant. Horse, pants, oven, and bathroom, acquired in Slavic territory by the Goths, were surely a sufficient recompense for all the cultural influence which the Goths exerted on the Slavic World.**





Vikings, copperplate engraving from Magnus: *Historia de gentibus septentr.*, 1555.

## Chapter VIII

### THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD RUS'

#### I. Historical background

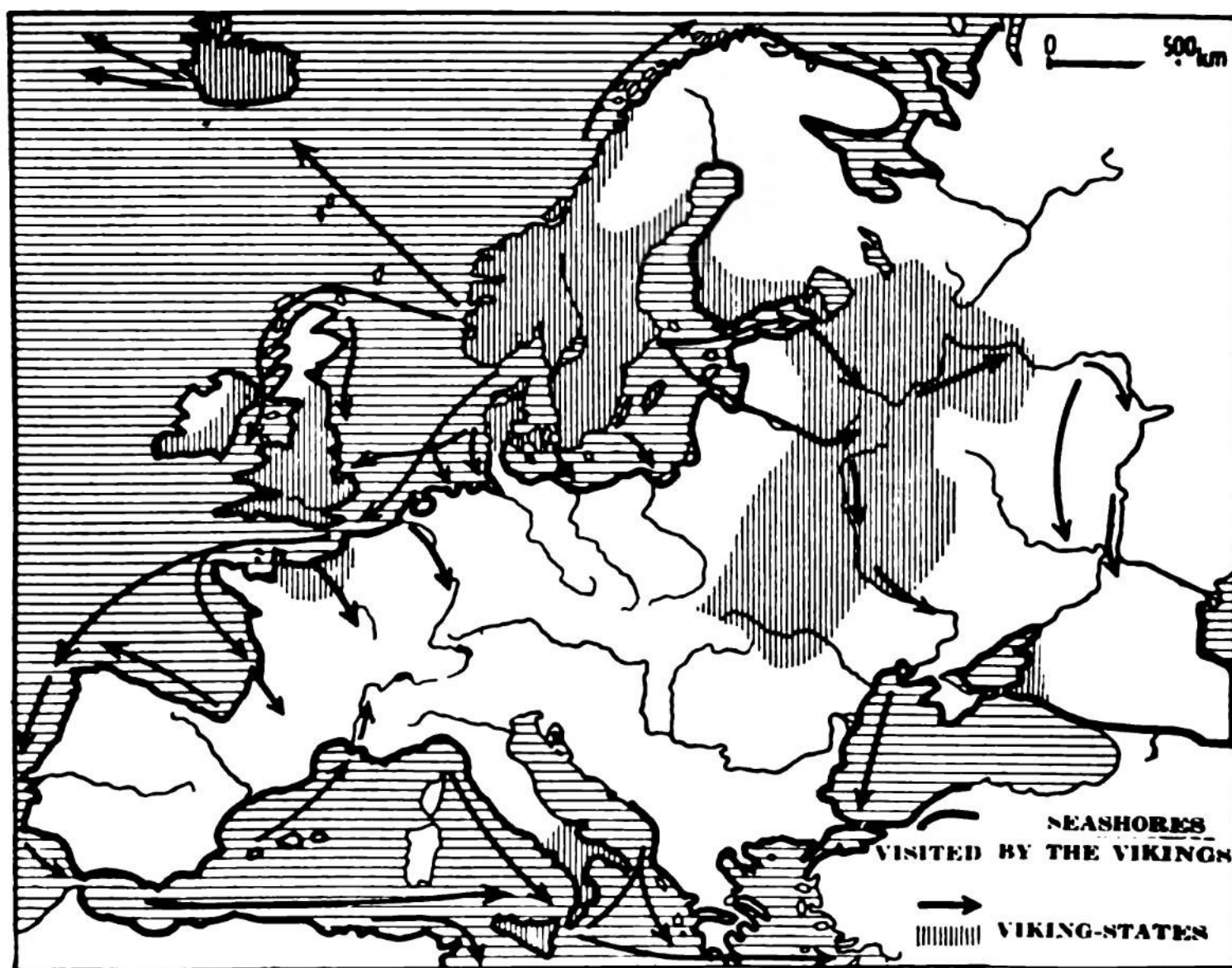
After the defeat of the Gothic King Ermenrich there began the retreat of the Goths to the west, hard pressed by the Huns. This was the beginning of the Great Migration of peoples in Europe, and of the energetic expansion of the Slavs in all directions. To the west and the south the Slavs entered the territories evacuated by the Germanic tribes. This widespread movement continued even through the seventh century, until the Slavs met the Germanic peoples at the new frontiers in the west, namely along the eastern Alps, in Bohemia and what is now western Germany.

The Antes also took part in this expansion which brought them to the Sea of Azov and the Donets basin, and to the Black Sea and the Balkans in the south. We have reports of the Antes as allies in battle

with various peoples against Byzantium, and they must have been the spearhead in these wars, since the great emperor Justinian, who codified the Roman Law, regarded it as an honor to accept, after a victory, the title "Anticus." The last mention of the name Antes occurred during the seventh century in the writings of Theophylactus; then the name became extinct.

From the VII - IX centuries there is a gap in Slavic history, for the existing information is scanty and defective. We can only state that, in general, after the expansion of the Slavs in the sixth, seventh, and partly also in the eighth century their advance was stopped. A standstill followed, in which the Slavic nations and states, which to-day represent the structure of the Slavic world, finally developed.

In the process of crystallization of the Slavic nations in Eastern Europe once more a Germanic nation played the role of catalyst, that is, the Vikings who created a Viking period throughout the whole



European continent. In East Europe the next Slavic state created under the name of Rus' is connected with the Vikings. This state constitutes one of the difficult problems of East European history. The etymology of this term Rus', which gave the new Slavic state its

name is also a complicated problem. It is the etymology of the word Rus' that will occupy our attention in the present chapter.

## 2. State of research

The problem of the origin and development of the old Kievan Rus' Empire as well as the etymology of the word Rus' itself have been the subject of scientific study and investigation for more than two centuries. Scholars and amateurs have produced an immense literature dealing with this matter.

W. A. Moshin in his study: *Variago - Ruskii Vopros* (Slavia v. X) gave a survey of the linguistic explanations thus far offered. He showed that the word Rus', according to the various theories, comes from a wide diversity of sources. It is supposed to come (1) from the Ukrainians, (2) from the ancient Baltic Slavs, (3) from the ancient Finns on the Volga, (4) from the Finns in Finland proper, (5) from the Lithuanians, (6) from the Magyars, (7) from the Khazars, (8) from the Iranians, (9) from the Goths, (10) from the Georgians, (11) from the Japhetides, (12) from an unknown people, (13) from the Celts, (14) from the Hebrews.

As a particular view regarding this problem we should like to mention the opinion of W. Brim (*Proiskhozhdenie termina Rus', Rossiya i Zapad*, I, 1923) who maintains that the origin of the word is more complicated than the so-called Normanists and Antinormanists imagined. In his opinion we have to look for the origin of the word not in one sphere of civilization, but in several.

Two other theories do not try to solve the problem of the origin of the word but limit themselves to the explanation of the social group termed Rus'. The first is of the Ukrainian scholar M. Korduba (*Najnowsze teorje o początkach Rusi, Przegląd Historyczny*, X, 1930) which supposes that Rus' was similar to the army of Wallenstein during the thirty years' war. It consisted of soldiers of many races, nations, and beliefs, amongst whom, during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Slavic element assumed the leadership. The second theory comes from the Soviet scholar S. W. Iushkov((a) *K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii russkogo gosudarstva, Uchenye zapiski moskovskogo iuridisicheskogo instituta*, N. k. IU. SSSR, 1940; (b) *Do pytan'ia pro pokhozhennia Rusi, Zapysky Akademii Nauk USSR, Instytut movoznavstva*, 1941). He regards the Rus' originally as a merchant class, which bought goods in Slavic territory and then sold them in Byzantium, Khazaria, and even Arabia. At the same time they were professional soldiers, who entered the services of the Byzantine emperors and the Khazarian Kagans. This merchant-soldier class was the organizing force behind the new Rus' state, then emerging.

At present the problem of the origin of the word Rus' is a subject of lively discussion in the Soviet Union as anyone can see from

the book of N.S. Derzhavin: *Proiskhozhdenie Russkogo Naroda* (sub-title) *velikorussskogo, ukrainskogo, belorusskogo*, Moskva, 1944. The old battle between the Normanists and Antinormanists is going on merrily. The authority of the great Russian linguist A.S. Shakhmatov (*Drevneishie sudby Russkogo plemeni*, Petrograd, 1919) is unceremoniously set aside, and the etymological theory of N.Y. Marr (*Rus' related with etrusc; Etruscans*) is erected into a dogma of Soviet philology, together with his fantastic views about the Goths (from Gog - Magog of the Bible). On p. 76 Derzhavin writes: "against the theory of Shakhmatov as representing the Norman theory in general, we uphold the theory of state development as represented by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin...." I regret to confess my inability to follow, both in its historical and its philological aspect, the line of thought here laid down by the Soviet academician. Neither can I follow Prof. G. Vernadsky,\* who supports the derivation of the term *Rus'* from *Rukhs - Alans*, but I do understand why he changes the terms "Norman, resp. Antinorman" theories, accepted in the scholarly terminology of all languages, including the American, English, and Russian, into "Norsephils and Mysonorses." However, I feel that American scholarship has little need of these innovations. To present this problem as a question of "feelings" is, to say the least, misleading.

### 3. The problem of *Rus'* from the point of view of semantics

We prefer to support in part the theory of Shakhmatov and to propose a new explanation using semantic material. Therefore we should like to add to the etymologies presented still another explanation from the point of view of Slavic semasiology (semantics), together with the history of the present Ukrainian territory.

In thinking over the explanations hitherto offered, we have come to the conclusion that these etymologies have partly disregarded two important methodical principles for the elucidation of the origin of the word *Rus'*.

(a) The first principle has to do with the history of the Ukraine. By this we mean that we must always bear in mind the continuity of the historical process of this territory with a part of which the term *Rus'* was so closely connected. That is to say, we must take into consideration not only that historical process the records of which first contain the word, but we must also examine the question of whether a preceding period might not have already created it.

(b) The second principle is concerned with the linguistic explanation of the word. The importance of this principle became evident to

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\*Cf. G. Vernadsky, op. cit., vol. I. pp. 259, 278.

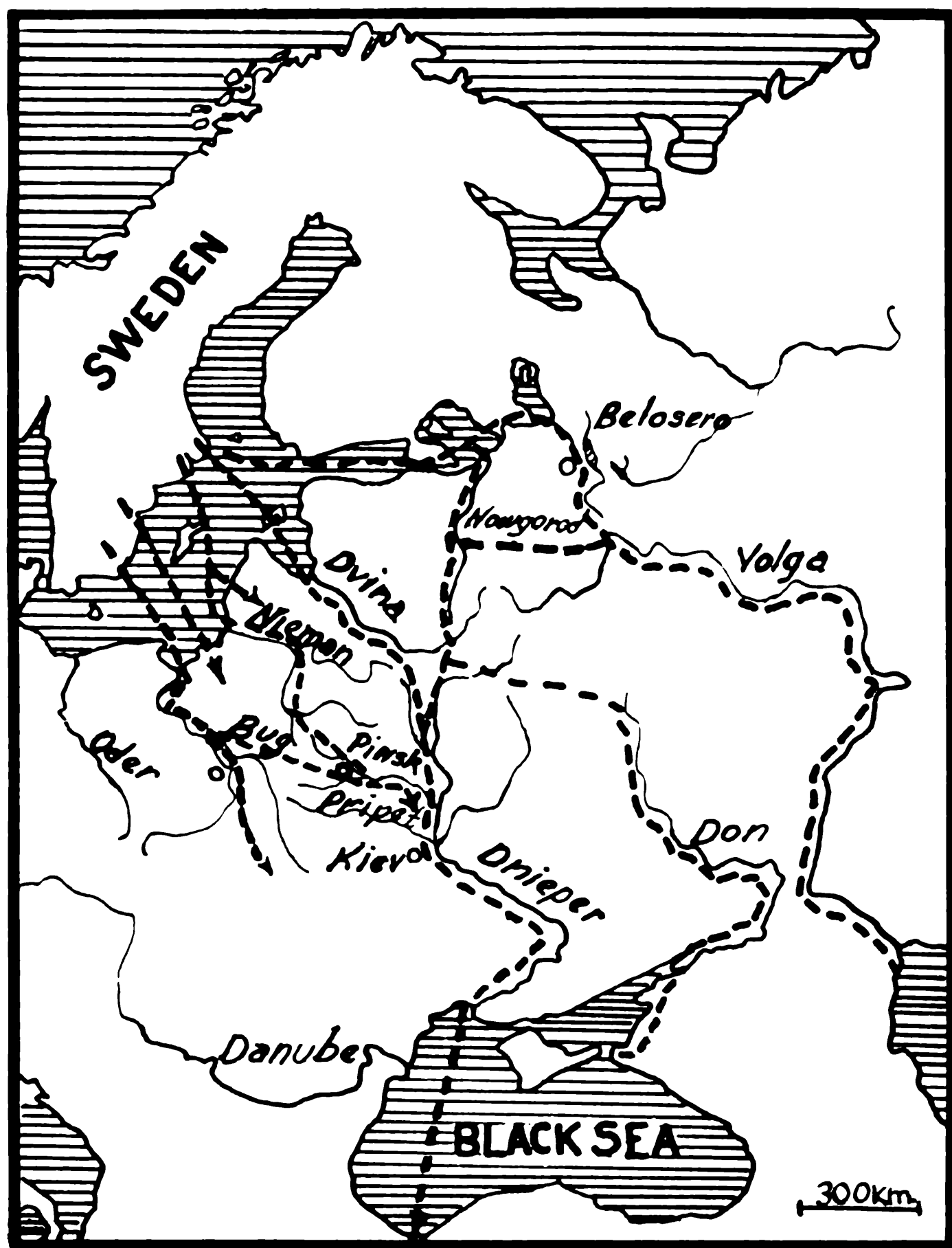
us during our study of Slavic words and their interrelations from the semantic point of view. It is a well-known fact in the life of a language that every word, especially a noun, has reciprocal relations, not with all the words of the language in question, but only with a limited group of words and meanings which, taken together, constitute the semantic field of the word. Just as a human being living in a large city does not know all its inhabitants, but from thousands knows only perhaps a hundred and is friendly perhaps with a dozen, so a word in a language keeps close contact with a limited number of words. Therefore, if we wish to revive and to understand anew the original meaning of a word, we must take into consideration not only the word itself but also the semantic area in which it is or has been rooted.

Coming now to our attempt to explain the word Rus', while rejecting W. Brim's explanation, we regard his idea about the "necessity of looking for the sources of this word not in one, but in several cultural spheres" as correct and proven by the course of historical events. In our opinion we must look for the origin of the word Rus' and its meaning in the following cultural spheres:

(I) The maritime expeditions of the Vikings from their Scandinavian mother country (which were preceded by a Germanic penetration to the eastern Baltic centuries before) resulted in the establishment of Viking settlements in Finnish territory and in the Dvina - river basin. Here the centers of their power developed in the course of time.

The Finns called these Vikings, to whom they paid tribute, Ruotsi, in conformity with their clan traditions concerning their origin from Ros-lagen. This word means "sea-shore," and the old Scandinavian words: rors-folk, rors-maen "fishermen," "inhabitants of the sea-shore" form the basis for arriving at the original meaning of Ruotsi, by which the Finns, even to this day, call the Swedes.

These Ruotsi - Vikings sailed down the Volga to the Caspian Sea, the Dwina-Vikings together with the Ruotsi - Vikings down the Donets and Don, perhaps also down the Dnieper. On reaching the Black Sea they probably came into contact with the remnants of the Germanic tribes, especially with the Goths, who held the Crimea. On the present Kuban peninsula they established the Tmutorokan Rus'. As a result of later historical events, the importance of the Volga as an avenue of commerce decreased and the Dnieper became the principal trade route between the North and the South. Therefore a new trade and power center arose and developed south of the Finnish Ruotsi territory, namely - Holmgard - Novgorod. In the occupation of Kiev another rival Viking force, under the leadership of Höskuld - Askold and Dyri - Dyr forestalled these Ruotsi, until Helgi - Oleh, probably a Viking of princely descent, overpowered them and established the rule of the Ruotsi - Vikings also here, in Koenugard - Kiev.



Viking - routes across Eastern Europe.

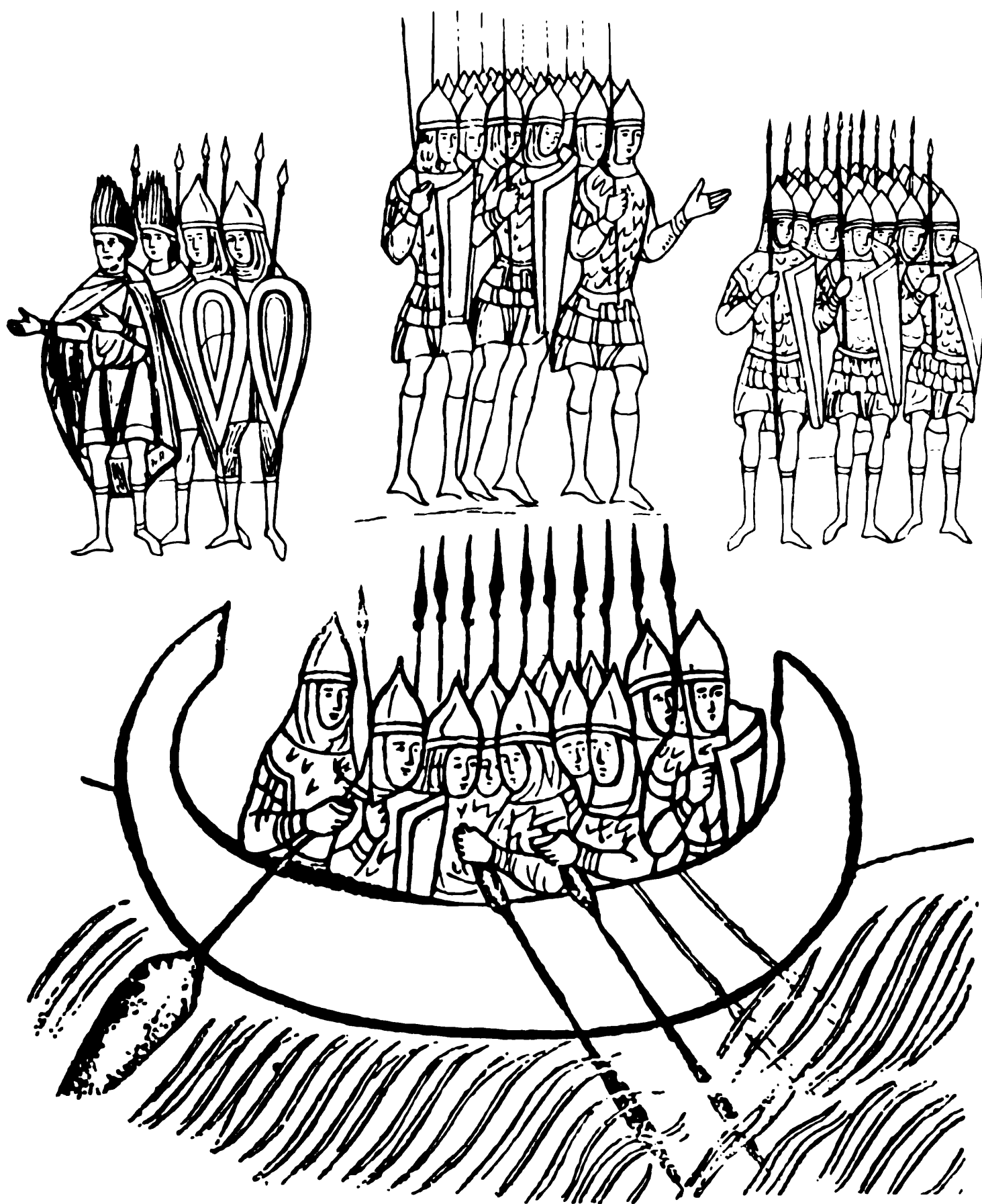
Thus we see that the designation Ruotsi travelled from the North to the South along the Volga, the Don and the Dnieper, while on the other hand the same term was carried from Tmutorokan, from the Kuban peninsula along the shores of the Black Sea northwards along the Dnieper.

The term Ruotsi invaded Slavic territory and became, in a Slavic form, the clan name of these Vikings. Their professional name as an



armed force, as a retinue of soldiers attendant upon their leader was *Variagi*, also from the Scandinavian, waering "one who has taken an oath of allegiance"; the members of the retinue took a mutual oath of fidelity. The word is related to war "oath," "sworn fidelity."

The Slavishized form of Ruotsi was only one of the old Scandinavian Viking words which during the Viking period were transplanted to Eastern Slavic territory. These facts also must not be ignored in studying our problem.



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Varangians, drawings from the manuscript "Borys and Hlib."



(II) This word denoting their derivation, this tribal mark of the Ruotsi-Vikings encountered in its Slavishized form in the basin of the Dnieper the ancient original word *rus'* (written with a small letter), which was similar to it in sound and had in this region its own old primitive meaning. Owing to the similarity of sound, the foreign Scandinavian *Ruotsi*, in its Slavishized form, merged with the ancient, original *rus'*, producing thus in the Kievan Empire era the new word *Rus'* (written with a capital R).

It is possible, in our opinion, to discover the original meaning of the ancient word *rus'*, if we carefully survey the semantic field in which the new term *Rus'* still lived in the chronicles and documents.

Every social and political organism has its hierarchy, its classes of higher rank which govern the lower classes. In our semantic field we have as the designation of these classes generally speaking the following terms: *Rus'* the ruling class with its princes, *druzhyna* "retinue," *boiars* "nobility," while at the bottom of the pyramid is the *čern'* "the governed class," the masses of *liude* "free citizens," "townsmen" and of the *smerdy*, of the half free (*zakupy* and *izgoi*) and the slaves.

We are not concerned here with the rise and development of the later classes and their names. Our concern here is to establish the fact that in this ancient social hierarchy the terms *Rus'* and *čern'* constitute a semantic antithesis. These words stand in mutual contrast like day and night, hot and cold, upper and lower, etc.

What does *čern'* mean? According to the oldest chronicles (cf. I. Sreznewskii: *Materialy dlia Slovaria drevne Russkogo jazyka*, 1909)\* this word means "the multitude," "the masses of the common people," "the lower classes." Only in modern Ukrainian the word acquired the meaning of "mob." Cf. Nestor's Primary Chronicle (sub 6712): *černьne chotěša dati čisla, no rěša: umrem čestno za sviatuju Sofiju* - "the common people wished not to give the number (of soldiers) but said: let us honorably die for Saint Sophia"; (sub. 6848): *vъstaša černь na bojar*, "the common people rose against the bojars (nobility)." The meaning of *čern'* as a social class is here quite clear. We had also a collection of quotations in which the social contrast to *Rus'* was quite apparent, but they were lost in the conflagration after the rasing of Warsaw and it is impossible to replace them. However, the text of one of them (a letter of a Moscow prince) we remember, and it runs thus in translation: "this writes to me the *Rus'* (Kievan territory), the bojars and the *čern'*" "the common people"; the bojar class developed later,

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\*Also cf. C. E. Kochin, *Materialy dlia terminologicheskogo Slovaria drevney Rossii*, Akademia Nauk S.S.S.R., 1937, "*čern'* = lower classes."

originally Rus' and čern' opposed each other.\*

The word černb is formed by the suffix-b from the adjective (given as example) O.B. čbrnъ, as a collective čbrnъ > černb. Here it is important to add that this adjective, from the most ancient times, was a special term to denote the color of black hair.

From this fact we conclude that the designation of the governed or oppressed classes in the Kievan Empire arose from the color of their hair. What meaning this word had before this period we shall explain later. Let us now examine, by the same method, the meaning of the word Rus'. Naturally it is clear that during the period of the Kievan Empire it meant the "ruling class," including both the retinue of soldiers and the nobility. But what was the original meaning of this ancient word rus' which, in our judgement, existed together with čern' long before that period and was the basis of the amalgamation with the foreign Ruotsi?

The natural linguistic feeling, the instinct of every Ukrainian for his mother tongue may serve us here as a guide. Without reflection the Ukrainian at once perceives that Rus' - rus' is formed from rusyj, an adjective denoting hair of a blond color. According to Walde-Pokorny: *Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, vol. II, p. 359 (1927 edition), Ukr. rusyj, O.B. rusъ (\*reudh-s-o or \*roud-s-o) "reddish color of the hair," derived from the stem \*reudh- "red," related with reu-t-, Lat. rutulus "reddish"; Rutuli "a people's name," "the people with the reddish fair hair." This word rus' is also formed with the suffix-b as a collective noun. The obvious connection between the word rus' and rusyj is the reason why several scholars also derived the term Rus' of the Kievan Empire from this adjective. This we consider incorrect. Before we discuss the original meaning of this word we should compare rus' and čern' in order to present the following common features: (a) the common suffix in their formation; (b) the common basic meaning of the adjective stem, namely the color of the hair; (c) the common collective meaning; (d) the mutual antithesis of the meaning which we are going to describe.

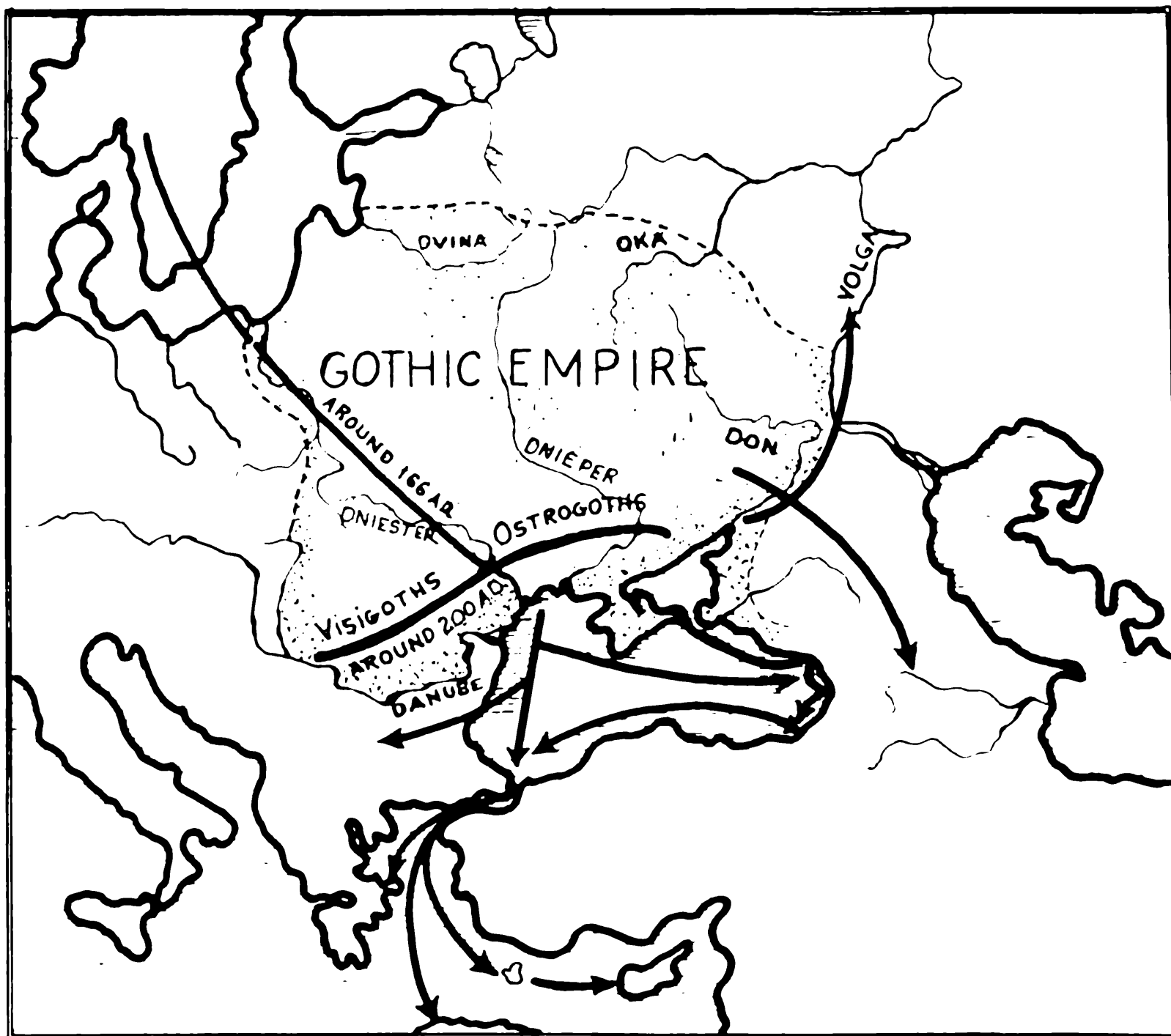
All these common features, as well as the doubtlessly Slavic origin of the word, are evidence that such an ancient rus' word existed (it belonged to the color-group which in modern Ukrainian is represented by zelenyj "green" (zelen'); bilyj "white" (bil'); synij "blue" (syn'), etc.) and that together with čern' originated about the same time as the latter in ancient Slavic territory.

The rise of these two terms with their original meanings was the result of special historical circumstances, at which we can only guess.

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\*We draw attention also to the peculiar meaning of Ukr. čern' in Hrinchenko's Dictionary and in the old Hetman-universals.

We think that these words are a distant echo from the Gothic Empire in these regions. About 166 A.D. the Goths began their migration from the shores of the Baltic Sea to the present Ukrainian territory. Moving partly through the Marshes of Pinsk they reached the Dnieper



The Gothic Empire

and here in the following decades they established their supremacy by force of arms. The center of this powerful state was Dniepranstad on the Dnieper. By virtue of their military prowess the Goths became eventually the ruling class probably of the whole Slavic world of that time. In the first place they subdued the ancestors of the present Ukrainians who were fated to be the oppressed class under this foreign regime.

Nature itself established a difference in this state between the ruling and the oppressed classes by a strikingly sharp difference in the color of their hair. Reche (in M. Ebert: Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte, s.v. Haar) declares that blond hair is a natural feature of the

peoples of Northern Europe. In all other parts of Europe and the world in general the natural color of the hair is a variety of black.

All the classic accounts of the Goths emphasize as their characteristic feature the blond, even reddish color of their hair. Cf. also the generally accepted etymology of Ostro-gothae from \*Austro, cf. Lat. *aurora* "dawn," Lith. *aušra*, E. east; the original meaning "the radiant (the bright) Goths"; Wisi-gothae, according to S. Feist, is from an original meaning "worthy," "good attribute," "excellence." In our opinion in both terms the basis of the meaning has something to do with the blond hair of the Goths and its magical interpretation in sun-worship as the "representatives or children of the light-sun."

In contrast to this W. Shcherbakiwsky and other scholars maintain that the ancestors of the Ukrainians certainly had black hair. Ukrainian folksongs even now glorify as the ideal of beauty - *čorni ōci* "black eyes," *čorni browy* "black brows," *čorni kosy* "black braids of hair," etc. Only in the Kievan Rus' period, during the rule of the Rus', do we find in the "Tale of the Host of Ihor" a new ideal of beauty mentioned, namely "the braids of blond hair of the Gothic girls." This shows how the ancient Gothic period lived on in popular tradition and how deeply the difference in the color of the hair was felt.

It is therefore natural and quite intelligible that this characteristic of the blond-haired Gothic rulers should be used as the name of the ruling class. It was the most conspicuous mark in the physiognomy of the Goths, semantically speaking: the dominant attribute. Thus there originated during this period the ancient word *rus'* (with a small letter) as the name for their race, of these blond guests from the North, from Scandinavia. On the other hand, the ancestors of the Eastern Slavs, in the first place the ancestors of the Ukrainians, became keenly aware that their own black hair marked them off as a people distinct from the dominant invaders. Hence the word *čern'* came to be used as the designation of their own class, i.e., that of the subjugated and governed. On the one hand were the humbled Slavic *čern'*, on the other, the dominant Gothic *rus'*.

From what has now been said we may safely infer that the original meaning of these words included the following:

(a) the racial difference (blond hair with corresponding complexion and black hair with corresponding complexion);

(b) the "national" difference between the Goths and the Slavs (the term national used *cum grano salis*);

(c) the social difference between the dominant rulers and the subjugated masses;

(d) the "national" and social antagonism between these two classes during the Gothic period in the country now held by the Ukrainians;

(e) a possible secondary antithesis between soldiers and cultivators.

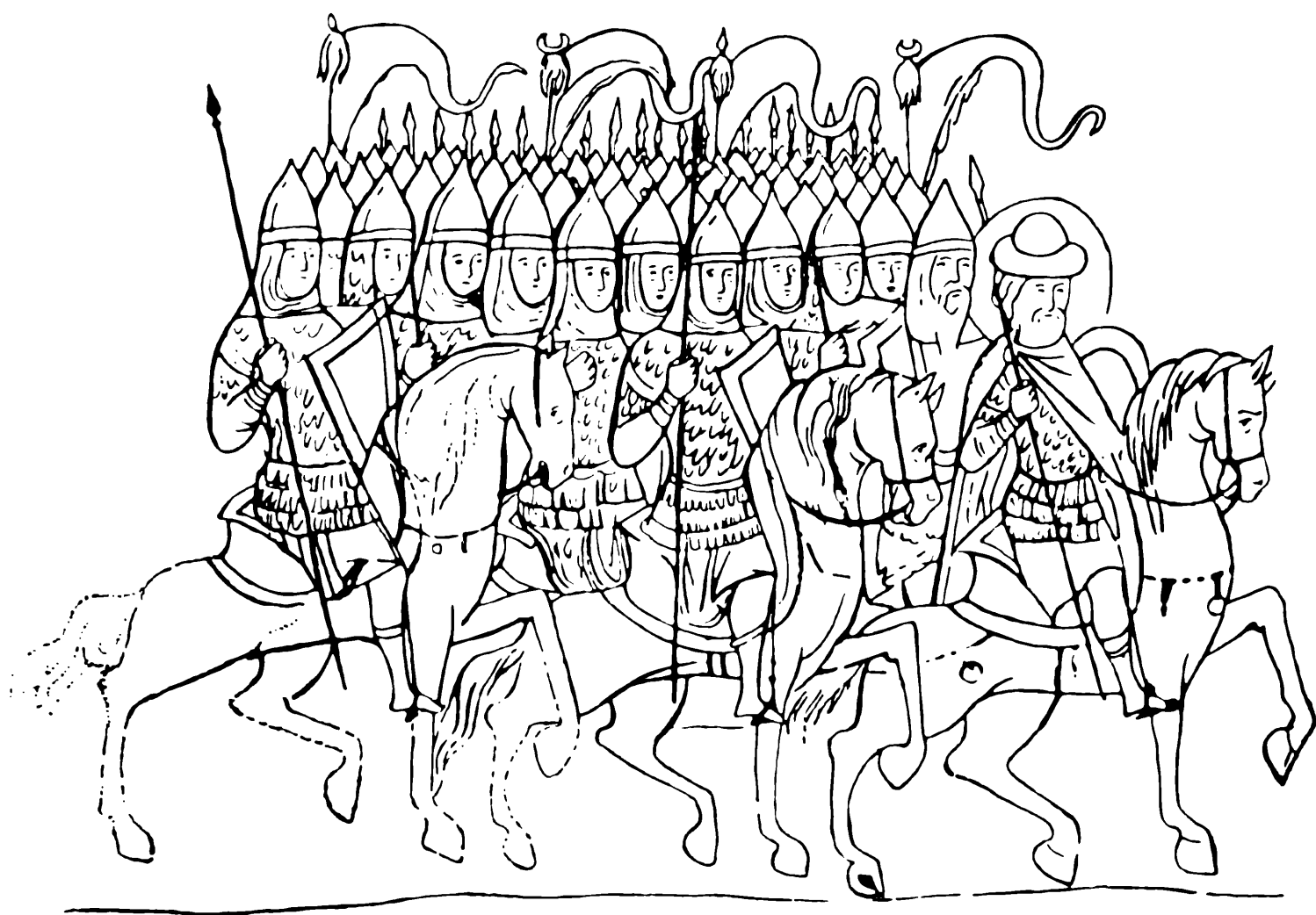
We should also like to express our view as to the time when these words were formed and when their respective meanings finally took shape. The realities of life must have necessitated their rise and the development of their meanings as early as the Gothic invasion. But our attention is drawn to the fact that a similar meaning as the Ukrainian *čern*' does not exist in other Slavic languages. It existed and still exists only in Ukrainian, Russian, and White Ruthenian. The Polish *czern*' is supposed to be of Ukrainian origin.

Therefore we assume that the ancient *rus* and *čern* finally crystallized when the ancestors of the present Ukrainians, the Antes, began their fight against the Goths after the defeat of King Ermenrich by the Huns and the expansive migrations of the Slavs to the west and south was in full swing. The western and southern Slavs did not experience the sharp antagonism between the ruling and oppressed classes, the enmity of the *čern* against the *rus*', as did the ancestors of the eastern Slavs. Consequently, we hold that during the third and fourth century the words *rus* and *čern* acquired their final connotation, though the primary roots reach back into the second century.

As already explained, we believe that the words *Rus*' and *rus*' and *čern*' are inseparable. They form a semantic whole, a common semantic field. There is ample reason to assume that the word *rus*' was formed at the very beginning of Slavic history and that when the Vikings of the Finnish and Tmutorokan' territories took possession of the present Ukraine, bringing, of course, the word *Ruotsi* with them, they found there the old word *rus*' in actual use. This old word was, by its meaning, peculiarly suitable as a name also for the new blond conquerors, the Vikings. Thus *rus*' and the Slavishized form of *Ruotsi* existed side by side.

These two words coalesced later to form a single word. Thus the old Slavic word *rus*' which originated in the Gothic period and the foreign Scandinavian term *Ruotsi* constitute the sources of the new word: *Rus*'. This again in the IX-X centuries became the name of the ruling class of the Kievan Empire and later the name of the state, the nation, the country, and the language.

Very early, in the IX century, there originated from *Rus*' the term *Prussia*, G. *Preussen*, old *Borussia* from: *Po-ruzzen* "neighbors of the Rus" (cf. Ernst Wasserzieher, *Woher?, Ableitendes Woerterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 1927). However, we should like to suggest the possibility that this term may be earlier and that it is derived from the "Ruotsi" - Vikings (who also dominated the Finnish territory). They penetrated into the continent also by way of the Western Dvina and they may have established here in the neighborhood of the Balts their fortified "Ruzzi" centres, perhaps even a "Ruzzi" dominion from which the word *Po-ruzzi* emerged. Later, throughout Finland and as far as the Dvina the *Ruotsi* - *Ruzzi* Vikings popularized their clan's name in the Slavic east.



A Rus'-prince with his retinue, drawing from the manuscript  
"Borys and Hlib."

With a few further remarks we shall close this discussion. With the growth of state consciousness due to the rule of great personalities such as Woldemar - Vladimir - Volodymyr and Jarisleif - Jaroslaw, the word Rus' acquired the meaning of State and Nation. The new Rus' word which by the old rus' word had a close connection with rusъ "blond," began to be felt unsuitable, because the course of events had given this word another meaning. The black - and the blond - haired people had become citizens of the Rus' Empire: Rus - i n s , along the Dnieper from Novgorod down to Kiev. The code of Jaroslaw in particular represented a great advance towards the establishment of a constitutional state (Rechtsstaat). This change in the meaning of Rus' was encouraged and accepted by the ruling class.

But the primitive outlook of the common masses, who subconsciously think in symbolic images, surely felt the necessity of keeping the old difference alive. This again, it seems to us, gave rise to two other terms in the course of time; namely: Běla - Bila Rus' and Černa - Čorna Rus' (the White Rus' and the Black Rus'). (The later Polish term Czerwona Rus' "Red Rus" originally had no connection with the adjective cervonyj "red," but was derived from the name of the town: Czerwen'.)

In explaining these terms the striking contrast must be noted between the blond hair of the present White Ruthenians and the equally

conspicuous black hair of the inhabitants of the territories of White Ruthenia and Ukraine which were called : Čorna Rus' (the first around Nowogrodek, the second around Lwow and Peremyshl, including the Cholm land; cf. Beauplan's Carte de 'l Ukraine (Paris 1665), Russie Noire, reproduced in M. Hruschewsky's A history of Ukraine, 1943).

The old tradition was still alive in the popular consciousness. Hence the blond Rusin-s felt the need of making a line of distinction between themselves and their dark-haired brothers. Since rusa Rus' would constitute an unpleasant tautology, the expression Běla-Bila Rus' was formed, for in Ukrainian and White Ruthenian the adjective is employed to denote "fair or blond hair." Then, as an antithesis to this expression Čorna Rus' arose.

An attempt was made to explain these terms by E. F. Karskii in his monumental work on the White Ruthenians. He explains the term "white" by referring to the white garments which the Ruthenians wore, and connects the word "black" (Black Rus') with the black coats of the people.

But this explanation cannot stand a critical test. (a) In the first place, the white garments were worn in many other parts of Eastern Slavic lands. (b) The same applies to the black coats. (c) Finally, if color is made the determining factor in explaining the terms, is it not more logical to apply this principle to the hair with which nature has so characteristically endowed its children, than to the color of the clothes? Karskii had almost reached the same conclusion, defending his original view by referring to the most prominent physical characteristic of the White Ruthenians, that is, their blond hair and their blue or grey eyes. But he failed to see the real reason for the origin and application of these terms. On the other hand, N.S. Derzhavin believes the problem of these terms is not yet solved. Our own attempt at explanation of these terms together with a "working hypothesis" of the origin of the word Rus' has been presented here for the use of historians and linguists.

The term "White Chorvatiāns," mentioned in the Kievan Chronicle, also, in our opinion belongs to the same color-problem. J. Brutzkus\* derives the word "Croats - Chorvatiāns" from the hill name khōriv, in the neighborhood of Kiev. The term "White Croats" also presupposes a "čern" in the territory, a black-haired Croatian tribe. Finally, we also draw attention to the terms "White Serbia," "White Serbians" \*\* originally located on the Northern slopes of the Carpathian mountains.

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\*J. Brutzkus, The Khazar Origin of Ancient Kiew, The Slavonic and East European Review (Am. Series III), Vol. XXII.

\*\*Cf. J. Czekanowski, The Ancient Home of Slavs, The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. XXV.



Thus, as we see, not only the Rus' but the Croats and the Serbs, also, were divided into "black" and "white." This is a consequence of Gothic rule over Slavic tribes and of intermarriage between the two races, fundamentally splitting the Slavic tribes and creating in some of them a blond upper strata. Such an upper strata certainly also remained among the ancestors of the Eastern Slavs in the Ukraine after the retreat of the Goths, thus keeping the rus' word and its meaning alive until the coming of the Vikings, when it was revived in a new form: Rus'.

Recently Prof. N. Vakar\* made the term "White Russia" the subject of a very instructive study, collecting all the explanations of the word hitherto given. He himself supports the following explanation:

(a) There is no evidence that the term "White Russia" was used before the year 1383 (Karamzin).

(b) The term originated from the Mongolian terminology, which after the Tatar invasion divided the Tatar possessions into "white lands" - "free from duties and service" and "black lands" - "those under tribute." After the Tatar invasion all Russia was "blackened" by the Tatar yoke," states Vakar, only the West Russian principalities allied with the Grand Duchy to Lithuania managed to preserve their independence paying no tribute to either the Tatars or the Lithuanians; therefore they constituted "White Russia"; on the other hand the principalities farther west which passed over to the Lithuanian overlords became known as "Black Russia."

We object to this explanation for the following reasons: (a) We do not see any logical reason why this Tatar terminology should have been introduced in the Lithuanian State which victoriously opposed the Tatars. (b) We doubt the information that the "West Russian" principalities did not pay any tribute to the Lithuanians. "Already Mindaugas after 1242 delegated his generals for the administration of the conquered Slavic territories and when some princes complained he seized their Rus' domains as well."\*\* (c) But the main objection against this Mongolian-Tatar explanation is the historical fact that the expressions "white" and "black" were well known in the Slavic East before the Tatar invasion of 1240, and they are mentioned by Greek and Rus' Chroniclers. Therefore the fact that until 1382 "White Russia" was not mentioned in documents is not a proof that such a term did not exist. The historically proven terminology "white" and "black" in the Slavic East makes the existence of "White Rus'" very probable, and we cannot from the methodological point of

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\*N. Vakar, The Name "White Russia." American Slavic and East European Review, 1949.

\*\*Cf. Constantine R. Jurgela, History of the Lithuanian Nation, New York, 1948.

view separate the explanation of the term "White Rus' - Russia" from these old Slavic terminological traditions. (d) We believe that these terms were creations of the "collective mind" of the masses and therefore we uphold our explanation, as a basic assumption in this discussion. But in this instance also, as in the Rus' explanation, we believe that not a single factor, but several contributed to the formation of such a term. Therefore, this most important background to the problem (the religious - cultic beliefs connected with "white" and "black," the symbolic connection of the white-fair color with the light, the sun, the good, and the obscure Slavic deity, the Belbog) cannot be disregarded. The rather numerous names of rivers and places in the White Rus' territory: Belsk, Bialystok, Beloveza, Bela, the rivers Belja, Beljanka, etc., are the consequence of these creative factors. (e) The terminology presented by N. Vakar for the old Muscovite territory and from the later official Muscovite-Russian language of the post-Tatarian period surely shows the influence of Mongolian terminology, but it must be strictly limited to the proper Muscovitean territory of its former use.

#### 4. The background of our explanation

We are conscious of the many problems connected with our explanation and should like, at the end, to present some suggestions which were excluded from the foregoing lines in order to limit the investigation of the problem to the old Rus' territory.

(1) The aesthetic and cultic value of the colors. The color of the eyes and the hair together with that of the whole complexion is even now a very peculiar characteristic of races and plays a decisive role in the aesthetic feelings of men. It must be accepted that the aesthetic value of blond hair was greater in earlier times, because it had certain cultic and even magical aspects. Greek women treated their hair with special creams and bleached it in the sun in order to achieve the favorite reddish blond color. In the Old Turkish language the adjective *sarysyn* exists, derived from *sary* "yellow," "pale" with the meaning "blond," "beautiful." These facts may suffice to show the esteem for blond hair existing in a black-haired nation. The cultic values were mentioned in the previous chapters, and we should like to add here the following: Wilhelm Koppers (*Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen*, 1936, p. 292) notes from Slavic cults the important fact that a white horse was sacrificed to Svantevit, and a black one to Triglav.

(2) The race of the Slavs. We believe that the primitive Slavs were from the point of view of race, rather mixed at the beginning of the Christian Era.\* The western Slavs intermingled with the Nordic race

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\*F. Raudler: *Die hellfarbigen Rassen, ihre Sprachstämme, Kulturen, und Urheimaten*, Heidelberg, 1924.

and blond hair and blue eyes were no rarity amongst them. It is also reported that the Budini had "reddish hair and bright eyes," but Tacitus is not sure whether they were Slavs. The remaining Slavic tribes, however, were predominantly black-haired with dark eyes. The Celts, Thracians, and Iranians were also similarly endowed.

The oldest name for the Western Slavs in history is *Venedae*, a term the etymology of which is still insufficiently explained. But one etymology, accepted also by the American Slavist S. H. Cross,\* is that *Venedae* is based on the old Celtic word *vindo-s* "white." The dark-haired Celts gave this name to the blond Western Slavs.

(3) But were there no blond peoples in Asia in ancient times? This special problem lies in the background of our explanation of the term *Rus'*. We have (a) a report about 160 B.C. concerning the *Osun* (*Wu-sun*) people in Asia, who according to the Chinese Chronicles had blue eyes and blond hair; (b) that the *Alans*, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, were tall, handsome, and their hair inclined to blond. Much has been written about the bright race of Alans, and some scholars attribute their fair features to their close contact with the Goths. (Procopius marks the Alans as a Gothic tribe.) In addition, it has to be kept in mind that the "reddish hair" which is found in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Ossetians) constitutes a special problem according to K. Moszynski.\*\*

This Polish scholar has investigated our question, and came to the following conclusions: (a) The traces of a fair-haired race in Asia are a proof of the influence of Europe on Asia. (b) It is an established fact that in the first centuries of the millennium A.D. there were a fair number of representatives of the blond and blue-eyed race in central Asia. (c) The reports and later traditions about the blond Scythians, Sarmatians, and Alans present no conclusive evidence because they are either too general or date from times in which the expansion of the northern European peoples had already begun. Therefore we must suspect that the descriptions of the Alanic, Scythian, and Sarmatian "blonds" (the old reports say little about the eyes) do actually refer to the newcomers from the Baltic Sea. (d) The report, however, which proves that in Scythia the custom of dyeing the hair blond-gold and reddish existed, Moszynski believes to be decisive for the conclusion that the population was a dark-haired race. (e) With the exception of Pliny, all information about the autochtonism of the blond race in Asia is dated later than 500 A.D. Therefore, historically, there can be no proof of the existence of blond races in the steppes of Europe and Asia in the pre-Christian Era. On this point the date

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\*Samuel Hazzard Cross: *Slavic Civilization Through the Ages*, Harvard University Press, 1948.

\*\*Kazimierz Moszyński: *Badania nad pochodzeniem i pierwotną kulturą Słowian. Rozprawy Wydziału Filol. Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, Vol. LXII, No. 2., Kraków, 1925.

of the Chinese reports deserves to be carefully checked.

Generally speaking, and *cum grano salis* these observations exclude the possibility of the existence of the fair-haired, blue-eyed human beings in Eastern Slavic territories in the period preceding the invasion of the Goths. The black-haired and black-eyed Slavic people therefore regarded the blue-eyed and blond Goths as a contrasting and amazing race and called them "the Blondes" and themselves "the Blacks." In this connection it is very instructive to remember that in Indian "caste" originally meant "color."

(4) The Chinese and Mongolian color terminology. These names Rus'-čern' may thus be said to have been created by the imagination of the Slavic people and it does not seem possible that they could have been influenced by similar examples of names found amongst the non-Slavic peoples - for example "White Ugrians - Black Ugrians" or "Black Bulgars - Silver Bulgars" and the Chinese tradition, according to which the four directions of the horizon had each its specific color (black for the north). Such a term as the "White Tzar" must also be discounted, since it is of Mongol-Tartar origin. In addition, according to the Polish orientalist V. Kotwicz, the expression "white bones" means "aristocratic origin," similar to the phrase "blue blood." So the name "White Tzar" means the aristocratic heir of Genghiz Khan, and serves to distinguish sharply from the subordinate vassals or "black bones." The Muscovite-Russian Tzars used to confer the titles of their Tatar masters such as the "Great Beg," the "White Khan," etc., upon themselves, because for centuries they were obedient servants of the Tatars.\*

(5) Finally, we offer a critical examination of the etymology of Rus' as expounded by G. Vernadsky (cf. *Ancient Russia*, pp. 117, 258-259). The main points of it are:

Since the fourth century A.D. there was known in the Azov area an As (Alans) clan called Rukhs-As or Rukhs Alans (alias Rox-olani, alias Rocas, rogas) which was the most prominent among the north Caucasian Alans, originally an Iranian people. The meaning of Rukhs is "light," consequently the meaning of the term was "Light As or Alans." Later they mixed with the Slavs becoming an "Irano-Slav tribe." At the beginning of the IX century this name was assumed by the Swedish warriors who established their rule over the Don-Azov territory. These "Russianized Swedes" subsequently became known as "Rus'" (from the above-mentioned word "Roukhs") in Byzantium and in the Near and Middle East. After the arrival of Rurik in Novgorod the name was "transplanted" from the south to the north and connected with Rurik's clan because of political considerations.

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\*V. V. Bartold: *A Historical Study of the East in Europe and in Russia*, Leningrad, 1925 (in Russian).

Our objections to this argument are the following:

(a) Any theory about the word Rus' which tries to establish a non-Slavic, foreign origin for the word is methodically confronted with the first condition: to prove that the Slavic etymology is false or impossible; Prof. Vernadsky silently passes over this first requirement.

(b) We underline the fact that the meaning of the special dominant peculiarity of the term "Roukhs Alans" is "light" meaning "fair, blond complexion." Hence, once more we find ourselves in the midst of the previously discussed racial "color problem." There is no doubt that, semantically speaking, the "light" complexion of the Roukhs-Alanic tribe was the dominant feature from which that expression arose. As this feature "light - fair" developed into the special dominant feature of that Alanic clan, we are entitled to conclude from this fact:

(1) that the overwhelming majority of the Alans were of dark complexion, and

(2) the "light" complexion of the prominent Roukhs-Alans could not have been originally Alanic but must be of "foreign origin." It is absolutely clear that if the "light" complexion were regarded by the majority of the Alans as originally Alanic, there never could emerge the special term "Light Alans," because that feature would have been considered as "normal" and not extraordinary.

(3) With this consideration in mind, Prof. Vernadsky did not, in our opinion, comply with a second condition for the theory he supports: he has not proven that this "light" complexion of the Roukhs-Alans is originally Alanic and not Gothic-Germanic-Nordic as many scholars believe it to be. As a matter of fact, the Alans intermingled with the Goths racially to such a degree that a large part of the Alans accompanied the Goths during their retreat as far as Spain.

(c) If the Alans considered it necessary within their own people to mark a clan (after rather long friendly relations with the Goths) as Roukhs "light" why does not Prof. Vernadsky suppose the same necessity arising amongst the Slavs regarding the Goths after 166 A.D., the more so as here the relations were between the oppressors and the oppressed?

Our explanation rests on the fact that the existence of the Roukhs (light) term logically demands an earlier emergence and existence of the term rus' for the Goths as the "light people." Or were the Slavs less clever than the Alans?

Consequently, since such a rus' - term was necessitated as a title for the Goths immediately after 166 A.D. (before Gothic-Alanic relations started) the Alanic Roukhs term can only be of a later date than the supposed Slavic rus' term for the Goths.

Indeed, why should the Slavs have borrowed the term Roukhs from the Alans? The reason could only be the marking of their "light"

complexion. But the Slavs surely were not less intelligent in this respect than the Alans and they had already formed their own term *rus'* after 166 A.D. for the Goths.

Next, why should the "Light Roukhs Alans" have so deeply impressed the Slavs with their "light" complexion that *Roukhs* was borrowed into Slavic as *Rus'*, but the more obviously "light" complexion of the Goths with which the Slavs had already an acquaintance since 166 A.D. should have made no impression on them at all? Were they color-blind? But the quoted passage from the Tale of the Host of Igor proves the exact opposite.

Therefore, we are entitled, according to our "Gothic" explanation, to claim that the "Light Roukhs Alans," as Gothic progeny, were later also included into the meaning of the word *rus'* which the Slavs originally gave to the Goths.

In summing up, the necessary psychological conditions for the borrowing of the term *Roukhs* by the Slavs are not obvious, and we also miss in Prof. Vernadsky's demonstration a consistent etymology of the origins of the Alanic *Roukhs* word itself which is an important premise for this theory.

(d) A logical explanation should also be supplied as to why on the one hand the supposed *Roukhs* - *Rus'* word from the far Don Azov area could influence the Vikings in Novgorod, but, on the other hand, the possible influence of the *Ruotsi* term (surely of Scandinavian origin) from the immediate Finnish or Dvina neighborhood, with their large Viking centers, must be excluded in the final formation of the word *Rus'*. No Chinese Wall, but a rather lively intercourse existed between the Vikings of both neighboring territories. Compare also Finnish: *Suomi* "Finland" in the Nestor chronicle: *Su m ъ*.

(e) Finally, we regard this *Rus'* - *Roukhs* conception as completely opposed to the Swedish "mentality" of the Viking Age. Neither in the west nor in the north did the Vikings, this victoriously expanding seafarer race, accept foreign names in foreign countries; they called themselves Norsemen, Vikings, "Ruotsi." Why should they hide their extraction in the south-east? All the traditions contradict such an idea: even in the XII century old Scandinavian was spoken at the court in Kiev; the Vikings named with Scandinavian names Novgorod, Kiev, Constantinople, also their own dominions as *Garda-Riki*, even *Svitjorden mikla* "Great Sweden." These facts exclude, in our opinion, any possibility of the borrowing of the *Roukhs* - clan name by the Vikings in the Don - Azov territory and its transplantation to Novgorod.

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