

# The Gods of the Ancient Slavs

Slavica 50th Anniversary Reissue

Tatishchev and the Beginnings  
of Slavic Mythology

*by Myroslava F. Znayenko*

## From the Publisher

This book represents the eighth in a series of reprints of notable titles published by Slavica and long out of print. We are restoring these titles to print and making them available as free downloads from our web site, [slavica.indiana.edu](http://slavica.indiana.edu), in honor of Slavica's fiftieth anniversary. Yes, we are officially middle-aged. Founded by four graduate students at Harvard in 1966, Slavica published its first book in 1968, *Studies Presented to Professor Roman Jakobson by His Students*. To celebrate Slavica's jubilee, we are releasing in .pdf format, no strings attached, scans of twelve older titles that have been requested over the years. Enjoy these books, tell your friends, and feel free to share with colleagues and students.

*Gods of the Ancient Slavs* when it was published provided a valuable and comprehensive review of the literature on Slavic mythology, with extensive notes and bibliography, making it a superlative springboard for further research and interpretation in this interdisciplinary crossroads of Slavic history and philology. In granting permission to post this scanned version of the text, the author expressed the fervent wish that it could be retypeset. This illustrates the pre-computer state of many Slavica publications, which in 1980 were often "typeset" on an IBM Selectric III typewriter, with dozens of specialized or custom-designed typing elements. But a free reprint like this one simply cannot support the expense of OCR-ing the work, and then doing the extensive cleanup required for the necessary degree of accuracy. So we apologize to the author, and other authors, and take refuge in the assumption that content is more important to scholars than form.

Slavica would like to express its sincere thanks to Myroslava Znayenko for graciously granting permission for this reprint. We welcome comments on this and other forthcoming titles to be released in this series.

*George Fowler  
Director, Slavica Publishers  
Bloomington, Indiana  
15 August 2016*

# **THE GODS OF THE ANCIENT SLAVS**

**Tatishchev and the Beginnings  
of Slavic Mythology**

**Myroslava T. Znayenko**

**SLAVICA**

For a complete catalog of Slavica books with prices and ordering information, write to:

Slavica Publishers ,Inc.  
P.O. Box 14388  
Columbus, Ohio 43214

ISBN: 0-89357-074-5

Copyright © 1980 by Myroslava T. Znayenko; all rights reserved.

Text set by Eleanor B. Sapp.

Printed in the United States of America.

**To Wassyl and Zina**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	7
ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	8
INTRODUCTION AND NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATIONS . . . . .	9

### PART ONE

SOURCES ON SLAVIC MYTHOLOGY . . . . .	13
---------------------------------------	----

#### 1 EASTERN SLAVIC SOURCES

##### a. PRIMARY

The Primary Chronicle . . . . .	14
---------------------------------	----

##### b. SECONDARY

The Hustyn Chronicle . . . . .	16
The Life of Vladimir . . . . .	19
Gizel's Sinopsis . . . . .	21
The Works of Dimitrij of Rostov . . . . .	23
The Works of Teofan Prokopovyč . . . . .	25

#### 2 FOREIGN SOURCES

##### a. PRIMARY

Procopius: De Bello Gothico . . . . .	29
Thietmar of Merseburg: Chronicon . . . . .	29
Adam of Bremen: Gesta Hammaburgensis . . . . .	29
The Three Lives of Otto von Bamberg . . . . .	30
Helmold: Chronica Slavorum . . . . .	30
Saxo Grammaticus: Gesta Danorum . . . . .	31

##### b. SECONDARY

Długosz: Annales Poloniae . . . . .	32
Miechowski: Chronica Polonorum . . . . .	33
Kromer: De Origine . . . . .	34
Bielski: Kronika polska . . . . .	35
Strykowski: Kronika polska . . . . .	36
Guagnini: Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio . . . . .	38
Krantz: Vandalia . . . . .	39
Giovio: Novocomensis libellus . . . . .	39
Herberstein: Rerum Moscoviticarum . . . . .	40
Fabronius: Welthistoria . . . . .	40

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Orbini: Il regno degli Slavi . . . . .	41
Persson: Regni Muschovitici sciographia .	43
Schleusing: La religion ancienne . . . .	43
Arnkiel: Cimbrische Heyden-Religion . . .	45
Hederich: Gründliches Antiquitäten Lexicon . . . . .	45

## PART TWO

TATIŠČEV'S MYTHOLOGICAL DATA . . . . .	46
1 On idolatry in general . . . . .	47
2 On idolatry among the Slavs . . . . .	62
3 On the gods of Western Slavs . . . . .	66
4 On the gods of Ancient Rus' . . . . .	81
5 On the Scythian gods of Herodotus and ancient customs . . . . .	88
6 On the improper worship of icons . . . . .	94
CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	97
NOTES . . . . .	103
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	150
APPENDIX . . . . .	167
INDEX . . . . .	218

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although the seven-volume critical edition of Tatiščev's *Istorija rossijskaja* served as a base for this study, the medieval sources and scholarly treatises which were concerned with the Slavic pagan gods and could have influenced Tatiščev's views and conjectures turned out to be far more voluminous than I had expected. I was fortunate, therefore, to find most of this material in the special collections of several libraries. In this respect I am particularly indebted to the libraries of Columbia University, The New York Public Library, Yale University, Harvard University, The Union Theological Seminary, and The Library of Congress for permitting me to consult original works in their possession. I am equally indebted to my former professors of the Columbia University School of Library Science who taught me the perseverance to trace even seemingly inaccessible materials. Finally, I wish to thank the staff of the libraries of Columbia University and Yale for making available to me their interlibrary loan and photoduplicating services, as well as their microfilm readers.

The writing of this book would not have been possible without the inspiration and encouragement of the late Professor Boris Unbegaun who kindled in me a lasting interest and love for Slavic mythology.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Professors Rado L. Lencek and George Y. Shevelov under whose guidance I was privileged to work at Columbia University, and to Professors William E. Harkins, Felix J. Oinas, and Marc Raeff for their gracious helpfulness. Special thanks are extended to Professor Charles E. Gribble who made the publication of this book in the Slavica Series a reality, and to Gloria-Gilda Deák and Sarah Carr for those services that only friends can render.

I was fortunate to benefit in the writing of this book from grants by the Research Council of Rutgers University and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., and from the Rutgers University Faculty Academic Study Program Award. To the officers of these institutions I give my heartfelt thanks.

## ABBREVIATIONS\*

AN SSSR	Akademija Nauk SSSR
AN URSSR	Akademija Nauk URSSR
BAN	Biblioteka Akademii Nauk SSSR, Leningrad
IAN	Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk
IOIDR	Imperatorskoe Obščestvo istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom Universitete (also OADR)
Izd-vo	Izdatel'stvo
NTŠ	Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Ševčenka
ORJAS	Otdelenije ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti IAN
PAN	Polska Akademia Nauk
PSRL	Polnoe Sobranie Russkix Letopisej
SEEJ	Slavic and East European Journal
TODRL	Trudy Otdelenija drevnerusskoj literatury AN SSSR
UAN	Ukrajins'ka Akademija Nauk
Vyd-vo	Vydavnytvo
Wyd-wo	Wydawnictwo
ZIAN	Zapiski IAN
ŽMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščeniya

\*Besides standard abbreviations used.

## INTRODUCTION

The idea for this book grew out of my interest in the array of meta-mythological romantic speculations about Slavic gods and religious beliefs that found their way into the works of M. V. Lomonosov, M. I. Popov, M. D. Čulkov, and other eighteenth-century Russian writers. As I set out to trace the origins of their data, I discovered that V. N. Tatiščev (1685-1750), the "father" of Russian history as a science, had been the first Slavic scholar who turned his attention to a systematic study of Slavic mythology, while later writers, beginning with Lomonosov, only elaborated on Tatiščev's collected data.<sup>1</sup> The resulting inquiry into Tatiščev's sources and into the manner in which these sources influenced his mythological concepts, is the subject of this book.

Tatiščev presented material on Slavic mythology in two of his works: the *Istorija rossijskaja*<sup>2</sup> and the *Leksikon*.<sup>3</sup> In the first there is a separate chapter entitled "On ancient idolatry" (O idolosluženii byvšem) in part one<sup>4</sup> and a brief exposition on Vladimir's pantheon in part two.<sup>5</sup> In the second there is an extended article and two brief entries devoted to the Slavic gods.<sup>6</sup> In addition to this material, scattered references to Slavic mythology and pagan customs and superstitions are found throughout the first two parts of his history, especially in chapter forty-eight of part one, entitled "On ancient customs and superstitions" (O činax i sueverjax drevnix).<sup>7</sup>

The objective of this study is to explore Tatiščev's treatment of Slavic mythology in his chapter "On ancient idolatry" of the first part of his history. Attention is focused on this chapter because it sums up Tatiščev's research on Slavic mythology and reflects his philosophical views about the origins and nature of pagan worship. Tatiščev's remaining data on mythology receives an equal attention but it is discussed only in relation to the chapter on idolatry. All of Tatiščev's references to Slavic gods in his *Leksikon* and other parts of his history are considered as directly related to the material under investigation. Marginal references to Slavic customs and superstitions, however, are analyzed only if they have a direct bearing on the material presented in the chapter on idolatry.

The investigation of Tatiščev's data is based on the Voroncov manuscript No. 646, which supposedly reflects the last known stage of Tatiščev's work on part one of his history, completed not later than

1749.<sup>8</sup> This is the manuscript used for the new critical edition of Tatiščev's *Istorija*, vol. 1, 1962. It is known in Tatiščev scholarship either as the "second manuscript" or the "second redaction" of the first part of his history. All mythological material in this last version of Tatiščev's history will be compared with his two earlier versions of this data contained in the only partially extant "primary redaction" (published in his *Istorija*, vol. 7, 1968), and with the 1746 "first manuscript" or "first redaction" of part two of his history (published as his *Istorija*, vol. 4, 1963). We shall refer to this material as the "primary," "first," and "second" redactions of Tatiščev's history or as the 1739, 1746, and 1749 versions of Tatiščev's mythological data.<sup>9</sup>

This study is the first inquiry into Tatiščev's mythological material in any language and the first systematic investigation of Tatiščev's dependence on both Slavic and foreign sources in a defined part of his history, traced through three manuscript redactions of his work.<sup>10</sup> *Part I* deals with the major primary and secondary sources on Slavic mythology which were or could have been available to Tatiščev and other Muscovite scholars in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is intended to provide a suitable background for the discussion of Tatiščev's mythological concepts which will be traced directly or indirectly to these sources in *Part II* of the study. *Part II* represents a systematic textual analysis of Tatiščev's mythological data. It examines both Tatiščev's views and speculations about the existence of individual Slavic deities and those ideas which are an integral part of his confrontation with the Slavic gods: his reflections on the origins and nature of idolatry, ignorance, primitive religion, superstition, and such contemporary human addictions to the falsely marvelous as the improper worship of icons. It also determines Tatiščev's actual sources, measures the degree to which he relied on them, establishes, wherever possible, the relative chronology when these sources were at his disposal, and offers a critical commentary on his scholarly method and the validity of his mythological data.

The book is written from a consistent point of view: to disclose and clarify the origins of the many myths and speculations about ancient Slavic gods that found their way into later scholarship. In this respect, Tatiščev's errors and conjectures shed a new light on the state of Russian scholarship and the development of mythological concepts in eighteenth-century Russia.

*Note on Transliteration and Translations*

The International Transliteration System adopted by the SEEJ is used for the transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet. The guiding principle for the transliteration of names is the author's cultural tradition. Exception is made with Dmytro Rostovs'kyj and Simeon Polockij, where preference is given to the Anglicized forms, Dimitrij of Rostov and Simeon of Polock.

Since the names of the many gods in this study have often minor variant forms of spelling, depending on the language of the original, the letters *x* and *ch*, *š*, *sz*, *sh* and *sch*, and *v*, *u* and *w* are not treated as variants. For example, Poxvist is used as the standardized form for both Pochwist (Polish) and Pochuist (Latin). In citations, of course, the original spelling of the name is preserved. Any further variants of the name, such as *Pogwizd* and *Pozvizd*, are italicized to indicate the exact spelling in the original.

All texts and citations are translated into English, with the exception of those texts which are presented to show a direct relationship to Tatiščev's data and warrant an exact phrasing in the original. An effort has been made to use first editions wherever possible, unless a critical edition was available in English or in the original language, or a specific edition was required because it had been used by Tatiščev.

In addition to Tatiščev's mythological data, the *Appendix* contains those mythological texts discussed in *Part I* of the study which are not readily available to scholars. It excludes: a) *The Primary Chronicle*, fully cited in *Parts I* and *II* of the book, cited in all its variants in Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*,<sup>11</sup> and available in English in the Cross translation;<sup>12</sup> b) primary foreign sources on Slavic mythology collected in their entirety in Meyer, *Fontes historiae religionis Slavicae*,<sup>13</sup> as well as available in full critical English and German editions; c) brief excerpts from the works of Krantz, Giovio, Herberstein, and Persson, fully cited or discussed in *Part I*; d) texts from Arnkiel, Hederich, Herodotus, and Fabronius, cited in their entirety in *Part II*. Texts in the *Appendix* appear only in the original languages, with the exception of Długosz where the critical Polish edition was used. The

Eastern Slavic texts in the *Appendix* are transcribed, for technical reasons, in the modern Russian alphabet. This transcription is not intended to reflect the actual pronunciation of a text. The *Index Mythologicum* does not include material in the *Appendix*.

## PART ONE

## SOURCES ON SLAVIC MYTHOLOGY

The Eastern Slavic sources, discussed in *Chapter one*, represent all the known primary and secondary works on Eastern Slavic mythology which could have been available to Tatiščev and other Muscovite scholars in the first half of the eighteenth century. With the exception of Gizel's *Sinopsis* and the *Life of Vladimir*, these works existed in manuscript only. The *Slovo o polku Igoreve* and marginal references to Slavic paganism in homilies and polemical writings of the Church Fathers, dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, are excluded from consideration since there is no evidence that they were known to scholars at this early date.

Significantly, all the major primary foreign sources on the mythology of Western Slavs known to us today were already available to scholars in the first half of the eighteenth century. These works are described, together with the secondary foreign sources in Slavic mythology, in *Chapter two*.

The selection of secondary foreign sources was determined by two considerations: the importance and popularity of the work, hence the probability that it was accessible to Muscovite scholars, or an indication that the work was known to Tatiščev. The secondary sources are discussed regardless of the credibility of their mythological data. In the strict sense of the word, they cannot be called sources on Slavic mythology since most of the material they contain consists of fantastic accounts to which appropriate references are made in the course of the study.

Since one of the major aims of this investigation is to determine the actual sources used by Tatiščev for the writing of his chapter on idolatry, each individual work under discussion is supplemented with an indication as to whether Tatiščev knew the work directly or cited it as a source in his treatment of Slavic mythological data.

## 1. *Eastern Slavic Sources*

### a. *Primary Sources*

#### *The Primary Chronicle:*

The earliest native sources on Slavic mythology and the intellectual life of Eastern Slavs are the mediaeval annals. Regardless of their date and nature, practically all the extant texts of the annals include a generally uniform account of the period extending from the traditional origin of the Kievan Rus' to the early twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> This narrative is known as the *Primary Chronicle* (Načal'naja letopis'). The most primitive text is preserved in two outstanding redactions: the Laurentian of the fourteenth century (1377) and the Hypatian of the middle of the fifteenth century.

The mythological data of the *Primary Chronicle*, as contained in the Laurentian redaction, was almost literally repeated in all the Eastern Slavic chronicles and their compilations,<sup>2</sup> including the *Stepennaja kniga*, compiled by Metropolitan Makarij between 1542-1563.<sup>3</sup> Later chronicles, beginning with the *Hustyn Chronicle*, presented expanded versions of this material. The Hypatian redaction contained additional mythological data, based on an early Slavic translation of the *Chronicle of Malala*. The Hypatian noted, in particular, the existence of the Slavic deities Dažbog (mentioned also in the Laurentian) and Svarog.<sup>4</sup>

There are several brief references to Vladimir's idolatry in the *Primary Chronicle*. Under the year 980, we are told that after the murder of Jaropolk

Vladimir then began to reign alone in Kiev. And he set up idols on the hill outside the castle court-yard. A wooden Perun with a head of silver and whiskers of gold, and Xors Dažbog, and Stribog, and Simargl, and Mokoš. The people sacrificed to them calling them gods. They brought their sons and daughters, and sacrificed to these devils. They desecrated the earth with their offerings, and the land of Rus' and that hill were defiled with blood. But the gracious God did not desire the death of sinners. Upon that hill now stands the Church of St. Basil

...

. . . Vladimir appointed his uncle Dobrynia to rule in Novgorod. When Dobrynia came to Novgorod, he set up an idol beside the river Volxov; and the people of Novgorod offered sacrifices to it as if to God himself.<sup>5</sup>

The *Chronicle* then states that after Vladimir's baptism in 988, Vladimir

. . . directed that the idols should be overthrown, and that some should be cut to pieces and others burned with fire. He thus ordered that Perun should be bound to a horse's tail and pulled from the hill along the Boričev to the stream. He appointed twelve men to beat the idol with sticks, not because he thought that the wood was sensitive, but to affront the demon who had deceived man in this guise . . . While the idol was being dragged along the stream to the Dnieper, the unbelievers wept over it, for they had not yet received holy baptism. After they had thus dragged the idol along, they cast it into the Dnieper. But Vladimir had given this injunction: "If it halts anywhere, then push it out from the bank, until it goes over the falls; then let it loose." This command was duly obeyed. When they let the idol go, and it passed through the falls, the wind cast it on the bank, which since that time has been called Perun's Shore, a name it bears to this very day. . . .<sup>6</sup>

. . . [Vladimir] founded the Church of St. Basil on the hill where the idol Perun and other images had stood, and where the Prince and the people had offered their sacrifices.<sup>7</sup>

There are also three references to the pagan gods in the early treaties of the Kievan rulers with the Greeks; under the years 907 and 971 we are informed that the Rus' swore by their weapons and by their gods Perun and Volos, the god of cattle, while in the year 945 Igor took an oath near the statue of Perun.<sup>8</sup> In 945 pagan transgressors of the peace treaty are also warned that they may be punished by God and by Perun.<sup>9</sup> This in essence is all the existing primary data on Vladimir's pantheon.

The *Primary Chronicle* could have been available to early eighteenth-century Muscovite scholars only in manuscript. Tatiščev acquired his first copy of the *Chronicle* from the library of Peter I in about 1719<sup>10</sup> and in the course of his historical studies had at his disposal several manuscripts of both the

Laurentian and the Hypatian redactions.<sup>11</sup>

*b. Secondary Sources*

*The Hustyn Chronicle:*

The first description of Eastern Slavic mythology to extend considerably beyond the brief information about Vladimir's pantheon found in the *Primary Chronicle* appeared in the *Hustyn Chronicle*<sup>12</sup> (Hustyns'kyj litopys), an early seventeenth century Ukrainian chronicle known in several manuscript copies to Kievan scholars prior to 1670. Its chapter on Vladimir's gods became very popular and was subsequently almost in its entirety included in the anonymous *Life of Vladimir*, from which it was adopted by Gizel's *Synopsis*. The *Hustyn Chronicle* has not been preserved in the original but only in a copy made in 1670 by a monk of the Hustyn Monastery, Myxajlo Pavlovyč Losyc'kyj, who also wrote an introduction to the text.<sup>13</sup> Several other less perfect manuscript copies of the *Hustyn Chronicle* dating from the middle of the seventeenth century are also extant.<sup>14</sup> Since the events described end with the year 1597, the work was compiled probably at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> The author of the *Hustyn Chronicle* is not known. The scholar A. Jeršov believed that the work was written between 1623-1627 by Zaxarij Kopystens'kyj (d. 1627), a major Ukrainian cultural figure of the period.<sup>16</sup>

The *Hustyn Chronicle* represents a compilation of Slavic history based on Eastern Slavic, Polish, Lithuanian, Byzantine, Hungarian, and other sources which are cited in its text and margins.<sup>17</sup> The work is quite patriotic and often shows the author's independent attitude toward historical events. In the introduction, Losyc'kyj stresses the importance of historical tradition to a nation. All men, he says, have a natural love for their country which like a magnet draws them toward their national heritage; this is why the Greek poet Homer wrote of the need of each man "to see at least the smoke of his native land."<sup>18</sup> The patriotic tone explains to a great extent the author's obvious interest in Slavic mythology.

Slavic mythology in the *Hustyn Chronicle* is described in three chapters: "On Russian idols" (O idolax' Ruskyx'), "On the ruin of gods and increase of piety in Russia" (O pohybely bohov' i umnoženiy blahočestija v Rossiy), and "On Vladimir's rule" (O

knjaženiy Volodymerovom').<sup>19</sup> The major mythological chapter, "On Russian idols," lists an orderly pantheon of six deities: Perun or Perkunas, the highest god; Volos, god of animals; Pozvizd or Poxvist, god of air; Lado, like Pluto, god of the underworld but also, like Bacchus, a god of marriage and merriment; Kupalo, god of abundance like Ceres among the Greeks; and Koljada, honored in evil ceremonies on December 24. Almost as an afterthought, the author notes that the people of Rus' had also other gods: Xors, Dažbog, Stribog, Semargl, and Mokoš.<sup>20</sup>

On the basis of his own and A. Šaxmatov's studies of Eastern Slavic chronicles, V. J. Mansikka concluded that the essence of the mythological tale in the *Hustyn Chronicle*, with its identification of Perun, Volos, Xors, Dažbog, Stribog, Semargl, and Mokoš, was based on the *Primary Chronicle*, close to the Hypatian redaction. The rest of the data, according to Mansikka, was based on the Polish chronicles, notably the works of Kromer, Guagnini, Bielski, and Strykowski.<sup>21</sup> A comparison of the *Hustyn Chronicle* text with its Polish sources further reveals the author's heavy reliance on a 1611 Polish translation of Kromer's *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*, made with extensive interpolations by Marcin Błażowski. For example, Kromer's brief reference to the worship of Lado by the people of Rus' and Lithuania who "repeatedly call Lado, dancing and clapping their hands,"<sup>22</sup> is expanded by Błażowski in the following manner:

The people of Rus' once held Lado to be a god to whom they appealed for marital success and merriment, considering him to be the Lord of all happiness. For this reason they summoned him at christenings of their children, at games, gatherings, marriages, and all possible occasions of merriment, in the same way as the Latins turned to Hymen, Greeks to Jove or Bacchus, and other nations to other gods. Thus all of Rus' which until today has preserved the memory of paganism recalls the named Lado, especially in marriage songs at wedding ceremonies, either by the beating of palms against the table or by the clapping of hands, repeating in each stanza of the song the name of Lado.<sup>23</sup>

The analogous passage in the *Hustyn Chronicle* reads:

Lado . . . they [i.e., the people of Rus'] believed to be a god of marriage, merriment, consolation, and all kinds of well-being, like

Bacchus among the Greeks. Those wishing to marry brought him sacrifices in order to gain his help for a good and loving marriage. This Lado demon they still honor in some regions at christenings and weddings to the present day, singing some of their songs and clapping their hands against the table, often repeating: Lado, Lado, in their songs.<sup>24</sup>

In regard to Poxvist whom, as Kromer writes, "Miechowski interprets as air, we as stormy weather (hence the Mazovians call stormy weather to this day Pochwisciel),"<sup>25</sup> Błażowski adds:

I would say again that Pochwisciel was a wind or a whistling whirlwind. . . . I think, however, that not only the Mazovians but Rus' as well praised this Pochwisciel . . . since we know that until today the simple people of Rus' Ukraine each time they see this whirlwind before their eyes always bow their heads, giving him praise . . .<sup>26</sup>

The analogous passage in the *Hustyn Chronicle* reads:

The third [i.e., god] was Pozvizd, whom the Poles called Poxvist. They believed him to be the god of *aer*, that is air, others of good and bad weather, still others called him the whirlwind; and to this Pozvizd or whirlwind they bowed and prayed as to god.<sup>27</sup>

As can be seen, the cited passages in the *Hustyn Chronicle* clearly follow Błażowski's translation of Kromer. It is only Błażowski who identifies Poxvist with the whirlwind.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Błażowski's comment on the veneration of Poxvist in the Ukraine probably motivated the author of the *Hustyn Chronicle* to include Poxvist among his major "Russian" gods. The variant naming of Poxvist as *Pozvizd* in the *Chronicle* may be based on Guagnini, who speaks of this deity as *Pogvizd*.<sup>29</sup> Like Guagnini, the author also draws a parallel between Lado and Pluto.<sup>30</sup> The identification of Perun with Perkunas probably has its source in Strykowski.<sup>31</sup>

The accounts of the two old Ukrainian gods, Kupalo and Koljada, have no apparent source either in Eastern Slavic or Polish chronicles. To the best of our knowledge, no literary source before the writing of the *Hustyn Chronicle* considered these agricultural cult figures as deities. On the other hand, extensive literature, beginning with the *Hypatian Chronicle* (under the year 1272), describes

both the ritual of Kupalo performed on the eve of St. John the Baptist, and the celebration of Koljada in old Ukrainian Christmas tradition.<sup>32</sup> Kupalo may also be found in Strykowski who, in his description of "Sarmatian" paganism, speaks of the ceremony of the Kupalo cult.<sup>33</sup> Since Strykowski is cited as a source in the *Hustyn Chronicle*, it is probable that his account of the Kupalo ritual, and the fact that Kupalo and Koljada were still celebrated in Ukraine and Belorussia in the seventeenth century,<sup>34</sup> influenced the author of the *Hustyn Chronicle* to elevate Kupalo and Koljada to the position of major gods.

We have no evidence that Tatiščev was familiar with the *Hustyn Chronicle*. However, since the Hustyn Monastery in the seventeenth century was a major center of Russo-Ukrainian contacts,<sup>35</sup> it is plausible to assume that the *Hustyn Chronicle*, copied there in 1670, could have been accessible to Muscovite scholars and to Tatiščev after that date.

#### *The Life of Vladimir:*

The second major description of Eastern Slavic mythology is to be found in several sixteenth and seventeenth century Ukrainian versions of Prince Vladimir's *Life*.<sup>36</sup>

*The Life of Vladimir* captured the attention of Kievan hagiographers since the thirteenth century,<sup>37</sup> but especially after the disruptive wars (1648-1654) of Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj. In an attempt to create images of strong idealized heroes, Ukrainian middle classes and clergy turned to heroes of antiquity whom they attempted to present in a manner suitable to their literary tastes and interests.<sup>38</sup> This interest explains the large amount of hagiographic material which originated in the Ukraine in the seventeenth century. Following the union of Russia and Ukraine in 1654, this material could have been at the disposal of Muscovite scholars.

*The Life of Vladimir* is preserved in many variant Church Slavonic texts, some of which show distinct Ukrainian and Belorussian phonetic features.<sup>39</sup> In addition to these texts, there exist actual translations of Vladimir's *Life* from Church Slavonic into the Ukrainian literary language of the sixteenth and seventeenth century which differ, to some extent, in content and style from the original Church Slavonic versions.<sup>40</sup> Such, for instance, is the short Prologue *Life of Vladimir* of the Rumiancev manuscript No. 325, dating from the end of the sixteenth cen-

ture.<sup>41</sup> Only three gods are mentioned in this text: Perun, Xors, and Mokoš. The author seems to imply that Mokoš may have been worshipped before Perun and Xors, as well as briefly after Vladimir's destruction of the idols. The author writes:

Vladimir . . . having come to Kiev destroyed all of his gods, Perun, Xors; again his god was Mokoš, and then he destroyed all the gods and drowned them in the Dnieper. The young and the old began to beat them with heavy clubs, and they [i.e., the gods] howled like oxen and floated to the surface of the water. And small children drowned *it* with a stone.<sup>42</sup>

According to Peretc, this information was not based on any of the earlier Prologue lives of Vladimir where the fate of the gods is not mentioned. It was adopted by the author, with minor changes, from the *Primary Chronicle*.<sup>43</sup>

Of much greater significance are several original long versions of the *Life*. They date from the first half of the seventeenth century and contain considerably more information about the Eastern Slavic pantheon.<sup>44</sup> One of these texts was published by Symeon Stavnyč'kyj at the Univ Monastery in 1670.<sup>45</sup> The mythological material in the long versions of the *Life* is generally uniform and is very similar to that in the *Hustyn Chronicle*; in most instances, the texts follow almost word for word the *Chronicle* text, although they differ from the *Chronicle* in language and style and a tendency to shorten and summarize data. Chapter XII on Vladimir's gods, with its enumeration of the six major deities—Perun, Volos, *Pozvizd*, Lado, Kupalo, and Koljada—is adopted almost verbatim from the *Hustyn Chronicle*.<sup>46</sup> Missing, however, are the parallels between Lado and Pluto, Lado and Bacchus, Kupalo and Ceres, and Perun and Perkunas. Occasionally, the *Life* supplies additional information; for instance, after a description of the Kupalo ceremony, the *Life* adds: "There at their celebrations they play Tur (vymyšljajut Tura) and other disgraceful things which we are ashamed to describe."<sup>47</sup> There is no question, however, that the long *Life of Vladimir* was based almost in its entirety on the *Hustyn Chronicle*.<sup>48</sup>

We have no evidence that Tatiščev was familiar with the long *Life of Vladimir*.

*Gizel's Sinopsis:*

The third and most important work of Kievan literature which contained information on Eastern Slavic mythology was the *Sinopsis* (Synopsys).

The *Sinopsis* was compiled in Kiev at the beginning of the 1670s and was published there by the Kievan Cave Monastery in 1674,<sup>49</sup> possibly earlier.<sup>50</sup> The work represented the first short systematic exposition of early Eastern Slavic history and remained the only printed handbook on Russian history until the publication of Lomonosov's *Kratkij letopisec'* in 1760.<sup>51</sup>

There are two major chapters in the *Sinopsis* which contain data on Slavic mythology: "On idols" (O idolex'), and "On the sluicing with water on Easter Day" (O oblyjaniy vodoju na Velyk' den').<sup>52</sup> In the margins of these chapters, the author lists his sources: Kromer, Gwagnini, and Strykowski.

As in the *Hustyn Chronicle* and the *Life of Vladimir*, the *Sinopsis* presents an orderly Eastern Slavic pantheon composed of six major gods: Perun, Volos, *Pozvizd*, Lado, Kupalo, and Koljada, followed by a circle of "other" deities: Uslad (not in the *Chronicle* or the *Life*), Xors, Dažbog, Stribog, Semargl, and Mokoš. In its general brevity and conciseness of exposition, the *Sinopsis* resembles the *Life of Vladimir* rather than the *Hustyn Chronicle*. In both the *Life* and the *Sinopsis*, parallels between ancient and Slavic deities are missing. Included in both, however, are references to Tur and some details on the celebrations of Kupalo which are not found in the *Hustyn Chronicle*.

All new mythological data in the *Sinopsis* appears to be based on Strykowski; one such example is the introduction of Lel and Polel, sons of Lada, as new "Russian" deities. About the veneration of Lada and her sons the author writes:

. . . and they worshipped such gods as Lel and Polel whose loathsome name in some areas they still proclaim during games of merriment, singing Lelium po lelium. In the same way they sing of Lel's and Polel's mother Liada. . .<sup>53</sup>

The corresponding passage in Strykowski reads as follows:

They also praised the Roman gods Castor and Pollux whom they called Lel and Polel; this until today we can still clearly hear among the Mazovians and Poles when at their gatherings

they drink and proclaim Lelum po Lelum. They also praised Lel's and Polel's mother Leda

. . .<sup>54</sup>

Another obvious similarity between Strykowski's *Kronika* and the *Sinopsis* is the introduction of Uslad to the Eastern Slavic pantheon and the order and spelling of the gods' names. The author of the *Sinopsis* writes:

. . . and there were other idols names Uslad or Oslad, Korša or Xors', Dašuba or Dažb', Striba or Stribog', Simaergla or Semargl', and Makoš' or Mokoš' . . .<sup>55</sup>

The first form of each of these names in the *Sinopsis* is taken from Strykowski's *Kronika*.<sup>56</sup>

After a century of disputes, the *Sinopsis* is today again being attributed to Innokentij Gizel' (1600-1683), arximandrite of the Kievan Monastery and one of the most enlightened Ukrainian scholars of his day.<sup>57</sup> In 1954, I. P. Eremin wrote that the "question of the sources of the *Sinopsis* still awaits its investigator."<sup>58</sup> The first step in this direction was made in 1958 by Peštič, who suggested that the author of the *Sinopsis* had used primarily three sources: the *Primary Chronicle*, the *Hustyn Chronicle*, and Strykowski's *Kronika polska*.<sup>59</sup> Peštič also observed that the article "On idols" in the *Sinopsis* was taken from the *Hustyn Chronicle*.<sup>60</sup> This observation does not coincide with my contention, as previously stated, that the mythological material in the *Sinopsis* shows a much closer relationship to the *Life of Vladimir* (1670 edition) than to the *Hustyn Chronicle*—a view held also by Peretc and Mansikka.<sup>61</sup>

The great popularity of the *Sinopsis* in both Ukraine and Russia<sup>62</sup> may be seen from the fact that the work went through five editions in the seventeenth and at least eight editions in the eighteenth century.<sup>63</sup> In 1679 it was used by the compiler of a *Chronograph*,<sup>64</sup> in 1693 it was translated into Greek,<sup>65</sup> and in 1699 it was translated into Latin.<sup>66</sup> According to Robinson, the *Sinopsis* remained the most popular work in Russia even after the publication of the historical works of Lomonosov and Tatiščev.<sup>67</sup> The *Sinopsis* was used as a major source by Tatiščev who, however, did not have much confidence in its data.<sup>68</sup>

*The works of Dimitrij of Rostov:*

Dimitrij of Rostov (Dmytro Rostovs'kyj, real name Danylo Savyč Tuptalo, 1651-1709) was one of the first scholars in Russia<sup>69</sup> who had more than a cursory knowledge of mythology and Slavic mythology in particular. A noted ecclesiastical figure in his native Ukraine and the author of several religious, historical, and literary works, Dimitrij was summoned to Moscow in 1700 by Peter I to become Metropolitan of Siberia. Illness in Moscow prevented him from going to Siberia and instead, he was appointed Metropolitan of Rostov in 1702.<sup>70</sup>

Dimitrij's special interest in Slavic mythology was detailed by Tatiščev. In the chapter "On ancient idolatry" written during 1746-1749 for the second redaction of his history, Tatiščev speaks about his acquaintance with Dimitrij and notes that he had seen and read a comprehensive study by Dimitrij about Russian idols, forty-five years ago at his house (u nego) but was unable to find this work again among Dimitrij's remaining books.<sup>71</sup> This work by Dimitrij remains lost.<sup>72</sup> We know, however, that for the writing of his monumental four-volume lives of Saints (*Čet'i Minei*, Kiev, 1689-1705), which included the *Life of Vladimir*,<sup>73</sup> Dimitrij relied on Polish chronicles, various versions of Eastern Slavic lives of Saints, the *Hustyn Chronicle*, and the *Sinopsis*.<sup>74</sup> This leads us to the assumption that Dimitrij's work about the Russian idols must have been quite comprehensive in scope.

Like many of his contemporaries, Dimitrij had a tendency to refer to Slavic deities in his sermons. In his 1693 sermon "On the day of Holy Trinity," Dimitrij compares the pagan idols of Peruns, Voloses, Lados, and Kupalos, to the evil that rules the hearts of men and must be crushed forever as the idols once were crushed.<sup>75</sup>

Dimitrij was also interested in classical mythology, and his *Chronicle* (Letopis')<sup>76</sup> is filled with tales from the Old Testament and several expositions on Greek mythology.<sup>77</sup> As a preface to one of his excursions into the loves and lives of pagan gods, Dimitrij points out that although such tales are of no consequence, we should be aware of their existence, because the names of pagan deities are often mentioned in lives of Saints and stories of martyrs.<sup>78</sup> In another instance, Dimitrij explains that his reason for the description of pagan gods is to show the glory of the real God, "because contraries are more easily perceived when placed side

by side." In the same manner, he continues, "if we compare the evil and shameful lives of the ancient pagan gods to the chaste life of Christ . . . we see more clearly the difference between them."<sup>79</sup> Although Dimitrij seems to introduce such antitheses for didactic reasons, he cannot resist the temptation to present, "for scholarly reasons" or perhaps to satisfy his personal tastes, further detailed examples from the scandalous lives of the gods. He concludes his description of pagan mythology with the statement that "now we have heard enough of these fictitious tales composed by the Greeks which only deserve our laughter."<sup>80</sup>

In his attitude toward mythology, Dimitrij may be compared to early Christian apologists who believed that pagan myths were but the product of poetic imagination.<sup>81</sup> In contrast to his contemporaries, especially Ioannykij Galjatovs'kyj (died 1688)<sup>82</sup> and many Western seventeenth century mythologists, Dimitrij does not insist on a Christian interpretation of myths; nor does he view pagan gods as evil demons who disappeared with the coming of Christianity but are nevertheless able to return and tempt nonbelievers.<sup>83</sup>

Tatiščev appears to have become acquainted with the work of Dimitrij very early in his life, as his reference to Dimitrij's work on Slavic mythology indicates. He may have met Dimitrij in Moscow in 1701 when, according to N. K. Čupin, Tatiščev was studying at the Moscow School of Artillery and Engineering.<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, we have no verifiable information about Tatiščev's life prior to 1704 when he joined the service and, subsequently, participated in the taking of Narva in 1705 and in the battle of Poltava in 1709.<sup>85</sup> It is also possible that Tatiščev visited Dimitrij in Rostov prior to the Metropolitan's death in 1709.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to his reference to Dimitrij's lost work on Slavic mythology, Tatiščev on other occasions mentions Dimitrij as an authority on religion, mythology, and superstition.<sup>87</sup> Both in his chapter "On ancient idolatry" and "On ancient superstitions and customs," Tatiščev condemns the many superstitious beliefs and practices of the uneducated and refers his readers to Dimitrij's *Treatise on Old Believers* (Rozysek o raskol'ničeskoj brynskoj vere), where the delusions of the ignorant are described in greater detail.<sup>88</sup>

Dimitrij's *Chronicle* and *Treatise on Old Believers* were in Tatiščev's personal library.<sup>89</sup> We may assume that Dimitrij's book on Slavic mythology and his enlightened views in general exerted a major

influence on Tatiščev's interest in Slavic mythology.

*The works of Teofan Prokopovyč:*

The second Kievan scholar most versed in Slavic mythology whose writings may have served as a source for Tatiščev and other Muscovite scholars was Teofan Prokopovyč (1681-1736).

Statesman and educator, poet and dramatist, author of several theoretical works on rhetorics, poetics, history, philosophy, and even mathematics and physics, Prokopovyč was truly one of the most enlightened figures of his time.<sup>90</sup> Following a sojourn in Rome where he became acquainted with scholastic philosophy and its opposing currents, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, Prokopovyč returned to his native Kiev in 1704 to begin a teaching career as professor of poetics and later (1711) as rector of the Kievan Academy.<sup>91</sup> Utterly disenchanted with the Jesuits and their pedagogical practices, Prokopovyč set out to institute at the Academy advanced methods of education.<sup>92</sup> Advocating the study of original sources and the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, he insisted that knowledge of classical antiquity and Greek and Hebrew were indispensable to modern scholarship and upheld the right to apply historical criticism even to scriptural texts.<sup>93</sup> Summoned by Peter I to St. Petersburg, he arrived there in 1716 and within a comparatively short period of time rose to high prominence as Peter's advisor and the chief ideologue of the Petrine State.<sup>94</sup>

Prokopovyč's interest in mythology is reflected primarily in two of his works written during his teaching years at the Kievan Academy. In his *De arte poetica* (1705),<sup>95</sup> Prokopovyč uses classical mythology as *exempla* for his poetic theories. In his drama *Vladimir* (1705),<sup>96</sup> he exploits the account of Vladimir's destruction of the Slavic pagan gods to create the first Ukrainian mytho-historical drama.

In the *De arte poetica*, written in Latin as a series of lectures for his students, Prokopovyč cites examples with mythological content from Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Martial to illustrate various types of poetic devices. Simultaneously, he warns Christian poets not to evoke pagan gods other than the Muses in their roles as patrons of poetry.<sup>97</sup> To aid the Christian poet in adopting the proper attitude toward mythology, Prokopovyč makes a clear distinction between fictitious events described in an imaginative but "plausible" manner, and fictitious events described in a manner going beyond the realm

of probability. The first type may be used by both Christian and pagan writers, the second may be used by a Christian poet only with limitations. The Christian poet

. . . should not involve pagan gods or goddesses in any matters of our Lord, or identify with the names of these gods the virtues of heroes. He should not say Pallas instead of wisdom, Diana instead of purity, Neptune instead of water, Vulcan instead of fire. Their names may be used only metonymically. Yet he may introduce the person of the Lord, angels, saints and demons, giving them plausible characteristics.<sup>98</sup>

In his drama *Vladimir*, Prokopovyč applies the above rules to his depiction of the Slavic pagan gods.

*Vladimir*, a five act tragicomedy in verse was first performed at the Kievan Academy on July 3, 1705, just two weeks before the fiest of St. Vladimir.<sup>99</sup> The work, which we have labelled as a mytho-historical drama, shows, in most simple terms, the conflict between paganism and Christianity in Kievan Rus' and the absolute triumph of Christianity. Prokopovyč exploits in the drama several traditional Slavic myths surrounding the events which led to the acceptance of Christianity by Vladimir in 988: the slaying of Jaropolk, the dispute with the Greek philosophers, the destruction of the pagan pantheon, and the prophesy of St. Andrew. This data appeared in the *Primary Chronicle* and was expanded in later Eastern Slavic compilations of history and lives of Saints.<sup>100</sup> The drama represents a conscious fusion of history and myth,<sup>101</sup> history supplying the time, the place, the names, and the event, the myths--freely reworked by Prokopovyč, the pattern that frames the inner action of the drama. The sympathies of the author are fully on the side of the religious reformer Vladimir who sees all source of evil in religious delusions and ignorance.

The treatment of Vladimir's gods and the evil forces that surround his court is fully fictitious, although the additional characters which are introduced are quite "plausible" as symbols of evil. Vladimir's triad of jolly and ignorant pagan priests, Žeryvol, Kurojad, and Pjar, symbols of gluttony, greediness, and drunkenness, serve both the Prince and the pagan idol Perun.<sup>102</sup> When the priests discover that Vladimir intends to accept a new god to whom no sacrifices will be held, they call forth allegorical figures of temptation to help their cause. Vladimir

overcomes all temptation, crushes the pagan idols and triumphantly accepts Christianity.

Vladimir's pagan gods do not appear in the acts, but their functions are described by the pagan priests. Perun is identified as a "State Perun," god of hurling thunder, to whom sacrifices are brought and in whose honor holidays are proclaimed. When Vladimir ceases to offer sacrifices, all the gods, Perun, *Pozvizd*, Kupalo, Lado, *Moško* (i.e., Mokoš), Koljada, and Volos, begin to suffer from hunger. After the idols have been destroyed, we learn that Lado can no longer dance, Moško can no longer smell incense, Pozvizd limps and moans with a broken shin, but worst of all, "children have taken a broken idol and use his head as a receptacle to relieve their stomachs."<sup>103</sup> The physical properties of the gods seem at first paradoxical. We are told that nothing can harm them, neither fire, sword, water, or earth, yet they behave like mortals, speak and move, suffer, and die of hunger. But although they seem alive, they are seen only by those who serve them. At no time are the gods seen by Vladimir or those of his supporters who no longer believe in them.<sup>104</sup> Thus the origin of pagan gods in Prokopovyč's drama is fully rational. The gods are alive only to those who believe in them because they are the product of the ignorant pagan imagination.<sup>105</sup> When Vladimir's warriors turn to crush the remaining idols, they see nothing but soulless monuments of wood and stone.<sup>106</sup>

Prokopovyč's play could have been used as a powerful weapon against ignorance and superstition. In the name of knowledge and truth, Prokopovyč had introduced in the drama the pagan Slavic past, yet simultaneously desecrated the memory of the pagan gods. The play is a satire addressed to reason, to the intellect, which lashes both at vice and paganism because of their folly. *Vladimir* was undoubtedly known to Tatiščev and other Muscovite scholars, although, to the best of our knowledge, the play was not produced in Russia in Tatiščev's time.

It is generally agreed that Tatiščev met Prokopovyč for the first time in 1711 when both men accompanied Peter on the Prut Campaign,<sup>107</sup> Prokopovyč as the Tsar's private confessor and Tatiščev as an officer of the Novgorod regiment. The two men formed closer ties after 1716 when Prokopovyč settled in Russia to become one of the leading exponents of Peter's reforms. Recent investigators, notably C. Grau, greatly emphasize the close friendship between the two men throughout their life.<sup>108</sup> Tatiščev

speaks of Prokopovyč with reverence on many occasions.<sup>109</sup> He acknowledges the encouragement he received from Prokopovyč in support of his geographical and historical studies<sup>110</sup> and discloses that in 1722 he discussed with Prokopovyč and J. Brjus his intention of writing a history that would include information also about other Slavs.<sup>111</sup> Tatiščev also admits that a conversation with Prokopovyč stimulated him to write in 1733 his *Debate between Two Friends about the Value of Knowledge and Educational Institutions* (Razgovor dvux prijatelej o pol'ze nauk i učilišč).<sup>112</sup>

Prokopovyč was probably the most prominent scholar of the Petrine period. He had a strong interest in history and his *De arte rhetorica* (1706-1707) contained a major chapter on the method of writing history and the importance of recording all data about the Slavic past.<sup>113</sup> Prokopovyč's contacts with Tatiščev must have made a lasting impression on Tatiščev's belief in the true value of scholarship. It is entirely possible that Prokopovyč's personal interest in Slavic mythology prompted Tatiščev to extend his interest to Slavic gods.<sup>114</sup>

## 2. Foreign Sources

### a. Primary Sources

#### *Procopius: De Bello Gothico:*

Procopius of Caesarea, the sixth century A.D. Byzantine historian, left us the earliest account of the early Slavic tribes of the Antes and Sclaveni, indicating that "they believed that one god, the maker of lightning, is alone lord of all things and they sacrifice to him cattle and all other victims."<sup>1</sup>

Tatiščev cites Procopius often in his history, although his references appear to be based on secondary sources, especially the work of Mavro Orbini and the works of the Polish historians. Tatiščev could have obtained Procopius' *De Bello Gothico* from the library of the Academy, where a 1723 Latin edition of the work was available.<sup>2</sup> A copy of Procopius was also owned by Teofan Prokopovyč.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Thietmar of Merseburg: Chronicon:*

Thietmar (975-1018), Bishop of Merseburg's *Chronicon*<sup>4</sup> covers the history of the Polabian Slavs from 912-1018 and supplies us with the earliest accounts of idolatry among the Western Slavs. Thietmar offers an elaborate description of a temple in the city of *Riedegost* (probably Rethra), where among many gods *Zuarasici* (i.e., Svarožič) was worshipped by many Slavic tribes as a foremost god.<sup>5</sup> He also notes that for each district in the area "there are temples and individual images of demons venerated by these pagans" and speaks of a holy grove called *Zutibure* (a place name which later writers turned into the name of a Slavic deity), where one of these pagan gods was worshipped.<sup>6</sup>

Thietmar's *Chronicon* could have been available to Muscovite scholars in the 1707 G. W. Leibnitz edition.<sup>7</sup> Tatiščev does not cite Thietmar as his source on Slavic mythology, although there are references to Thietmar in his history.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Adam of Bremen: Gesta Hammaburgensis:*

*Gesta Hammaburgensis*, the work of early German Church historian Adam of Bremen (died 1076), contains important data on the Polabian Slavs and the worship

of *Redigast* (i.e., Radegast) at the temple of Rethra.<sup>9</sup> The *Gesta* served as rich source material for later writers such as Helmold and Saxo Grammaticus. Some scholars believe that Adam had at his disposal Thietmar's *Chronicon* and his Redigast is but an epithet for the cult of Svarožič worshipped, according to Thietmar, at Riedegost.<sup>10</sup> Adam was also well informed about Scandinavian deities and left an elaborate description of the temple at Uppsala, presided by Thor, Frikko, and Wotan, each endowed with special powers: Thor as god of air and weather, Wotan of war, and Frikko of peace and pleasure.<sup>11</sup>

*Gesta Hammaburgensis* was published five times between 1579 and 1704.<sup>12</sup> The 1706 edition was available at the Library of the Academy where in 1754 it was used by Lomonosov.<sup>13</sup>

Tatiščev cites Adam extensively in his history, although most of these references, like those to Thietmar, appear to be based on secondary sources, especially the work of Siegfried Beier.<sup>14</sup> In his chapter on idolatry Tatiščev cites Adam as his source on Slavic mythology.<sup>15</sup>

*The three Lives of Otto von Bamberg:*

There exist three twelfth century Lives of Otto von Bamberg (1060-1139), the "Apostle of Pommerania." One is the *Vita Ottonis* (written ca. 1140-1146) of the Monachus Prieflingensis,<sup>16</sup> the second is the work of Ebbo (died 1163) with the same title, and the third is Herbord's (died 1168) *Dialogus de uito Ottonis*.<sup>17</sup> All three works repeatedly refer to an idol or image, adored by the Slavs especially in Stettin, which showed a three-headed god named Triglav or the "three headed one." Triglav became one of the most popular deities in the writings of later authors and will be discussed in greater detail in relationship to Tatiščev's material. Although we have no indication that Tatiščev knew the Lives of Otto, Ebbo and Herbord could have been available to him and other Muscovite scholars in the 1681 compilation by Abbas Andreas von Michaelsberg (1483-1501), published in Colberg.

*Helmold: Chronica Slavorum:*

Helmold of Bosau (ca. 1120-1170) was a Saxon priest. He left us a lively account of the Polabian Slavs' pagan practices and stubborn resistance to Christianity, which he attributed to their ignorance. For his *Chronica Slavorum* Helmold used several

sources, including personal knowledge, reports of contemporaries, and some older written accounts, especially Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis*.<sup>18</sup> *Chronica Slavorum* was first published by S. Schorkel in 1556. A second edition, based on a different codex, was published by R. Reinecius in 1581 (re-printed 1631), and a third edition, with extensive interpolations by Heinrich Bangert (1610-1665), appeared in 1659.<sup>19</sup>

Helmold is our primary source on the worship of Prove, the god of the land of Oldenburg, Siva, goddess of the Polabians, Podaga, an idol of Plön, and Svantevit (*Zuantevith*), the most distinguished god of the Rugians (mentioned also by Saxo Grammaticus). He speaks of the Slav's veneration of mountains, trees, springs and fire. Like Adam of Bremen, Helmold knows of Radegast (*Radigast*), the major god of the Obodrites. Of great interest is Helmold's disclosure of a possible dualism in ancient Slavic religion, the worship of a nameless *good* god (who in later writings becomes Belbog) and an evil black god called Diabol of Černebog (*Zcerneboch*).<sup>20</sup>

In the 1659 edition of Helmold, Bangert provided Helmod's mythological data with elaborate footnotes speculating about the possible origin of each deity on the basis of topographical nomenclature.<sup>21</sup> This material may be viewed almost as a separate work on Slavic mythology. The Bangert edition was available at the library of the Academy where in 1754 it was used by Lomonosov.<sup>22</sup>

References to Helmod in Tatiščev's history indicate that he knew Helmold's work well. The Latin text of the *Chronica* which Tatiščev contributed in 1737 to the library of Ekaterinburg,<sup>23</sup> bears on its margins notes made in his hand.<sup>24</sup> Editors of Tatiščev's history do not indicate which edition of Helmold Tatiščev had used. We believe that it was the Bangert edition.<sup>25</sup> It is also known that in 1736 Tatiščev requested a translation of Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* into Russian, a task which was performed by K. D. Kondratovič. This translation was sent by Tatiščev to the Academy, where it is preserved in the BAN archives.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Saxo Grammaticus: Gesta Danorum:*

One of the principal sources on Swedish and Danish history is the *Gesta Danorum* written by the prominent Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (ca. 1150-1204). The work presents a wonderful mixture of myths and heroic sagas and has been called a

"valuable storehouse of folk-lore and history, both legendary and authentic."<sup>27</sup> Saxo was a close collaborator of Bishop Absalom who in 1168 participated in King Vlademar's expedition against the Slavs of the Island of Rügen and witnessed the destruction of the temple of Svantevit at Arcona. Saxo is our only source of the Slav's worship of polycephalous gods at Arcona (a four-headed *Suantouitus*) and Carentia (a seven-headed Rugievit, five-headed Porevit, and four-headed Porenut).<sup>28</sup> He describes the temples of these gods in great detail. Although Saxo, like Helmold, presumably knew the work of Adam of Bremen, he does not mention Radegast.

In his attitude toward mythology, Saxo is an Euhemerist. He believes that gods spring from a race of men versed in sorcery, like Thor, Odin, and many others, who were cunning in winning the minds of simple men and then began to claim the ranks of gods.<sup>29</sup> Saxo does not consider the Norse gods as identical with the gods of the Greeks and Romans although, admitting the opinion of others, he concludes that they may have shared the title with those honored in Greece and Rome, being nearly equal to them in dignity.<sup>30</sup>

Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* was first published in 1514 and could have been available to Muscovite scholars in this or several later Latin editions. It is known that a 1534 edition of Saxo's *Gesta* was borrowed by Lomonosov in 1754 from the library of the Academy.<sup>31</sup> Tatiščev cites Saxo often in his history, although his references are based mostly on the work of Siegfried Beier.<sup>32</sup> Tatiščev refers to Saxo also as a source on Slavic mythology.<sup>33</sup>

#### b. Secondary Sources

*Długosz: Annales Poloniae:*

Jan Długosz (1415-1480) was the first major Polish historian and the first Slavic scholar who wrote about the Polish gods and drew direct parallels between them and classical Roman deities. Długosz's description of Slavic gods appears in his major work, *Annales Poloniae*,<sup>34</sup> a compilation of historical data about Poland on which he worked for over twenty years.<sup>35</sup> His work remained unpublished<sup>36</sup> for over two centuries, although it circulated in many manuscript copies both in Poland and abroad.<sup>37</sup> It was finally printed in 1711 in two volumes, with an

introduction by Henryk Huysen.<sup>38</sup> This edition could have been known to Tatiščev and other Muscovite scholars at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Among the Kievan gods Długosz knows only Perun, the god of thunder who, he says, was especially venerated among the people of Rus'.<sup>39</sup> For the Polish pantheon Długosz establishes the following Roman parallels: Jupiter: Jesza, the highest of all gods; Mars: Lada, the leader and god of war; Venus: Dżidzileyla, goddess of marriage; Pluto: Nya, god of the underworld; Diana: Dżiewanna, virgin goddess honored by all women; Ceres: Marzanna, goddess of farming; Temperies: Pogoda, a deity of weather, and Żywie, a god of life.<sup>40</sup>

Długosz's sources for the Polish pantheon have long been subject to rigorous criticism. Most modern scholars agree with A. Brückner that Długosz created his Polish pantheon by interpreting freely old ritual texts, especially refrains to ritual songs, and on the basis of folklore tradition.<sup>41</sup> According to A. Šaxmatov, his information on Vladimir's gods was drawn primarily from a 1423 compilation of the *Primary Chronicle*, close to its Laurentian redaction.<sup>42</sup>

Tatiščev cites Długosz extensively in his history, although he does not refer to Długosz as his source on Slavic mythology. We know that between 1736 and 1737 Tatiščev must have had access to his work, since early in 1736 he asked the Academy to send him a copy of the *Annales*<sup>43</sup> and the following year left a copy of the *Annales* in the Ekaterinburg library.<sup>44</sup>

*Miechowski: Chronica Polonorum:*

The versatile Matthaeus Miechowski (Mechowita, M. Karpiga z Miechowa, Maciej z Miechowa, 1457-1523) served as personal doctor to King Sigismund I, authored a book on black plague, and held the position of rector at Cracow University.<sup>45</sup> Following extensive travels in Italy where he became acquainted with humanist historiography, Miechowski published in 1517 a treatise on two Sarmatias,<sup>46</sup> "European" (referring in the fifteenth century to Poland, Muscovy, and Lithuania) and "Asiatic" (an area inhabited between the Don and the Caspian Sea by Tartar tribes). In 1519 Miechowski published *Chronica Polonorum*, the first printed history of Poland, based partially on the work of Długosz. This edition was confiscated and the work was republished again in 1521,<sup>47</sup> after all references to Długosz had been removed.<sup>48</sup>

*Chronica Polonorum* contains a short description of the Polish pantheon.<sup>49</sup> In his enumeration of the Polish gods Miechowski follows Długosz, drawing the same parallels between the Polish and Roman gods. Occasionally Miechowski introduces new concepts and analogies. For instance, he draws a parallel between Castor and Pollux and Lel and Polel (whom he adds to Długosz's Polish pantheon), equates Lada with the Roman Leda,<sup>50</sup> and introduces *Pogwisd* (i.e., Poxvist) as a deity of air, later adopted by Bielski, Kromer, Guagnini, and Strykowski, as well as by the authors of the *Hustyn Chronicle* (as Pozvzd or Poxvist), and the long *Life of Vladimir* and the *Sinopsis* (as Pozvzd). He also supplies us with the song refrains: "Lada, Lada, Ileli, Ileli, Poleli," which gave rise to the creation of Lel and Polel, and possibly Lada.<sup>51</sup>

There is no evidence that Tatiščev was familiar with Miechowski's *Chronica Polonorum*, although the work could have been available to him and other Muscovite scholars in the earlier noted editions.

*Kromer: De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum:*

Marcin Kromer (1512-1589) was the most prominent and probably the most reliable Polish historian of the sixteenth century.<sup>52</sup> While studying in Italy and Germany he collected masses of archival material and became acquainted with oldest accounts on Slavs in the works of Procopius, Jordannes, and Paulus Diaconus. Kromer's *De origine*<sup>53</sup> was first published in 1555 and was reprinted in 1558, 1568, 1582, and 1589, with a German edition in 1562.<sup>54</sup> In 1611, Kromer's work was translated into Polish by Marcin Błażowski, who also revised and extended the original text.<sup>55</sup>

Kromer's *De origine* contains a brief but concise chapter on Slavic mythology entitled "On the religion of ancient Poles and Slavs" (*De Religionibus priscorum Polonorum et Slauorum*).<sup>56</sup> In describing the Polish pantheon, Kromer seems to rely more on Długosz than on Miechowski. Kromer first enumerates Długosz's Polish gods, then notes Miechowski's identification of Poxvist with "air," whom he interprets as "stormy weather," and then adds (obviously referring to Miechowski) that there are "some" who also include among the Polish gods Lel and Polel whom they identify with Castor and Pollux. His account ends with references to four Eastern Slavic gods: Perun, Stribog, Xors, and Mokoš (whom he claims to have ex-

tracted from a Russian chronicle), and to three gods worshipped by the "Baltic" Slavs: Radegast, Svantevit, and Prove.<sup>57</sup> Kromer is the first Polish historian to speak about the gods of other Slavs.<sup>58</sup> The reference to the three Polabian deities suggests the author's acquaintance with either the works of Helmold and Adam of Bremen, or perhaps A. Krantz's *Vandalia*.<sup>59</sup> Additional data on the Slavic gods, interpolated by Błażowski into the 1611 Polish edition of Kromer, is included in the preceding discussion of the *Hustyn Chronicle*.

We are not aware of any sixteenth or seventeenth century Eastern Slavic translations of Kromer's work. In 1735, upon Tatiščev's request, K. A. Kondratovič made the first Russian translation of *De origine*. Both Tatiščev and a certain assessor Rudakov verified the translation against both the "Polish and Latin editions," of Kromer,<sup>60</sup> an action which establishes Tatiščev's familiarity with both the Latin and the Polish editions. In 1737, Tatiščev left a 1568 Latin edition of Kromer to the library of Ekaterinburg.<sup>61</sup>

*Bielski: Kronika polska:*

Marcin Bielski (1495-1575), a major Polish literary figure of the sixteenth century, was by no means a brilliant historian. Archaic in his tastes, he was fascinated by medieval literature and slavishly copied from every available source all fantastic, unusual, and fascinating tales about the Slavic world.<sup>62</sup> These he included in his *Chronicle of the World* (*Kronika wszystkiego swiata*), published in Cracow in 1551. In the second edition (1554) Bielski expanded his material on Poland and the Slavs; to the third edition (1564) he added new material on Russia, based on the work of S. Herberstein.<sup>63</sup>

Bielski's work had a powerful influence on Slavic historiography. At a time when Latin was still the *lingua franca* of scholarship, Bielski wrote in Polish, thus making his work accessible to a wide circle of Slavic readers.<sup>64</sup> The *Chronicle of the World* contained extensive material on classical mythology.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, we have not been able to examine any of the three editions of Bielski's work to determine whether it contains any information about the Slavic gods.<sup>66</sup>

In 1597, Bielski's son Joachim (1540-1599), published under his father's name a work entitled *Kronika polska*.<sup>67</sup> This work is partially based on Marcin Bielski's manuscript and contains also some data on Slavic mythology which in its brevity and

general style appears to have its source in Kromer's *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*,<sup>68</sup> although Joachim does not cite Kromer among his sources, noting only Miechowski and Długosz. Like Kromer, Joachim lists first the Polish gods and their classical parallels and then proceeds to enumerate the four Eastern Slavic deities: Perun (who, he says, was worshipped also by Poles), Stribog, Xors, and Mokoš, and the three Polabian gods: Radegast, Svantevit, and Prove. Contrary to Kromer, as well as Długosz and Miechowski, Joachim ignores Lado, and equates Mars and Marzanna.<sup>69</sup>

*Kronika polska* was never fully translated into Russian. Evidence of a partial Russian translation dealing with the origins of the Kievan State has been disclosed by A. I. Rogov.<sup>70</sup> A partial Ukrainian translation with a distinct pro-Muscovite bias has been preserved in a manuscript of the seventeenth century.<sup>71</sup> The 1597 edition of *Kronika polska* was found in 1750 in Tatiščev's library.<sup>72</sup>

*Strykowski: Kronika polska:*

Maciej Strykowski (1547-1582), like his younger contemporary Marcin Bielski, had a liking for the fantastic and included in his historical works much legendary material. His major work, *Kronika polska, litewska, żmodska i wszystkiej Rusi*, appeared for the first time in 1582.<sup>73</sup>

The mythological material in Strykowski's *Kronika* is contained in two chapters: "On ancient ceremonies" (O starodawnych ceremoniach), and "On White and Black Russia" (O Bialei i Czarnei Rusi).<sup>74</sup> Strykowski's major sources for the Polish pantheon are Długosz, Miechowski, and Kromer, whose data he conscientiously reports in every detail. However, in contrast to these earlier Polish historians, Strykowski presents his material in a much more elaborate, almost poetic style, carefully describing the characteristics of each deity. According to Mansikka, Strykowski obtained his data on the Eastern Slavic gods primarily from the work of Herberstein and from old documents on the history of Lithuania, to which he added his own knowledge of folk customs.<sup>75</sup> About Vladimir's gods Strykowski writes:

Vladimir . . . established and built very many idols and pagan sanctuaries in Kiev and its surrounding hills and fields; first he erected a very high idol to Perun or Perkunas, god of thunder, clouds, and lightning, whom he

worshipped in piety and great reverence. His body was of wood, artistically carved, his head cast in silver, ears of gold, feet of iron, and in his hand he held a stone ornamented with rubies and carbuncle in the form of a burning lightning. Other idols were called Uslad, Korssa, Dassuba, Striba, Symaergla, Makosz, etc., whom the Russian called *kumeri* and to whom they offered sacrifices and prayers due to gods.<sup>76</sup>

Mansikka has shown that the external description of Perun is based on Strykowski's own sketch of the Lithuanian Perkunas.<sup>77</sup> The rest of the data came from Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*.<sup>78</sup> All these details, including the mysterious Uslad,<sup>79</sup> were later incorporated (on the basis of Strykowski) into Gizel's *Sinopsis*.

Strykowski speaks of the "Russian" gods in the *Kronika* on two more occasions. He notes that the Poles too worshipped *Perun*, *Striba*, *Makoš*, and *Chors* (this time he uses a different spelling of their names than above); and, in describing Vladimir's destruction of these idols, he again enumerates the gods' names and adds that of Volos.<sup>80</sup>

During the third quarter of the seventeenth century Strykowski's *Kronika polska* was apparently one of the most widely known works in Russia. In the course of some twenty years, between 1668-1688, two partial and two full translations of this work were made. The first three chapters of Book IV, containing data on the Eastern Slavic gods but not on the Polish pantheon (which belongs to Book IV, Chapter 4), were translated anonymously between 1668-1670. This translation has come down to us only as part of the full 1688 translation.<sup>81</sup> According to Sobolevskij,<sup>82</sup> the language of the 1688 text was Church Slavonic. In 1682 Andrej Lyzlov translated anew the first three chapters of Book IV, as well as Chapter two of Book I. This translation has been preserved in several manuscript collections<sup>83</sup> and was probably the text Tatiščev used (see below) at Uppsala. Between 1673-1679 the second full translation of the *Kronika* was made into a mixed Russian and Church Slavonic.<sup>84</sup> Two seventeenth century Ukrainian translations of the *Kronika* are also known.<sup>85</sup>

Tatiščev first became acquainted with Strykowski's *Kronika polska* at the library of Uppsala, where, in 1725, he found a Russian-language manuscript of the first three books of the work.<sup>86</sup> Between 1727 and 1733, which Tatiščev spent in Moscow, he must have had again access to the *Kronika*; for

despite his inability to obtain the work after 1734,<sup>87</sup> material in the 1739 version of Tatiščev's mythological data indicate his dependence on Book IV of Strykowski's *Kronika*. He may have been able to obtain a copy of Strykowski from the library of the Moscow Academy where a Polish translation of the work was available.<sup>88</sup> Tatiščev cites Strykowski as his major source for the Eastern Slavic pantheon.<sup>89</sup>

*Guagnini: Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio:*

Alessandro Guagnini (1538-1614) was an Italian adventurer from Verona who emigrated to Poland and fought on the side of Poland in the Polish-Livonian wars (1558-1583). In 1578 he published in Cracow his *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio*,<sup>90</sup> a brief history and geography of Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Belorussia. This work he plagiarized for the most part from a manuscript of Strykowski's *Kronika polska*.<sup>91</sup> Guagnini's *Descriptio* gained immense popularity in the West.<sup>92</sup> It was reprinted by the author in an extended edition in 1581 and 1582, newly revised in 1584, and translated into Italian in 1583 (reprinted in 1601) and into Czech in 1590.<sup>93</sup> In the meantime, Strykowski published in 1582 his *Kronika polska* in which he accused Guagnini of plagiarizing his work.<sup>94</sup> In 1611 Guagnini's *Descriptio* was translated into Polish by Marcin Paszkowski in a new, revised edition (reprinted in 1768).<sup>95</sup> During the seventeenth century two Russian and one Belorussian manuscript translations were made from the 1611 Polish edition; a partial translation, based on the 1581 Latin edition, was also made into Church Slavonic.<sup>96</sup>

The Slavic mythological material in the 1578 first Latin edition and in the 1768 reprint of the 1611 Paszkowski Polish edition appears to be the same.<sup>97</sup> An examination of this material reveals that Guagnini's data on the Slavic gods is only partially based on Strykowski. Like Strykowski, Guagnini describes the celebrations of Lada, Lel and Polel in Lithuania and Russia; however, in contrast to Strykowski and the rest of the Polish chroniclers he is quite independent in devising his own Roman parallels to the Polish deities, in which Pluto is equated with Lado, Ceres with Nya, and Venus with Marzana.<sup>98</sup> Guagnini says nothing about the Eastern Slavic gods and gives only a brief description of the Novgorod Perun, probably based on Strykowski's description of Perun in Kiev.<sup>99</sup>

The 1611 Paszkowski Polish edition of Guagnini's *Descriptio* was found in Tatiščev's library in 1750.<sup>100</sup>

*Krantz: Vandalia:*

Albert Krantz (1448-1517) was a prominent German historian and one of the most successful diplomats of the Hanseatic League. He wrote four major historical works, two of which, *Vandalia* (Köln 1519) and *Saxonia* (Köln 1520), contained important data on the early history of the Slavs.<sup>101</sup> In *Vandalia*, essentially an economic history of Slavic lands east of the Elbe, Krantz describes in great detail the life and customs of Slavs, devoting special attention to their pagan religious practices. Most of his data is based on the work of Helmold.

Like Helmold, Krantz speaks of Svantevit (*Zuantewith*) the major god of the Rugians, Prove (*Prone*), god of Oldenburg, Siva (*Sivve*), goddess of the Polabians, Radegast (*Radigast*), god of the Obodrites, Podaga (*Pogaga*), an idol at Plön, Černebog (*Czerneboch*), the evil black god of the Slavs, and a nameless good god.<sup>102</sup> From Saxo Grammaticus he also knows that the Slavs worshipped polycephalous deities.<sup>103</sup>

Krantz's *Vandalia* (also *Wandalia*), published in many Latin editions (1519, 1575, 1619, 1621, 1686) and in one German edition (Lübeck, 1600), was widely used in early Slavic historiography. It served as a major source for Polish historians as well as for the author of the *Sinopsis*.<sup>104</sup> The German edition of *Vandalia* was acquired by Tatiščev in 1719 in the Aaland Islands where he attended a Peace Conference. A copy, which bears the date and place where it was bought, Tatiščev left in 1737 to the Mining School in Ekaterinburg.<sup>105</sup> A Latin edition of *Vandalia* (Francofurti, 1575) was also available at the library of the Moscow Academy.<sup>106</sup> *Vandalia* was probably one of the first works which gave Tatiščev an insight into the pagan tradition of the Polabian Slavs. He cites this work heavily in his history and includes it among his sources on Slavic religion.<sup>107</sup>

*Giovio: Novocomensis libellus de legatione Basilii:*

Paulo Giovio (Paulus Jovius, 1483-1552), the learned Bishop of Nocera, had never been to Russia. But around 1523 he met in Rome the Russian envoy to Pope Clemens VII, a certain Dimitrij Gerasimov.<sup>108</sup> From him he apparently learned that "five hundred years ago Jupiter, Mars, Saturn and other gods were still worshipped by Muscovites."<sup>109</sup> This data Giovio included in his *Novocomensis libellus*, a work which, like that of Herberstein, was published many

times as early as the sixteenth century in Latin, German, and Italian editions.<sup>110</sup> I. Senigov claimed that Tatiščev was familiar with the work of Giovio;<sup>111</sup> our investigation has not disclosed any evidence for this assumption, although the *Novocomensis libellus* could certainly have been available to Tatiščev and other Muscovite scholars of his era.

*Herberstein: Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii:*

Sigmund, Baron von Herberstein (1488-1566), a diplomatic envoy of the Habsburgs, journeyed to Muscovy in 1516 and again in 1526. His *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* was the first relatively reliable account of Russian history, geography, and culture by a Westerner and enjoyed immense popularity both in Western and Eastern Europe. Published in Vienna for the first time in 1549 and translated into German by the author himself in 1557, the work went through a total of thirteen editions in the sixteenth century alone.<sup>112</sup> Herberstein, who was from Slovenia and was able to communicate in Russian, had used a Russian chronicle and left the following account of Vladimir's gods:

This Vladimir established many idols at Kiev: one of these was called Perun, whose head was of silver, but the rest of his body of wood; the others were called Uslad, Corsa, Dasva, Striba, Simaergla, and Macosh. To these idols, which were also called Cumeri, he offered sacrifices.<sup>113</sup>

Herberstein's version of Vladimir's gods, including *Uslad*, found its way into the works of Strykowski, Mavro Orbini, and Peer Persson.<sup>114</sup> Herberstein's *Uslad* is no mysterious deity. It is simply his misreading of the words "us zlat," i.e., Perun's "golden whiskers" mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle*.<sup>115</sup>

It is highly probable that Tatiščev was familiar with the work of Herberstein, whom he cites in the 1739 Notes to his history. Editors of Tatiščev's history suggest that Tatiščev may have used the 1557 German edition of Herberstein's *Commentarii*.<sup>116</sup>

*Fabronius: Welthistoria:*

Hermann Mosemann Fabronius (1570-1634) was a German historian, poet, and theologian. In 1612 he published his *Welthistoria*, a world history in which he devoted separate chapters to the religion and customs in Poland, Muscovy, Bohemia, and "Illyria."

His data on the Slavic gods was limited, but he did know of the worship of Černebog (*Zernebog*) and Svantevit (*Suantewitz*) by the Western Slavs and speculated about the origin of their names.<sup>117</sup> Most of his data on the Slavs Fabronius based on Krantz's *Vandalia*, whose work he cites as his source.<sup>118</sup>

Tatiščev refers to Fabronius only in his chapter on idolatry.<sup>119</sup> The fact that Tatiščev's reference to Fabronius is based on a secondary source, that of Arnkiel, will be shown later in this study.<sup>120</sup>

*Orbini: Il regno degli Slavi:*

In 1601 the Ragusian Benedictine abbot and scholar Mavro Orbini (1550-1610) published in Italian a monumental history of the Southern Slavs, entitled *Il regno degli Slavi*.<sup>121</sup> In the spirit of his time, Orbini uncritically cited in his work as equal authorities both ancient and contemporary pseudo-critical humanist writers and indulged in naive etymologizing and fantastic speculations about the pre-history of the Slavs.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless, his work represented a pioneering effort in South Slavic historiography and initiated in Europe the dissemination of knowledge about the Southern Slavs. Fired by notions of Slavic unity, Orbini also collected masses of material about non-Balkan Slavs, devoting special attention to their early customs and beliefs.

Using the works of Helmold, Saxo Grammaticus, Procopius, Krantz, Giovio, Kromer, Guagnini, Miechowski, and Herberstein, Orbini created a fascinating account of Slavic pagan idolatry. His Polish pantheon appears to be based primarily on Kromer and Miechowski. Like Miechowski (who follows in this respect Długosz), Orbini draws parallels between Jupiter (*Gioue*) and Jesza (*IEsse*), Mars and Leda, Pluto and Nya, Venus and Dzidzilia, Diana and Zievana or *Zievonia*, and Ceres and Marzana. Also from Miechowski Orbini knows about Leda as mother of Castor and Pollux or Lel and Polel, and about *Pochvist* or *Pochviciel*, the same as Pogoda (writes in one instance *Dogoda*).<sup>123</sup> About the Polabian Slavs Orbini observes that they worshipped Svantevit (*Zuantouich*), Prove, Siva, Radegast (*Radigast* or *Radigost*), Černebog (*Zarneboch*) and Belbog (*Belboch*).<sup>124</sup> With the exception of Belbog, Orbini could have obtained this information directly from Helmold or from Krantz's *Vandalia*.<sup>125</sup>

Of special interest is Orbini's designation of Helmold's "good god" as *Belboch*. Until now opinion has prevailed that Belbog was first used by the

anonymous compiler of *Historia episcopatus Caminensis*, a work of the early seventeenth century published for the first time in 1718.<sup>126</sup> Our investigation of Orbini's sources has disclosed that Orbini had relied in his work about the Western Slavs on Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1554); here, in fact, on p. 772, following a description of the Rugians' worship of Svantevit, Münster notes that they also worshipped a good white god and an evil black god called *Belbuck* and *Zernebuck*. As his main source on Rugia, Münster cites Petrus Artopoeus Pomeranus (Peter Becker of Stettin, 1491-1563), a protestant pastor of Stettin who compiled for Münster a map of Pomerania.<sup>127</sup> There seems to be little doubt that Münster's *Cosmographia* served as a source on Belbog for Orbini.<sup>128</sup>

Orbini also speaks about the gods of the old Lithuanians (whom he considers to be Slavs): Petuno-Percuno, Patrimpo, Patelo, Vurchayto, Snybrato, Gurcho, and a fire deity called Znicz.<sup>129</sup> From the mysterious *Annales di Russia* of 1227 by one Geremia Russo,<sup>130</sup> Orbini also learned about an idol called Jacobog worshipped by the Slavic Antes and about the veneration of Mars by the Slavic tribe of the Alans.<sup>131</sup>

Herberstein was Orbini's source of information about the Eastern Slavic gods. Like Herberstein, Orbini lists *Pero* (i.e., Perun), *Uslad*, *Corsa*, *Dasuva*, *Striba*, *Simaergla*, *Macosch*, and *Cumeri*.<sup>132</sup>

Upon the order of Peter I, Orbini's *Il regno degli Slavi* was translated in 1714 into Russian (under the title *Kniga istoriografija*) by the "Illyrian" count Sava Vladislavić of Ragusa.<sup>133</sup> Because of its "Jesuit bias," the publication was delayed until 1722 when the book appeared with an appropriate "orthodox" afterword which tradition assigns to Teofan Prokopovyč.<sup>134</sup> Vladislavić took certain liberties with the text and extensively abbreviated much of the material contained in the original. In this edition there is no mention of the Lithuanian or the Polabian gods, with the exception of a detailed description of the statue of Svantevit (*Svjatovit*) at Arcona.<sup>135</sup> Orbini's material on the Polish gods was preserved but underwent certain modifications. Vladislavić accepted Orbini's misspelling of *Dogoda* (instead of Pogoda), altered the spelling of some of the gods' names, and in addition to the Roman parallels introduced also Greek equivalents to the Polish gods. Jupiter becomes *Jovis* or *Dij*, Mars or Ares is equated with Leda, Venus or Aphrodite is *Didilia*, Diana or Artemis is *Zevana* or *Zevonia*, Ceres or Demeter is *Marcana*.<sup>137</sup> Vladislavić

also cites Orbini's Eastern Slavic gods based on Herberstein, spelling Simaergla as *Zimcerla*.<sup>138</sup>

With the exception of Gizel's *Sinopsis, Kniga istoriografija* was in Russia the only printed work on Slavic mythology until the 1760 publication of Lomonosov's *Kratkij letopisec'*. Tatiščev received the Russian translation of Orbini from Sava Vladislavić in 1723. Tatiščev was disappointed to find that it lacked reliable data on the Southern Slavs and at one point regretted the time he lost reading it.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, he quotes Orbini and his "basni" often and with relish, usually adding a warning to the readers about their lack of reliability.<sup>140</sup> He also cites Orbini as his source on Slavic idolatry. *Kniga istoriografija* was in Tatiščev's library in 1750.<sup>141</sup>

*Peer Persson: Regni Muschovitici sciographia:*

Peer Persson de Erlesunda (Petr Petrejus, 1570-1622) was a Swedish envoy from Uppsala who spent several years in Russia at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>142</sup> His work, *Regni Muschovitici sciographia*, first published in Swedish in 1615<sup>143</sup> and then translated into German in 1620,<sup>144</sup> was filled with information about the life and ancient customs of the Eastern Slavs, especially their death and funeral festivities. All of his information on the Eastern Slavic pantheon was based, almost word for word, on the work of Herberstein.<sup>145</sup> About Vladimir's gods, Persson has the following to say:

Vladimir . . . was a depraved, profane and godless man and a great idolater. He built many idols in the city of Kiev, honored them and prayed to them. His main idol was Perun, made of silver; all of the others were made of wood and these were their names: Uslad, Corsa, Dasva, Striba, Simergla, Macosk.<sup>146</sup>

Tatiščev became acquainted with the work of Persson in Uppsala (1723-1727), from where in 1725 he sent a copy of the *Sciographia*, probably the German edition, to the *Kunstammer*.<sup>147</sup>

*Schleusing: La religion ancienne et moderne des Moscovites:*

In 1694, after several years of delay at the publishers, there appeared a work entitled *Universa religio Moscovitica*,<sup>148</sup> written by Theophilo Wahrundo who claimed to have spent some years in

Russia,<sup>149</sup> It is today generally accepted that Wahrundo was the pseudonym of G. A. Schleusing (also Schleissing, d. 1688);<sup>150</sup> the *Universa religio Moscovitica*, is considered to be an expanded German translation of the Latin *Dissertatio de religione Moscovitarum*, written by Michaelae von Oppenbusch (d. 1686) in 1660.<sup>151</sup>

In the first chapter of Schleusing's *Universa religio Moscovitica*<sup>152</sup> there is a statement, documented correctly with a reference to Kromer and Giovio, that in Vladimir's days the Russians still worshipped their pagan idols: Perun, Stribog, Xors, and Mokoš, as well as Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, and other idols.<sup>153</sup> This information Schleusing embellished with four plates, each depicting a grotesque animal image of one of the four major "Russian" deities (Perun, Stribog, Xors, and Mokoš), which he claimed to have obtained from "a Jew who had himself christianized in the Russian manner."<sup>154</sup>

In 1698 Schleusing's *Universa religio Moscovitica* was translated with some modifications as an anonymous work into French, under the title *La religion ancienne et moderne des Moscovites*.<sup>155</sup> *La religion ancienne* was apparently an immediate success. It was reprinted in Amsterdam in 1698, published in a second Cologne edition in 1705, and translated into Dutch (1698, 1699) and German (1712, 1714, 1717). The mythological data in the three French editions and the 1712 German edition<sup>156</sup> is the same as that in the *Universa*, with one exception: the four separate plates of the pagan idols are replaced here by one new plate, folded in quarto, showing the four idols together. In the three French editions this plate, like five other plates in the book, bears the initials of the French illustrator Bernard Picart (1673-1733) and shows the unmistakable trace of its origin. It was made by Picart on the basis of the four plates in the *Universa*.<sup>157</sup> This plate, together with a partial text from *La religion ancienne* translated into English, was included in 1723 by Jenkin Thomas Phillips in an appendix to his English translation of Teofan Prokopovyč's *Katexizis*.<sup>158</sup>

We believe that the German book illustrated with Russian idols in quarto which Tatiščev recalls in his history as "Moskovitiše religija"<sup>159</sup> was in fact one of the German translations of *La religion ancienne*.

*Arnkiel: Cimbrische Heyden-Religion:*

M. Trogillus Arnkiel (died 1713) was a German Lutheran pastor from Schleswig.<sup>160</sup> In 1619 Arnkiel published volume one of his *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion*, followed by a four-volume edition (bound in one volume) in 1702.<sup>161</sup> The work is based on Helmsold, Adam of Bremen, Fabronius, Saxo Grammaticus, Krantz, and other writers and deals with the religious practices of the Wends, Saxons, Goths, and Frisians. Volume one, which will be cited extensively later in this study as one of Tatiščev's major sources, may be considered a compendium on the gods of Western Slavs. Arnkiel believes that all men in antiquity worshipped only one true god but through the evil spirit of Satan turned to the deification of stars, ancestors, and spirits, which they endowed with god-like characteristics.<sup>162</sup> To show the true spirit of Christianity, Arnkiel proposes to investigate the religion of the pagans.<sup>163</sup> Arnkiel adheres to the concept that all pagan religions, those of the Romans, Greeks, Chinese, and Germans, were essentially similar and does not hesitate to compare ancient pagan practices with those of the "papists." From the point of view of later German pietists who attempted to picture pagan worship in the most repugnant manner, Arnkiel's work is relatively mild in its denunciation of pagan religions.<sup>164</sup>

Tatiščev must have obtained Arnkiel's work from the library of the Moscow Academy, where a 1702 edition had been used in 1754 by Lomonosov.<sup>165</sup>

*Hederich: Gründliches Antiquitäten Lexicon:*

Benjamin Hederich (1675-1748) compiled two impressive lexicons, *Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum* (Leipzig, 1724), a work which has remained a classic on mythology to the present day, and *Gründliches Antiquitäten Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1743). Unfortunately, Hederich's knowledge of Slavic mythology, contained almost exclusively in the latter work, was based on highly questionable secondary sources, such as Christian Schoettgen's (1687-1751) *De originibus russicis dissertatione septem* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1731) and Elias Schedius' (1615-1641) *De diis Germanis* (Halle, 1728). Both lexicons were owned by Tatiščev.<sup>166</sup> Tatiščev cites Hederich as his major source on Western Slavic gods.<sup>167</sup>

## PART TWO

## TATIŠČEV'S MYTHOLOGICAL DATA

This part of the study deals with Tatiščev's views on idolatry and his treatment of Slavic mythological data in the chapter "On ancient idolatry" of part two of his history, with consideration of related material in his *Leksikon* and other parts of his history.

Tatiščev's chapter "On ancient idolatry" consists of twelve numbered paragraphs of which paragraph seven is missing from enumeration in the Voroncov text under examination. For purposes of discussion, the analysis of Tatiščev's material in these paragraphs is grouped under six thematic subdivisions: On idolatry in general; On idolatry among the Slavs; On the gods of Western Slavs; On the gods of Ancient Rus'; On the Scythian gods of Herodotus and differences in ancient customs; and On the improper worship of icons.

1. *On idolatry in general*

*Paragraph 1:*

In this introductory passage, Tatišček determines the place of mythology in his history, justifies the inclusion of mythological data in his work, and presents his first definition of idolatry, based on a quote from the Bible. We cite the entire paragraph:

I have said above<sup>1</sup> that in the coming of Christ we found a second enlightenment of our spirit and body which should follow [i.e., be described after] the discovery of letters. But the order of things requires that we (first) show what existed before the acceptance of the laws of Christ, for without the knowledge of evil one cannot clearly perceive the good, as without imagining the black it is not easy to visualize the contrasting white. Similarly here, unless we can imagine in what vile falsehood and evil manner our forefathers lived before the Gospel of Christ, we cannot fully understand its [i.e., the Gospel's] great beneficence. We know that the laws of the Judeans, although completely sinful and vile, were far better and closer [i.e., to God] than those of the pagans, yet St. John identified even these with darkness, and Christ the Savior with light, saying: "The light that shines in the darkness." Yet we have much more reason to identify pagan worship with darkness, inasmuch as the Judeans, even though they corrupted the worship of the law of God with human legends and invented practices, nevertheless continued to accept the real God, while these [i.e., the pagans] knew nothing about him, worshipping perishable creatures as the creator. This I shall discuss later, while next I shall turn to the nature of pagan worship, known in Greek as idolatry.<sup>2</sup>

In the first sentence, Tatišček introduces the knowledge of pagan idolatry into the service of universal intellectual enlightenment. Referring to his introductory passages where he had formulated his views on universal enlightenment, Tatišček assigns the discussion of mythology a place between the discovery of writing—the first enlightenment (chapter one of his history), and the acceptance of Christianity—the second enlightenment (chapter three of his history). Arguing further, in a series of anti-

theses, that without the knowledge of the evil pagan practices of the forefathers one cannot understand the great beneficence of Christianity, Tatiščev proceeds to legitimize his discussion of mythology as an example of the unreason of the human intellect.<sup>3</sup> The quote from the Gospel of St. John: "The light that shines in the darkness,"<sup>4</sup> serves a two-fold purpose: it identifies the idolatry of Judeans with "darkness" and thus supplies Tatiščev with a biblical characterization of mythology; and it alludes to the fact that the Church fathers themselves did not hesitate to discuss pagan practices, a point that Tatiščev will stress again in *Paragraph three* to justify his own interest in mythology. Contrary to Tatiščev's claim, St. John never refers directly to the practices of the Judeans, although he does have the Hellenistic tendency to equate Christ with light (John, 8:12 and 1:5), while darkness appears in his Gospel either as a natural condition of the unenlightened man (John: 1:4-5, 12:35, and 46) or as the result of one's turning away from light (John, 3:19-20). Speaking of the practices of the Judeans, Tatiščev uses St. John's words in the latter sense but takes his quote from chapter 1:5, where darkness is a symbol of the natural state of man's ignorance.<sup>5</sup> It seems then that Tatiščev allows himself here the modest liberty of "stretching the Bible like Militrica's carpet," a right he denies to other writers.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, a comparison of his quote from St. John with that of the *Ostrog Bible*, owned by Tatiščev,<sup>7</sup> reveals that he did not consult this work for an exact wording but had relied entirely on his memory.<sup>8</sup> Tatiščev's mild denunciation of the laws of the Judeans, whom he considers after all better than the pagans, stems, almost certainly, from his familiarity with Josephus Flavius' *De Bello Judaico*, a work he often cites in his history.<sup>9</sup>

*Paragraph one* shows also the influence of other sources. Tatiščev adheres to a rigidly logical scholastic method of presentation, following, especially in his use of antitheses, the example of Dimitrij of Rostov and Teofan Prokopovyč. Both of these writers made a free use of antitheses and comparisons, since they believed that "contraries are more easily perceived when placed side by side."<sup>10</sup> Like them, Tatiščev poses the negative before the affirmative in the ordering of contrary ideas. In the frequent use of antitheses he surpasses even Prokopovyč, who was known to use no more than three antitheses in a single paragraph.<sup>11</sup> The main idea expressed in this passage—that the study of mythol-

ogy is justified because by contrast it illuminates holy legend—is strongly reminiscent of Dimitrij's perhaps somewhat less than candid belief that "if we compare the evil and shameful lives of the ancient pagan gods to the chaste life of Christ . . . we see more clearly the difference between them."<sup>12</sup>

*Paragraph 2:*

The second paragraph is designed to emphasize the existence of various forms of pagan worship and the fact that idolatry was common to all nations. Tatiščev writes:

The term idolatry means several things. Various nations differed in their number of gods, god's names, portrayal, and worship; some gave more worship to one god, others to another; to this different writers devoted many books, describing the abominations, lies, and deceits of those who served them [i.e., the gods]. But there is no need for us to recall them and their world-famous oracles and revealers, or their great temples and famed miraculous idols, since [i.e., the works of] the Jesuit Gaultruche with notes and explanations of idols and their religious services, as well as those of Antonius Delius and Fontenelle about oracles, have been translated into Russian.<sup>13</sup>

Here Tatiščev justifies his limited discussion of ancient idolatry by referring his readers to three specialized works on mythology: Pierre Gaultruche's (1602-1681) *L'histoire poétique*,<sup>14</sup> Antonius van Dale's (1638-1708) *De oraculis veterum ethnicorum*, and Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle's (1657-1757) *Histoire des oracles*, a work based on that of van Dale.

Like many Jesuit writers of the seventeenth century, Gaultruche believed in a Christian interpretation of myths. Mythology to him was not just a collection of absurd tales but a body of moral precepts cunningly hidden under the making of fiction.<sup>15</sup> Gaultruche's intrinsic interest in mythology, however, cannot be doubted. His work is filled with tales about the loves and lives of pagan gods, and the full title of the 1685 English edition of his work, *The most pleasant history of the poets necessary for the understanding of the heathen writers*, gives us perhaps the best idea of its slightly less than "moral" nature.<sup>16</sup>

There is no indication that Tatiščev shared

Gaultruche's allegorical views of pagan religion. It must, therefore, be assumed that the reference to this learned Jesuit in the above passage is simply intended to lend dignity to Tatiščev's discourse on mythology.

Van Dale and Fontenelle insisted on an entirely rational explanation of myths, oracles, and all superstitious beliefs. They denied that the oracles had been the work of demons, demonstrated that they had their origin in perfectly natural situations, and claimed that they disappeared as the human mind was subjected to progress.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, Fontenelle stated that the *raison d'être* for the oracles was the "deliberate deceit of simple men by pagan politicians" interested in keeping their subjects in ignorance.<sup>18</sup> According to L. Marsak, the *Histoire des oracles* was "one of the earliest attacks upon entrenched theology in the name of free thought."<sup>19</sup>

Tatiščev's preoccupation with the ideas of van Dale and Fontenelle is reflected both in his explicit interest to have their works translated into Russian<sup>20</sup> and in his references to their authority on other occasions. For example: the controversial *Joachim Chronicle*,<sup>21</sup> which Tatiščev included in the second redaction of his history, relates the story of the mythical Slavic prince Gostomysl', who brought sacrifices and questioned the oracles about the fate of his successors.<sup>22</sup> In a footnote to this tale, Tatiščev shows no concern with the plausibility of this account but does express some profound thoughts about the origin of oracles:

Revealers, known as magicians, were known among the Eastern people as *magi* and it appears that here replies from gods and oracles could be obtained as among the Greeks and Egyptians where, according to Herodotus, these practices had their origin. The replies were obtained through women, called Pyth, although the answers were composed by priests, mostly in the form of poems with double meaning. This Dale and Fontenelle described in great detail. . . . But it is sufficiently known to all that those oracles or replies and prophesies from gods through prophets or twaddlers were nothing but the delusions of the superstitious and the ignorant, as Dale has shown about Greek and Egyptian oracles, occasionally giving even Christian examples . . . .<sup>23</sup>

In another instance, Tatiščev introduces in his history the well known tale from the *Primary Chronicle*

on Oleg's death by the snake.<sup>24</sup> In a footnote to this story he observes:

Clearly a myth (basnja), following ancient superstition about a sorcerer, which no sensible man will believe, judging that such a thing would have to be the work of the devil. The devil, however, cannot know of forthcoming events which the Almighty Creator concealed even from the angels. And if we were to believe this tale of the sorcerer, we would also believe in all predestination, by which all types of manslaughter could be explained as done according to the will of God and not our own; this would contradict the holy scriptures and concepts of morality. Dale, and after him secretary of the Paris Academy Fontenelle, both highly learned men claim - about the oracles which existed in pagan times - that after Christ, superstition began to decline and prophecies cannot have their origin in the devil.<sup>25</sup>

Tatiščev's open regard for the theories of van Dale and Fontenelle in these passages shows that Tatiščev shared the most advanced views of his day about idolatry and superstition.

*Paragraph 3:*

Like *Paragraph one*, this passage is intended to serve as an apology for Tatiščev's presentation of mythological data. The entire paragraph is cited:

One should not think that this is presented here for the defamation and profanation of the ancestors or for the temptation of those living in the present or in the future, since the information and examples [i.e., presented here] coincide with what the ancestors themselves had to say about it. In regard to the first, we need not be ashamed of the abominations of our ancestors, since both church and secular histories inform us that until the coming of Christ the entire world (with the exception of a small group of Israelites or Judeans) was submerged in idolatry; and even today we can account for more than two thirds of nations, without mentioning those who are known as Christians [i.e., who still practice idolatry]. An example may be drawn from holy David who in many instances recalls the ugly practices of his ancestors, especially in *Psalms 105*. Moses too,

defaming his older brother and high priest Aaron recalls a vile deed toward the Lord, and which of the prophets does not expose the sinful fall of his ancestors? Similarly, we need not fear temptation, for he who possesses an intellect will never be tempted, but will moreover find reason to avoid that which is repugnant to the Lord; as Moses and the prophets wrote of former idolatry not to tempt but to inspire loathing. Yet for the ignorant, even the holy word or the Holy Writ according to the Acts of the Apostles, is but temptation or foolishness.<sup>26</sup>

Tatišček defends himself here specifically against two arguments which could be used in criticism of his discourse on idolatry: the fact that paganism recorded may make one ashamed of one's pagan ancestors, and the idea that knowledge of paganism may tempt others. The first, Tatišček answers with a reference to both Church and secular histories which have shown idolatry to be a world-wide imperfection of men in the past and present, and with the specific example of David<sup>27</sup> and Moses<sup>28</sup> who did not hesitate to discuss the evil deeds of their ancestors. The fear that knowledge of paganism may tempt men, Tatišček rejects on the assumption that he who possesses an intellect will never be tempted, while the ignorant will find temptation even in the scriptures. Thus just like Moses and the Prophets who wrote of former idolatry not to tempt but to inspire men to loath evil, Tatišček presents his data on idolatry to teach men how "to avoid that which is repugnant to the Lord."

It is significant that in the first and second versions of his mythological data Tatišček had made no effort to justify his interest in idolatry on moral grounds. He initiated his discussion of Slavic mythology by simply stating that the early writers had left no sufficient descriptions of Slavic gods, either because they did not wish to record such information for fear of turning Christians away from faith, or because the existing records were burned by early Christians, as in Greece and Rome, where many useful books by pagan philosophers and great treasures of "free scholarship" were senselessly destroyed.<sup>29</sup>

This passage was eliminated from Tatišček's chapter on idolatry for obvious reasons: it did not support his basic argument in defense of his chapter on idolatry, namely, that the ancient writers were

enlightened enough to discuss idolatry without any fear of temptation.

It is necessary to recall at this time that in the years 1746 to 1749 when Tatiščev worked on the final redaction of his history, he was exiled to his estate at Boldino. It appears that during this period of his life Tatiščev was not in the position to advocate that knowledge of paganism must be preserved in the name of "free scholarship" and decided to embalm his reasons in moral contentions which had the obvious aim of pleasing or appeasing the authorities.

*Paragraphs 4 and 5:*

In these two paragraphs, Tatiščev defines the essence of idolatry, the nature of superstition, polytheism, atheism, and the differences among various idolatrous beliefs. The text consists of two parts, an introduction, based partially on an article on "Abgötterei" in Johann Georg Walch's (1693-1776)<sup>30</sup> *Philosophisches Lexicon*,<sup>31</sup> and a direct quote from this article which concludes *Paragraph four* and runs to the end of *Paragraph five*. To show first Tatiščev's dependence on Walch in the introductory passage, we cite both texts:

*Walch:*

Wenn man von dem Ursprunge und Fortgange der Abgötterei reden will, so ist es ein anders, was man davon aus historischen Nachrichten gewiss weiss, ein anders, was man davon muthmasset, bey welcher Untersuchung die Ursachen von den Gelegenheiten zu unterscheiden sind.

Von den Vätern der alten Kirchen haben verschiedene, als Eusebius in Chron., p. 13, Epiphanius, t. 1, p. 7, und andere den Seruch für den Urheber der Abgötterei angebeten, davon Svidas in dem Wort und Fabricius in Condice pseudepigraph. veter. test. p. 337, zu lesen sind.

Andere führen den Anfang von Cham, oder Nimrod her; haben aber keine tüchtige Beweissgründe vor sich,

*Tatiščev:*

O načale idolosluženija, gde i kem proizneseno, i o raznostex v narodex zdes' nevmestitel'no, da pervoe bolee za neizvestnoe počest',

ibo vidim iz pis'ma svjatago, čto ljudi do potopa ot puti istinnago zabludili.

und bleibt daher unbekannt, wem und von wem die Abgötterei angeführt worden. Bey Josua, cap. 24, v. 2 lesen wir: so sagt der Herr, der Gott Israel: eure Väter wohnten vor Zeiten jenseits dem Wasser Tharah, Abrahams und Nahors Vater und dieneten andern Göttern; woraus sich so viel schliessen lässt, dass schon vor der Berufung des Abrahams aus seines Vaters Haus zu gehen, die Abgötterei entstanden.<sup>32</sup>

Drugie kladut ovo ot otca Avraamlja, ovo ot Ninusa, inye inoe načalo iskali.

O raznyx že mnenijax xotja mnogie, trudjas' dostatočno, ne učinili, no, ostavja sie, predstavljju o susčestve i svojstvax bolvoxval'stva, o ktorom znatnoj bogoslov Val'x v Leksikone filozofskom tako položil:<sup>33</sup>

Tatiščev's brief introductory remarks in this passage indicate his lack of interest in Walch's detailed exposition on the origins and diverse theories of idolatry. Tatiščev agrees with Walch that the origins of idolatry are veiled in darkness; yet while Walch blames this on the lack of historical data, dwells on the subject of historical credibility, and enumerates the views and works of writers who wrote on the origins of idolatry (tracing its origins to Seruch, Cham, Nimrod, and Abraham), Tatiščev ignores all these scholarly details and with the statement that "there is no space for them here," satisfies himself with the authority of the Bible and a mention of those who traced the worship of idols to Abraham and Ninus.<sup>34</sup> In the final statement Tatiščev notes that while many have unsuccessfully attempted to clarify these theories, he leaves this problem aside to present a detailed description of the "nature and characteristics of pagan worship as posited by the distinguished theologian Walch in his *Philosophisches Lexicon*." Both the original and Tatiščev's translation of this passage are cited below:<sup>35</sup>

Walch:

- (1) Abgötterey, ist derjenige elende Zustand der Seelen da man etwas für Gott hält auch göttlich verehret, welches doch ohnmöglich

Tatiščev:

"Idolopoklonstvo, (grečeski idolatria) est' to bednoe sostojanije duši, kogda kto čto-libo za boga počitaet i božeskuju tomu čest' vozdaet, ktoroj

- Gott sein kann.
- (2) Es wird dadurch die ganze Seele eingenommen. In dem Verstande steckt man in dem Irrthume, als sey etwas Gott, da es doch nicht ist, und dieser Irrthum erwecket in dem Willen unvernünftige Neigungen und Affecten, dass man sich ohne Ursache für etwas fürchtet, aus welcher Beschaffenheit der Seele ein äusserlicher Gottesdienst entsteht.
- (3) Es ist Abgötterei von dem eigentlichen Aberglauben zu unterscheiden. Denn ein Abergläubiger verehret zwar den wahren Gott; aber auf eine abgeschmackte und ungereimte Art, da hingegen Abgöttischer in dem Objecto und nicht sowohl in der Art und Weise seines Gottesdienstes verfehlt, wiewohl zuweilen (das Wort) superstitio in solchem Verstande genommen wird, dass es auch die Abgötterei unter sich begreift.
- (4) Die Vielgötterei; (oder der polytheismus) ist mehrentheils mit der Abgötterei verknüpffet, und ist selbst eine Art von dieser.
- Mann verehret entweder keinen Gott, welches die Atheisterei ist;
- (5) oder verehret einen Gott, aber entweder nicht den rechten Gott, (welches die Abgötterei ist;) (und wenn man mehr als einen Gott verehret,) so ist es die Vielgötterei;

nikago bogom byt' ne možet.

Črez sie vse sily duši ob'emljutsja, um pogružaetsja v zabluzhdenii, čto mnit togo bogom byt', eže ne est' bog.

I sie zabluzhdenie vozbuždaet v želanii nesmyslennye sklonnosti i strasti, čto čelovek bez pričiny čego-libo, (ne mogusčago ni zla, ni dobra učinit') boitsja (ili nadeetsja). a iz sego sostojanija proisxodit vnešnee ix bogosluženie.

Idolopoklonenie že ot susčestva sueverija est' razno, ibo suevernyj xotja istinnogo boga (priznaet) i počitaet, no ne v pristojnyx obstojatel'stvax i bezumnym porjadkom; protivno že tomu idolopoklonnik v predstavlenii vidimom a ne v svojstve i porjadke počitanija bludit.

Odnako ž inogda sueverie v tom že samon razume beretsja, kak idolosluženie, ili onoe v sebe zaključaet.

Mnogobožie bol'seju častiju so idolosluženiem tak svjazano, čto (inogda) za edino počitat' možno, (xotja nekogda istinnogo boga ot protčix različajut; inogda že, iz togo v krajnee neistovstvo vpadaja,) nikoego boga ne priznajut, i sii imjanujutsja bezbožniki, (grečeski afeisty.)

Ili počitaja edinago boga, da ne susčago, (ili neistovym ispovedaniem ot'emlja čto-libo božestvu svojstvennoe, ili prilagaja nepristojnoe,) i sie už est' mnogobožie;

- oder wenn es der rechte Gott ist, verehret man ihn unvernünftig, welches der (eigentliche) Aberglaube ist.
- (6) Man theillet die Abgötterei in verschiedene Arten. (Der Herr)<sup>36</sup> Thomasius in der Einleitung zur Sittenlehre,<sup>37</sup> Cap. 3, p. 6, meynet, was die himmlischen Körper, als Sonne, Mond und Sterne betrifft, so habe es mit ihnen in Ansehung des schwachen natürlichen Lichts eine andere Bewandniss.
- (7) Denn wenn gleich die Vernunft überzeugt sey, dass sie Gott nicht selbst seyn konnten, weil sie sichtbar und endlich, so konnte man doch nicht absehen mit was für einem bewegendem Grunde man einen Heyden, der z. E. die Sonne anbetet, überzeugen wollte, dass die Sonne nicht eine Ursache der irdischen veränderlichen Geschöpfe mit sey, in Ansehung, dass unsere Vernunft den Einfluss der Sonne in diese Körper (täglich) erkenne, und keine Veränderung derselben ohne die H. Schrift gewiss behaupten könne, (wiewohl er deshalb für Gott nicht entschuldiget sey.)
- (8) Nach Einleitung dieser Betrachtung könnte man die Abgötterei in eine nich allzuvernünftige und höchst unvernünftige (Abgötterei) eintheilen. Jene wäre diejenige, so die himmlischen Körper, oder ein anderes unsichtbares erschaffenes Wesen anbetet; diese aber, welche die irrdischen und sichtbaren Kreaturen göttlich verehere.
- a eželi istinnogo boga nepristojno čtit', togda razumeetsja sueverstvo.
- Idolosluženie (ot obstojatel'stv) na raznye časti razdeljaetsja. Tomazii vo Vvedenii npravoučenij, gl. 3, stat. 6, mnit, čto telesa nebesnye, jako solnce, luna i zvezdy, v razsuždenii ix slabogo estestvennogosveta, sut' inago sostojanija (i pričiny k počitaniju ix, neže protčie;)
- ibo xotja um naš obličaetsja, čto sie ne est' susčij sam bog, (niže za to pročest'sja mozet,) zane vidimo i konečno, odnakož nevidimo, kakimi by dostatočnymi dokazatel'stvy idoloslužitelja, solnce za boga počitajusčego, obličit' možno, eže onoe ne est' pričina zemnyx tvarej premenenija, v razsuždenii, čto naš razum dejstvo onogo vo vsej telax (vidi i) priznaet, eže krome pis'ma svjatogo dokazat' nevozmožno.
- Po semu (Tomazievu) razsuždeniju možem my idolosluženie na nerazsudnoe i ves'ma glupoe razdelit'. Onoe, kogda kto nebesnye telesa ili drugie nevidimye vesči za boga počitaet, a sii zemnym vidimym i nikoego v sebe dejstvija i sily imejuščim poklanjajutsja, (na nix nadejutsja. ix bojatsja.)

- (9) Die Theologen theilen die Abgötterei (mehrentheils) in idolatriam craffiorem und subtiliorem. Bogoslovy razdeljajut idolo-poklonenie na gruboe i legkoe.
- (10) (Die craffior, oder) die grobe bestehe darinnen, dass man die Geschöpfe göttlich verehere, oder wie Paulus in der Epistel an die Römer cap. I, v. 23 redet, "die Herrlichkeit des unvergänglichen Gottes in ein Bild verwandelt, gleich den vergänglichen Menschen und der Vögel, und der vierfüssigen und kriechenden Thiere." Gruboe bo sostoit v tom, kogda tvari božeskuju čest' otdaet ili, kak (apostol) Pavel, K rimljanam, gl. 1, str. 23, napisal: "Izmeniša slavu istinnogo boga v podobie obraza tlenna čeloveka, ptic i četveronogix i gadov (počtoša i poslužiša tvari pače tvorca.)"<sup>38</sup>
- (11) (dergleichen Abgötterei wider alle Vernunft ist, welche die Eigenschaften Gottes erkennt, und wohl schlüssen kann, dass selbige bey keiner Kreatur anzutreffen sind.)
- (12) Es geschieht dieses entweder directe wenn man wirklich ein Geschöpf als einen Gott verehret; oder indirecte, wenn man etwas zwar nicht für einen Got hält ihm aber solche Ehre anthut die Gott allein zukommt, (wie die Papisten mit der Anrufung der Heiligen thun,)<sup>39</sup> inngleichen diejenigen, welche die teuflische Magie treiben da sie den Teufel göttlich verehren. Sie že tvorjat ovo prjamo, jako kogda tvar' (bogom imjanujut i onoj) božeskuju čest' vzdajut, ili skrytno, kogda, xotja bogom ne imjanujut, no onoj takie (svojstva i sily pripisyvajut ili čest' otdajut, koto-roe edinomu tokmo bogu pri-nadležit, jako (vorožei ili kolduny, kotorye mnjat čto-libo črez diavola delat', ili vedat' i ego o tom pro-sjat i nadejutsja, sut' ili nesmyslenny, ili) bogom togo zlostno postavljajut.
- (13) (Die Idolatria subtilior, oder) die subtile Abgötterei ist, wenn man zwar den einigen und wahren Gott (äusserlich) verehret; sein Hertz aber an andere Dingen hänget und selbige (Gott) vorziehet, (welches aus der verderbten Eigenliebe entsteht, die Legkoe že idolosluženie est', kogda xotja boga edinogo, tvorca vsemosčna (vsjudu prisudstvenna i vse-milostiva,) ispoveduet, (no licem tokmo emu služit i poklonjaetsja,) a serdcem daleče otstoit, inym vesčam podvergaetsja i onye za kraj-nee svoe blaženstvo počitaet, (jako strasti svoix želanij,

sich insonderheit nach dem Unterschiede der Sachen, ent-  
weder durch den Ehrgeiz, oder Geldgeiz, oder durch Wollust  
äussert. . .)<sup>40</sup>

ljubočestie, ljuboimenie i  
ploti ugodie.  
No sie proisxodit ot povrež-  
denija uma i neobuzdannoj  
voli čelovečeskoj.)"<sup>41</sup>

In all instances where Tatiščev literally follows Walch he manages to preserve even the word order of the German original, but not at the expense of meaning or lucidity.<sup>42</sup> For the sake of clarity, Tatiščev has a tendency to translate such indefinite German expressions as "da man etwas für Gott hält" (when something is considered as God) with a subject, although still indefinite: "kogda kto čto-libo za boga počitaet" (when one considers something as God) (1), rather than using a completely impersonal expression in Russian, such as "kogda čto-libo za boga počitaetsja."<sup>43</sup> For the same reason, words which in the original German appear only in Latin or in both Latin and German, are rendered into Russian without the Latin translation.<sup>44</sup> In contrast to this practice, two words of Greek origin, "idolatrija" (idolatry) (1) and "afeisty" (atheists) (4), which were probably more familiar to the ear of the Russian readers, are actually added by Tatiščev to the Russian forms "idolopoklonstvo" and "bezbožniki" in explanation of the German "Abgötterei" and "Atheisterei." The word "Abgötterei" Tatiščev translates with "idolopoklonstvo," "idolopoklonenie," and "idolosluženie," all three free variants used in Russian for "idolatry;" however, he seems to recognize a semantic difference between the first and the other two. He uses "idolopoklonstvo" only once when he speaks of idolatry as a state of the soul, i.e., the belief itself (1), rather than the process of actual worship which he identifies as "idolopoklonenie" (3, 9) or more often, as "idolosluženie" (4, 6, 8, 13). Sometimes a loose but still literal translation implies Tatiščev's attitude toward an idea.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the German "In dem Verstande steckt man in dem Irrthume als sey etwas Gott, da es doch nicht ist" (In the mind one adheres to the error that something is God, which it is not) is translated as "um pogruždaetsja v zabluždenii čto mnit togo bogom byt', eže ne est' bog" (the mind submerges itself in the delusion thinking him to be God, who is not God), where the reflexive verb "pogruždaetsja" and the animate demonstrative pronoun "togo" suggest Tatiščev's belief in the innate drive of primitive

men to search for a single God.

Tatiščev's more significant deviations from Walch's text fall into several categories: omissions of passages which he views as unnecessary erudition; additions which are intended to amplify the meaning of concepts expressed by Walch; and modifications which indicate Tatiščev's distinctly divergent position from that of Walch. All three categories deserve some attention.

To the first group belong Tatiščev's omissions of words, phrases, and even an entire paragraph, which for one reason or another, Tatiščev considers superfluous.<sup>46</sup> Of a different nature is his exclusion of two phrases in paragraphs (7) and (12). In (7), Tatiščev probably omits the expression "wiewohl er deshalb für Gott nicht entschuldiget sey" (although for this he is not excused before God), because he considers it irrational to emphasize that an ignorant man, a pagan worshipping the sun, is morally guilty before God for his ignorance. It is tempting to take the same line of reasoning and to attribute Tatiščev's exclusion of the attack on Papists in (12) to his enlightened views. This, however, was hardly the case. Tatiščev's history and his *Razgovor* are filled with derogatory references to the Papists which gave his contemporaries the grounds to accuse Tatiščev of Lutheran leanings.<sup>47</sup> The omissions of the phrase "wie die Papisten mit der Anrufung der Heiligen thun" (as the Papists invoke the Saints) in (12) is clearly of a dogmatic nature. Walch's "Lutheran" comparison of the Papist veneration of Saints to that of pagan idolatry, is in direct opposition to the Orthodox dogma. Hence, Tatiščev's exclusion of this phrase from his translation of Walch is completely logical.<sup>48</sup>

In the second category are Tatiščev's additions to Walch which go beyond a loose translation of the original. In (2), Tatiščev completes Walch's thought that man has a tendency to "fear something without reasons" by adding "fears and places his confidence in something incapable of doing evil or good," suggesting that man worships his gods not only out of fear but also from a practical need to place his trust in a being from whom he expects something in return.<sup>49</sup> The same thought reveals itself in (8), where Walch's criticism of those who worship "earthy and visible creatures," Tatiščev completes with "incapable of action and power, in whom they place their confidence." The idea that man worships his gods for primitive materialistic reasons

is suggested more strongly in (12), where Walch's reference to "those who practice devilish magic because they worship the devil," Tatiščev translates as "magicians and sorcerers who wish to do or to learn something with the help of the devil whom they petition for help and in whom they place their confidence." Walch's vague statement in (6) that heavenly bodies due to their natural weak light "are subject to other circumstances" is translated by Tatiščev sensibly that the heavenly bodies "are of a different nature and there is a different reason for their worship." To emphasize the difficulty of explaining to pagans the irrationality of this worship, Tatiščev adds that "they [i.e., the heavenly bodies] could be considered as gods," thus implying that the worship of the moon, stars, and the sun is essentially rational and can be contradicted only by the holy Bible. Finally, in (10), to complete the meaning of verse 23 of St. Paul's "Epistle to the Romans" which Walch cites to illustrate heavy idolatry, Tatiščev adds a line from verse 25, "and man worshipped and served the creatures more than the creator."

To the third category belongs Tatiščev's definition of polytheism in (4) and (5) which differs distinctly from that of Walch. Walch writes that "Polytheism is related to idolatry in many ways and is in itself a kind of idolatry" (4). Tatiščev translates this definition in the following manner: "Polytheism is related to idolatry in such a way that it may sometimes be considered as the same, although once they [i.e., polytheists] distinguished the real god from other gods. . . ." The difference in meaning here is fundamental. According to Walch, polytheism is in principle a type of idolatry, because both concepts imply the worship of false gods. Tatiščev, on the other hand, believes that polytheism may in principle differ from idolatry when those who worship many gods believe also in the true god. Rather than isolating this type of polytheism as a separate category, Tatiščev proceeds to broaden Walch's concept of polytheism to embrace other types of monotheistic beliefs. Hence in (5), where Walch redefines idolatry as the worship of one false god, polytheism as the worship of many gods, and superstition as the worship of the true god but in an improper manner, Tatiščev, linking to what he had said earlier, notes that polytheism may also include the worship of a single, but not the true god, or the false belief in some true or indecent quality of a god (božestvo); but when the true god alone is

worshipped in an incorrect manner, it is superstition.

Clearly, Tatiščev's interpretation of polytheism is much broader than Walch's and indicates Tatiščev's deep interest in the nature of idolatrous beliefs which he had the occasion to study first-hand during his travels among the Siberian people. In his *Razgovor*, Tatiščev admits that living among the pagans of Siberia led him to believe that every polytheistic worship includes some sort of a belief in a higher god, a supreme being or creator. Some pagans have the natural capacity to recognize this being as the true god, while others worship some of his divine qualities under false names.<sup>50</sup>

The changes which Tatiščev made in Walch's text reflect once more his rational and enlightened views about the origins of superstition and idolatry. However, the fact that these changes in meaning are made by Tatiščev within direct quotes from Walch's text, shows that Tatiščev was not particularly scrupulous about his citations.

*Paragraph 6:*

The text of this paragraph is divided into three passages. The first passage consists of a quote extracted by Tatiščev from the "Word on Fasting" (*Slovo o poste*), a sermon preached by Teofan Prokopovyč on the second Sunday of Lent in 1717. Tatiščev probably read this sermon in manuscript, since it has not been discovered among Prokopovyč's printed sermons.<sup>51</sup> In the excerpt cited by Tatiščev, Prokopovyč labels as "heavy idolatry" all practices of men "who follow their own or other men's inventions" and misuse the gift of their free will to gain the Kingdom of Heaven. Under "heavy idolatry" Prokopovyč includes also gluttony and the hypocritical abuse of virtuous practices, which he blames on man's "ignorance of the law of God."<sup>52</sup> Prokopovyč's view differs from that of Walch expressed in paragraph 5 (13), where the incorrect "external worship of the true God" and man's weakness to curb his unbridled passions Walch considers as "light idolatry." Obviously, Tatiščev does not cite Prokopovyč here to compare his views with those of Walch but to emphasize Prokopovyč's interest in the subject of idolatry which, like Tatiščev, Prokopovyč attributes to man's uneducated state of mind. At this point Tatiščev's discourse on idolatry ends (save for a brief reference at the end of the chapter), and he turns to the discussion of Slavic mythology proper.

## 2. On idolatry among the Slavs

In the second passage of *Paragraph 6*, Tatiščev provides us with the first data on Slavic idolatry. He writes:

About Russian idolatry Nestor, in tracing the origins of nations, says about the Slavs that they worshipped the sun, the moon, fire, lakes, wells, and groves as gods. Then, in various places, he added the names of some idols that I shall disclose below.<sup>1</sup>

The immediate source for this information can be found in Tatiščev's own compilation of data extracted from various chronicles which he attributes to the authority of Nestor.<sup>2</sup> In both the first and second redaction of part two of Tatiščev's history, there is a passage about the life of the Poljane which corresponds in part to the above entry:

They were then pagans, sacrificing to lakes, wells, and groves. They worshipped the sun and fire and other [i.e., elements?] as gods, as do other pagans.<sup>3</sup>

It is apparent that the text in Tatiščev's chapter on idolatry is essentially a paraphrase of his chronicle entry, with one exception: the worship of the moon, which he substitutes for "other" elements. Before considering the possible origins of this amplification, it is necessary first to seek the sources for Tatiščev's chronicle data.

The *Načal'nyj svod* (Primary compilation)<sup>4</sup> has a passage about the life of Poljane which reads as follows:

They were then pagans, sacrificing to lakes, wells, and groves like other pagans.<sup>5</sup>

For unknown reasons, this passage was not incorporated into the *Primary Chronicle* but was preserved in an early redaction of the *Novgorod First*, the *L'vov*, and the *Hustyn* chronicles,<sup>6</sup> as well as in Długosz's *Annales*. It is established that Tatiščev used the first two chronicles and Długosz for the writing of his history.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, Tatiščev must have obtained the information on the Slav's sacrifices to lakes, wells, and groves from one of these chronicles—probably the *Novgorod First*, upon which he relied most heavily.<sup>8</sup>

The origins of Tatiščev's data on sun, fire, and moon worship among the Slavs is difficult to trace. This material belongs to the so-called Tatiščev

"izvestija" (information), which Mansikka considered as Tatiščev's own fabrications.<sup>9</sup> Three hypotheses, however, can be offered about the possible origins of this data: that Tatiščev accepted the Slav's worship of the sun and fire either on the basis of the "Malala glosses" or the *Raskol'ničja letopis'*, or that he may have known about sun, fire, and moon worship among the Slavs from other literary sources or folklore tradition. The plausibility of these hypotheses will now be considered.

It is known that Tatiščev used the Ermolaev copy of the Hypatian redaction of the *Primary Chronicle*<sup>10</sup> which, like its Hypatian and Xlebnikov copies, contained the "Malala glosses."<sup>11</sup> These glosses came from an early Slavonic translation of the *Chronicle of Joannes Malalae*, where the Greek deities Hephaestus (god of fire) and Helios (sun god) were translated into Slavonic as Svarog and Dažbog.<sup>12</sup> The glosses were probably interpolated into the proto-graph of the Hypatian by its compiler (under the year 1114).<sup>13</sup> Here, speaking of miraculous happenings in the Ladoga region, the chronicler recounts a story of analogous happenings in Egypt. He notes that during the rule of the legendary *Feost* (Haphaestus) tongs fell from the skies, after which Feost began to forge arms and punish violators of monogamy by throwing them into a fiery furnace—for which the Egyptians called him "the god of *Svarov*" (welding?).<sup>14</sup> After Feost, says the chronicler, "ruled his son the Sun, who is called Dažd'bog."<sup>15</sup>

If we can accept the hypothesis that, on the basis of the "Malala glosses," Tatiščev viewed Svarog and Dažbog as Slavic deities, symbols of the worship of the sun and fire, then the origin of his data about the Slav's worship of sun and fire (but not the moon) has a legitimate explanation. Unfortunately, there are reasons to believe that Tatiščev did not consider these deities as Slavic. Not only is the entire Malala interpolation missing from his history, which indicates Tatiščev's lack of interest in this foreign tale, but both Svarog and Dažbog are excluded from his chapter on idolatry. Furthermore, Dažbog, listed as *Dažba* in the "Russian" pantheon of Tatiščev's compilation of chronicle data, was obviously not considered by Tatiščev as a Slavic god, as is suggested by his statement that the gods "whom Nestor described are all Sarmatian or Varangian."<sup>16</sup> Therefore, it would be illogical to assume that Tatiščev accepted the worship of the sun and fire among the Slavs on the basis of data which he considered of non-Slavic origin.

Let us now consider a second alternative for the possible origin of this material. Tatiščev's sources used in the first redaction of his history have been almost fully established, with the exception of the *Raskol'ničja letopis'*.<sup>17</sup> Although Peštič warns investigators not to attribute all of Tatiščev's untraceable data to this missing source, it is nevertheless noteworthy that this chronicle was a variant version of the Hypatian, close to but probably not identical with the Xlebnikov<sup>18</sup> and Ermolaev copies. This means, that like all the copies of the Hypatian redaction, the *Raskol'ničja letopis'* contained the "Malala glosses." Therefore, it is possible to assume that, on the basis of the "Malala glosses," a *direct* reference to Slav's worship of the sun and fire could have been interpolated by the compiler into the text of the chronicle. This would not only explain Tatiščev's data but would clear him from the suspicion of fabricating accounts already in the first redaction of his history, a claim made by Peštič and denied by Rybakov.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, this hypothesis is weakened by the fact that both redactions of Tatiščev's compilation of chronicle data contain additional mythological material that can hardly be attributed to the *Raskol'ničja letopis'* because it bears the unmistakable traces of Tatiščev's enlightened views.<sup>20</sup> Of such a nature is Tatiščev's description of the Slavic pantheon established by Vladimir in the year 980. Cited below are the texts from both redactions of his history (parentheses indicate material that cannot be traced to any known chronicle text<sup>21</sup>):

*1st redaction:*

Volodimir že knjaža v Kieve i postavi kumir na xolme vne dvora teremnogo Peruna derevjana, a glava emu serebrena, a us zolot, i Xorsa boga, i Dažbu boga, Striba boga, i Semargla, i Mokoš. I žrjaxu im, naricajušče ix bogi, i privožaxu syny svoja i dščeri, i žrjaxu im, (služašče i prosjašče, nadejuščijasja ot neju vsja želaemaja ulučiti.)

*2nd redaction:*

Volodimir že, gosudarstvuja v Kieve, postavil na xolme vne dvora teremnago kumir Peruna derevjannyj, glava emu serebrena, us zlaty, da i drugix bogov: Xorsa, Dažbu, Striba, Semargla i Mokoša, kotorym ljudi žertvy prinosili i bogami ix imjanovali, im privodili syny i dščeri svoja v žertvu, (služašče im i prosjašče, nadejuščisja ot nix vsja želaemaja ulučit'. Ole nevežestva, ole susčago bezumija, eže tvar' jako tvorca počitajut, zdelav svoimi rukami,

izbavitelem i pomošćnikom  
sebe imjanujut, na nix  
nadejutsja i ix bojatsja.)<sup>22</sup>

As these passages indicate, Tatiščev's interpolations only reiterate ideas expressed in his *Razgovor* and in his translation of Walch; namely, that the pagans served their gods out of fear and in the hope of receiving from them something in return. For this reason, serious consideration must be given to the possibility that Tatiščev deliberately interpolated the information about the Slav's sun and fire worship into both redactions of his history (adding to it the worship of the moon in the chapter on idolatry) on the basis of some outside knowledge about such worship among the Slavs.

The supposition that Tatiščev learned about the Slav's worship of the sun, fire, and moon from another literary source or from folklore, is entirely valid. The Slav's sun and fire worship has been attested not only in the questionable accounts of Arabic travelers,<sup>23</sup> but also in several medieval sermons,<sup>24</sup> and many folklore accounts<sup>25</sup> which Tatiščev could have known either from oral tradition or from such men as Prokopovyč and Dimitrij of Rostov.

Moon worship among the Slavs is attested to a much lesser degree, although it is mentioned in some medieval sermons.<sup>26</sup> Guagnini notes that the Poles venerated both the sun and the moon.<sup>27</sup> Arnkiel speaks of sun, fire, and moon worship by the ancient "Cymbrians," among whom he includes the Western Slavs.<sup>28</sup> Walch strongly emphasizes the veneration of heavenly bodies by all pagans and insists that "it is beyond doubt that the oldest form of idolatry was the worship of the sun and moon."<sup>29</sup> Since the worship of the moon by the Slavs was added by Tatiščev only to his chapter on idolatry, that is, at a time when he was working intensively with the material from Arnkiel and Walch, it is fully plausible that Tatiščev made this interpolation on the basis of Arnkiel's data, and on the assumption that such a worship had been common to all pagans.

This hypothesis, which we consider as the most plausible, supports Peštič's claim that Tatiščev consciously reworked his sources in both redactions of his history.<sup>30</sup>

### 3. On the gods of Western Slavs

Tatiščev describes the gods of Western Slavs in paragraphs seven<sup>1</sup> and eight of his chapter on idolatry. Since most of the gods in *Paragraph seven* overlap with those in *Paragraph eight*, only the peculiarities of Tatiščev's treatment of his source material are considered under *Paragraph seven*; the authenticity of all the gods in *both* paragraphs will be discussed under *Paragraph eight*.

#### *Paragraph 7:*

It has been possible to determine that, with the exception of the first sentences, all of the information contained in this passage is based on Trogius Arnkiel's *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion* or, more accurately, on Tatiščev's notes on Arnkiel's book made at a much earlier date.<sup>2</sup> The introductory sentences read as follows:

About the Slavic gods, of whom there were many among the Paphlagonians, Bulgarians, and Vandals, Arnkiel wrote in great detail. In Paphlagonia, among the Galatians, Triglav was famous; they worshipped him also in Bulgaria, and it is probably from him that the people triglavy, deformed by Latins to triglify, were named. In Vandalia, on the Island of Rügen, the same Triglav was very famous; about him [see] Krantz and Arnkiel, book 1, chapter 13.<sup>3</sup>

It is perfectly true that Arnkiel wrote in great detail about the gods of the Slavic Wends; however, nowhere in Arnkiel's four volume work is there any reference to the worship of Triglav among the Galatians or Bulgarians, although he does speak about the veneration of Triglav among the Western Slavs.<sup>4</sup> A look at this passage in the first redaction of Tatiščev's history shows that Tatiščev originally had not associated Arnkiel's name with the worship of Triglav in Paphlagonia. Here, without the indication of a source, Tatiščev writes:

. . . Slavic gods among the Vandals, Bulgars, and others were known by Slavic names, as Triglav in Paphlagonia, from whom, I think, the people were named triglavy and by Latins, wrongly, triglify.<sup>5</sup>

The nature of Tatiščev's other references to

Triglav in his history suggest that the worship of Triglav in Paphlagonia and Bulgaria is Tatišček's own invention. Preoccupied with his theory that the ancient Slavs once inhabited Paphlagonia and Bulgaria, Tatišček relies on heavy etymological speculations to prove the Slavic origins of its inhabitants:

Ptolemy places various nations whose names are mostly Slavic, as *tolistobosti*, in Paphlagonia and Galatia; Strabo calls them *tolistobogi*, with which Florus agrees. Strahlenberg considers this name Slavic, like *tolstoboki* or *tolstobogi*. Another nation there are the *testosagi*, probably simply *tolstozady*; a third, *triglidy*, whom Florus in *Missions*<sup>6</sup> calls *triglify*. Clüverius calls these *trogloidity*. This [name] was probably originally *triglav*, from three leaders, or from their idol Triglav, since this idol was highly esteemed by the Slavs as we are told by Krantz about the Rugians. It is these, I think, that Strabo and Plinius called *tribulli*, *triballi*, or *trivalli*. . . .<sup>7</sup>

In his notes to Strabo and Plinius, Tatišček further adds that *tribulli* and *trivalli*, whom Strabo and Plinius include among the Thracians and Illyrians, were probably Slavs, as is indicated in a German lexicon where these tribes are placed among the Slavic Bulgarians.<sup>8</sup>

It appears then that, in search of Slavs, Tatišček first slavified the Paphlagonian *triglidy* or *triglify* to *triglav* under the assumption that the name of this tribe was Slavic and may have originated from this tribe's worship of Triglav. Tatišček then slavified Plinius' and Strabo's *tribulli* or *trivalli* under the same assumption, settling them in Bulgaria. As an end result of these speculations, Tatišček established the worship of Triglav in Paphlagonia and Bulgaria.<sup>9</sup>

Tatišček's statement that Triglav, according to Krantz and Arnkiel, was venerated on the Island of Rügen, presents another problem. Arnkiel, basing his information on the *Life of Otto von Bamberg*, does speak of a huge three-headed idol *Triglav* destroyed in Julin and of a three-headed idol *Triglas* worshipped in Stettin; however, this data is contained in volume four, chapter five, of his work<sup>10</sup> and not in volume one, chapter thirteen, as claimed by Tatišček. The only reference to Triglav in volume one is implied in Arnkiel's statement that three-headed idols were venerated by the Americans and Chinese, as well as by Wends in Oldenburg.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately,

neither Julin (Wollin), nor Stettin, nor Oldenburg (Stargard) were located on the Island of Rügen. Tatiščev's second source on the worship of Triglav at Rügen, Albert Krantz, is also mute on the subject of Triglav, although he does know that the Slavic Wends venerated two and three-headed idols.<sup>12</sup> What, then, was the source of Tatiščev's claim about the worship of Triglav at Rügen? The answer becomes surprisingly clear when one looks at the mythological data in the first redaction of Tatiščev's history and compares it with the material in the transitional Voroncov manuscript 643, written in preparation for the second redaction:

*1st redaction:*

V Rugine ostrove Triglav byl vel'mi slaven, o ktorom Krancij v Vandalii i Arnkiel, kniga 1, gl. 13 skazujut:  
"Svjantovid byl najvyššij bog vandalov s četyrnia golovami ili licami."<sup>13</sup>

*Voroncov manuscript 643:*

V Rugine ostrove Triglav byl vel'mi slaven, o ktorom Krancij v Vandalii i Arnkiel, kn. 1, gl. 13, soglasujet.  
Svjantovid byl najvyššij bog vandalov s četyrnia golovami ili licami.<sup>14</sup>

There is little doubt that in the first redaction Tatiščev had made a typographical error by writing *Triglav* instead of *Svjantovid*, giving, however, a perfectly correct reference to the source on Svantevit, the works of Krantz and Arnkiel. Working with the Voroncov copy, Tatiščev must have realized the contradiction of a three-headed idol with four heads. Unable to verify his sources,<sup>15</sup> Tatiščev removed the direct quote to Svantevit, creating thus a second error by tying Krantz and Arnkiel firmly to Triglav. This double-error Tatiščev later transposed to his chapter on idolatry.

The rest of the text in this paragraph shows Tatiščev's complete dependence on Arnkiel. For comparison, both texts are cited in full:

*Tatiščev:*

Svjatovid u Vandal byl najvyššij bog s četyrma licami, ktorogo Hel'mol'd i Saxon Grammatik, imjanuja Svjantovid, tolkuja, jakoby oni propovednika rimskogo Vita obogotvorili;

*Arnkiel:*

Der fürnehmste Abgott aller Wandalschen Völcker hiess Swantevit . . . hatte vier Menschen-Köpffe und vier Hälse. . . Der Ursprung dieses Götzen-Nahmen rührt her von Vit; Denn als die Mönche aus dem Sächsischen Closter Corvey . . . die Rugianer zu den Christlichen Glauben bekehret, und auf der Insel eine Kirche oder Capelle dem St. Vit geheiliget auff-

no sie ves'ma nepravo, ibo sej idol gorazdo prežde Vita byl počitaem, a papisty ot samoxval'stva, Vid v Vit peremenja natjagajut. Fabrius v Istorii mira, čast' 1, gl. 1 i 4, skazu-et tako: "U boemov est' bog Svjatovid, kotoroe na ix jazyke značit' svjatyj svet."<sup>16</sup>

I xotja sie nepravo perevedeno, odnake ž bliže k vyrazumeniju, ibo vid možet dvojako tolkovat'sja. Esli po ix narečiju skazat' Svjato-vid, to razumeetsja vid mira i četyre lica značat 4 strany, jako vostok, jug, zapad i sever; ježeli že Sventovid, to značit svjatoe videnie, ravno kak by skazat' vsevidjasčij ili svjatoe izobraženie.

U nix že Bel bog byl zlyj, Černyj bog dobryj.

Hel'mold kn. 1, gl. 53, Krancij, Vandalia, kn. III,

Parevid, mnju Pjativid, s pjatju licy, Porenut s četyr'-mia licy. Byli že bogi po gradam osobo počitaemye:

gebauet, und aber die Rugianer von dem angenommenen Christenthum abgefallen, haben sie aus dem Nahmen St. Vit, Swantovit, und aus diesem Heiligen einen Abgott gemacht, der von den Wandalischen Völckern als ein Gott aller Götter verehret worden: Helmoldus, lib. 2, cap. 12. Saxo lib. 14 in Vita Waldemari, I, 321.

Ein berühmter Theologus vermeynt, ob sollte Swantevits Abgöttereis schon vor St. Vits Lebzeiten üblich gewesen seyn, welches auff Uhrkunden beruhet. . . Es erzehlet Fabronius part I. Hist. Mundi lib. I, c. 2. num. 4, s. 187, dass bey den Böhmen Swantevit ein Gott der Götter gewesen, und in ihrer Sprache sein Nahme so viel heisse als ein heiliges Licht.

Dieser Swantevit wird mit vier Angesichtern abgebildet welches sein Absehen haben mag auf die vier Jahreszeiten. . . Also ist der Römische Janus auch mit vier Angesichtern abgebildet mit welchem er soll auf die vier Seiten der Welt (gegen Morgen, Abend, Mittag und Mitternacht) gesehen haben. . . .

Die Wandalischen Völcker. . . hatten einen guten und bösen Gott und glaubten dass alles Glück von dem guten, und alles Unglück von dem bösen Gott herführe; diesen hiessen sie Zerneboch, einen schwarzen Gott, jenen aber Belboch, einen weissen Gott: Helmold, lib. 1, cap. 53. Albert Cranz lib. 3, Wandal. cap. 37. Schedius Syng. 3, de diis German. cap. 13. . . .

Porevith, fünf Angesichter. . . Porenut, vier Angesichter. . . . Es hatte schier jede Stadt einen besonderen Abgott, darunter Prove

Prove ili Prones v Stare-  
grade, Pogoda (ot nemec  
prevratno Podage) v Plene,  
Hel'mol'd, kn. 1, gl. 84,  
Krancij, kn. 4, gl. 3.

oder Prone der Altenburger und  
Podaga der Plöner Gott:  
Helmold, lib. 1, cap. 84,  
Cranz, lib. 4, Wandalia, cap. 23.<sup>17</sup>

I xotja Arnkiel o bogosluženii,  
žertvax, ukrašenijax, i prazd-  
nestvax prostranno opisal, tokmo  
ja knigi onoj nyne ne imeju i  
vypiska utratilas'.<sup>18</sup>

As can be seen, Tatiščev systematically extracted all his information from Arnkiel, copying even Arnkiel's sources, and occasionally supplementing the text with personal comments and favorite linguistic speculations.<sup>19</sup>

One very interesting error is made by Tatiščev in his interpretation of Belbog as an evil god and Černebog as a good god of the Slavs. Possibly misunderstanding Arnkiel's word order in reference to the just mentioned good and evil gods of the Slavs, Tatiščev accepted "diesen hiessen sie Zerneboch, einen schwarzen Gott" (this one they called Zerneboch, a black god) as referring to the good god, and "jenen aber Belboch, einen weissen Gott" (the other Belboch, a white god) as referring to the evil god. More probably, Tatiščev simply repeated an error made by the compiler of Arnkiel's index who writes: "Belboch, ein böser Götze der Wenden" (Belboch, an evil idol of the Wends).<sup>20</sup> It will be recalled<sup>21</sup> that Černebog is attested by Helmold as an evil black god, worshipped among the Western Slavs together with a nameless good god.<sup>22</sup> This definition is also found in Krantz's *Vandalia* and in Schedius' *De diis Germanis*, the two other sources mentioned with Helmold by Arnkiel.<sup>23</sup>

Impressed with the veneration of a good black god and an evil white god among the Slavs, Tatiščev used this erroneous concept in support of his theories about the ancient habitats of the Slavs (among whom he includes the Amazons) in Africa. Already in his *Leksikon*, written in 1744, Tatiščev notes:

*Bel Bog* among the Slavs, Vandals, was in idolatry an evil god or devil; this became their practice, I think, when they lived in hot places in Africa and Asia, just as the Arabs until today depict the devil as white and the angel as black. In the same way, *Černyj bog* was good among the Slavs.<sup>24</sup>

The same idea is reiterated by Tatiščev in chapter

thirty-one of the first redaction of his history (1746):

Dapper and other travelers, as well as Arnkiel, report that the Ethiopians and all of Africa consider the angel black and the devil white; from this, I think, the Slavs became used to call the black god good and the white god evil.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, in chapter thirty-four of the second redaction of part one of his history (1749), Tatiščev cites Strykowski as a source on the Amazons' habitats in Africa and adds:

It seems that their habitat in Africa is supported to some degree by the ancient customs of the Slavs, since it is known to all that the Ethiopians and other African nations depict the good angel as black, the evil angel as white. This we can read in Dapper and other travelers. Similarly, Helmold, Krantz, Ortelius and others wrote about the Slavs that in Vandalia, Bulgaria, and elsewhere, the black god was venerated as good and the white as evil, ch. 2, n. 7. and 8.<sup>26</sup>

It can only be attributed to Tatiščev's often sporadic work on his history that he did not at some point discover his error, especially since until 1737 he had in his possession both Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* (in Latin and in a Russian translation) and Krantz's *Vandalia*.

*Paragraph 8:*

In the introduction to this paragraph, Tatiščev notes that ancient writers recorded "various gods with Slavic names" and announces his intention to describe those whom Benjamin Hederich presented in his *Antiquarian and Mythological lexicons*.<sup>27</sup> In reality, all of the material in this passage is based on Hederich's *Gründliches Antiquitäten Lexicon* (1743).<sup>28</sup> The material covers primarily the gods of Western Slavs, as well as deities that have no relationship to Slavic mythology. Since in the preceding passage Tatiščev had relied so heavily on Arnkiel, it seems advisable to compare with Tatiščev's text entries from the works of both Hederich and Arnkiel:

*Tatiščev:*

Abelio, bog galliev, mnju ne isporčeno l' iz Bely ili iz Velii, a k tomu A priloženo; galli že byli slavjane, gl. 33.<sup>29</sup>

Astarop i Astarof, bog sidoniev.

*Hederich:*

Abellio war ein Gott der alten Gallier. . . . Er soll also auch . . . die Sonne bedeutet haben. (8)<sup>30</sup>

Astaroth oder Astoreth . . . war eine Abgöttin der Sidonier und Philister, welche von den Profan-Scribenten Astarte genannt wird, an sich aber nichts anders als der Mond gewesen seyn sol. . . (385)

Astarte, boginja siriiev. Čto slavjane drevle v Sirii i Finikii Žyli, i u evrej imjavanja slavenskie, u slavjan evrejskie upotrebijali, gl. 33 i 34; i sii, možet, slavenskie ot starosti povreždeny.

Bel bux, pravil'no Bel bog, vyše položen.<sup>31</sup>

*Amkiel:*

-----

Astaroth, ein Götze in Schaaffs Gestalt verehret.

-----

Belboch, ein böser Götze der Wenden.

*Tatiščev:*

Belenus, bog norikov. Sie imja iz Bel isporčeno. A o norikax gl. 14, n. 5.

Edusa i Eduka, možet Edunia ili Eduša, kotoraja detej ede obučala.

Enil, bog vendov. Imja čto značit, doznat'sja nemožno, no pače mnju, ot edy ili eži, ili edin.

Flins ili Pliis, bog abodritov slavjan.

Odin ili Vedin i Vodon zri niže.

*Hederich:*

wie Zernebock alles Böse. Er hatte den Nahmen Bel, weiss, und Buch, oder Bock, Gott. (475)

Belenus, war ein ehemaliger Abgott der alten Noricorum u. a. und so viel als Apollo. . . (475)

Edusa, Edulia s. Educa war eine Göttin welche die Kinder sollte essen lernen. (1320)

Hennil war ein Abgott der Elben Wenden, dem sie in jedem Dorfe verehrten. . . (1320)

Flyns, Flints, Flinsius, war ein Abgott der alten Obodriten-Wenden, in Lausitz. Er war gebildet wie der Tod. . . (1201)

Odin ein alter Abgott der Teutschen, der sonst auch Wodan genannt wird, so daher zu sehen (2043)

*Amkiel:*

Belenus ein Götze der Teutschen, sein Nahme ist bey Consecration der Haine auff die Rinde der Bäume abegschnitten.

Edulia, eine Essengöttin.

-----

Flins ein Götze der Wenden.

Othin . . . ist ein Kriegsgott, wird von den Deutschen genannt Woden. . .

*Tatiščev:*

Parevid, bog vendov,  
vyše.

*Hederich:*

Porevit war ein Abgott  
der alten Deutschen mit  
5 Köpfen, dem die bey  
Wollin in Pommern und  
anderwärts mehr verehr-  
ten . . . wie wohl andere  
ihn auch zu einem Gott  
der Wenden, besonders  
in der Insel Rügen. . . (2198)

Pronote, vyše Prone.

Prono war ein Abgott  
der alten Wenden um  
Altenburg in Wagrien  
. . . [followed by a  
description of image] (2284)

Radegast i Radoist.

Radagaisus, Radgast  
war ein Abgott der  
alten Wenden. . . .  
[followed by description  
of image] (2345)

Rugievič, v Rugine  
ostrove, s sed'miju  
licy.

Rugiewitz war ein Abgott  
der alten Deutschen oder  
vielmehr Wenden, bes. in  
der Insel Rügen, der einen  
Kopf, allein mit 7 Gesichtern.  
(2386)

Sabatous ili Zabota,  
bog slezian.

Sabotus war ein Abgott  
der alten Schlesier. (2392)  
Zabotus siehe Sabotus (3095)

*Armkriel:*

not in index.  
See Paragraph 6:  
"Porevith, fünf  
Angesichter."

not in index.  
See Paragraph 6:  
"Prove oder Prone  
der Altenburger."

not in index.  
Ridegast (Götze)  
der Obodriten. . . (p. 85)

Rugevit, Wendischer  
Abgott, hat sieben  
Angesichter.

-----

<i>Tatiščev:</i>	Siva, Sieba, i Dsiva, mnju Divo ili Deva, ibo zapadnyx narečie dzeva. Sija boginja poljaborov. Imja sie, mnju, prilagatel'noe, kak greki Junonu Parfenuju imjanovali, to že značit.		
<i>Hederich:</i>	Siwa, Syeba, Dziwa, war eine Göttin der Polaborum. . . (2353)		
<i>Amkiel:</i>	Siba oder Siva, der Ratzenburger Göttin.		
	Svjantovid i Svjatovid, znatnejšij bog vendov, vyše upomjanut.	Svantovitus, Swantewitz, Zwantevith, war der Abgott der alten Wenden. . . (2604)	Swantevit, der fürnehmste Gott der Wenden. . .
	Triglav v Stettine, zri vyše.	Triglav war eine Abgöttin der alten Vandalen und Stettiner. . . Manche machen oder einen Mannsen aus ihr und nennen sie Trigelaum. . . (2855-56)	[not in index, only in vol. 4, pp. 255-256, as <i>Triglav</i> in Julin and <i>Triglas</i> in Stettin.]
	Vitislav, on že i Svjantovid, pri kotorom Kejsler, <sup>32</sup> mnogo tolkuja, ot neznanija slavenskogo jazyka pogrešil. Ja pače mnju Vyseslav ili Večeslav.	Witislav ist einerlei mit dem Swantowits, siehe Svantovitus	-----
	Vodin i Odin, ili Vodim.	[this entry immediately followed by:]	-----
		Wodanus, Wodan, der auch Oden, Odhen, Othinus, Odinus, Hoden, Woden, Voden, (cont. on next page)	

*Tatiščev:*

Zerni bog, vmesto Černyj bog, dobryj, zri vyše.<sup>33</sup>

Zit Tiber, bog vendov, mnju svjatyj mir isporčeno. Bog primirenija, ili pače Žitobor, t.e. sobiratel' Žit, koemu i prazdnestvo v osen' otpravljalos'.

*Hederich:*

Rodan, Godan, Ghodan, Gvoden, Gote genannt wird, war ein alter Gott der Sachsen . . . Keyssler, Dissert. pecul, de Cultu Solis, Freyi et Othini, par. 14. (3087-89)

Zernebock s. Zerneboch, war ein Abgott der Wenden . . . oder böse Gott. (3098)

Zuttibor war ein Abgott der Sorben, einer alten Wendischen Nation, die um Zorbig, so von ihnen den Nahmen hat, und daherum wohnete, er aber wurde in einem Eichenwalde bey Merseburg verehret. (3003-03)

*Amkiel:*

Zerneboch, ein böser Götze der Wenden.

Zuttiber, ein Sylvan oder Wald-Teuffel zu Merseburg verehret.

A detailed discussion of each of the gods mentioned by Arnkiel and Hederich is beyond the scope of this study. However, the origin of each deity mentioned by Tatiščev in paragraphs seven and eight must be briefly examined in order to show what Tatiščev accomplished by including these gods in the Slavic pantheon. In this respect, appropriate references are made to the most relevant scholarly writings which deal in greater detail with the origins of these gods.

Abelio, Astarop, Astarte, Belenus, Edusa, and Odin do not and have never belonged to Slavic mythology. It seems that Tatiščev selected them for inclusion among the Slavic gods on the basis of two criteria: the apparent Slavic roots of their names, and the fact that they were worshipped in areas which according to Tatiščev had once been inhabited by Slavs. Černebog (Tatiščev's *Černyj bog*) and a nameless opposite good god, who in later literature became Belbog (Tatiščev's *Bel bog*), are attested, as stated earlier,<sup>34</sup> only by Helmold. Enil, correctly *Hennil*, is mentioned by Thietmar of Merseburg as the name of a herdsman's stick; in later writings *Hennil* was accepted as the name of a Slavic deity.<sup>35</sup> *Flins* appears for the first time in Conrad Botho's *Cronecken der Sassen* (Mainz, 1492); from here he finds his way into the works of later writers. His existence is highly disputable.<sup>36</sup> *Parevid* or *Pjativid* (in his *Leksikon* listed as *Porevid*), with five faces, and *Rugievič*, with seven faces, are Tatiščev's names for *Porevit* and *Rugievit*;<sup>37</sup> these gods, together with *Porenut*, with four faces, are attested in primary sources only by Saxo Grammaticus.<sup>38</sup> Their existence and especially their polycephalous nature have been subjected to much scholarly dispute.<sup>39</sup> Tatiščev's *Pronote* or *Prone* (also *Prove* and *Prones*) is attested by Helmold as *Prove*;<sup>40</sup> Bangert, in his notes to Helmold, notes also the variant *Prono*.<sup>41</sup> This led some scholars to associate the name with *Perun*, others with "pravo" (right, legality).<sup>42</sup> The latter association is also suggested by Tatiščev in his *Leksikon*, where the god's name appears as *Prave* or *Pravy*.<sup>43</sup> *Radegast* is attested as *Redigast* and *Redigost* by Adam of Bremen, as *Radigast* by Helmold, and as *Radegast* by the *Codex Antverpiensis* of the fourteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Many scholars consider *Radegast* as Adam of Bremen's and Helmold's epithet for the cult of *Svarožič*<sup>45</sup> worshipped, according to Thietmar of Merseburg,<sup>46</sup> at *Riedegost* (Rethra).<sup>47</sup>

It is interesting why Tatiščev uses the form *Radegast* and adds to it also the variant form *Radoist*

(a non-entity in sources on Slavic mythology) when none of his sources do so.<sup>48</sup> Reference is made to chapter thirteen of his history; here, citing Helmold on the Slavic tribe "redari" near the Baltic Sea, Tatiščev writes: "Their famous city is Rethra, where there is a large temple with their chief god Rade-gast."<sup>49</sup> Later in the same chapter, he adds:

Gottofred in his Chronicle<sup>50</sup> . . . says that in 402 A.D., the Vandals with their king Radogost attacked Italy with 200,000 men, and that in Spain their king Gonsorok was famous. These names of kings sufficiently prove that they were Slavs, since the name Rade-gast is purely Slavic and all the Slavs worshipped the idol Radegast. Moreover, from the name of the city Radogast, we can see that it was given by a ruler, as Helmold, Krantz in Vandalia, book 3, chapters 4 and 37, and Arnkiel, book 1, indi-cate.<sup>51</sup>

Since neither Helmold, nor Krantz,<sup>52</sup> nor Arnkiel,<sup>53</sup> use the form *Radegast*, or have anything to say about a city or a ruler by that name, Tatiščev must have obtained this information from Bangert's edition of Helmold. Bangert speaks of this idol as *Radegastus*, noting that his name may have originated from the name of a ruler; he also cites Thietmar's account of a city called *Riedegast* and suggests that it may have been named for its god *Radegastus*.<sup>54</sup>

In his early work, Tatiščev was not consistent in the use of the form *Radegast*. In his *Leksikon* (1744), he notes that the Slavs worshipped as gods also *Radomysl'* and *Radogast*.<sup>55</sup> In the first redaction of part two of his history (1746), the name of the idol also appears as *Radogast*, although, citing Helmold, Tatiščev preserves the form *Radegast*.<sup>56</sup> In the same manuscript, speculating about the origins of the tribe "rodimiči," Tatiščev writes that their name could have come either from the city of Radoma or from a ruler, "since Slavic tribes had many such names as Radegast, Rodomysl', Radoslav, etc., from whom principalities were named."<sup>57</sup> This indicates that Tatiščev accepts all three forms—*rade*, *rodo*, and *rado*—as Slavic, although it is apparent that he considers the form *rado* more common and before 1746 tries to modify the name of the idol to *Radogast*. Tatiščev's still stronger emphasis on the form *rado* may be seen in the second redaction of his history, completed 1750, where he changes the name of the tribe "rodimiči" to "radimiči" and notes that the name probably originated from the city of Radoma or

from the ruler Radom, "since such names as Radogast, Radoslav, Radomir, are common among the Slavs."<sup>58</sup>

In view of his obvious preference for the form *rado* Tatiščev's preservation of the name of the idol as Radegast can only be explained on the assumption that he had found this form of spelling in a source he trusted: this could have been only Bangert's edition of Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*. Nevertheless, Tatiščev was not fully happy with Radegast's name which probably appeared to him too Germanic.<sup>59</sup> This may underly his attempts to create a variant name for this idol: *Radoist* in his chapter on idolatry, and *Radomysl'* in his *Leksikon*. Did Tatiščev believe that the original name of Radegast had been Radoist or Radomysl' from a ruler by that name? Tatiščev's inclination towards euhemeristic speculations suggests that this may well have been the case. Perhaps when the Kondratovič translation of Helmold becomes available to scholars it will be possible to draw more definite conclusions about Tatiščev's linguistic speculations.

Hederich's *Sabotus* and *Zabotus*, which Tatiščev changed to *Sabatus* or *Zabota*, was never a Slavic deity but a mountain called Zobten (Siling) in Silesia venerated by pagans according to Thietmar. Later writers created from the name of the mountain a deity called *Sobota* or *Zabota*.<sup>60</sup> Curiously enough, Zobten probably does come from the Slavic word "sobota" (Saturday), and a village named Sobota lies at the foot of Mount Zobten.

Siva is attested only by Helmold as a goddess of the Polabian Slavs.<sup>61</sup> Some scholars associate the name with Długosz's *Żywyte*,<sup>62</sup> others with the Indian *Shiwa* (Śiva), god of life,<sup>63</sup> still others with "siva" (grey).<sup>64</sup> Tatiščev speculates on the word's origin from *Divo* or *Deva* (virgin, young woman), an etymology suggested by G. Krek and subsequently attacked by Brückner.<sup>65</sup>

Svantevit (Tatiščev's *Svjantovid* or *Svjatovid*) is attested as *Zuantevith* by Helmold, *Suantouitus* by Saxo Grammaticus (who is the only one to speak of the god's four faces), and by the *Knytlingasaga* of the thirteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Helmold and Saxo also report that when in the ninth century monks built a church of St. Vitus at Rügen, the Rugians, reverting to paganism, destroyed the church, but began to worship St. Vitus as their pagan deity.<sup>67</sup> Like the "famous theologian" mentioned by Hederich, Tatiščev does not believe in this tale and labels it "papist invention," a view held today by most scholars.<sup>68</sup> For the same reason, Tatiščev objects to the ending "vit" and

insists on "vid," although both endings could be considered as Slavic. Tatiščev correctly rejects the interpretation of *Svjatovid* as "holy light," admitting, however, that "vid" is possible with both *Svjato* (world), where the name would mean "view of the world," and with *Svento* (holy, saintly), where it would mean "holy vision."<sup>69</sup>

Triglav is attested by the three lives of Otto von Bamberg: Herbord, Ebbo, and Monachus Prieflingensis, who speak of his worship in the cities of Stettin and Julin, and by the *Brunsvick Fragment*, which attests his veneration in Brandenburg.<sup>70</sup> Following Hederich, Tatiščev writes in *Paragraph eight* only about the veneration of Triglav in Stettin (ignoring Hederich's suggestion that Triglav was a female deity); as noted earlier, in *Paragraph seven* he also insists on Triglav's veneration in Paphlagonia, Bulgaria, and on the Island of Rügen.<sup>71</sup>

The origin of Tatiščev's and Hederich's *Vitislav*, a variant name for *Svantevit*, is entirely obscure and cannot be traced to any primary source.<sup>72</sup> Tatiščev's speculation that Vitislav may come from the Slavic name *Vyšeslav* or *Večeslav*, is yet another example of his tendency to disregard the root "vit" in Slavic names.

*Zit Tiber*, Tatiščev's name for Hederich's *Zuttiber*, is mentioned by Thietmar as *Zutibure*, a holy grove, venerated by pagan Slavs.<sup>73</sup> Later German sources elevated this topographical name, like that of Mount Zobten, to the position of a Slavic deity and even depicted it graphically.<sup>74</sup> Tatiščev's speculations that the name may come from "svjatyj mir" (holy peace) and would therefore suggest a god of reconciliation, or that the name means *Žitibor* (from "sobiratel' žit"), a harvester of wheat for whom special celebrations were held in the autumn, appear to be pure conjecture.

The goddess *Pogoda* mentioned by Tatiščev in *Paragraph seven* but omitted from the full listing of all Western Slavic gods in *Paragraph eight*, belongs to the Polish pantheon of *Długosz*.<sup>75</sup> It is possible that Tatiščev may have been thinking of this deity when he translated Hederich's *Podaga* as *Pogoda*, the Slavic word for weather. The origin of *Podaga*, who according to Helmold was worshipped at Plön,<sup>76</sup> remains as obscure as that of *Siva* and *Prove*.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, it is interesting that Tatiščev should note the possible metathesis of *Podaga* into *Pogoda*, a theory advanced by some later scholars.<sup>78</sup>

4. *On the gods of Ancient Rus'**Paragraph 9:*

Leaving aside the Slavic gods and gods with Slavic names described by Arnkiel and Hederich, Tatiščev turns in this passage to the gods of ancient Rus'. In the introductory sentence Tatiščev declares that the Eastern Slavs had probably "either the same [i.e., the same as the Western Slavs] or other deities with Slavic names about whom no data has been preserved, while those described by Nestor have all Sarmatian or Varangian names."<sup>1</sup> With his statement, Tatiščev implies that Vladimir's idols, Perun, Xors, Dažbog, Stribog, Semargl, Mokoš, and Volos,<sup>2</sup> were not Slavic deities.

Obviously determined to ignore the gods of the *Primary Chronicle* in his chapter on idolatry because of their non-Slavic nature, Tatiščev nevertheless lists those whom Strykowski admitted into the Eastern Slavic pantheon: namely, Perun, Stribog, Mokoš, and Xors. To these he adds some additional deities, all of whom, as he claims, Strykowski described in book four, chapter four of his work, on the basis of an ancient Russian chronicle.<sup>3</sup> Parallel texts from Tatiščev's chapter on idolatry and Strykowski's *Kronika polska* show the degree to which Tatiščev actually relied on Strykowski's material:

*Tatiščev:*<sup>4</sup>

Strykovskij v kn. 4, gl. 4 iz ruskogo drevnjago letopisca skazuet: 1) Perun, bog groma, emu že neugasimyj ogn' soderžan ot drov dubovyx, (([podobno kak u grek Jupiteru,] u varjag že Tor imjanovan.))

- 2) Stribo ((mnitsja Mars,))
- 3) Mocos, ((bog skotov))
- 4) Xors, ((podobnyj Baxusu))
- 5) Dido, boginja ljubvi i braka ((podobna Venere.))

- 6) Lado ili Lelo, syn Didy, ravnyj Kupide, ((Dimitrij Lelo mnit byt' (Merkurija.))
- 7) (([Tor,] to že čto Perun, oba značat grom.))
- 8) (([Kupalo,] mnitsja, Neptun, ibo prazduja emu, v vode kupalis'.))

*Strykowski:*

Chwalili [i.e., Polacy] nad to i Ruskie Bogi, to iest Pioruna, Striba, Mokossa, Chorsuma, y inszych, ktorym byl Włodimirz . . . bałwanow po górach okolicznych nastawiał, a zwłaszcza Bałwan Piorunowi Bogowi gromow, chmur y błyskawic . . . ktoremu na cześć y na chwałę ogien Dębowy, który wiecznym zwano, Kapłani ktemu przystawieni palili. . .

Kastora też i Poluxa Rzymskich boskow chwalili, ktorych Lelusem i Polelusem nazywali, co iesce do dzisieyszych czasow v Mazurov y Polakow na biesiadach, gdy sobie podleia, iawnie słysemy, kiedy Lelum po Lelum wyrkzykaja. Chwalili i matkę Lelowę y

*Tatiščev:*

9) ((Rusalki, Maurourbin mnit nimfy. [O six Dimitrij Rostovskij ((jako dostoxval'nejšij račitel' o prosvesčenni naroda,)) prostranno pisal,] kotoroe ja u nego pred let 45 videl i čital, no v ego ostavšix knigax, Kelejnem letopisice, O borodax i v Rozyske na raskol'nikov, ne naxoditsja, razve est' osoboe ne pečatannoe. [V Berline, pamjatuju, napečatana byla a six kniška] pod imenem Moskovitiše religija, tokmo ja ee nyne dostat' ne mog.))<sup>5</sup>

*Strykowski:*

y Polelowę Ledę . . . a zwykli byli mężowie y niewiasty starszy y mlodzi na Święta tych Bogow swoich w iedno sie schodzić mieysce, do tańcow y Krotofil inszych, ktora schadzka kupała zvali, zwlascza 25, dnia Maia Miesiąca y 25, Czerwca, co ieszcze do tych czasow w Rusi i Litwie zachowywaią. Bo skoro po niedzieli Przewodney aż to S. Jana Chrzciiciela niewiasty y Panny do tańcow się gromadą schodzą, tam wiąwszy sie za ręce Łado, Łado, y Łado moia powtarzaią. Spiewaiąc na pamiątke Ledy albo Ladony Matki Kastora y Poluxa . . .<sup>6</sup>

Since the material in parentheses indicates Tatiščev's later interpolations,<sup>7</sup> we shall first comment on his dependence on Strykowski in the 1739 manuscript of his history and then proceed to discuss the additions. As can be seen from the above passage, Tatiščev reproduces first the initial order of Strykowski's four "Russian" deities: Perun, *Stribo*(g), Mokoš, and Xors,<sup>8</sup> and then gives a summary description of the eternal fire of oak wood burned in honor of Perun.<sup>9</sup> At this point the direct parallels between Strykowski and Tatiščev end. The fifth and sixth deities, Dido, goddess of love and marriage and her son *Lado* or *Lelo* who equals Cupidon, have no direct equivalents in Strykowski. Lel and Polel appear as the Polish counterparts to the Roman twin deities Castor and Pollux, while Lado is identified as Leda, mother of Lel and Polel.<sup>10</sup> Thus although Lado and Lel are mentioned by Strykowski, Lado is presented as a female deity, mother of Lel, and not as the male deity Lado-Lelo, son of the goddess Dido, described by Tatiščev. In reference to the worship of Old Lithuanians, Strykowski also mentions a god named *Dzidzis Lado*, to whom white chickens were slaughtered for sacrifice while young women and girls holding hands led circular dances in the fields and streets, sadly singing and repeating "lado, lado, lado. Didis musu Dewie, which means, our Great God Lado"; this custom, says Strykowski, still exists in Lithuania, Livonia, and Russia.<sup>11</sup> This is all that Strykowski has to say about anything related to Dido, Lado and Lel. We know of no literary source describing Dido<sup>12</sup>

as a goddess of love and marriage and Lado or Lelo as her son.<sup>13</sup>

Since Tatišček is clearly not willing to accept Strykowski's identification of Lado as mother of Lel, or Dido as Dzidzis Lado, the Great God Lado,<sup>14</sup> the sources for Tatišček's interpretation of these deities must lie elsewhere. One possibility is Długosz's *Dzidzileyla*, goddess of marriage, whose origins some scholars trace to the same song refrains that gave rise to Dido, Lel, and Lado.<sup>15</sup> Following Długosz, Strykowski writes that the Poles worshipped the goddess of love Venus, whom they called *Zizilia*, and to whom they prayed for fertility, entreating her for all kinds of physical enjoyment.<sup>16</sup> The same data appears in the Russian translation of Orbini who writes that the Poles worshipped Venus (to which the Russian translator adds "or Aphrodite") whom they called *Didilia* and whom they entreated for fertility and voluptuous pleasure.<sup>17</sup> Thus Długosz identifies this deity as a goddess of marriage, Strykowski as a goddess of love, Orbini implies both; all three believe her to be the same as Venus. Tatišček's interpretation of Dido as a "goddess of marriage and love, like Venus" (to which in his *Leksikon*, like Orbini's translator, he adds "or Aphrodite") is closest to Orbini. Since Tatišček knew the works of these writers, he may have accepted Orbini's *Didilia*, Strykowski's *Dzidzis-Lado* and *Zizilia*, and Długosz's *Dzidzileyla* as corrupted forms for Dido and her son Lado or Lelo. On the basis of perhaps some additional knowledge about the song refrains "Dido-Lado" and "Leli-Lado,"<sup>19</sup> Tatišček concluded that Lado-Lelo was one and the same deity, in some way secondary to Dido,<sup>20</sup> hence possibly her son Cupidon.<sup>21</sup>

It is, of course, also possible that Tatišček based his information about Dido, Lado and Lelo on the work of Dimitrij of Rostov; indeed, in the 1739 version of his mythological data, immediately after his enumeration of these deities, Tatišček cites Dimitrij as one who "had something to say about these gods."<sup>22</sup> However, the comparison of Lado-Lelo to Cupidon is probably Tatišček's own, since in the chapter on idolatry he writes that Dimitrij considered Lelo to be Mercury. Unfortunately, our hypotheses about the possible origins of Tatišček's Dido, Lado, and Lelo cannot be verified, since Dimitrij of Rostov's study of Russian idols,<sup>23</sup> and the specific translation of Strykowski's *Kronika polska* used by Tatišček, remain lost.<sup>24</sup>

The seventh god in Tatišček's pantheon (of whom

Strykowski has nothing to say) is Thor. He was added, together with Kupalo, to the 1746 version of Tatiščev's mythological data. At this time, Tatiščev made two more additions to the text which related to Thor. Under Perun he noted that the external sacrifice of oak wood burned in honor of Perun was the same "as among the Greeks and Romans to Jupiter";<sup>25</sup> to this (in the somewhat later Voronocov manuscript 643), he added further: "he who among the Varangians was known as Thor."<sup>26</sup> In the same text, speaking of ancient writers who did not leave any information about Slavic deities, Tatiščev noted that the gods they did mention were "not Slavic, but partially Sarmatian, partially Varangian,"<sup>27</sup> since Perun is a Sarmatian word for thunder, while among the Varangians he is called Thor."<sup>28</sup> Finally, in the 1749 chapter on idolatry, Tatiščev states simply: "Thor, the same as Perun, both mean thunder."<sup>29</sup>

Tatiščev's identification of the Varangian Thor with the Sarmatian Perun as the same god of thunder appears also in other parts of his history. In his notes to J. Strahlenberg's *Das Nord und Östlich Theil von Europa und Asien* written between 1732 and 1736, Tatiščev speculates about the meaning of the Siberian river Tura for which he cannot yet find a suitable explanation.<sup>30</sup> Strahlenberg's statement that the Ostyaks understood by *Thorum* both Heaven and God in Heaven, passes unnoticed.<sup>31</sup> However, in the 1746 version of his history, Tatiščev already observes that the Torks, whom he considers a Sarmatian nation, called God by the name of *Tor* and, therefore, their name *Torki* may be of Sarmatian origin. As if in support of this fact, Tatiščev notes that Perun is a Sarmatian word for thunder.<sup>32</sup> One assumes that Tatiščev's logic here ran along the following lines: If the Torks, like other ancient Sarmatians (among whom he also includes the Varangians!),<sup>33</sup> thought of their ancient god Thor as a thunderer, they eventually began to associate his name with Perun, their local name for thunder. In turn, the fact that the name of Perun means thunder among the remnants of some Sarmatian people in Russia, was used by Tatiščev in support of his hypothesis that the Torks' name may have come from their worship of a thunder god whom they originally called Thor.

Let us now review the literary sources which may have served Tatiščev for his identification of Perun and Thor as gods of thunder. The *Primary Chronicle* and some later Eastern Slavic sources, such as the *Hustyn Chronicle* and the *Life of Vladimir*, mention Perun as a god but say nothing about his function as

a thunderer. The fact that Perun was a thunder god, as we know, Tatiščev did find in Strykowski, and could have also known from the *Sinopsis* and the many Slavic folklore accounts and legends that associate Perun with thunder.<sup>35</sup> On Thor, however, Tatiščev's main source appears to be Arnkiel.<sup>36</sup> The following passage from Arnkiel may well have influenced Tatiščev's conception of Thor as a thunder god of all Sarmatians, perhaps even the Slavs:

The Cymbrian-Gothic and all Northern people worshipped three principal gods, Thor, Wodan, and Freya. The mightiest among these three gods was Thor. . . By this god they took oaths. . . He is the same as the Roman Jupiter. Some believe that Thor represents the last syllable of the name Jupiter . . . others claim that Jupiter was called Thor among the Asiatic people. . . The Assyrians called Belus Thura, yet Belus is the Assyrian Jupiter. This god is named after Thunder, which the Danish and British people called Taren and Taran. Clüverius<sup>37</sup> reports that Jupiter is called by the Celtic (that is British, Spanish, Gaelic, Illyrian, and German) as well as by the Asiatic people Taran, and in various dialects Toran, Tonar, Donar, Tordan, Tonder. This name is attributed to Thor from Thunder over which he is supposed to rule, and for this reason he holds a thunderbolt in his hand. Consequently, Jupiter is called by the Greeks Brontaios, and by the Latins Tonans.<sup>38</sup>

It is clear that Arnkiel offers here all the data used by Tatiščev for his interpretation of Thor. Arnkiel insists that Thor was worshipped by all the peoples whom Tatiščev believed to be Sarmatians, that his name was derived by various nations from the word for thunder, and that he was, according to all indications, the same as Jupiter. Tatiščev's lack of preoccupation with Thor and nomenclature related to his name before 1739 further indicates that his source for Thor was indeed Arnkiel (whose work he used only after 1739 in preparation for the 1746 version of his history). The many toponyms with the root Tor or Tur which Tatiščev found especially in Siberia only strengthened his belief that Thor had been worshipped also by the remnants of the Sarmatian people living in Russia.<sup>39</sup>

Two more questions remain, namely, on what basis did Tatiščev couple Thor with Perun and why were both Thor and the "Sarmatian" Perun included in Tatiščev's "Russian" pantheon? To the best of our knowledge,

there are no literary sources which associate Perun with Thor<sup>40</sup> or describe the actual worship of Thor in Russia;<sup>41</sup> it must therefore be assumed that Tatiščev, like Arnkiel, reasoned as follows: If Jupiter, because of his characteristic as a thundergod was called Thor by all the Sarmatian people in whose languages Thor meant thunder, then, by implication, some Sarmatians, like the tribes in Russia, began to call Thor by their name for thunder, which was Perun. This possibility was already suggested in our discussion of Tatiščev's nomenclature relating to Thor. Hence Perun-Thor is to Tatiščev one and the same Sarmatian thundergod, worshipped by the pagan Slavs as Perun. He includes Thor in the "Russian" pantheon simply as a variant form of name for Perun, undoubtedly believing that the pagan Slavs, like most peoples, must have had a thundergod of their own whose name did not survive. Moreover, although he does not trust the *Primary Chronicle*, he cannot ignore Strykowski's emphasis (whose data he implicitly trusts) on the worship of Perun in Russia and even by the Poles.

Kupalo, the last deity added in 1746 to the "Russian" pantheon, was known to Tatiščev from Strykowski, who speaks of the Kupalo ritual. Kupalo as a major Russian deity Tatiščev could have known from several sources. Kupalo is identified as a god of abundance, similar to Ceres in the *Hustyn Chronicle*, as a god of harvest in the *Life*, and as a god of the fruits of the earth in the *Sinopsis*.<sup>42</sup> Tatiščev's interpretation of Kupalo as "Neptune, because celebrating him they bathed in water" (added only to his chapter on idolatry), appears to be entirely his own. It is probably based on his etymological association of Kupalo with the word "kupať'sja" (to bathe), on the tradition that this deity was celebrated with bathing on the Eve of St. John the Baptist, and on his knowledge that Neptune was a god of water.

With Kupalo, Tatiščev concludes his "Russian" pantheon based on Strykowski. As has been observed, only Perun, Xors, Stribog, and Mokoš have direct parallels in Strykowski. However, if we consider Strykowski's indirect mention of Lado-Lel, Dido, and Kupalo in regard to their worship in Russia, and the fact that Thor is added by Tatiščev to this group only as a variant name for Perun, we can concede that Tatiščev did, as he claims, use Strykowski as his main source for the "Russian" pantheon.

A few observations must still be made about Tatiščev's identification of Mokoš as a god of cattle (in the 1746 version of his data), and his comparisons of Stribog to Mars, Xors to Bacchus, and Rusalki to

Nymphs (in his chapter on idolatry).

Mokoš is attested in homilies and ecclesiastical statues as a deity with distinct feminine characteristics.<sup>43</sup> As a male deity Mokoš appears in the works of the Polish historians and in Eastern Slavic secondary sources. Tatiščev considers Mokoš (spelled also *Mokos*) as a male god; the association of Mokoš with the worship of cattle Tatiščev apparently bases on his knowledge, expressed in another part of his history, that the "Novgorodians had an idol Mokoš with a bull's head."<sup>44</sup> The possibility that Tatiščev may have been thinking of Mokoš in terms of Volos (the god of cattle, whom Tatiščev ignores completely), must not be excluded.

Linguistic speculations may have led Tatiščev to see some sound similarities between Xors and Bacchus. More probably, Tatiščev drew this analogy on the assumption that like the Romans, the Slavs must have had a god of merriment. Since he was not inclined to bestow this function upon Lado, he chose Xors, whose characteristics he was unable to determine.<sup>45</sup> The same considerations probably led Tatiščev to assume that Stribog<sup>46</sup> was a god of war like Mars. In this case, he was almost certainly familiar with Orbini's claim that the Slavic tribe of the Alans worshipped Mars.<sup>47</sup> He may also have known about the worship of Mars in Russia from the fantastic accounts of Paulo Giovio or from the work of Schleusing.<sup>48</sup>

After his exposition of the eight gods mentioned by Strykowski, Tatiščev adds a ninth item: "Rusalki, whom Mavrourbin considers to be nymphs." This information can be traced directly to Orbini; citing Procopius, Orbini wrote that the Slavs "worshipped forests and nymphs (that is rusalki) and other demons."<sup>49</sup> With Rusalki, Tatiščev concludes his description of the Eastern Slavic pantheon. The paragraph ends with a reference to Dimitrij of Rostov's lost work on Slavic deities and the German book on Slavic gods, which we identified earlier as the work of Schleusing.<sup>50</sup>

It is interesting to note that the classical parallels to the "Russian" gods appear only in the final version of Tatiščev's mythological data. Tatiščev seems to make here a real effort to create an orderly Eastern Slavic pantheon, comparable to the pantheons of other nations. That Tatiščev was almost certainly influenced in this by the Scythian gods of Herodotus, will be discussed in the next chapter.

5. *On the Scythian gods of Herodotus  
and ancient customs*

*Paragraph 10:*

In this paragraph Tatiščev's attention is directed toward the gods of Scythia described by Herodotus. Herodotus (ca. 484-425 B.C.), known as the "Father of history," had been the first historian to observe the cults of barbaric people. He noted similarities in the religious beliefs of various nations and concluded that all gods possessed, at least partially, similar attributes; these he explained on the basis of borrowings. Herodotus was thus the first scholar to apply a comparative method to the explanation of myths, interpreting most Greek divinities as borrowings from the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> Very often Herodotus equates gods of foreigners with the gods of the Greeks. He says that the only gods worshipped by the Scythians are Hestia, Zeus, Earth, Apollo, Aphrodite, Ares, and Poseidon, whose Scythian names are Tabiti, Papaios, Apia, Goitosyros, Artimpasa, and Thagimasadas (the Scythian name of Ares is not given).<sup>2</sup> This is a clear case of identification, since Herodotus does not directly say that the Scythians borrowed their gods from the Greeks. Throughout his work, however, Herodotus systematically presents "borrowings" through cultural contact.<sup>3</sup>

It is known that Tatiščev had at his disposal a German translation of Herodotus' *Histories*.<sup>4</sup> It is also evident that this translation had been made from Latin and not from a Greek original, since the gods listed by Tatiščev bear Roman and not the Greek names.<sup>5</sup> Presented below is the entire text of Paragraph 10 and the corresponding passages from Herodotus' *Histories* in an English translation based on the Greek original.<sup>6</sup>

*Tatiščev:*

Čto že drevnie inostrannye o tom pisali, to, krome Gerodota, ničego obstojatel'no ne naxožu. Gerodot že, kn. 4, gl. 9, napisal: "Iz bogov skify počitajut sledujusčix: osobливо počtenie otdajut bogine Veste, po nej Iovišu i Zemle, v tom mnenii, čto Zemlja est' žena Jupiteru; potom čtjat Apollina, nebes-

*Herodotus:*

The only gods whom they propitiate by worship are these: Hestia in especial, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they deem to be the wife of Zeus; after these Apollo, and the heavenly Aphrodite, and Herakles and Ares. All the Scythians worship these gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice

*Tatiščev:*

nuju Veneru, Gerkulesa i Marsa; sim ibo vo vsej Skiffii čest' otdajut. No bazilei imjanovannye počitajut Neptuna. Vesta po-skifski Tabiti nazyvaetsja, Jupiter - Papeus, Zemlju nazývajut Apia, Apollina-Osterum, Veneru nebesnuju - Artampasa, Neptuna - Famisad (no sii imjana, viditsja, perevedennye na grečeskij ibo sarmaty znamenovanija ix skazat' ne moguť). Oni razsuždajut, čto nepristojno božij obraz, oltar' ili xram delat', iz'jav tokmo Marsa, kotoromu oni v čest' to činjat.

Xram že Marsov est' gruda velikaja xvorosta skladenaja, naverxu onoj ploskost' i vsxod s odnoj storony.

Na sem kostre ili grude postavljajut staruju persidskuju sablju, i onoj každygodno koni i drugie skoty v žertvu ubivajutsja, iz plennyx emu sotago prinosjat v žertvu, i kroviju onogo pomazyvajut tu sablju.

*Herodotus:*

also to Poseidon.

In the Scythian tongue Hestia is called Tabiti; Zeus (in my judgment most rightly so called) Papaeus; Earth is Apia, Apollo Geotosyrus, the Heavenly Aphrodite Artimpasa, and Poseidon Thagimasadas.

It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god.<sup>7</sup>

Every district in each of the governments has in it a building sacred to Ares, a pile of fagots of sticks three furlongs broad and long, but of a less height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. In every year a hundred and fifty wagon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter ever make it sink down.

On this pile there is set for each people an ancient scimitar of iron, which is their image of Ares; to this scimitar they bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses, offering to these symbols even more than they do to other gods. Of all their enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not according to their fashion of sacrificing sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men's

*Tatiščev:*

V knige IV, gl. 40 skazuet o četjredesjatnice, Baxusu grekami prazdnuemoj, kotoroe skifi za merzost' počitali.<sup>9</sup>

*Herodotus:*

heads and cut their throats over a vessel; they then carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. So they carry the blood aloft, but below by the sacred building they cut off the slain men's right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and presently depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it.<sup>8</sup>

. . . Now the Scythians make this Bacchic revelling a reproach against the Greeks, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men on to madness. . .<sup>10</sup>

As can be seen from the above passage, Tatiščev reproduces almost literally Herodotus' enumeration of Scythian gods but satisfies himself only with dry details about the worship of Mars, ignoring the grotesque and barbaric features of this worship. Of special interest is Tatiščev's comment that the Scythian names of the gods mentioned by Herodotus as parallels to Greek deities "appear to be translated into Greek, since the Sarmatians cannot explain their meaning." This statement shows that Tatiščev had made a special effort to determine whether the names of these Scythian divinities had any meaning in "Sarmatian," i.e., in the languages of the remnants of Sarmatian people inhabiting Russia.<sup>11</sup> The fact that Tatiščev looked toward the "Sarmatians" for an explanation of the Scythian gods indicates that he considered the possibility that the Scythian gods of Herodotus may also have been those of the Sarmatians, through whom, like Jupiter-Perun-Thor, they may have entered the religious worship of the Slavs. That the Scythian pantheon of Herodotus is presented by Tatiščev as a possible source for the origin of Slavic gods is indicated also by the first sentence in the paragraph where, in reference to the Eastern Slavic gods enumerated in the preceding passage, Tatiščev writes: "What the foreign ancients wrote about it [i.e., about the gods of Eastern Slavs or of all Slavs], I find nothing reliable, with the exception

of Herodotus." It cannot be a coincidence that four out of seven of Herodotus' (or rather Herodotus' translator's) Latin names for Scythian gods: Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Neptune, as well as the Greek Bacchus worshipped in Scythia by the Greeks, were added by Tatiščev as possible parallels to Perun-Thor, Stribog, Dido, Kupalo, and Xors. If Perun-Thor was worshipped also by the Slavs, it stands to reason that other Scythian or Sarmatian gods and even a Greek god of Scythia could have entered into the religious worship of the Slavs inhabiting the same territories.

We do not have sufficient data to claim that Tatiščev's treatment of Slavic gods reveals his belief in borrowings through cultural contacts. He never states that the Slavs actually borrowed their gods from the Scythians or Sarmatians. On the other hand, despite his stress on differences in ancient customs, Tatiščev clearly favors the identification of Slavic gods with those of other nations, believing that the original names of some of the Slavic gods were lost.

*Paragraph 11:*

In the introductory sentence to this paragraph, Tatiščev cites several notes in part two of his history<sup>13</sup> where he had elucidated certain passages in the *Primary Chronicle* which had provided him with evidence that "in their customs the Slavs uniformly differed from the Sarmatians . . . much of which coincides with what Herodotus has to say."<sup>14</sup>

Tatiščev first cites Note 30, where he had observed that the stealing of brides and other bestial customs of the Derevlans described by Nestor were probably those of the Sarmatians, as the stealing of women was an ancient custom observed already by Herodotus, while "the Tartars until today consider it decent to steal a bride."<sup>15</sup> Interestingly enough, in his chapter "On Ancient Customs and Superstitions" of part one of his history, written after he had made these annotations to volume two,<sup>16</sup> Tatiščev uses the same example to point to similarities rather than differences among the customs of various peoples. He notes that "the stealing of women was just as common to our ancestors as among other nations," and cites as his authority Nestor and Herodotus.<sup>17</sup>

As a second example of differences, Tatiščev refers to Note 31, where he had stressed that "all the customs of the Slavs differed from those of the Sarmatians, as can be seen from the burning of dead Slavs

and the burial of Varangians, as well as from [i.e., their worship of] different idols."<sup>18</sup> Tatiščev emphasizes the differences in the burial customs of the Slavs, Sarmatians, and Scythians once more in chapter forty-eight, citing Nestor and Arnkiel<sup>19</sup> as his primary sources on the cremation of Slavs, Nestor on the burial of Sarmatians, and Herodotus on the burial of Scythians.<sup>20</sup>

In Note 107, Tatiščev expresses his conviction that many pagans either believe in the unity of one god or else clearly distinguish between their idols and the true god; this, he says, can be seen from the fact that the Varangian Russes swore allegiance to both God and Perun, although they did not have a clear conception about the true nature of God and eternal life. On the other hand, he notes that the Voguls and Cheremiss still believe that the good and rich will become rich after death, while liars and thieves will turn into slaves: the origin of this belief, Tatiščev attributes to the teachings of Mohammed.<sup>21</sup>

Tatiščev's references to the differences in the customs of Sarmatians and Slavs are presented apparently in support of the distinct identity of the Slavs. At the same time, these observations point towards Tatiščev's belief that certain customs could have been borrowed by the Slavs from the Sarmatians, as is indicated by his allusions to the habits of the Derevlans.

Tatiščev next observes that "much of what he had described still remains in practice both among the pagan Sarmatians and ignorant Christians" and calls attention to his *Leksikon, Geography of Siberia*, and chapter forty-nine of his history (i.e., forty-eight of the second redaction), where he had discussed these customs and practices in greater detail. Tatiščev concludes *Paragraph eleven* with a passage that pertains to the entire chapter on idolatry:

This [i.e., the above said] is only for the knowledge of antiquities and instruction of those who because of a want of knowledge of the true Christian law are submerged in idolatry and are dying in ignorance. For it is known to all of us that the ignorant, submerged in idolatry, are always full of spite. They seek to insult those who contradict or criticize their folly and if they are unable to do this by their actions, they accuse them [i.e., those who contradict them] of the heresy of lawlessness and atheism, interpreting their

words to suit their own passions and interests. And when they are still dissatisfied, they fabricate other slander, unaware that by doing so they become lawless themselves, for they show a disdain for the law of the Lord which prohibits slander and hatred and do not fear his terrible judgment.<sup>22</sup>

With these words Tatiščev reiterates his reasons for including a discussion on ancient idolatry in his history. Knowledge of idolatry is necessary: first, for the proper understanding of antiquities; and second, for the instruction of those who because of ignorance "of true Christian law" are submerged in idolatry. Significantly, with the first statement, Tatiščev departs from his essentially utilitarian views expressed in *Paragraphs one and three* where he had justified the knowledge of idolatry only as a source for man's moral improvement in the present, and admits here the importance of this knowledge for the sake of knowledge itself. The exact meaning of the second statement becomes clear only in reference to his argument in *Paragraph one*, namely, that the great beneficence of the Gospel, hence the true Christian law, cannot be understood unless we can imagine in what vile falsehood and evil manner our forefathers lived before the Gospel of Christ. Hence, in this passage, as in the introductory paragraphs, Tatiščev legitimizes his discussion of mythology on the assumption that any man, pagan or Christian, who is ignorant of "true Christian law" must first become aware of the true nature of idolatry before he is able to reject unreason and recognize the principles of true faith. In this respect, Tatiščev fully shares the enlightened views of Prokopovyč and Dimitrij of Rostov, and their two protestant colleagues, Arnkiel and Walch. However, Tatiščev is also forced to admit that the unreason of modern man rests in a deep-rooted ignorance that defies reason and wilfully opposes enlightenment.<sup>23</sup>

6. *On the improper worship of icons**Paragraph 12:*

To emphasize the dangers of ignorance, Tatiščev condemns in this paragraph those unenlightened members of the Russian society who still adhere to beliefs which are contrary to the Orthodox Christian doctrine, and are therefore able to misinterpret his discourse on idolatry as an attack on the veneration of icons. We cite below the entire passage:

One must be on guard against such fools, lest the abominations of idolatry which I have disclosed be taken for a comparison with the veneration of saints and icons; to which one can reply briefly with the words of St. Paul: what comparison can there be between Christ and Baal. For the idolaters worshipped the material substance of a visible object, put their confidence in it, feared it, and entreated it for favors, while we esteem and reverence not the visible object before us, but a mentally imagined being, capable of grace and anger, in whom we place our confidence and whom we entreat for graces. But an icon, as a holy object, we reverence only to commemorate what it portrays; we place it in an honored place and adorn it out of our love for the image it portrays, in the same way as the book of divine law and miracles, the Bible, in which we do not place our confidence, and which we do not fear or entreat for favors. This the Seventh Council<sup>1</sup> prohibited severely and under oath, as is explicitly stated in the Catechism and in the interpretation of our Lord's commandments. Yet even on icons, we do not always portray all things for purposes of veneration but sometimes only for remembrance. For instance, the image of our Savior's crucifixion is for us, according to St. Paul, absolutely necessary to remember, yet we do not venerate the portrayed tormentors. Similarly, the image of the terrible judgment depicts God himself, angels, those who have pleased God, as well as the devil and those sentenced to eternal suffering. Who could be so senseless and venerate equally all that is portrayed on one board. And if there is someone who venerates holy icons in a different manner than by the one established by the statutes of Council, puts his hope in or fears the holy

picture itself and not the image of the Savior, or for one reason or another finds greater sanctity in one image than in another and assigns to it and not to God miraculous qualities, such a man, according to the judgment of the said Council, may truly be called an ignoramus, which is clearly explained in Dimitrij's, Archbishop of Rostov's *Rozysk na raskol'nikov*. Hence, he who understands the difference between the nature of holy icons and ancient idols, will find no reasons to fall into doubt, temptation, or turn to comparisons [i.e., of idols with icons].<sup>2</sup>

The dogma about the veneration of icons requires some explanation. It was attacked in Russia both by Russian schismatics and by Protestants, who maintained that the Second Commandment of the Law of Moses prohibits the worship of all things but the Lord.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, Russian theologians since the end of the fifteenth century had been writing in defense of the orthodox dogma of icon worship; they claimed that the Second Commandment has no relationship to the veneration of icons, since it prohibits the creation of idols, but not of holy images made in honor of the Lord.<sup>4</sup> In the same spirit, already Petro Mohyla's (1596-1657) *Orthodox Confession* contained a detailed explanation of the Second Commandment, emphasizing the differences between idols and icons.<sup>5</sup> By the eighteenth century some Russian schismatics, like the *Ikonobory* and *Duxobory*, rejected entirely the use of icons and "were willing to suffer" rather than venerate icons.<sup>6</sup> The continuing opposition of various Russian schismatics to icons compelled Peter in 1714 to ask Stefan Javors'kyj (1658-1722) to include a treatise on the correct veneration of icons in his *Rock of Faith*.<sup>7</sup> For the same reason, Dimitrij of Rostov's *Treatise on Old Believers*<sup>8</sup> and the writings of Teofan Prokopovyč<sup>9</sup> laid heavy stress on the differences between the worship of idols, the veneration of saints, and the worship attributed to God.

Tatiščev's exposition on icons is essentially original, although it bears traces of the writings of his predecessors, especially Prokopovyč. Tatiščev initiates his discussion of idolatry with the statement that the "idolaters worshipped the material substance of a visible object, put their confidence in it, feared it, and entreated it for favors. . ." Prokopovyč begins his discussion of idolatry in the *Primer* with similar words, stating that "Idolatry is giving divine worship to any image . . . when one

approaches such an image in the humility of his heart, fears, it, and puts his confidence in it, as having in itself invisible virtue or efficacy."<sup>10</sup> To Tatiščev, an "icon, as a holy object, we reverence only in remembrance of what it portrays." Similarly, Prokopovyč observes that icons "were not introduced in order to be worshipped, but to bring to our remembrance the works of God." Tatiščev emphasizes that the Seventh Council prohibits believers to place their confidence in icons, to fear them, or to entreat them for favors. Prokopovyč says essentially the same, stating that the Seventh Council "prohibits us to place our confidence in them [i.e., icons], or to worship them in spirit and in truth, as we do the Supreme God." Tatiščev's condemnation, according to the decree of the Council, of him "who for one reason or another finds greater sanctity in one image than in another and assigns to it and not to God miraculous qualities," finds again a direct parallel in the *Primer*; Prokopovyč observes that "all such as give the images that worship that is due only to God . . . those that bring the images to Church and there bow before it; and others who pay more respect to gilded images than to plain ones; and lastly, those who will not pray at all without the use of images: all those men transgress against the decree of the Seventh Council."<sup>11</sup>

In the general framework of its presentation, Tatiščev's exposition on icons follows the order of Prokopovyč's argumentations in the *Primer*. However, Tatiščev also draws on his knowledge of other writings on this subject. For example, Tatiščev's emphasis on the need to remember the image of our Savior's Crucifixion is similar to thoughts expressed in Petro Mohyla's *Orthodox Confession*,<sup>12</sup> while his comparison of the reverence of icons to the reverence of the Bible is also found in John Damascene's "Word on Icons"<sup>13</sup> and in Dimitrij of Rostov's *Treatise on Old Believers*,<sup>14</sup> a work that Tatiščev mentions in the text in support of his argument that only the ignorant are unable to understand the proper worship of icons.

With the discourse on the improper worship of icons which, in the peculiar spirit of Petrine reforms, is intended by Tatiščev both as an attack on ignorance and as a defense of his enlightened views, Tatiščev concludes the last paragraph of his chapter on idolatry.

## CONCLUSIONS

Despite extensive references to primary and secondary sources, Tatiščev wrote his chapter on idolatry essentially on the basis of five works: Walch's *Philosophisches Lexicon*, Herodotus' *Histories*, Strykowski's *Kronika polska*, Arnkiel's *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion*, and Hederich's *Antiquitäten Lexicon*. Of these, only the last three works contained actual data on Slavic mythology. For supplementary material, Tatiščev relied on the *Primary Chronicle*, the *Bible*, and the works of Teofan Prokopovyč and Mavro Orbini. There is no reason to doubt that Tatiščev also knew the works of Gaultruche, Fontenelle, and van Dale whom he mentions as authorities on idolatry. Although he lists Krantz, Saxo Grammaticus, Helmold, Adam of Bremen, Fabronius, and Keissler among his sources, Tatiščev did not consult the works of these writers for the writing of his chapter on idolatry. His reference to Keissler is based on Hederich. The works of Krantz, Saxo Grammaticus, Adam of Bremen, Helmold, and Fabronius are cited by Tatiščev only on the basis of Arnkiel.

From the extent to which Tatiščev relied on his five major sources in the three versions of his mythological data it is possible to determine the relative chronology when these works were at his disposal.

The 1739 version of his mythological data, presented in the form of a brief footnote in elucidation of the Eastern Slavic gods mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle*, was written by Tatiščev strictly on the basis of Book four, chapter four, of Strykowski's *Kronika polska*. In view of Tatiščev's unsuccessful attempts to obtain Strykowski's work after 1734, and the fact that the Russian manuscript of Strykowski which he had used in Sweden lacked Book four, this data must have been extracted by Tatiščev from Strykowski's *Kronika* after his return from Sweden in 1727 and before 1734. However, the incompleteness of Tatiščev's mythological material based on Strykowski shows that Tatiščev had used either an imperfect copy or translation of the *Kronika*, or that his notes on Strykowski were far from complete. This contention supports in part Rogov's claim that Tatiščev must have used an extensively interpolated and changed translation of Strykowski's *Kronika*. There is no indication that prior to 1739 Tatiščev was interested in compiling data on the gods of Western Slavs, although he had at his disposal until

1737 both Krants's *Vandalia* and Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*.

Probably between 1739 and 1744 Tatišček became acquainted with Arnkiel's *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion*, a work which contained extensive material on the gods of Western Slavs; at this time, he apparently conceived the idea of expanding his Eastern Slavic pantheon to include that of the Western Slavs. Since he no longer had at his disposal Krantz's *Vandalia* and Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*, Tatišček based the 1746 version of his mythological data (still only a footnote to his text of the *Primary Chronicle*) solely on Arnkiel's work.

It was after 1746 when Tatišček was exiled to his estate at Boldino and was working intensively toward the completion of his history that he found additional material on Western Slavic gods in Hederich's *Gründliches Antiquitäten Lexicon*, and a description of the ancient Scythian gods in Herodotus' *Histories*. This data, together with all the mythological material of the 1746 version, Tatišček expanded into a special chapter on idolatry for the final redaction of part one of his history. The chapter was preceded by a discourse on the origins and nature of idolatry, based almost exclusively on Walch's *Philosophisches Lexicon*, and followed by a short treatise on the improper worship of icons which reflected the influence of the works of Dimitrij of Rostov and Teofan Prokopovyč.

Tatišček's selection of material for the Western Slavic pantheon appears to have been motivated by only one consideration: to compile a list of names of all Slavic deities worshipped on territories inhabited by the Slavs. These names he extracted assiduously from the works of Arnkiel and Hederich, without any apparent thought to their accuracy, and only rarely questioning the credibility of a foreign linguistic interpretation. If, for some reason, he did not understand the name of a god his sources considered as Slavic, Tatišček looked for some explanation of the name in Slavic roots, building his etymological speculations on simple sound similarities and far-fetched semantic relationships. The often detailed descriptions of these gods, their ritual of worship, or circumstances of cult, did not interest him unless these descriptions threw some light on the meaning of the god's name; this was the case with the three-headed Triglav, and the five-headed Parevid whom he immediately Slavicized to Pjativid. Gods of other nations in whose names he saw possible Slavic roots were included by Tatišček

among the Western Slavic gods either in proof that the Slavs once inhabited a territory (Syria), or that the people of an area were actually Slavs (Gallatians).

Tatišček's treatment of the Eastern Slavic pantheon is more complex and much more interesting. Although he believes that the names of the gods mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle* are not Slavic, but partially Sarmatian, partially Varangian, he nevertheless enumerates those whom Strykowski included in Book four, chapter four of his *Kronika*. Yet other deities, whom he knows from the *Primary Chronicle* and who are mentioned by Strykowski in another part of the *Kronika*, are entirely ignored. Tatišček also disregards all data on the Eastern Slavic pantheon from the *Sinopsis* and Błażowski's translation of Kromer's *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*. Moreover, he maintains complete silence about the existence of the Polish gods, despite his knowledge of this data from Orbini, Strykowski, and from the works of at least three other Polish historians. How does one account for such clearly conscious limitations of mythological material by a scholar who had proved himself to be such an enthusiastic collector of Western Slavic gods? We offer the following explanation: Tatišček introduces Strykowski's "Russian" pantheon because he believes that Strykowski had at his disposal fifteen primary Russian chronicles; consequently, Tatišček trusts Strykowski's information on the Eastern Slavs even more than his own sources. Whether their names are Slavic or not, Strykowski's Perun, Xors, Stribog, and Mokoš must be legitimate. They were worshipped on Slavic lands, hence by the Slavs who could have borrowed their names from the Sarmatians or Varangians. The fact that Tatišček ignores Dažbog, Semargl, and Volos, mentioned by Strykowski in Book four, chapter three, indicates that Tatišček did not have at his disposal this part of Strykowski's *Kronika*. The names of Dido, Lado-Lel, and Kupalo Tatišček probably knew from oral tradition or from the lost work of Dimitrij of Rostov; only this can explain his painstaking efforts to deduce the existence of these gods from Strykowski's data.

Tatišček's disregard of the treatment of Eastern Slavic gods in the *Sinopsis* undoubtedly stems from his lack of trust in this work which he believes to be filled with unreliable Polish tales. This shows his awareness of the fact that the Eastern Slavic pantheon in the *Sinopsis* (as well as in the work of Kromer) was constructed in imitation of Długosz's

Polish pantheon. Conversely, Tatiščev's critical attitude toward these Polish tales in the *Sinopsis*, explains why he refuses to take note of the Polish gods in the works of the Polish historians. One must admit that in regard to the Eastern Slavic gods Tatiščev applies relatively critical methods which stand out in contrast to his unconditional acceptance of all German data on Western Slavic deities.

Tatiščev's Eastern Slavic pantheon is significant for another reason. Already in 1739, Tatiščev compared Lado-Lelo to Cupid. In 1746, he introduces a further classical parallel: Perun is no longer just a god of thunder, he is worshipped like Jupiter and he equals the Varangian Thor. In 1749, almost all Eastern Slavic gods have parallels in classical mythology: Stribog equals Mars, Lelo may be Mercury, Kupalo is Neptune, Dido is Venus, Xors is Bacchus, and Rusalki are Nymphs. Thus in the final version of Tatiščev's mythological data we see that he has made a conscious effort to create an orderly Eastern Slavic pantheon. Structurally, this pantheon bears traces of Herodotus' Scythian gods. It cannot be a coincidence that the classical parallels to five out of the seven Eastern Slavic deities (four of whom were added by Tatiščev to his final version when he was working on material from Herodotus) should be Jupiter, Mars, Neptune, Venus, and Bacchus; precisely those gods who were, according to Herodotus, worshipped in Scythia where they could have entered into the religious worship of Sarmatian and Slavic tribes living on the same territories.

From his treatment of Slavic mythology and from the views he expressed on idolatry (either directly or by quotes from Walch), we see that Tatiščev was not committed to a single theory on the establishment of pagan religion. His philosophy shows traces of an array of rationalist reflections common to most eighteenth century mythographers.

On the origins and nature of idolatry he was, like Walch, an exponent of the rationalist Christian tradition according to which the birth of idolatry had its origin somewhere in Biblical times and was due to the degeneration of primitive monotheism. In his insistence on the basic monotheism of all pagan religions, and in his emphasis on the innate ability of primitive man to recognize the true God, he was almost a Christian deist. His belief that primitive man spontaneously deified phenomena for which his uneducated mind could offer no rational explanation was coupled with an almost Bayleian insistence that man worships his gods not only out of fear but also of a

practical need to place his confidence in a being from whom he expects something in return. In his acceptance of the new thesis advocated by van Dale and Fontenelle that the ancient oracles were nothing but a deliberate deceit of simple men by pagan rulers and not the work of the devil, Tatiščev shared the most enlightened views of his day on the origins and nature of idolatry.

Unfortunately, Tatiščev also accepted the central Euhemerist theme that gods were originally rulers and kings, apotheosized by man and, in the spirit of the still prevailing eighteenth century Euhemerist historicism (which despite its emphasis on a critical approach was slavishly dependent on inferred linguistic speculations), used the names of Slavic gods to prove the existence of Slavic rulers on territories where topographical or tribal names showed similarities in their roots to those of the Slavic deities.

Tatiščev did not deny or doubt the worship of Slavic pagan gods. He never makes derogatory remarks or disparaging comments about them but admits without criticism whatever gods may have been worshipped by the Slavs. This attitude is clearly marked by contrast with his sharp criticism of idolatry in general, which he links to contemporary superstition and to the improper worship of icons. Although there is no reason to question Tatiščev's real concern for the improper worship of icons or his interest in promoting ideas of Petrine enlightenment, one is inclined to believe that he includes this material in the chapter on idolatry to protect himself against possible onslaught from authorities for the presentation of his "pagan" data.

Tatiščev's scholarly methodology leaves much to be desired. He was careless in the use of citations, often relying simply on his memory. He makes up quotations without indicating that they are based on secondary sources. Especially confusing is his *Paragraph seven*, where all of his data is based on the work of Arnkiel, yet there is no way of even suspecting that his detailed references to primary sources are based on this one secondary work. In this respect Tatiščev does not differ from many of his contemporaries who blandly lifted ideas from other writers with or without citation from authority as the spirit moved them.

Of a still more serious nature was Tatiščev's dependence on secondary sources. Although in the course of his historical studies he had at his disposal almost all the primary sources on Western

Slavic paganism available to scholars today, he did not make the effort, or lacked the opportunity due to his often nomadic life, to verify these sources for exact data, relying on questionable secondary material. A major blunder was his acceptance of an error in Arnkiel's index where Belbog was listed as an evil god of the Slavs. Without verifying Arnkiel's text or sources, Tatiščev proceeded to use this data in support of his belief that the Slavs had inhabited Africa where white gods were believed to be evil.

Already in the first redaction of his history, and more so in the subsequent versions of his mythological data, Tatiščev introduces textual amendments which cannot be traced to any of his cited sources and which bear the unmistakable imprint of his enlightened views. Although there is no reason to believe that he consciously falsified any information on the Slavic gods, the fact that he reworked and supplemented his sources lowers, for example, the credibility of his claim that the Slav's worship of the sun, moon, and fire was attested in a copy of the *Primary Chronicle*.

Tatiščev's major weakness as a scholar was due to his entirely arbitrary method of collecting data, without preliminary criticism and comparative evaluation of sources. Yet despite his dependence on secondary sources and his Euhemerist and dilettante etymological speculations, Tatiščev was fully aware of the importance of primary sources and at times made a real effort to apply critical methods to the evaluation of his mythological data.

Although Tatiščev was not a reliable mythologist and his information about Slavic gods is inaccurate and often misleading, his treatment of Slavic mythology is important for the understanding of the evolution of mythological concepts in Russia. His work was the first attempt to view objectively the entire horizon of Slavic mythology and hence, despite his unscientific mode of procedure, Tatiščev deserves to be called the first Russian mythologist.

## NOTES

*Notes to Introduction*

<sup>1</sup>Some scholars credit Lomonosov, Čulkov, or Popov with the "discovery" of Slavic mythology in Russia. See P. N. Berkov, "Lomonosov i fol'klor" in *Trudy Komissii po istorii AN SSSR. Lomonosov: Sbornik materialov II* (Moscow, 1946), pp. 107-129; V. B. Šklovskij, *Čulkov i Levšin* (Leningrad, 1933), pp. 93-106; Hans Rogger, *National Consciousness in Eighteenth Century Russia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 167-170.

<sup>2</sup>V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija rossijskaja s samyx drevnejšix vremen neusypnymy trudami čerez tridsat' let sobrannaja i opisannaja pokojnym tajnym sovetnikom i astraxanskim gubernatorom Vasil'em Nikitičem Tatiščevym*, 5 vols. (Moscow: Pri Moskovskom Imperatorskom universitete, 1768-1848). Our investigation of Tatiščev's mythological data will be based on the new critical edition: V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija rossijskaja v semi tomax*, edited by A. I. Andreev, S. N. Val'k, and M. N. Tixomirov (Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1962-1968). All citations in the text will be made to this edition.

<sup>3</sup>V. N. Tatiščev, *Leksikon rossijskoj istoričeskoj, geografičeskoj, političeskoj i graždanskoj*. (St. Petersburg, 1793). Unfortunately, the *Leksikon*, written in 1744 stops at the letter K. A manuscript of 2,000 entries, giving mostly headings from the letter K to the end of the alphabet, lies still unpublished in the Tatiščev archives at BAN.

<sup>4</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, 1962, pp. 97-102.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., vol. 2, 1963, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup>Tatiščev, *Leksikon*, part 1, pp. 128, 166-168, and part 2, p. 92.

<sup>7</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 383-393.

<sup>8</sup>For a description of this manuscript see S. L. Peštič, *Russkaja istoriografija XVIII veka*, vol. 1. (Leningrad, 1961), p. 271.

<sup>9</sup>The 1739 version consisted of a brief footnote on Eastern Slavic gods written by Tatiščev in elucidation of his compilation of chronicle data. See his *Istorija*, vol. 7, p. 97. The 1746 version was still a footnote to the chronicle text, expanded with material on Western Slavic gods. See his *Istorija*, vol. 4, pp. 408-409. The 1749 version represented Tatiščev's chapter on idolatry. The full texts of all three versions of this data and the mythological material from his *Leksikon* are included in the Appendix at the end of this study.

<sup>10</sup>The circle of Tatiščev's Eastern Slavic sources has been almost fully determined. See Peštič, pp. 251-261, and introductory article by M. N. Tixomirov "O russkix istočnikax

'Istorii Rossijskoj'" in Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 39-53. See also scores of articles on Tatiščev's Russian sources in Soviet journals, especially B. A. Rybakov, "V. N. Tatiščev i letopisi XII v." in *Voprosy istorii*, No. 1, 1971, pp. 91-109. Tatiščev's dependence on foreign sources has not been subjected to a rigorous investigation. Only his Polish sources have been studied. See A. I. Rogov, "Stryjkovskij i russkaja istoriografija pervoj poloviny XVIII v.," in *Istoeniki i istoriografija slavjanskogo srednevekov'ja* (Moscow: AN SSSR, (1967), pp. 145-157; and his *Russko-pol'ski kul'turnye svjazi v epoxu vozroždenija: Stryjkovskij i ego xronika* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966).

<sup>11</sup> V. J. Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven: I. Quellen* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1922).

<sup>12</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, translated and edited by S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

<sup>13</sup> C. H. Meyer, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Slavicae* (Berlin, 1931).

## PART ONE

*Notes to Sources on Slavic Mythology*1. *Eastern Slavic Sources*

<sup>1</sup>See Introduction by S. H. Cross to *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), pp. 77-78.

<sup>2</sup>See D. O. Šeping, "Naši pis'mennye istočniki o jazyčeskix bogax ruskoj mifologii" in *Filologičeskie zapiski*, vyp. 6, 1888, p. 3. Minor variations in the Chronicles and full evaluation of all chronicle data are discussed in Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, pp. 28-141.

<sup>3</sup>*Kniga stepennaja carskago rodosloviija, soderžaščaja istoriju rossijskiju s načala onyja do vremen Gosudarja Carja i Velikago Knjazja Ioanna Vasil'eviča, sočinennaja trudami pre-osvjaščennyx mitropolitov Kipriana i Makarija, a napečatannaja pod smotreniem Gerarda Friderika Millera* (Moscow: Pri Imperatorskom universitete, 1775), p. 93.

<sup>4</sup>"Ipat'evskaja letopis'," *PSRL*, vol. 2 (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1962), pp. 278-279. Mythological data from the *Chronicle of Malala* in the Hypatian is discussed by Mansikka, pp. 66-75, and by E. M. Šustorovič, "Xronika Ioanna Malaly i antičnaja tradicija v drevnerusskoj literature," *TODRL*, vol. 23, 1968, pp. 62-70. Šustorovič also deals with this material in relationship to the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*.

<sup>5</sup>"Lavrent'evskaja letopis'," *PSRL*, vol. 1 (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1962), p. 79. The Cross translation of the first of these entries is inaccurate. See *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953 ed., p. 93.

<sup>6</sup>*PSRL*, vol. 1, 1962, pp. 116-117.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 32, 73, and 54.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 48 and 53.

<sup>10</sup>Peštič, *Russkaja istoriografija*, p. 229.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 251-261. See also Tatiščev's discussion of his own chronicle sources in his *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 89-91.

<sup>12</sup>The *Hustyn Chronicle* (in Russian "Gustinskaja letopis'") was published for the first time in *PSRL*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Arxeografičeskaja komissija, 1843), pp. 231-373. The 1962 edition of *PSRL*, vol. 2, lacks the text of this chronicle.

<sup>13</sup>See *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1843, p. 232. The title of the 1670 manuscript reads as follows: *Krojnyka, kotoraja načynaetsja ot potopu pervoho mira, y stolpotvorenija, y razdělenija jazyk', y rassějanija po vsej vseleñnej, y o roznyx' narodax'. . . . Spysasja sija krojnyka v' Maloj Rossij, v monastyrju . . . Hustynskom' Pryluckom' . . . roku 1670.*

<sup>14</sup>Two such copies were listed as variants in the 1843 edition which was based on the 1670 manuscript. For a discussion of these variant manuscripts see V. S. Ikonnikov, *Opyt*

*russkoj istoriografii*, vol. 2, book 2 (Kiev, 1908), pp. 1520-21, and Dmytro Bahaliy, *Narys ukrajins'koji istoriografiji*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1923), p. 115.

<sup>15</sup> See Ikonnikov, p. 1521, and Bahaliy, p. 115.

<sup>16</sup> A. Jeršov, "Koly i xto napysav Hustyns'kyj litopys?" in *Zapysky NTŠ*, vol. 100 (Lvov, 1930), pp. 205-211. Jeršov compared the *Hustyn Chronicle* with Kopystens'kyj's *Palynodija*, completed in 1622, and found a clear relationship in the language and style of the two works. According to M. T. Marčenko, the language of the chronicle (not reflected in the published text), is close to spoken Ukrainian and deserves special attention of linguists. See M. T. Marčenko, *Ukrajins'ka istoriografija z davnyx časiv do seredyiny XIX st.* (Kiev: Vyd-vo Kyjivs'koho universytetu, 1959), p. 36.

<sup>17</sup> On the sources of the *Hustyn Chronicle* see Ikonnikov, p. 1522, and Bahaliy, p. 117.

<sup>18</sup> *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1843, p. 232. Patriotic attitude of the author is discussed in Marčenko, pp. 35-36, and in Myxajlo Voznjak, *Istoriya ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2 (Lvov: Prosvita, 1921), pp. 308-309.

<sup>19</sup> *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1843, pp. 256-258.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>21</sup> Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, p. 121. Kromer, Guagnini, and Bielski are noted as sources by the author of the *Hustyn Chronicle* in the margins to the chapter. Strykowski is missing from this enumeration but is cited in other parts of the work.

<sup>22</sup> Marcin Kromer, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX recogniti ab auctore . . .* (Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum, 1558), p. 45.

<sup>23</sup> Marcin Kromer, *O sprawach, dzieiach y wszystkich potocznościach koronnych polskich; ksiąg XXX, przez Marcina Błażowskiego z Błażow: wyraznie na polski ięzyk przetłumaczone . . .* (W Krakowie: w drukarni Mikołaja Łoba, 1611), p. 42. This edition of Kromer was reprinted in *Zbiór dziejopisów polskich we czterech tomach*, vol. 3 (W Warszawie: Societatis Jesu, 1767). For excerpts from the 1611 ed. see our Appendix.

<sup>24</sup> *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1843, p. 257.

<sup>25</sup> Kromer, *De origine*, p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> Kromer, *O sprawach*, p. 42.

<sup>27</sup> *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1843, p. 256.

<sup>28</sup> Kromer and Bielski identify Poxvist with bad weather, Guagnini with air.

<sup>29</sup> A. Guagnini, *Kronika Sarmacyi europejskiej . . . przez Marcina Paszkowskiego za staraniem autorowym z łacińskiego na polskie przetoczona . . .* (W Warszawie: w drukarni J. K. Mci, 1768), p. 30. Interestingly, one of Vladimir's sons in the *Primary Chronicle* (under the year 6497) bears the name *Pozvizd*.

<sup>30</sup> Guagnini, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> Maciej Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, žmodska i wszystkiej Rusi: Kijówskiej, Moskiewskiej, Siewerskiej . . .* (Królewiec: G. Osterberger, 1582), p. 132.

<sup>32</sup> On Kupalo and Koljada see especially A. I. Sobolevskij, "Iz verovanij i obrjadov: 1. Kupalo," in his *Materialy i issledovanija v oblasti slavjanskoj filologii i arxeologii* (St. Petersburg, 1910), pp. 258-266; Mansikka, pp. 98 and 234; and *Ukraine, A Concise Encyclopedia*, ed. by Volodymyr Kubijovyč, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1970), pp. 330-331, 342, 350, and 354-359.

<sup>33</sup> Strykowski, p. 147.

<sup>34</sup> See J. M. Sokolov, *Russian Folklore*, translated by C. R. Smith (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950), pp. 179-202, and F. A. Brockhaus and I. A. Efron, eds., *Enciklopedičeskij slovar'*, vol. 17 (St. Petersburg, 1895), pp. 37-38.

<sup>35</sup> See Brockhaus, vol. 19, 1893, pp. 928-929, and *Ukrains'ka Radjans'ka Encyklopedija*, vol. 3 (Kiev: AN URSSR, 1960), p. 538.

<sup>36</sup> All the major texts of the Ukrainian lives of Vladimir, with commentary by V. N. Peretc, appear in Peretc, "Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žytija," in his *Issledovanija i materialy po istorii starinnoj ukraínskoj literatury XVI-XVIII vekov* (Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1962), p. 8-116.

<sup>37</sup> See N. Serebrjanskij, *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žytija; obzor redakcij i teksty* (Moscow, 1915), p. 81.

<sup>38</sup> See Peretc, pp. 8-9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36 and 77.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>44</sup> For a discussion of these versions of the long *Life of Vladimir* see *ibid.*, pp. 37-65.

<sup>45</sup> Stavnyč'kyj published the *Life* as a supplement to his *Vykład o cerkvi i cerkovnyx rečax* (Univ, 1670). See V. N. Undol'skij, *Očerok slavjano-russkoj bibliografii* (Moscow, 1871), no. 852, p. 95. The text of Stavnyč'kyj's *Life* appears in Peretc, pp. 90-108.

<sup>46</sup> See Peretc, pp. 52-53, and texts of the Stavnyč'kyj and a still earlier version of the *Life* in Peretc, pp. 104-105, and 86-88.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105. We may note here that Tur was later added to the Eastern Slavic pantheon on the basis of this data.

<sup>48</sup> This is also the opinion of Peretc, p. 62. Peretc correctly claims that the 1670 edition of the *Life* was incorporated into Gizel's *Sinopsis* in 1674.

<sup>49</sup> For exact bibliographic description of this edition see X. Titov, *Materialy dlja istorii knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajinii, XVI-XVIIIvv.* (Kiev: UAN, 1924), pp. 421-422. We have used: *Sinopsis, ili kratkoe sobranie s raznyx letopiscev, o načale slavjanorosijskogo naroda i pervonačal'nyx knjazex bogospasaemago grada Kieva, o žytii svjatogo blagovernago velikago knjazja*

*Kievskago i vseja Rossii pervejšago samoderžca Vladimira . . .* Kievo-Pečerskaja lavra, V leto ot sozdanija mira 7188, ot vo-ploščeniya že Boga Slova 1680.

<sup>50</sup> Although the 1674 edition is considered as the first by scholars, references exist to a possible 1670 and 1672 editions. See S. L. Peštič, "'Sinopsis' kak istoričeskoe proizvedenie," *TODRL*, vol. 15, 1958, pp. 284-286.

<sup>51</sup> Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoj istoriografii*, p. 1554.

<sup>52</sup> *Sinopsis*, pp. 26-43. A third chapter, "On the establishment of complete Orthodoxy in Russia" (O outverždenii soveršennom Věry Pravoslavnyja), briefly describes the destruction of idols before Christianization.

<sup>53</sup> *Sinopsis*, p. 27.

<sup>54</sup> Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 147.

<sup>55</sup> *Sinopsis*, p. 29.

<sup>56</sup> Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 132. On the origin of this data in Strykowski see our ensuing discussion of his *Kronika polska*.

<sup>57</sup> See Peštič, "'Sinopsis'," p. 285. On Gizel' see N. F. Sumcov, "Innokentij Gizel'" in *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 10, October 1884, pp. 183-226.

<sup>58</sup> I. P. Eremin, "K istorii obščestvennoj mysli na Ukraine vtoroj poloviny XVII v.," *TODRL*, vol. 10, 1954, p. 212.

<sup>59</sup> Peštič, "'Sinopsis'," pp. 289-298. See also A. Rogov, "Maciej Strykowski i historiografia ukraińska XVII wieku," *Slavia Orientalis*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1965, pp. 326-328.

<sup>60</sup> Peštič, "'Sinopsis'," footnote, p. 291.

<sup>61</sup> See Peretc, "Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žytija," p. 62, and Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, p. 123.

<sup>62</sup> One reason for its success in Russia was its support of the union of Ukraine with Russia. See Eremin, "K istorii obščestvennoj mysli na Ukraine," pp. 212-222.

<sup>63</sup> Kievan editions: 1674, 1678, and three editions of 1680; St. Petersburg editions: 1714 and 1718; and several Academy editions: 1735, 1745, 1762, 1774, 1785, and 1798. See S. I. Maslov, "K istorii izdanij Kievskogo 'Sinopsisa'" in *Sbornik statej v čest' Akademika Sobolevskogo* (Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1928), pp. 341-348.

<sup>64</sup> A. Popov, *Obzor Xronografov russkoj redakcii*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1869), p. 205.

<sup>65</sup> Maslov, p. 348.

<sup>66</sup> P. P. Pekarskij, *Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri Petre Velikom*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1862), pp. 524-525.

<sup>67</sup> See A. N. Robinson, *Istoriografija slavjanskogo vozroždenija i Paisij Xilendarskij* (Moscow, 1963), p. 118.

<sup>68</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 84.

<sup>69</sup> It seems to have been Simeon of Polock (1629-1680) who in his "Orel Rossijskij" (1667) first introduced the classical pagan gods to the Muscovite readers. See Introduction by N. A. Smirnov to Simeon Polockij, *Orel Rossijskij* (St. Petersburg: M. A. Alexandrov, 1915), and A. I. Sobolevskij, "Kogda načalsja

u nas ložno-klassicism?" in *Bibliograf*, no. 1, 1890, pp. 1-6. On Simeon's mythology see I. P. Eremin, "Poetičeskij stil' Simeona Polockogo" in his *Literatura drevnej Rusi, etjudy i xarakteristiki* (Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1966), pp. 224-228.

<sup>70</sup> A. N. Gorskij, *Svjatyj Dimitrij, Mitropolit Rostovskij* (Moscow, 1849), pp. 39-40.

<sup>71</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 101. In the text preceding this statement Tatiščev writes about Rusalki, which led Tixomirov to the conclusion that this work was only about Rusalki. See his Introductory article to *ibid.*, pp. 39-40. From the 1739 version of Tatiščev's mythological data it becomes clear that Tatiščev had referred to a work by Dimitrij on mythology in general. Here he wrote: "The Rostov Archbishop Dimitrij has written something about these idols and their characteristics." See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 7, p. 97. Similarly, in a footnote to an earlier manuscript of the second redaction Tatiščev noted that "about Kupalo and the rest [i.e., of Slavic gods], Dimitrij, Archbishop of Rostov began to write somewhat more extensively but did not complete his work." See *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 307 and compare with p. 56.

<sup>72</sup> See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 39-40.

<sup>73</sup> Dimitrij of Rostov, "Uspenie velykoho knjazja Volodymyra," in his *Čet'i Minei* (Kiev, 1705), pp. 447-457. Cited on the basis of Dmytro Abramovyč, "Litopysni džerela Četji-Minej Dmytra Rostovs'koho," *Zapysky Istoryčnoji sekciji Vseukrajins'koji AN*, vol. 32, 1929, p. 32.

<sup>74</sup> See Gorskij, p. 133; I. Porfir'ev, *Istorija russkoj slovesnosti*, vol. 1 (Kazan', 1904), p. 671; N. Tixonravov, "Tragedokomedija Feofana Prokopoviča 'Vladimir'," *ŽMNP*, vol. 203, 1879, pp. 67-68; and especially Abramovyč, pp. 33-37. Abramovyč considers the *Hustyn Chronicle* as Dimitrij's major source.

<sup>75</sup> See text in I. A. Šljapkin, *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja, 1651-1709 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 247-249.

<sup>76</sup> Dimitrij of Rostov, *Letopis', iže vo svjatyx otea našego Dimitrija Mitropolita Rostovskago čudotvorca skazujuščaja dejanija ot načal mirobytija do Roždestva Xristova*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1796).

<sup>77</sup> According to Šljapkin, this material is based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a work which Dimitrij owned in a manuscript translation from Polish. See Šljapkin, pp. 94 and 424. About this translation see A. I. Sobolevskij, *Perevodnaja literatura Moskovskoj Rusi XIV-XVII vekov* (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 183.

<sup>78</sup> Dimitrij of Rostov, *Letopis'*, p. 194.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>81</sup> See Jan De Vries, *Forschungsgeschichte der Mythologie* (Freiburg-München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1961), p. 45.

<sup>82</sup> In 1686 Galjatovs'kyj published in Černyhiv: *Bogi poganske v balvanax meškajučie, duxove zlye, tym že pospolu ix rozmatnye zlosti napisany, žeby Xristijane pravovernnye mogli ot*

*sebe zlyx dušov otognati i podoptati i poplevati i sily ix zlamati i nad nymy triumfovati.* Here he speaks of demons hiding in pagan statues whom only prayers help to disperse. See N. F. Sumcov, "Ioannikij Galjatovskij" in *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 8, April 1884, pp. 565-588. This attitude may of course indicate only an effort to reconcile mythology with the doctrine of the Church, rather than a serious belief of the author.

<sup>83</sup> For a discussion of seventeenth century attitudes toward mythology see De Vries, pp. 67-81.

<sup>84</sup> Cited by K. Bestjužev-Rjumin, *Biografii i xarakteristiki* (St. Petersburg, 1882), p. 6. This view is upheld by C. Grau in his *Der Wirtschaftsorganisator, Staatsmann und Wissenschaftler Vasilij N. Tatiščev, 1686-1750* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1963), p. 21. The Soviet scholar E. Kolosov, argues against this thesis. See his "Novye biografičeskie materialy o V. N. Tatiščeve" in *Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik za 1963 god* (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), pp. 106-114, especially p. 109.

<sup>85</sup> Nil Popov, *V. N. Tatiščev i ego vremja* (Moscow, 1861), pp. 13-14.

<sup>86</sup> Data about Tatiščev's life between 1704 and 1710 is also scarce. Kolosov, on the basis of archival material concludes that Tatiščev joined the service of the Tsar as a "stol'nik" (lower court official) in 1704 and the military service in 1706. See Kolosov, p. 107.

<sup>87</sup> See especially his *Razgovor dvux prijatelej o pol'ze nauki i učilišč* (Moscow, 1887), p. 46.

<sup>88</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 102 and 383.

<sup>89</sup> See Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija o V. N. Tatiščeve* (St. Petersburg, 1864), p. 56.

<sup>90</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography of Prokopovyč's works and major works about him see James Cracraft, "Feofan Prokopovich: A Bibliography of His Works," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. vol. 8, 1975, pp. 1-36. The most important historical studies in English on Prokopovyč are also the work of Cracraft. See especially his "Feofan Prokopovich" in J. G. Garrard, ed., *The Eighteenth Century in Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 75-105.

<sup>91</sup> R. Stupperich, "Feofan Prokopovič und seine akademische Wirksamkeit," *Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie*, vol. 17, 1941, p. 77.

<sup>92</sup> According to Stupperich, Prokopovič's teaching methods were fashioned on the educational views of the Czech educator Jan Amos Komensky (1592-1670), and rested upon the principle of clarity, logic, and rationality in the presentation of material. See Stupperich, pp. 84-99. See also E. Winter, "Feofan Prokopovič i načalo ruskogo prosvěšćenija" in *Roľ' i značenie literatury XVIII v.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1966), pp. 43-46.

<sup>93</sup> P. Morozov, "Feofan Prokopovič kak pisatel'" in *ŽMNP*, vol. 209, pp. 114-116; and I. Čistovič, *Feofan Prokopovič i ego vremja* (St. Petersburg, 1868), p. 589.

<sup>94</sup> Cracraft, "Feofan Prokopovich" in J. G. Garrard, p. 90, etc.

<sup>95</sup> Teofan Prokopovyč, "De arte poetica libri III" in his *Sočinenija*, pod. red. I. P. Eremina (Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1961), pp. 227-455 (including the original and Russian translation). Citations here are to the Russian text. The work was first published by H. Konyss'kyj, Mohyliv, 1786.

<sup>96</sup> Prokopovyč, "Vladimir" in his *Sočinenija*, pp. 147-226. First published by N. S. Tixonravov, *Russkie dramatičeskie proizvedenija 1672-1725*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1874), pp. 280-344.

<sup>97</sup> Prokopovyč, *Sočinenija*, p. 390.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 402-403. Prokopovyč also opposes references to pagan mythology in Christian pulpit oratory. See R. Łuźny, *Pisarze kręgu Akademji Kijowsko-Mohylanskiej i literatura polska* (Cracow, 1966), p. 73. On the relationship of Prokopovyč's poetic theories to those of Aristotle see V. Močulskij, "Otnošenje južno-russkoj sxolastiki k ložno-klassicismu XVIII v.," *ŽMNP*, August 1904, pp. 361-379.

<sup>99</sup> See introductory article by Eremin in Prokopovyč, *Sočinenija*, p. 6.

<sup>100</sup> Prokopovyč's sources for this material have not as yet been fully determined, although the *Life of Vladimir*, the *Hustyn Chronicle*, the *Synopsis*, and Strykowski have been suggested. See especially Tixonravov, "Tragedokomedija Feofana Prokopoviča," p. 68, and Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj "'Vladymyr' Teofana Prokopoviča," *Naukovi Zapysky NTS*, vol. 131, 1920, pp. 84-86.

<sup>101</sup> In contrast to some earlier Kievan plays and almost all Muscovite plays of the Petrine period, Prokopovyč does not depict among his personages heroes or gods of classical antiquity but chooses his subject directly from early Kievan history. For the Kievan and Petrine plays see V. Rezanov, "Drama ukrajins'ka," *Zbirnyk Istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilju UAN*, vol. 7, parts 1, 4-6 (Kiev, 1926-1929); Rezanov, *Iz istorii russkoj dramy: Škol'nye dejstvija XVII-XVIII vv. i teatr Jezuitov* (Moscow: OADR, 1910); and Tixonravov, *Russkie dramatičeskie proizvedenija*, vols. 1-2.

<sup>102</sup> The play was denounced by Prokopovyč's opponent M. Radyševs'kyj as an attack on clergy, depicting Russian priests as hypocrites and idolatrous pagans. See Tixonravov, "Tragedokomedija Feofana Prokopoviča," p. 92.

<sup>103</sup> Prokopovyč, "Vladimir," p. 93.

<sup>104</sup> The pagan gods are not even represented as spirits able to tempt men. To tempt Vladimir, allegorical demons ascend directly from hell summoned by the ignorant priests who are the disseminators of pagan idolatry.

<sup>105</sup> The idea that idolatry is but the result of ignorance is further carried by Prokopovyč in his sermon "Slovo o poste" of 1717. It is a quote from this sermon that Tatiščev uses to justify his presentation of Slavic mythology in his chapter on idolatry. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 99-100. In another sermon, Prokopovyč calls Peruns, Voloses, Pozvizds, Lados,

and Kupalos powerful demons at whom even children may now laugh. See his "Slovo . . . v den' sv. ravnoapostol'nago Knjazja Vladimira" in *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 22, July 1888, Priloženie, p. 12.

<sup>106</sup> Prokopovyč, "Vladimir," p. 199.

<sup>107</sup> Grau, *Der Wirtschaftsorganisator, Staatsmann und Wissenschaftler Vasilij N. Tatiščev*, p. 21.

<sup>108</sup> Grau, p. 21. To our knowledge, no scholarly study on the contacts between the two men exists to date. Grau's views are based on his use of Tatiščev's unpublished archives at BAN. On the basis of a letter Tatiščev wrote to Schumacher in 1731, Grau claims that Tatiščev had access to Prokopovyč's immense library. See Grau, pp. 139-140. P. V. Verxovskoj published on the basis of a defective manuscript a catalog of Prokopovyč's library in his book *Učreždenie Duxovnoj Kollegii i Duxovnyj Reglament*, vol. 2 (Rostov na Donu, 1916), part 5, pp. 3-71. Among the 3,192 titles, we find Procopius, Paulo Giovio, Strykowski, Długosz, Kromer, Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*, Olaus Rudbeck's *Atlantika*, Phillip Clüver's *Germaniae Antiquae*, manuscripts of the works of Simeon of Polock, and many compendia on ancient history. For a critical evaluation of this library see Dmytro Čyžev'skyj, "Biblioteka Teofana Prokopovyč" in *Naukovyj zbirnyk UAN*, vol. 2 (New York, 1954), pp. 127-137, and J. Tetzner, "Bücher deutscher Autoren in Prokopovič's Bibliothek" in E. Winter, ed., *Die Deutsch-Russische Begegnung und Leonhard Euler* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), pp. 125-142.

<sup>109</sup> In his history, Tatiščev generally refers to Prokopovyč respectfully as "his honor the Archbishop of Novgorod," or "the highly learned Archbishop Prokopovič." See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 331, 365, and vol. 2, p. 240. Tatiščev's letters to Prokopovyč represent a curious mixture of informal but purposeful chattering and bombastic epithets expounding the qualities of the prelate. See letter of 1734 in Grau, pp. 209-210.

<sup>110</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 4, p. 100.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 330. At this time the two men supplied him with books and notes and advised him to order books from Germany.

<sup>112</sup> This Tatiščev notes in his *Duxovnaja* (Kazan', 1885), p. 21, where he also advises his son to read the works of Prokopovyč. Conflicting ideologies between the two scholars are reflected in a dispute, during which Tatiščev expressed his doubts about the credibility of Solomon's *Song of Songs*. In reply, Prokopovyč wrote a special tract in defense of Solomon, where he noted his disagreements with Tatiščev. See Prokopovyč, *Rassuždenie o knige Solomonovoj, naricaemoj Pesni pesnej* (Moscow, 1774), p. 5. Tatiščev's interest in the works of Prokopovyč is also reflected in his 1731 proposal to the Academy to publish Prokopovyč's most important sermons in German. See Grau, p. 127.

<sup>113</sup> *De arte rhetorica libri X* exists only in manuscript, although extracts from books I, IV, and VI have been published

in several journals and books. The chapter on history has been translated into Ukrainian. See Prokopovyč, "Pro metod pysannja istoriji ta pro lysty," *Filosofov'ka dumka*, no. 1, 1971, pp. 99-109. Here Prokopovyč notes that a historian must at all times preserve complete objectivity toward his subject, must remain a "free man" in his allegiance to no one and nothing but the truth. See *ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>114</sup> It was most unfortunate that Prokopovyč liked fantastic linguistic interpretations of geographical and personal nomenclature. Tatiščev willingly accepted all his etymologies (See Tatiščev, *Istoriija*, vol. 1, especially pp. 161 and 315-316), and similarly, indulged in his own etymologizing, some of which will be discussed later in relationship to his mythological material. See esp. note 19, II, 3.

## 2. Foreign Sources

<sup>1</sup>Procopius, with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, vol. 4: History of the Wars, book 7 (London-New York, 1924), pp. 269-270.

<sup>2</sup>Procopius Caesariensis, "Historium sui temporis de bello gothico libri quatuor ex interpretatione Claudii Maltreti" in Muratori, Ludovico Antonio, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vol. 1 (Mediolani: Societas Palatinae, 1723), pp. 243-378. As cited by G. M. Korovin, *Biblioteka Lomonosova* (Moscow-Leningrad: Izdvo AN SSSR, 1961), p. 275.

<sup>3</sup>See Verxovskoj, *Učreždenie*, vol. 2, Supplement, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup>For a critical edition see R. Holtzmann, *Die Chronik des Thietmar von Merseburg*, 4th edition (Leipzig, 1939), based on Holtzmann's critical Latin ed. in *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, n.s., vol. 9 (Berlin, 1935).

<sup>5</sup>See Thietmar "Chronicon," in *Scriptores*, p. 302. For excerpts on Slavic mythology from Thietmar see Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 8-11.

<sup>6</sup>See Thietmar in *Scriptores*, p. 321.

<sup>7</sup>Thietmar of Merseburg, "Chronicon" in *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium*, edited by G. W. Leibnitz, vol. 1 (Hanoverae, 1707).

<sup>8</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 114, 198, 211, 228, etc.

<sup>9</sup>Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, translated with an introduction and notes by Francis J. Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 66. The work contains a detailed description of the temple. Compare with excerpts from Adam in Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>10</sup>This view is upheld by Alexander Brückner. For a critical evaluation of this data and summary of opinion see Erwin Wienecke, *Untersuchungen zur Religion der Westslawen* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1940), pp. 3-4.

<sup>11</sup>Adam of Bremen, *History*, pp. 207-208.

<sup>12</sup>For editions see Introduction by Tschan to *ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>13</sup>"A. Adami Historia ecclesiastica" in E. Lindenbrog, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum* (Hamburg: C. Liebezeit, 1706). As cited by Korovin, *Biblioteka Lomonosova*, p. 266.

<sup>14</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 209-215, 218, 221-223, etc.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>16</sup>A. Hofmeister, ed., *Monachus Prieflingensis: Prüfeninger Vita des Bischofs Otto von Bamberg* (Greifswald, 1924). On the interdependence of these three works see Wienecke, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 7-16.

<sup>17</sup>Ebbo and Herbordus, *The Life of Otto, Apostle of Pomerania, 1060-1139*, translated by Ch. H. Robinson (London-New York, 1920). Excerpts on Slavic mythology from Ebbo in Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 32-40, and from Herbord, pp. 24-31.

<sup>18</sup> See Introduction by F. J. Tschan to Helmold, *The Chronicle of the Slavs by Helmold, Priest of Bosau*, translated by F. J. Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), pp. 26-32.

<sup>19</sup> The Bangert edition was reprinted by Leibnitz in *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium* (Hanoverae, 1707-1711).

<sup>20</sup> Helmold, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, pp. 158-160 and 218-224; compare with excerpts from Helmold on Slavic mythology, in Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 42-47.

<sup>21</sup> Helmoldus, *Chronica Slavorum Helmoldi, Presbyteri Bosouensis et Arnoldi Abbatis Lubicensis in quibus res Slavicae et Saxonicae fere a tempore Caroli Magni usque ad Ottonem IV exponuntur Henricus Bangertus* (Lubecae: Sumptibus Statii Wessellii, 1659), pp. 124-127.

<sup>22</sup> See Korovin, *Biblioteka Lomonosova*, p. 258.

<sup>23</sup> According to Tatiščev, by 1737 this library consisted of 1,000 volumes. See his *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 349. In 1860, N. K. Čupin found in the library of Ekaterinburg 120 of these books which preserved Tatiščev's initials and indications when and where they were acquired. Čupin noted only a few authors in this collection: Marco Polo, Jan Długosz, Marcin Kromer, and Helmold. See N. K. Čupin, "Biblioteka V. N. Tatiščeva v Ekaterinburge" in *Moskovskie vedomosti*, no. 203, 1860. The remains of this library have recently been rediscovered at the Sverdlovsk Regional Museum. Unfortunately, we do not as yet have at our disposal the full list of these works; we do know that the library also included the works of Albert Krantz, Herodotus, and Constantine Prophyrogennitos. See V. G. Fedorov, "K istorii ekaterinburgskoj biblioteki V. N. Tatiščeva" in *Materijal k biografii V. N. Tatiščeva* (Sverdlovsk: Oblastnoj kraevedčeskij muzej, 1964), pp. 78-90. See also I. V. Val'kina, "K voprosu ob istočnikax Tatiščeva" in *Rol' i značenie literatury 18 veka v istorii russoj kul'tury* (Moscow-Leningrad, AN SSSR, 1960), pp. 74-93.

<sup>24</sup> Nil Popov, "Učenyje i literaturnye trudy V. N. Tatiščeva," *ŽMNP*, vol. 245, June 1886, p. 202.

<sup>25</sup> Tatiščev refers to Bangert in his *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 338. Our investigation of Tatiščev's mythological data discussed later in this study also indicates that he knew this edition.

<sup>26</sup> See Introductory article by A. I. Andreev in Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 20-21 and p. 448. See also *Istoričeskij očerk i obzor fondov Rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademii nauk*, vyp. 1, XVIII vek (Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1956), pp. 180, 232, 440. As cited by Val'kina "K voprosu ob istočnikax Tatiščeva," p. 81. As soon as this translation becomes available to scholars, it may be possible to determine which edition had been used by Tatiščev. L. V. Razumovskaja in her Introduction to the Russian translation of Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* says nothing about the Kondratovič translation. See Helmold, *Slavjanskaja xronika*, ed. by M. N.

Tixomirov (Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963), p. 26.

<sup>27</sup> On Saxo see Charles P. Barnason, "Early Danish and Swedish writers on native history," in *Studies in Honor of John Albrecht Walz* (Lancaster, Pa., 1941), p. 163.

<sup>28</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*, translated by Oliver Elton (Nandeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprints Limited, 1967), pp. 392-397. See also excerpts on Slavic mythology from Saxo in Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 48-56. *Svantaviz* (i.e., Svantevit), three images of Carentian gods lacking polycephalous properties: *Rinvit*, *Turupid*, *Puruwit* (i.e., Porevit), and a deity called *Tjarmoglofi* (Černobog?) are also mentioned in the Norse *Knyttlingasaga*, known in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. For text see Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 83-86. It has been suggested that Saxo may have known the same sources as the author of the *Saga*. See Wienecke, *Untersuchungen*, p. 21. Wienecke presents the best evaluation of all the primary sources on Western Slavic mythology.

<sup>29</sup> See Introduction by Elton to Saxo Grammaticus, p. ix. On Saxo's mythology see also De Vries, *Forschungsgeschichte*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>30</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, p. 226.

<sup>31</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum historiae libri XVI, trecentis adhinc annis conscripti, tanta dictionis elegantia* (Basileae: J. Bebelius, 1534). As cited by Korovin, *Biblioteka Lomonosova*, p. 279.

<sup>32</sup> See Tatišev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 210-211, 215, 217, 219, 221, 264-265, 294-295, 298.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>34</sup> We have used Jan Długosz, *Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa polskiego*, vol. 1, edited by J. Dąbrowski (Warsaw, 1961), and his *Annales seu cronicae incliti Poloniae*, vol. 1, edited by J. Dąbrowski (Warsaw, 1964).

<sup>35</sup> For a biography of Długosz see M. Bobrzyński, and St. Smółka, *Jan Długosz, jego życie i stanowisko w piśmemictwie* (Cracow, 1893), and Jan Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie, do roku 1480* (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, 1964), pp. 183-240.

<sup>36</sup> Six out of twelve books of *Annales* were published in three volumes by J. Fel Herbert in Dobromil in 1615 but were, upon the request of Sigismund III, immediately confiscated. See Długosz, *Roczniki*, p. 29.

<sup>37</sup> A total of 82 manuscripts have been attested, dating from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. See his *Roczniki*, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> Długosz, *Historiae polonicae libri XIII* (Lipsiae: J. L. Gleiditsch et M. G. Weidmann, 1711). On this and other editions see *Roczniki*, pp. 33-38.

<sup>39</sup> Długosz, *Roczniki*, pp. 260 and 276.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>41</sup> See especially A. Brückner, "Mythologische Studien III," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, vol. 14, 1892, pp. 161-191;

G. Iljinskij, "Dzidzilelia Jana Długoša," *Slavia Occidentalis*, vol. 5, 1926, pp. 524-529; and Karol Potkański, "Wiadomości Długosza o polskiej mitologii" in his *Pisma pośmiertne*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1924), pp. 79-80. See also note 51 below.

<sup>42</sup> A. A. Šaxmatov, *Razyskanija o drevnix russkix letopisnyx svodax* (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 342-344, and 352 where he notes a brief passage on pagan customs based on a thirteenth century Galician chronicle no longer extant.

<sup>43</sup> As cited by Andreev in Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 19.

<sup>44</sup> See Val'kina, "K voprosu ob istočnikax Tatiščeva," p. 80.

<sup>45</sup> For a biography of Miechowski see *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna ilustrowana*, serya I, vol. 45-46 (Warsaw, 1911), pp. 1007-1010; and H. Barycz, "Maciej z Miechowa; Studium z dziejow kultury naukowej Polski doby Obrodzenia," *Nauka polska*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1958, pp. 47-100. For a brief evaluation of Miechowski within the context of humanist ideas see I. N. Goleniščev-Kutuzov, *Italjanskoe vozroźdenie i slavjanskie literatury XV-XVI vekov* (Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1961), pp. 310-311.

<sup>46</sup> Miechowski, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis, Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* (Cracoviae, J. Haller, 1517).

<sup>47</sup> Miechowski, *Chronica Polonorum*. . . . Impressum Craccouiae per Hieronym Vietore, 1521. All our citations will be to this edition. Another edition came out in 1582 and an Italian translation appeared in Venice in 1562.

<sup>48</sup> See Introduction to Długosz, *Roczniki*, p. 27.

<sup>49</sup> Miechowski, *Chronica Polonorum*, vol. II, book II, pp. 20-21.

<sup>50</sup> Miechowski writes: "Lada, as I have heard myself, they call Leda, not Mars, Castor Lel, Pollux Polel." Here Miechowski corrects Długosz, since in the initial enumeration of Długosz's gods he identified Mars with Lada (*Leda*). See *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* On the song refrains *lado/lada* (with the meaning husband, wife, beloved) and *lel/ljuli, lelja, leljuški*, as related etymologically to *lelejat'* (to rock, sway), see Max Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg, 1955), pp. 5 and 29, and V. I. Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo Velikorusskago jazyka*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, Moscow, 1914), cols. 601 and 636. See also *Slovar' russkogo jazyka*, 2nd edition, vol. 5, part 1 (Leningrad: AN SSSR, 1930), cols. 66-67, and col. 91, listing old texts with the refrains *Lado*, *Lel*, and *Dido*. See also the discussion of this material, pp. 82-83, note 41 above, and notes 10-15, II, 4.

<sup>52</sup> On Kromer see H. Barycz. *Dwie syntezy dziejow narodowych przed sądem potomności: Losy "Historji" Jana Długosza i M. Kromera* (Wrocław, 1952).

<sup>53</sup> For the 1558 ed. which we have used see note 22, I, 1.

<sup>54</sup> On editions see *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 15, pp. 319-325, esp. p. 323.

<sup>55</sup> Kromer, *O sprawach*, see Part I, 1, note 23.

<sup>56</sup> See Kromer, *De origine*, p. 45.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Długosz notes only Perun. The 1555, Basileae edition of Kromer's *De origine*, pp. 44-45, lacks the reference to the Polabian Slavs.

<sup>59</sup> See our discussion of Krantz, p. 39.

<sup>60</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 16 and 447. The manuscript of the Kondratovič translation of Kromer, bearing manifold notations made by Tatiščev is preserved at BAN. See G. N. Mojseeva, "Lomonosov i pol'skie istoriki" in *Russkaja literatura XVIII veka i slavjanske literatury: issledovanija i materialy* (Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963), p. 151.

<sup>61</sup> See Val'kina, "K voprosu ob istočnikax Tatiščeva," p. 80.

<sup>62</sup> On his sources and evaluation of his data see Ignacy Chrzanowski, *Marcin Bielski, studjum historyczno-literackie* (Lvov, Warsaw: Książnica Atlas, 1926), pp. 53-57.

<sup>63</sup> *Kronika, to iesth Historya Swiata, na szesc wiekow a czterzy Monarchie rozdzielona*. . . Drukowano w Krakowie v Mattheusza Siebeneychera, roku ot Narodzenia Pańskiego, 1564. For bibliographic data on all three editions see K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 13, 1894, pp. 84-88 and Chrzanowski, pp. 18-19, 24, 29, 50-52, and 57.

<sup>64</sup> Its anti-Catholic bias made the work especially appealing to Orthodox Slavs. See Vasyl' Lev, *Ukrajins'kyj pereklad xroniky Martyna Bel'skoho* (Warsaw, 1935), pp. 3-4. A Russian translation extant in a copy of 1670 was made in Moscow in 1584 from an even earlier Belorussian translation based on the 1564 Polish edition. A second Russian translation of 1565-1568 made directly from the Polish original has also been indicated. See A. I. Sobolevskij, *Perevodnaja literatura Moskovskoj Russi*, pp. 53-54. Two Ukrainian translations, one of the sixteenth century, another from the seventeenth century are also known.

<sup>65</sup> Cited on the basis of A. Popov's detailed description of Bielski's data which found its way into several compilations, such as the 1617 redaction of the Russian *Chronograph* and the *Cosmography* of 1670. See Popov, *Obzor xronografov russkoj redakciji*, vol. 2, pp. 87-110 and his *Izbornik slavjanskix i russkix sočinenij i statej vnesennyx v xronografy russkoj redakcii* (Moscow, 1869), pp. 438-442. We also examined this material in *Kosmografija 1670: Kniga glagolaemaja kosmografija sireč opisanie sego sveta zemel' i gosudarstv velikix* . . . (St. Petersburg: V. S. Balašev, 1878-81).

<sup>66</sup> From the material we verified (see above), there is no indication that it contained data on Slavic mythology. We have also found no references to any more recent editions of this work.

<sup>67</sup> Marcin Bielski, *Kronika polska, nowo przez Joachima*

*Bielskiego syná iego* wydana (Kraków: w. drukárni Jakubá Sibeny-  
chera, 1597). The exact relationship between this work and M.  
Bielski's *Chronicle of the World* is not clear. Most scholars  
consider *Kronika polska* to be almost entirely the work of Joachim  
which he published under his father's name to clear his father  
of accusations of heresy. See Chrzanowski, pp. 29-30 and 255,  
and W. Nehring, *O życiu i piśmich Joachima Bielskiego* (Poznań,  
1860), pp. 22-26.

<sup>68</sup> See Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, pp. 135-136.

<sup>69</sup> Bielski, *Kronika polska*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>70</sup> See A. I. Rogov, "Drevnerusskie perevody 'Xroniki'  
Stryjkovskogo" in *Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik, 1962* (Moscow:  
Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963), p. 209.

<sup>71</sup> See S. Ptašickij, "Zapadno-russkie perevody xronik Bel-  
skogo i Strykovskogo" in *Novyj sbornik statej po Slavjanovede-  
deniju sostavlennyj i izdannij učenicami V. I. Lamanskogo po  
slučaju 50-letija ego učeno-literaturnoj dejatel'nosti* (St.  
Petersburg, 1905), pp. 289-296.

<sup>72</sup> Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija*, p. 61.

<sup>73</sup> For a full citation see note 31, I, 1. All citations are  
to the 1582 edition.

<sup>74</sup> Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, book IV, chapter 4, pp. 144-  
147, and chapter 3, pp. 132-141.

<sup>75</sup> Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, pp. 136-137. There  
is no question that Strykowski had also used the *Primary Chron-  
icle*.

<sup>76</sup> Strykowski, p. 132.

<sup>77</sup> Mansikka, p. 138.

<sup>78</sup> We have used S. Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia (Rerum  
Moscoviticarum Commentarii)*, translated and edited by R. H.  
Major, vol. 1 (New York: Bust Franklin Publishers, n.d.), p. 16.  
See our discussion of Herberstein later in this chapter.

<sup>79</sup> On Uslad see p. 40.

<sup>80</sup> Strykowski, pp. 147 and 140, and the text in our Appen-  
dix.

<sup>81</sup> For full details on editions see Rogov, "Drevnerusskie  
perevody," pp. 207 and 211-212.

<sup>82</sup> Sobolevskij, *Perevodnaja literatura*, p. 79.

<sup>83</sup> See Rogov, "Drevnerusskie perevody," pp. 208-209.

<sup>84</sup> Sobolevskij, p. 79, and Rogov, *ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>85</sup> See Ptašickij, "Zapadno-russkie perevody," pp. 38-381.

<sup>86</sup> Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija*, p. 20. It is possible that  
Tatiščev extracted some material from this manuscript since none  
of the known texts coincide with his citations. See Rogov,  
"Strykovskij i russkaja istoriografija," p. 155.

<sup>87</sup> In 1734 Tatiščev asked Kondratovič to translate Stryj-  
kowski into Russian. For some reason this was not done. After  
he received a translation of Kromer, Tatiščev expressed his re-  
grets that he was not able to correct Kromer on the basis of  
Strykowski, whom he valued more than Kromer. See Tatiščev,  
*Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 446-447 (letter of August 15, 1735 to

Schumacher). In May 1750 Tatiščev made one more attempt to obtain Strykowski and wrote to Schumacher: "I especially need Kromer, Strykowski, and Skarga, since having once had them, I was accidentally deprived of them and in Poland they could not be bought. . ." See A. I. Andreev, "Perepiska V. N. Tatiščeva za 1746-1750 gg.," *Istoričeskij arxiv*, vol. 6, 1951, p. 296.

<sup>88</sup> It seems that this copy was later lost which may explain why Tatiščev had such difficulties in obtaining Strykowski. See Mojseeva, "Lomonosov i pol'skie istoriki," p. 141.

<sup>89</sup> This data is discussed in detail in Part II, 4 of the book.

<sup>90</sup> Alessandro Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio*. . . (Cracoviae: Typis Matthiae Wirzbietae, 1578).

<sup>91</sup> For details see T. Ulewicz, *Sarmacja: Studium z problematyki słowianskiej XV i XVI w.* (Cracow, 1950), pp. 115-116 and 184-185.

<sup>92</sup> See Goleniščev-Kutuzov, p. 315.

<sup>93</sup> For editions see *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 9, pp. 202-204; *BM Catalogue of Printed Books*, vol. 198, p. 562; and Goleniščev-Kutuzov, p. 345.

<sup>94</sup> Strykowski obtained from the King a document stating that Guagnini's *Descriptio* was his literary property. Only the death of Strykowski in 1582 prevented legal action against Guagnini. See *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 9, pp. 203-204.

<sup>95</sup> Guagnini, *Kronika Sarmacyi Europejskiej*. For full citation of the 1768 edition see note 29, I, 1.

<sup>96</sup> For a description of these editions see Sobolevskij, *Perevodnaja literatura*, pp. 76-78.

<sup>97</sup> Compare Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio*, n.p., under the year 962 of Folio 7 and p. 305 with his *Kronika*, pp. 30 and 485.

<sup>98</sup> Compare Guagnini, *Kronika*, p. 30 with Strykowski, *Kronika*, p. 147.

<sup>99</sup> Compare Guagnini, p. 485 with Strykowski, p. 147. This similarity has first been noted by Mansikka, p. 120.

<sup>100</sup> Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija*, p. 61. This is the reason why we have enclosed the Paszkowski rather than the 1578 Latin text of Guagnini in the Appendix.

<sup>101</sup> On Krantz, his life, and historiography, see doctoral dissertation by Manfred Grobecker, *Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des Albert Krantz*. Hamburg, 1964 (at Yale University Library), esp. pp. 1-4.

<sup>102</sup> Albert Krantz, *Vandalia* (Hanoviae: Typis Wecheliansis, 1619), p. 76. All citations are to this edition.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>104</sup> Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoj istoriografii*, p. 1555.

<sup>105</sup> See Fedorov, "K istorii ekaterinburgskoj biblioteki V. N. Tatiščeva," pp. 81-82.

<sup>106</sup> Korovin, *Biblioteka Lomonosova*, pp. 264-245.

<sup>107</sup> Tatiščev, *Istoriija*, vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>108</sup> See Friedrich von Adelung, *Kritisch-literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700, deren Berichte*

bekannt sind (St. Petersburg: Eggers & Co., 1846), v. 1, p. 187.

<sup>109</sup> Paulo Giovio, *Pauli Iovii Novocomensis libellus de legatione Basilii magni Principis Moschoviae ad Clementem VII Pontificem Max* (Basileae, 1527), p. 27. Giovio's mythology is briefly discussed by Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, p. 358.

<sup>110</sup> On editions see Adelung, pp. 187-189.

<sup>111</sup> See I. Senigov, "Istoriko-kritičeskie issledovanija o Novgorodskix letopisjax" in *Čtenija OIDR*, vol. 4, 1887, p. 184.

<sup>112</sup> On Herberstein and editions of his work see *Russkij biografičeski slovar'*, vol. 2 (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1962), pp. 1-9.

<sup>113</sup> Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia*, p. 16.

<sup>114</sup> On Strykowski's, Orbini's and Perssons's data based on Herberstein see our discussion of their works in this chapter.

<sup>115</sup> See Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, p. 125.

<sup>116</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 460.

<sup>117</sup> Hermann Mosemann Fabronius, *Neue Summarische Welt Historia*. . . (zu Schmakalden: durch Wolfgang Ketzeln, 1612), p. 90.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>119</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 100 and vol. 2, p. 321.

<sup>120</sup> See note 16, II, 3 and p. 69.

<sup>121</sup> Mavro Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi, hoggi corrottamente detti schiavoni* (Pesaro, 1601).

<sup>122</sup> On Orbini see introductory articles to his recent Beograd edition: Mavro Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena* (Beograd, 1968). Editors of this edition do not believe that Orbini had actually read the hundreds of works which he lists as his sources in the introduction and later in the text. See Sima Ćirković's comments to *ibid.*, p. 381. A list of Orbini's sources appears on pp. 383-384, critically discussed on pp. 384-428.

<sup>123</sup> Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, p. 53.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 82-83.

<sup>125</sup> Compare with Helmold, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, p. 159 and Krantz, *Vandalia*, p. 76. See also our discussion of Helmold and Krantz, pp. 30-31, 39.

<sup>126</sup> This opinion was based on an authoritative study by W. Nehring, "Der Name Belbog in her Slavischen Mythologie," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, vol. 25, 1903, pp. 66-73, esp. p. 69. For a reiteration of this view see Wienecke, *Untersuchungen*, p. 280. See also "Historia episcopatus Caminensis" in Johann Peter Ludewig, ed., *Scriptores rerum episcopatus Bambergensis* (Francofurti & Lipsiae, 1718). Belbog appears on p. 513.

<sup>127</sup> See Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basileae, 1554), p. 766. See also Münster's letter of 1545 and references to Petrus Artopoeus in Karl Heiz Burmeister, ed., *Briefe Sebastian Münster* (Insel-Verlag, 1964), pp. 115, 119-120. A letter from Artopoeus to Münster of 1547 has not yet been published. See K. H. Burmeister, *Neue Forschungen zu Sebastian Münster*

(Ingelheim, Historischer Verein, 1971), p. 32.

<sup>128</sup> We are not in the position to state at this time that Münster's *Cosmographia* served also as a source to the compiler of the "Historia episcopatus Caminensis," or that the *Cosmographia* is our first source on Belbog. Belbog is also mentioned in Thomas Kantzow's *Chronik von Pommern in Niederdeutscher Mundart* (Stettin: bei Friedrich Heinrich Morin, 1835), p. 283. Kantzow died in 1542 and the first edition of his work appeared only in 1816. His sources and those of Petrus Artopoeus warrant further investigation. We intend to deal with the origins of the concept of Belbog in Slavic mythology at another time.

<sup>129</sup> Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, pp. 55 and 86-87.

<sup>130</sup> This work has not yet been identified by scholars. See Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena*, p. 397.

<sup>131</sup> Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, pp. 19 and 105.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92. Compare with Herberstein, *Notes*, p. 16.

See also our discussion of Herberstein, p. 40.

<sup>133</sup> Mavro Orbini, *Kniga istoriografija počatija imene, slavy i razširenija naroda slavjanskogo*. . . , perevedena so italjanskogo na rossijskoj jazyk. . . (V Santktpeterburgskoj tipografii, 1722). On the history of this translation see Nikola Radojčić, *Srpska istorija Mavra Orbinija* (Beograd, 1950), pp. 73-79, and P. N. Berkov, "Russkaja literatura XVIII v. i drugie slavjanske literatury XVIII-XX vv." in *Russkaja literatura XVIII veka i slavjanske literatury; issledovanija i materialy* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1963), pp. 17-18 and p. 32.

<sup>134</sup> Berkov, *ibid.*, p. 18. Orbini claimed that the activities of Cyril and Methodius were sanctioned by the Vatican.

<sup>135</sup> Orbini, *Kniga istoriografija*, pp. 62-66. See also text from this edition in our Appendix.

<sup>136</sup> Orbini, *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. See also our discussion of Herberstein.

<sup>139</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 330-331.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 114, 333, 339.

<sup>141</sup> Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija*, p. 59.

<sup>142</sup> On Persson see Adelung, *Kritisch-literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland*, pp. 238-258.

<sup>143</sup> Peer Persson de Erlesunda, *Regni Muschovitici scio-graphia, thet ar: Een will och ogentligh Beskrifning om Rydzland* (Stockholm, 1615).

<sup>144</sup> Persson, *Historien und Bericht von dem Gorssfürstenthumb Muschkow* (Leipzig, 1620). We have used the Russian translation of this edition: "Istorija o Velikom knjažestve Moskovskom" in *Čtenija v IOIDR*, vols. 55, 1865, book 44, pp. 1-88; vol. 56, 1866, book 1, pp. 89-184; vol. 57, 1866, book 2, pp. 185-280; vol. 58, 1866, book 3, pp. 281-341, and vol. 61, 1867, book 2, pp. 344-383.

<sup>145</sup> Persson, "Istorija," p. 48. Here he includes also the tale of the Novgorod Perun and the story of the "Golden woman" with powers of the Delphic oracle. See *ibid.*, p. 55. See also

our discussion of Herberstein, p. 40.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 100. Compare with Herberstein, *Notes on Russia*, p. 13.

<sup>147</sup> Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija*, p. 27.

<sup>148</sup> A 1694 edition without place or publishers is noted in the Bibliotheque Nationale's *Catalogue General: Auteurs*, vol. 156-166 (Paris, 1943-1944), p. 837. We have used the second edition of this work entitled *Universa religio Ruthenica sive Moscovitica, oder die auffgehende Sonne der Christlichen Religion . . . allen curieusen Liebhabern gründlich und wohlmeynend vorgestellt von Theophilo Wahrundo* (Freystadt: Johann Pietersen, 1698).

<sup>149</sup> This we learn from the foreword to the 1698 edition.

<sup>150</sup> See R. I. Mintzloff, *Pierre le Grand dans la littérature étrangère* (St. Petersburg, 1872), pp. 367-369; cited also in A. A. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, 3rd ed., vol. 4 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1963), p. 237. According to the *Catalogue* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 837, Schleusing may have been the real name of both Wahrundo and M. Oppenbusch. Adelung knows little about Schleusing, notes two of his works on Russia, and indicates that he "seems to have been personally in Russia." See Adelung, pp. 382-383.

<sup>151</sup> See British Museum's *Catalogue of Printed Books*, vol. 175 (London, 1963), p. 812 and New York Public Library's *Dictionary Catalog of the Slavonic Collection*, vol. 21, 1959, entry under "Schleusing." We have used the 1667 edition of Oppenbusch's *Dissertatio*, entitled *Exercitatio historico-theologica in qua Religio Moscovitarum breviter delineata & exhibita a M. Michaele von Oppenbusch* (Amstelodamense, Argentorati: Sumptibus Josiae Staedelii, 1667).

<sup>152</sup> We have chosen to refer to this work with the author's real name, rather than his pseudonym. Inasmuch as in our estimate this work contains over 50 percent of new data, we consider Schleusing and not Oppenbusch as its author.

<sup>153</sup> This material (excluding the plates and reference to them), was based on Oppenbusch's work. See Schleusing, *Universa religio Moscovitica*, pp. 3-4 and compare with Oppenbusch, *Exercitatio*, p. 3.

<sup>154</sup> Schleusing, *Universa*, p. 4.

<sup>155</sup> Full title: *La religion ancienne et moderne des Moscovites. Enrichie de figures* (Cologne: P. Marteau, 1698).

<sup>156</sup> *Religion der Moscowiter, oder Ausführliche Beschreibung derer Religion Anfang, Fortgang und jetzigen Wachstum, wie auch ihrer Sitten, Gebräuche und Ceremonien. Erstlich in Frantzösicher Sprache verfasst, nunmehr Teutsch übersetzt* (Franckfurt am Mayn und Leipzig, 1712).

<sup>157</sup> In the 1712 German edition Picart's initials are missing and the plates vary slightly in detail.

<sup>158</sup> Teofan Prokopovyč, *The Russian Catechism, compos'd and publish'd by Order of the Czar: To which is annex'd a short account of the Church-Government and Ceremonies of the Moscovites.*

Adorn'd with cuts, second edition (London: W. Meadows, 1725; first edition 1723). The text lacks the reference to the plates and enumerates only the four "Russian" idols: Perun, Xors, Mokoš, and Stribog. See *ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>159</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 100 and vol. 4, p. 408.

<sup>160</sup> For a brief note on Arnkiel in English see Joseph Thomas, ed., *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Mythology and Biography* (New York: Lippincott, 1950), p. 184.

<sup>161</sup> We have used Trogillus Arnkiel, *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1702).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, "Dedication," n.p.

<sup>164</sup> For a discussion of Arnkiel's historiography see Paul Hans Stemmermann, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Vorgeschichtsvorschung* (Heidelberg, 1934), pp. 85-87.

<sup>165</sup> Korovin, *Biblioteka Lomonosova*, p. 241.

<sup>166</sup> Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija*, p. 61.

<sup>167</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 100. Hederich's data will be discussed in greater detail in Part II, 3 of this study, esp. pp. 71-80.

## PART TWO

*Notes to Tatiščev's Mythological Data*1. *On idolatry in general*

<sup>1</sup>Here Tatiščev refers to paragraph 10 of his "Predizveščenie" which reads as follows: "There are three major means of universal intellectual enlightenment: first, the discovery of letters . . . , second, the coming of Jesus . . . , third, the discovery of book-printing. . . ." See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-99.

<sup>3</sup>According to Tatiščev, "all human activity has its source in reason and unreason." See *ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup>"The Gospel according to John," chapter 1, verses 4-5, *The Oxford Annotated Bible*, ed. H. G. May and B. M. Metzger (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 1284.

<sup>5</sup>On the elaborate theology of light in St. John's Gospel see *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3 (New York: Abigdon Press, 1962), p. 132.

<sup>6</sup>Speaking of such writers as J. Flavius and the Babylonian historian Berosus (ca. end of 4th century BC), Tatiščev notes that they "stretch the Bible like Militrica's carpet" to suit their own purposes. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 129.

<sup>7</sup>In addition to a Bible in Latin, Tatiščev owned the first Church Slavonic Bible of Ostrog of 1581. See Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija*, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup>Tatiščev: "svet iže vo t'me svetitsja," *Ostrog Bible*: "i svet vo t'me svetitsja." See *Biblia, sireč vetxago i novago zaveta po jazyku slovensku* (Ostrog: Joann Fedorov, 1581), p. MA. The 1663 Moscow and later Synodal editions do not differ in wording from the *Ostrog Bible*. References to the Bible are abundant in Tatiščev's works. See especially the Bible index to his *Razgovor*, pp. 162-163, and p. 50, where the same quote from St. John is correctly worded.

<sup>9</sup>The manuscript of a "Russian" translation of Flavius, presumably used by Tatiščev, is preserved at BAN. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 452. We do not know whether this is the early Slavonic translation of Flavius known to scholars.

<sup>10</sup>See Dimitrij of Rostov, *Letopis'*, p. 200, and Prokopovyč, *Sočinenija*, p. 69. In another instance Prokopovyč writes: "Expose the misconceptions first, so that the truth like the sun before darkness has been expelled, may shine forth more brightly." See *ibid.*, p. 78. See also Olha Della Cava, "Sermons of Feofan Prokopovič: Themes and Styles" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbus University, 1971), pp. 141-142.

<sup>11</sup>For this information I express my thanks to Olha Della Cava.

<sup>12</sup> Dimitrij of Rostov, *Letopis'*, p. 200. See also our discussion of his works, pp. 23-24.

<sup>13</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>14</sup> Editors of Tatiščev's history believe that Tatiščev referred here to Gaultruche's *Histoire sainte avec l'explication des points controversés de la religion chrétienne* (Paris, 1872). See Tatiščev, *ibid.*, p. 448. Since there is no evidence that a work by Gaultruche existed in a Russian translation, we believe that Tatiščev means here his *L'histoire poétique* which contains explanations of idols and descriptions of religious services.

<sup>15</sup> Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods; the Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, transl. from French by Barbara F. Sessions (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), p. 276.

<sup>16</sup> The book was rendered into English in many seventeenth century editions by the protestant Marius d'Assigny who violently attacks the Jesuit's Christian interpretation of myths and insists that pagan gods were devils. See Gaultruche, *The Poetical History* (London, 1683), pp. A3-A4.

<sup>17</sup> On the views of van Dale and Fontenelle see Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), pp. 41-53.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> Leonard M. Marsak, *Bernard de Fontenelle: The Idea of Science in the French Enlightenment* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 54.

<sup>20</sup> About the work of van Dale, Tatiščev received information from the librarian of the Petersburg Academy Johann Daniel Schumacher (1690-1761) in a letter of June 22, 1738. Upon Tatiščev's suggestion, the work was translated (from the 1700 Latin Amsterdam edition) already in 1738 into Russian by K. A. Kondratovič. The original of this translation, with a dedication to Tatiščev, was submitted by Tatiščev to the Academy in 1739 where it is preserved in the Tatiščev archives. See Introductory article by Andreev to Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 23 and 449. From Schumacher's letter to Tatiščev of October 27, 1748, we also know that Tatiščev sponsored the translation of Fontenelle's *Histoire des oracles* into Russian, because it seemed to him particularly useful in the struggle against mysticism and superstition. As cited by Grau, *Der Wirtschaftsorganisator*, p. 128. We have not been able to uncover any additional data about this translation.

<sup>21</sup> On this chronicle see E. Koutaïsof, "Tatishchev's Joachim Chronicle" in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1951, pp. 52-61.

<sup>22</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 110.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116. Similar thoughts are expressed by Tatiščev in his *Razgovor* (1733) where he writes that the real instigators of pagan delusion were primarily rulers, but also poets, who to praise their masters, invented fantastic and amoral tales of gods which simple men accepted as truth. See Tatiščev, *Razgovor*, p. 43.

<sup>24</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 216.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>27</sup> This is a reference to David's *Psalms* 106, numbered 105 in the *Ostrog Bible*. It describes the obtuseness and perversity of the unfaithful people of Israel who forgot the word of God and turned to the worship of man-made images. See *The Oxford Annotated Bible*, "Psalm 106," verses 36-39, pp. 739-740.

<sup>28</sup> Tatiščev alludes here to the words of Moses in the "Book of Exodus" where, defaming his brother Aaron, Moses reveals the incident of the Golden calf made by Aaron while Moses was on the mountain. See "Book of Exodus," verse 32:1-29 in *ibid.*, pp. 109-111.

<sup>29</sup> See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 7, p. 97 and compare with vol. 4, pp. 408-409.

<sup>30</sup> Walch, a protestant theologian and classicist, was in his youth inclined toward pietism. He strove for an inclusive moral revival of personal and social life and saw in the ethics of antiquity a source for man's spiritual regeneration. Nevertheless, "the dawning of rationalism" may be discerned already in his *Philosophisches Lexicon* and more so in his later works. Briefly on Walch see *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 12 (1957), pp. 238-39.

<sup>31</sup> Johann Georg Walch, *Philosophisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: Verlegts J. F. Gleditschens, 1726), vol. 1, cols. 9-14. It is generally accepted that Tatiščev used this edition. See notes to Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 449 and Val'kina "K voprosu ob istočnikax Tatiščeva," p. 78. Since it is also possible that Tatiščev may have known the 1733 revised Leipzig edition, our citations will be to the 1726 text, with references to variations in the 1733 edition. A copy of Walch's *Philosophisches Lexicon* was found in Tatiščev's library in 1750. See Pekar'skij, *Novye izvestija*, p. 61.

<sup>32</sup> Walch, cols. 10-11.

<sup>33</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>34</sup> The belief that idol worship originated in the days of Abraham was common throughout the eighteenth century among all exponents of rationalist Christian tradition, both Catholic and Protestant, and was ascribed by them to the degeneration of primitive monotheism. See Manuel, p. 129. Tatiščev's reference to Ninus, a name excluded from Walch's discourse, may attest to his familiarity with Dimitrij of Rostov's theory that the beginnings of idolatry date from the days of Ninus, the son of Baal. See Dimitrij of Rostov, *Letopis'*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>35</sup> Numbers in parentheses in the text and footnotes refer to our numbering of paragraphs for purposes of discussion. Words in parentheses in Tatiščev's text represent material which deviates from Walch; parentheses in Walch's text, show material which is either excluded or varies from Tatiščev's translation.

<sup>36</sup> The words "der Herr" are missing from the 1733 edition of Walch's *Lexicon*.

<sup>37</sup> Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), *Einleitung zur Sittenlehre* (Halle, 1692).

<sup>38</sup> The Church Slavonic text of this quote is based on the *Ostrog Bible*, verses 23 and 25. See *Biblia*, p. 26.

<sup>39</sup> See note 48 below.

<sup>40</sup> Walch, cols. 11-14.

<sup>41</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 98-99.

<sup>42</sup> It is only our assumption that all these passages from Walch were translated by Tatiščev himself. But even if they were not, there is no question in our mind that the interpolations and omissions in the translation would reflect Tatiščev's careful editing of the text.

<sup>43</sup> Some other examples of this practice are: "dass man sich ohne Ursache für etwas fürchtet" - "čto čelovek bez pričiny čego-libo boitsja" (2); "man verehret entweder keinen Gott - "[afeisty] nikoego boga ne priznajut" (4); "könnte man die Abgötterei" - "možem my idolosluženie" (8). However, occasional impersonal translations are also present, such as: "Man theilet die Abgötterei in verschiedene Arten" - "Idolosluženie na raznye časti razdeljaetsja" (6).

<sup>44</sup> Examples: "Das Wort superstitio" - "sueverie" (3); "craffiorem und subtiliorem" - "gruboe i legkoe" (9); "craffior oder die grobe" - "gruboe" (10); "idolatria subtilior oder die subtile Abgötterei" - "legkoe že idolosluženie" (13); "Die Vielgötterei oder der polytheismus" - "mnogobožie" (4).

<sup>45</sup> Other examples of this nature may be seen in (3), (7), (12), and (13).

<sup>46</sup> In addition to some words mentioned earlier, these include the following omissions: "Das Wort" (3); "Abgötterei" (8); "mehrentheils" (9); "eigentliche" (5). Paragraph (11) Tatiščev may have considered redundant in view of the detailed explanation of heavy idolatry in the following passage.

<sup>47</sup> As cited by Nil Popov in the Introduction to Tatiščev's *Razgovor*, p. XVIII. For an example of Tatiščev's attack on Papists, see pp. 61-63 of the *Razgovor*.

<sup>48</sup> In the 1733 edition of Walch's *Lexicon*, col. 1b, this phrase is replaced with the words "wie sogar manche die sich Christen nennen thun" (as even some who consider themselves Christians do). Had Tatiščev used the 1733 edition of Walch, there would have been no reason to drop this phrase from his translation. However, only a detailed comparison of all of Tatiščev's borrowings from Walch, against both the 1726 and the 1733 edition of the *Lexicon*, will clarify which edition Tatiščev actually used. Such a study has not yet been done. Nil Popov compared the text of the *Razgovor* to the fourth edition of Walch, published in 1775.

<sup>49</sup> This belief Tatiščev expressed on many occasions in reference to the pagan practices of Siberian people. See

especially his *Leksikon*, pp. 252-253, and Paragraph 12 of his chapter on idolatry, discussed later in this study. The concept that man worships his gods for materialistic reasons was developed by Pierre Bayle (1647-1706). Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (probably in the four-volume German Gottsched edition of 1741-1744), was in Tatiščev's library in 1750. See Val'kina, "K voprosu ob istočnikak Tatiščeva," pp. 78-79. On Bayle see Manuel, pp. 28-29.

<sup>50</sup> Tatiščev, *Razgovor*, p. 47. Tatiščev may have been strengthened in this belief by Strahlenberg's observation that the Siberian people "believe One Eternal Being, who created all things, and whom they pretend to worship under the form of many sorts of strange things. . . ." See J. P. Strahlenberg, *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia* (London, 1738), p. 288. Tatiščev knew Strahlenberg personally and made special notes to the 1730 German edition of Strahlenberg's work. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 7, pp. 405-431. The fact that the pagan Slavs worshipped one god, "the lord of all things," is mentioned both by Procopius (see our discussion of his data in Part I, 2) and by Helmold. Having enumerated the many pagan deities of the Western Slavs, Helmold adds: "But they do not deny . . . one god in the heavens ruling over all others." See Helmold, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, p. 219.

<sup>51</sup> See note "e" to Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 449.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

2. *On idolatry among the Slavs*

<sup>1</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup>See Tatiščev's discussion of his chronicle data in his *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 119-212. On the compilatory method of his work see Rybakov, "V. N. Tatiščev i letopisi XII v," p. 94.

<sup>3</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 4, p. 110, and vol. 2, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup>The *Načal'nyj svod* and the still earlier *Drevnejšij svod* were reconstructed by Šaxmatov on the basis of the *Primary Chronicle* and various redactions of the *Novgorod First Chronicle*. See Šaxmatov, *Razyskanija*, pp. 1-13 and his "Povest' vremennyx let i ee istočniki," *TODRL*, vol. 4, 1940, pp. 9-15.

<sup>5</sup>Cited on the basis of "Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' mladšego izvoda, Komissionnyj spisok" in *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov* (Moscow, Leningrad: AN SSSR, Institut istorii, 1960), p. 105. The text of its "Akademičeskij spisok," used by Tatiščev, is identical with the one cited. On the "Akademičeskij spisok" see *ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>6</sup>"Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'," p. 105, "L'vovskaja letopis'" in *PSRL*, vol. 20, part 1, p. 41, and "Gustinskaja letopis'" in *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1843, p. 257.

<sup>7</sup>See Peštič, *Russkaja istoriografija*, vol. 1, pp. 253-254, 256, and K. Bestjužev-Rjumin, "Russkija izvestija Dlugoša do 1386 g." in *Letopis' zanjatij Arxeografičeskoj komissii, 1865-1866*, vyp. 4. 1868, p. 67.

<sup>8</sup>Peštič, pp. 253-254.

<sup>9</sup>Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ostslaven*, note 1, p. 133.

<sup>10</sup>Peštič, pp. 257-258.

<sup>11</sup>See "Raznočtenija iz Ermolaevskogo spiska" to "Ipatevskaja letopis'," *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1962, pp. 278-279 and 22.

<sup>12</sup>See Šustorovič, "Xronika Ioanna Malaly," pp. 62-70, esp. p. 68. See also Mansikka, pp. 66-75.

<sup>13</sup>A view expressed by Mansikka, p. 68, in contrast to Šaxmatov's claim that the material was compiled by a contemporary of Vladimir Monomax. See Šaxmatov, "Povest' vremennyx let," pp. IV-VII, XXXVII-XXXVIII.

<sup>14</sup>See "Raznočtenija," pp. 22 and 278. Name given as *Sovarog* and *Svarog* in the Hypatian and *Zvarog* in the Xlebnikov copy.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 279. Name given as *Dažbog* in the Hypatian and *Dažd'bog* in the Xlebnikov copy.

<sup>16</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 101. For *Dažba*, see vol. 4, p. 132 and vol. 2, p. 56.

<sup>17</sup>Peštič, p. 258, and M. V. Tixomirov, "O russkix istočnikax 'Istorii rossijskoj'" in Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 48.

<sup>18</sup>Peštič, p. 258.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 237 and Rybakov, p. 94. Both writers agree that the second redaction of Tatiščev's history did contain his personal views.

<sup>20</sup>On some of this material see Mansikka, pp. 129-133. Tatiščev has now been absolved from the suspicion of forging the *Joachim Chronicle*. See note 21, II, 1.

<sup>21</sup> Verified especially against L. I. Lejbovič, *Svodnaja letopis' sostavlena po vsem izdannym spiskam letopisi*, vyp. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1876), p. 71.

<sup>22</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 4, p. 132 and vol. 2, p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> On the worship of sun see Masudi (d. ca. 956) in A. Harkavy, *Skazanija musul'manskix pisatelej o slavjanax i russkix* (St. Petersburg, 1870), pp. 125, 143. On sun and stars see Ibrahim ben Vesif (d. 1225) in F. B. Charmoy, "Relation de Mas'oudy et d'autres auteurs musulmans sur la anciens slaves" in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St. Petersburg*, series 6, vol. 2, 1834, p. 326. On the worship of fire see Ibn Rusta (d. ca. 930) and Unknown Persian Geographer (10th cent.) in Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 93, 95, and Kazvini (d. 1283) and Anonymous Geographer (16th cent.) in Charmoy, pp. 335, 359. For a critical evaluation of their mythological material see Mansikka, pp. 333-343. There is no evidence that Tatiščev may have directly known this material which, to the best of our knowledge, was not available in print in his day.

<sup>24</sup> On the worship of fire see "Slovo nekoego xristoljubca" (12th cent.) and "Slovo Sv. Grigorija" in E. V. Aničkov, *Jazyčestvo i drevnjaja Rus'* (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 374, 377, and 58, 74. On the worship of sun and fire see two sermons by Cyrill of Turov (12th cent.) and "Slovo na pamjat' vsem svjatym muččnikom" in Mansikka, pp. 302-304. On the worship of sun and moon see other sermons in Mansikka, pp. 198, 174-177, and material in note 26 below.

<sup>25</sup> For a most comprehensive but uncritical compilation of Eastern Slavic folklore data about sun, fire, and moon worship see A. N. Afanas'ev, *Poetičeskie vozzrenija Slavjan na prirodu*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1865), pp. 56-91. See also A. Sreznevskij, "O obožaniji solnca u drevnix Slavjan," *ŽMNP*, vol. 51, 1846, p. 36. For a critical evaluation of this data see Lubor Niederle, *Život starých Slovansk* (his *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, part 1, Prague, 1924), pp. 78-86, 105-109.

<sup>26</sup> In addition to data in note 24 above, on the worship of moon and sun see especially letter of Makarij, Archbishop of Novgorod to Ivan the Terrible of 1534 and the apocryphal legend "Xoždenie Bogorodicy po mukam" in Mansikka, pp. 228 and 287-289. See also sermon of Metropolitan Georgij who writes: "And if one kisses the moon, may he be cursed" in E. Golubinskij, *Istorija ruskoj cerkvi*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 531, and church legislation and confessional questions attacking the worship of sun and moon, cited in Mansikka, pp. 233, 245, 249, 253, 268. Moon worship among the Slavs has not received sufficient scholarly attention. For a most recent study see Evel Gasparini, "La danza circolare degli Slavi," *Ricerche Slavistiche*, no. 3, 1954, pp. 72-89.

<sup>27</sup> Guagnini, *Kronika*, p. 30.

<sup>28</sup> Arnkiel, *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion*, vol. 1, pp. 108-109.

<sup>29</sup> Walch, *Philosophisches Lexicon*, vol. 1, col. 12.

<sup>30</sup> See Peštič, *Russkaja istoriografija*, pp. 261 and 237.

Tatišče<sup>ˇ</sup>v's interpolations were much more extensive in the second redaction of his history than in the first. See also note 19 above.

3. *On the gods of Western Slavs*

<sup>1</sup>As noted earlier, paragraph seven is missing from enumeration in the Voroncov copy. In the printed Müller edition of 1768, paragraph six of the Voroncov copy was numbered as seven, while the second part of paragraph six of the Voroncov copy was numbered as six. Since none of the earlier known versions of Tatišček's history have the Müller numbering, it is impossible to determine whether Müller devised it himself, or relied on the lost Schumacher-Taubert copy which reflected earlier stages of Tatišček's work. On the Schumacher-Taubert manuscript see Tatišček, *Istoriija*, vol. 1, pp. 68-70. We have assumed that the third passage of paragraph six, logically a new topic, was intended by Tatišček to become the missing paragraph seven in the final draft of his chapter on idolatry.

<sup>2</sup>Tatišček himself writes at the end of this passage that he no longer has the book, and has lost additional notes on it. Tatišček must have made these notes prior to 1746, since already in the 1746 version of his mythological data he erroneously cites Arnkiel's volume one, chapter 13, as containing information on Triglav's worship at Rügen. It is precisely this chapter that has full information on all Western Slavic gods but Triglav, of whom Arnkiel speaks only in volume four of his work entitled "Cimbrische Heyden-Bekehrung," pp. 255-256. For the 1746 version of Tatišček's data see his *Istoriija*, vol. 4, pp. 408-409.

<sup>3</sup>Tatišček, *Istoriija*, vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup>See note 2 above.

<sup>5</sup>Tatišček, *Istoriija*, vol. 4, p. 409. On Tatišček's etymological speculations see note 19 below and note 114, I, 1.

<sup>6</sup>Magister Drepanius Florus (d. ca. 860), "Commentarius sive expositio in canonem missae" in *Bibliotheca maxima veterum patrum*, vol. 15 (Lugduni, 1677).

<sup>7</sup>Tatišček, *Istoriija*, vol. 1, p. 319.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 158 and 167. It is worth noting that Orbini, whom Tatišček ignores here as a source, describes *trivalli* as a Slavic nation of Thracia, inhabiting with Serbs, Bosnians, and Bulgarians the historical region of Moesia. See Orbini, *knjiga istoriografija*, pp. 142, 156-157.

<sup>9</sup>We cannot think of any other explanation of this data, since neither the Polish chroniclers, nor Orbini, nor any of the primary sources on Western Slavic mythology, mention the worship of Triglav in Paphlagonia or Bulgaria. The same is true of such secondary works as those of the brothers Frentzels (see *Scriptores rerum lusaticarum*, vol. 2 (Bautzen, 1719), pp. 63-236) or Elias Schedius' *De diis Germanis*, works which Tatišček could have conceivably known. The four major investigators of West Slav paganism, Wienecke, Palm, Franz, and Pettazoni, have also nothing to say about this matter.

<sup>10</sup>Arnkiel, vol. 4, pp. 255-256. See also note 2 above.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 86.

<sup>12</sup>Krantz, *Vandalia*, book 4, chapter 23, p. 93.

<sup>13</sup>Tatiščeŭ, *Istorija*, vol. 4, p. 409.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 307. On this working copy of part two of Tatiščeŭ's history see Peštič, pp. 264-268 and Tatiščeŭ, *Istorija*, vol. 2, pp. 10 and 18. The mythological material in this manuscript shows only insignificant additions to Note 116 of the first redaction of Tatiščeŭ's history. All texts are included in our Appendix.

<sup>15</sup>See note 2 above and note 106, I, 2.

<sup>16</sup>Tatiščeŭ did not verify Fabronius and the direct quote is his own invention. Fabronius wrote the following: "Jetzige Böhmen . . . haben ihre Götter gehabt mit Namen Suantewitz, das ist, heiliges Licht, welchen sie für Gott der Götter gehalten." See Fabronius, *Newe Summarische Welt Historia*, book 2, part 1, chapter 2, section IV: "Religion und Glauben in Bohemerland," p. 90. See also our discussion of Fabronius in Part I, 2.

<sup>17</sup>Arnkjell, vol. 1, pp. 85, 82, 86, 84 (in that order). Arnkiell's citation to Krantz here is correct, Tatiščeŭ's an error.

<sup>18</sup>Tatiščeŭ, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>19</sup>Some of his speculations have been discussed in the preceding chapter. Tatiščeŭ appears to have held a high opinion of his ability to determine whether a name, personal or topographic, was of Slavic or foreign origin. He believed that for a proper derivation of names one needs to know three languages: Slavic, Tartar, and Sarmatian, i.e., Ugro-Finnic. See his *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 83. Like K. Kondratovič, Tatiščeŭ compiled extensive glossaries on the languages of the Siberian people. See S. K. Bulič, *Očerki istorii jazykoznanija v Rossii*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1904), pp. 422-423, 440-441. Tatiščeŭ's etymological speculations did not differ from those of his contemporaries, for instance, Strahlenberg or Prokopovyč (see note 115, I, 1), or from those of his followers, like M. M. Ščerbatov (1733-1790) and I. N. Boltin (1735-1792). See Bulič, pp. 204-219, 262-270. All eighteenth-century historians were inclined to dabble in etymology. Even August Schläzer, despite his superior linguistic training and awareness of the relationship of Slavic to other Indo-European languages (he claimed that nine out of ten Slavic root words may be rediscovered in German, Latin, or Greek - an idea as yet unheard of by any Russian scholar), relied in his etymological efforts mostly on mere guess-work. See S. H. Cross, "The Contribution of Gerhardt Friedrich Müller to Russian Historiography; with some Consideration of August Ludwig Schläzer" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1916), pp. 266 and 313. Eighteenth-century Russian etymologizing deserves a special investigation. The article by A. P. Averjanova, "V. N. Tatiščeŭ kak filolog" in *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta*, no. 7, 1950, pp. 45-57, was unfortunately not at my disposal. See also note 5 above.

<sup>20</sup>Arnkjell, vol. 1, index (with no pagination).

<sup>21</sup> See our discussion of Helmold's and Orbini's data on Belbog and Černebog, pp. 31, 41-42.

<sup>22</sup> Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, 1659, p. 125 and his *Chronicle of the Slavs*, p. 159. The existence of a white and black god among the Slavs, for which Helmold is our only certain primary source, has been subject of much scholarly dispute. See especially Nehring, "Der Name Belbog in der slavischen Mythologie," pp. 66-73; Boris Unbegaun, "La Religion des anciens Slaves" in A. Grenier, *Les religions Etrusques et Romaine* (Paris, 1948), pp. 413, 422-423; Wienecke, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 277-280; Niederle, *Život starých Slovanů*, pp. 159-161; and our discussion of Orbini's data on Belbog in Part I, 2, including notes 126-128 to that chapter.

<sup>23</sup> Krantz, *Vandalia*, book III, p. 76 and Schedius, *De diis Germanis*, cols. 757-758. Schedius uses the form *Belbuch*.

<sup>24</sup> Tatišček, *Leksikon*, part 1, pp. 128-129.

<sup>25</sup> Tatišček, *Istorija*, vol. 4, pp. 87-88. Tatišček refers here to Olfert Dappert's (d. 1690) *Beschrijving van Africa, Syrien, Palestina of het heilige Land* (Rotterdam et Amsterdam, 1677). Tatišček's claim that Arnkiel reported on the worship of good and evil gods in Ethiopia and Africa is another inaccuracy. Arnkiel speaks a great deal about such a worship by many nations, except the Ethiopians and Africans. See Arnkiel, vol. 1, pp. 82-84.

<sup>26</sup> Tatišček, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 316. The source reference in this passage is to his chapter on idolatry. Since Tatišček mentions here as his source Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), we checked his *Thesaurus Geographicus* (Antverpiae, 1587), "Deorum, dearumque capita ex antiquis numismatibus collecta" in J. Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecorum* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1697-1702), vol. 7, pp. 262-295), and *Theatrus orbis terrarum; The Theatre of the World* (London, 1606, R. A. Skelton ed., Amsterdam, 1968). In these works we found no mention of the veneration of black and white gods by the Slavs or anywhere else. In his *Theatre* (p. 52), Ortelius does mention the worship of Triglav in Julin.

<sup>27</sup> Tatišček, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 100-101. Here Tatišček also promises to write more about these gods in his *Leksikon*.

<sup>28</sup> See our discussion of Hederich in Part I, 2. The Leipzig 1770 edition of Hederich's *Gründliches Mythologicum Lexicon* has been republished by Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: Darmstadt, 1967. Like the 1724 edition, it contains no data on Slavic mythology.

<sup>29</sup> "gl. 33," refers to chapter 33 of Tatišček's history, vol. 1. Similar references to his history appear in other entries.

<sup>30</sup> Numbers in parentheses refer to columns in Hederich's *Gründliches Antiquitäten Lexicon*, or to pages in Arnkiel's *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion*, vol. 1. Entries to Arnkiel without numbers are to his unpaginated alphabetical index in the same volume.

<sup>31</sup> Here Tatišček ignores Hederich's correct entry in favor

of Arnkiel's error. See also note 33 below.

<sup>32</sup> Johann Georg Keyssler (1689-1743). "Dissertatio de Cultu Solis, Freji et Othini" in Elias Schedius, *De Diis Germanis*, col. 759. Under Wodanus (col. 777), Keyssler lists the same variants for this name as Hederich but says nothing about Viti-slav. Tatiščeŭ's reference to Keyssler appears to be an error and the statement really belongs under his entry Vodin.

<sup>33</sup> Here Tatiščeŭ again ignores Hederich's correct entry in favor of his own error. See also note 31 above.

<sup>34</sup> See our discussion of Belbog and Černebog in Paragraph seven and under Helmold and Orbini, Part I, 2.

<sup>35</sup> For text see Meyer, *Fontes*, p. 11:20; for discussion see Wienecke, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 67 and 280, and Niederle, p. 156.

<sup>36</sup> See Unbegaun, p. 414, Niederle, p. 158, Wienecke, pp. 282-284, and especially Franz, *Falsche Slawengötter*, pp. 8-18.

<sup>37</sup> A clear attempt by Tatiščeŭ to ignore again the root "vit" in favor of "vid." See also his entry under Svjantovid in Paragraphs seven and eight, our discussion of this name in paragraph eight, and note 69 below.

<sup>38</sup> For text see Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 55:17, 56:1, 3. Tatiščeŭ mentions *Porenut* only in Paragraph seven. In Paragraph eight he speaks of *Pronote*. See note 40 below.

<sup>39</sup> For criticism and literature see Unbegaun, pp. 412-413, Niederle, pp. 148-149, the highly critical views of Wienecke, pp. 154, 169, 187, 260, and 266, and the supportive views of Pettazoni, p. 153.

<sup>40</sup> For text see Meyer, *Fontes*, p. 44:6 and 37, and 54:18 and 35. By *Pronote*, Tatiščeŭ may mean here *Porenut*. See also note 38 above.

<sup>41</sup> Helmoldus, *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 126.

<sup>42</sup> For a summary of opinions see Alois Schmaus, "Zur altslawischen Religionsgeschichte," *Saeculum*, vol. 4, 1953, p. 212. See also Unbegaun, pp. 412 and 422, Niederle, pp. 153-154, Wienecke, pp. 39 and 280, and Paul Diels, "Prove," *Archiv für Slawische Philologie*, vol. 40, 1925, p. 156.

<sup>43</sup> Tatiščeŭ, *Leksikon*, Part 1, p. 167.

<sup>44</sup> For texts see Meyer *Fontes*, pp. 13:23 and 14:34; 43:8 and 44:7; and 65:9. See also our discussion of Helmold and Adam of Bremen in Part I, 2.

<sup>45</sup> See Unbegaun, pp. 410-411, Niederle, pp. 131-132 and compare with A. Brückner, *Mitologia Slava* (Bologna, 1923), pp. 208-209.

<sup>46</sup> For text see Meyer, *Fontes*, p. 9:23, and our discussion of Adam of Bremen, Thietmar, and Helmold in Part I, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Wienecke, who denies the existence of Radegast and that of almost all Western Slavic deities, believes that Adam presented here "completely independent material," not based on Thietmar. See Wienecke, p. 4 and criticism of his work by Pettazoni.

<sup>48</sup> We have no indication that Tatiščeŭ knew the *Codex Antverpiensis* which uses the form *Radegast*.

<sup>49</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 337-338.

<sup>50</sup> Johann Ludwig Gottfried (real names Johann Philipp Abelinus, 1600-1646), author of *Historische Kronyck* (Leyden, 1702).

<sup>51</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 338.

<sup>52</sup> Krantz in book 3, chapter 37, speak only of *Radigast*, as god of the Obodrites. See his *Vandalia*, p. 76.

<sup>53</sup> Arnkiel, speaking of *Ridegast* whose image he also graphically displays, cites as his source Helmold and Krantz, book 3, chapter 37. See Arnkiel, p. 85. It is possible that Tatiščev added the sources to this passage on the basis of Arnkiel.

<sup>54</sup> Helmoldus. *Chronica Slavorum*, pp. 126-127. Bangert displays an image of this god (see frontispiece) as *Ridegast*.

<sup>55</sup> Tatiščev, *Leksikon*, part 1, p. 167. We accept here his *Radomysl'* as his variant for *Radegast*, rather than as a separate deity.

<sup>56</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 4, pp. 91-92. The name of the Vandal king here is *Rodogast*. In the 1739 annotations to his history, the name of the king is *Radogast*. See *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 71. See also Note 59 below.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 410. In another instance, Tatiščev traces the name of the tribe to the legendary ruler Radim (also *Radom*). See *ibid.*, pp. 111, 393 and note below.

<sup>58</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 201.

<sup>59</sup> In an effort to Slavitize the name of the Vandal king *Rodogast*, Tatiščev changed his name to *Radogost* in the final version of his history. This may have been due to his preoccupation with *Gostomysl'* in the *Joachim Chronicle* which he received in 1748. See also note 56 above.

<sup>60</sup> For text and criticism see Unbegaun, p. 430, and Wienecke, pp. 49-53.

<sup>61</sup> Text in Meyer, *Fontes*, p. 44:7.

<sup>62</sup> Brückner, *Mitologia Slava*, pp. 196, 208-209. Controverted by Niederle, p. 154. According to Unbegaun (p. 413), a lower daemonic being.

<sup>63</sup> J. J. Hanusch, *Wissenschaft vom slavischen Mythos* (Lemberg, 1842), p. 125.

<sup>64</sup> Vittore Pisani, "Paganismo Balto-Slavo" in P. T. Venturi, *Storia della Religioni*, vol. 2 (Torino, 1949), pp. 55-100.

<sup>65</sup> G. Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte* (Graz, 1887), p. 403; A. Brückner, "Mythologische Studien III," p. 169.

<sup>66</sup> See texts in Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 44:25, 46:18, 46:37 (Helmold) 15:25, 54:35 (Saxo); 84:15 (*Knytlingasaga*).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44:25, 46:27, 52:22.

<sup>68</sup> The tale is considered a legend. See Unbegaun, p. 422.

<sup>69</sup> In his *Leksikon*, (p. 167) Tatiščev uses the West Slavic form *Svetovid*. See also note 37 above. Modern scholars generally approve only of the combination *Svento* (and its variants) with "vit," a form common to Slavic names, without reference to St. Vitus. See Unbegaun, p. 142, Wienecke, p. 257, Niederle,

p. 126, and L. Weber, "Svantevit und sein Heiligtum," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vol. 29, 1931, pp. 70-78. See also G. Vernadsky, "Svantevit, dieu des Slaves Baltique" in *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* (New York, 1929-1944), pp. 339-356. Machek considers the name a composite of "svět'" (holy)—which like the Avestan *spəntō* had once the meaning "active" or "capable of magic"—and of "vit'", probably related to "vitedz'", meaning in old Sorbian "one to whom a property is attributed." Hence Svantovit, like the Indian Vishnu, is one who has the property of being magic. See Václav Machek, "Die Stellung des Gottes Svantovit in der altslavischen Religion," *Orbis Scriptus Dmitrij Tschizewskij* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1966), pp. 491-497. For other studies using the comparative method of reconstructing the Slavic pantheon see R. Jakobson "Slavic Mythology" in *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (New York, 1949), pp. 1025-1028; M. Gimbutas, "Ancient Slavic Religion: A Synopsis" in *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, vol. 1 (Mouton: The Hague), 1967, pp. 738-759; and A. Gieysztor, "The Slavic Pantheon and the New Comparative Mythology," *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies held at Harvard University*, no. 5, 1974-1975, pp. 82-84.

<sup>70</sup> For the texts see Meyer, *Fontes*, pp. 26:25, 33:36, 41:9, and 61:1, and our discussion of the three Lives of Otto von Bamberg in Part I, 2. Wienecke denies the existence of Triglav, Pettazoni favors it. See Wienecke, p. 162 and Pettazoni, pp. 152-153.

<sup>71</sup> See our discussion of Triglav, pp. 66-68.

<sup>72</sup> See note 32 above.

<sup>73</sup> For text see Meyer, *Fontes*, p. 10:35.

<sup>74</sup> See Wienecke, pp. 36 and 280 and Franzel, pp. 80, 209-210.

<sup>75</sup> See Meyer, *Fontes*, p. 67:17.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45:34.

<sup>77</sup> For a summary of opinions see Niederle, pp. 155-156, Unbegaun pp. 413 and 420, and Schmaus, p. 212.

<sup>78</sup> L. Leger, *La Mythologie slave* (Paris, 1901), pp. 152, 167.

4. *On the gods of Ancient Rus'*

<sup>1</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 101. Tatiščev refers his readers to note 151 (in the Voroncov copy, note 161), made by him in reference to a passage in the *Primary Chronicle* under the year 980 which lists Vladimir's idols. Here Tatiščev states that "Nestor wrote of Vladimir before Christianization not quite with praise but rather with reprehension, since it is clear that these gods were there before Vladimir, yet he attributes their erection to him." Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 22. Tatiščev most certainly must have noted here the discrepancy which exists in the text of the *Primary Chronicle* between the assertion that the Russians swore fidelity to the Greeks on the idols Perun and Volos prior to the year 980, and the claim that Vladimir set up a pagan pantheon in 980. Golubinskij believes that Vladimir had simply restored the ancient idols to their former places as was the custom of all pagan princes to do at the beginning of their reign. See E. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russoj cerkvi*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1907), p. 150. Compare with E. V. Aničkov, "Old Russian pagan cults" in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1908), pp. 244-259, and Nora K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History: An Enquiry into Sources* (Cambridge: University Press, 1946, 1966), pp. 76-97.

<sup>2</sup>Volos, the god of herds, is omitted from Vladimir's pantheon, but is twice coupled with Perun in the early oaths of the Russian rulers with the Greeks. Tatiščev knows about Volos and all the gods of Vladimir's pantheon since he reproduces all the passages from the *Primary Chronicle* in his *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 56 (on Vladimir's gods), and pp. 37 and 53 (on Volos and Perun). Volos, Dažbog, and Semargl (Simaergla) are entirely excluded from Tatiščev's chapter on idolatry. On Volos see comments by O. Pritsak in M. T. Znayenko, "The Mythological Interests of Kievan Scholars," *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies held at Harvard University*, no. 6, 1975-1976, p. 43. On all three gods see esp. Mytropolyt Ilarion, *Doxrystijans'ki viruvannja ukrajins'koho narodu* (Winnipeg, 1965), pp. 104-110.

<sup>3</sup>Here as in his further description of Strykowski's mythological data, Tatiščev relies specifically on Strykowski's book 4, chapter 4, ignoring Strykowski's data on Eastern Slavic gods (including Volos, Semargl and *Uslad*) described by Strykowski in other parts of his work. For some reason he believed that this data was based on an ancient Russian chronicle. We know that he thought Strykowski had at his disposal fifteen different chronicles which contained primary data on the Slavs and which he (Tatiščev) did not have. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup>The text cited is that of the chapter on idolatry. It depicts (with minor textual variations for the material in parentheses) all three stages of Tatiščev's work on this data. Material without parentheses reflects the 1739 version of this

data; material in square brackets, addition made by Tatiščev in 1746; and material in double parentheses, additions made by Tatiščev to the chapter on idolatry.

<sup>5</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup>Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>7</sup>See note 4 above.

<sup>8</sup>Only Strykowski preserves this order. Kromer and Bielski list Xors before Mokoš.

<sup>9</sup>The description of the eternal fire of oak wood in honor of Perun in Strykowski appears to be written in imitation of a similar passage in his work about the worship of Perun-Perkunas by the Old Prussians. See Strykowski, p. 157. The same data, based on Strykowski appears also in the *Hustyn Chronicle*, p. 257.

<sup>10</sup>Simultaneously, Strykowski lists here the special refrains which, according to Brückner, gave rise to the creation of these deities. See Brückner, "Mythologische Studien III," p. 185 and our discussion of Miechowski in Part I, 2.

<sup>11</sup>Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 157.

<sup>12</sup>Dido is mentioned only once in a sermon by an unknown Kievan preacher of the seventeenth century, where she appears as a god of fruits of the earth, and who together with Lado, god of rivers, was celebrated in songs with the exclamations: "Dido, lado." See "Poučenie v ponedelok svjatogo duxa" in a collection entitled "Slova i poučeniya neizvestnogo Kievskogo propovednika na ves' god." Text in N. Gal'kovskij, *Bor'ba Xristjanstva s ostatkami jazyčestva v drevnej Rusi*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1913), p. 302. Text also in Mansikka, pp. 127-128. On the texts with song refrains "Did-Dido," "Dido-Lado," and "Leli Lado," see Potkański, *Pisma pošmiertne*, vol. 2, pp. 79-80, P. Bogatyrev, *Actes magiques; rites et croyances en Russie subcarpathique* (Paris, 1929), p. 49, and Afanas'ev, *Poetičeskie vozrenija Slavjan na prirodu*, p. 439. Words with the root *did* are very common in Ukrainian. *Did*, *didok*, *diduhan* mean grandfather, old man, the wise One; *did'ko* is a demon or devil. See also note 51, I, 2.

<sup>13</sup>Lado or Lada passed through many metamorphoses. Lada is mentioned for the first time by Długosz as a god of war, equivalent to Mars, while in a discussion of Polish insignia, Długosz knows of an emblem of the house of Lada, whose name he traces to the Polish goddess worshipped in the village of Lada in Mazovia. See Długosz, *Roczniki*, pp. 260-261, and his *Banderia Pruthenorum* (Cracow, 1851), p. 59. Długosz's contemporary, Callimach, traces Lada to the Scythian Labita and Roman Vesta. See Filippo Buonaccorsi, *Vita et mores Sbignei cardinalis*, ed. Irmina Lichon'ska (Warsaw: PAN, 1962), pp. 18-19. Miechowski draws an analogy between Lada and the Roman Leda, mother of Castor and Pollux, whom he introduces as Lel and Polel to Polish mythology. See Miechowski, *Chronica Polonorum*, pp.

20-21. Bielski ignores Lada but notes the belief in Lel and Polel whom "some identify as Castor and Pollux." See Bielski, *Kronika polska*, p. 121. Gwagnini identifies Lado with Pluto. See Guagnini, *Kronika*, p. 30. Kromer speaks of Lado as Mars and notes "that some add to this also Lel and Polel." See Kromer, *De origine*, pp. 44-45. Only Kromer's translator Błażowski speaks in detail about the worship of Lado in Russia. He compares Lado to the Roman Hymen and Greek Bacchus and describes him as a god of all happiness. See Kromer, *O sprawach*, pp. 43-44. On the basis of Błażowski and Gwagnini the *Hustyn Chronicle* compares Lado to Pluto, god of the underworld, marriage and merriment, like Bacchus among the Greeks. See *Hustyn Chronicle*, p. 251. In the *Sinopsis* and *Life of Vladimir*, Lado remains as god of merriment and well-being; the *Sinopsis* also adds Lel and Polel to the "Russian" pantheon. See *Sinopsis*, p. 26 and "Life of Vladimir" in Peretc, pp. 87 and 104. All texts are included in our Appendix. See also our discussion of this data in the Eastern Slavic Secondary Sources and in the works of Polish historians in Part I, and notes 41, 50-51, I, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Tatiščev also ignores Błażowski's and the *Sinopsis*' detailed description of Lado as a major Russian deity.

<sup>15</sup> See especially G. Il'inskij, "Dzidzilelia Jana Dluogoša," pp. 525-529, and S. Matusjak, "Olimp polski podług Długosza," *L'ud*, vol. 14, 1908, pp. 19-90.

<sup>16</sup> Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 146.

<sup>17</sup> Orbini, *Kniga istoriografija*, p. 45.

<sup>18</sup> Tatiščev, *Leksikon*, part 2, p. 144.

<sup>19</sup> See note 12 above.

<sup>20</sup> This analogy could be supported by the fact that Strykowski's Dzidzis-Lado was celebrated on the same days as his Lada and Lel, between May 25 and June 25.

<sup>21</sup> The classical parallel which Tatiščev may have known is not to be ignored: Cupidon (Eros) is in some accounts the playful son of Aphrodite (Venus), hence Dido's son?

<sup>22</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 7, p. 97.

<sup>23</sup> We have verified all available published works by Dimitrij and have found no trace of such a work. Editors of Tatiščev's *Istorija* are also not aware of such a publication or manuscript. See his *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 39-40.

<sup>24</sup> There is no evidence that the two known Russian translations of Strykowski contained any interpolated or mistranslated material. See Rogov, "Drevne-russkie perevody Xroniki Strykovskogo," pp. 2-6-213. On the other hand, Rogov claims that it was a special "interpolated and extensively changed translation" of Strykowski's *Kronika* which Tatiščev had used. See Rogov, "Strykovskij i russkaja istoriografija," p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 4, p. 408. In the 1749 version Tatiščev left out the reference to Romans and preserved only "as

among the Greeks to Jupiter." The fact that Jupiter was a Roman, not a Greek god did not seem to disturb him, since they were clearly one and the same and the term Jupiter agreed with his description of the Scythian gods of Herodotus in the following chapter.

<sup>26</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 307.

<sup>27</sup> In the Voroncov copy he replaced Varangian with Gothic, an indication that he had made some revisions on the basis of Arnkiel who speaks of Thor as a Gothic god. See note below.

<sup>28</sup> As a source for this data, Tatiščev lists Adam of Bremen and Saxo Grammaticus, to whom in the Voroncov copy he adds "and more by Arnkiel." Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 307. See also note 36 below.

<sup>29</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 101.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 405-431, esp. pp. 414 and 431.

Strahlenberg interprets Tur as a city or place of residence with which Tatiščev does not agree. See also note 34 below.

<sup>31</sup> See Strahlenberg, *An Historico-Geographical Description*, pp. 118, 419, 452.

<sup>32</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 4, pp. 73-74. Tatiščev also considers here the possibility that *Torki* may come from the Slavic word "protorča" or from ancient Turks. In the 1749-50 redaction of his history Tatiščev traces the origins of *Torki* either to their god *Tor* or to a Sarmatian word for "angry." See *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 274.

<sup>33</sup> To Tatiščev the term "Sarmatian" was a broad concept which included the Finns, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Hungarians, and the remnants of non-Slavic peoples living in Russia (Samoyeds, Voguls, Cheremiss, Chuvash, Mordvins, Ostyaks, etc.) (250-256), as well as the Pechenegs, Polovtses, and Torks (271-273). It also included the long extinct Goths, Cymbrians and Alans (234) (although he distinguished the Goths from "our Sarmatians" (255-256)) and the Varangians Russes, whom he traced from Finland and who he says have all Gothic and Sarmatian names (286), as the name Tur and other names prove (290). About the Scandinavians he is not explicit, although the fact that the Goths inhabited Scandinavia (256) would explain the borrowings from Sarmatian in that area. At one point, following Ptolemy (the immediate source was probably Miechowski or another Polish historian), he writes that Sarmatia included all lands from the Northern to the Black Sea and the Danube, East from the Caspian to the Caucasus, and West as far as the Oder or Rhein (245), which probably included the Germans (246). Numbers in brackets above refer to paginations in Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Returning, in 1749, once again to the meaning of the river Tura in his notes to Müller's Siberian history, Tatiščev states that according to the Voguls this river has its source in a holy mountain and means "mountain river." This information Tatiščev considers plausible since "all Sarmatians worshipped especially the god *Tor* which is mentioned by Northern

and our writers." Thus the assumption that the river Tura in Vogul is derived from a holy mountain where, presumably, Thor was worshipped, is used by Tatiščev in explanation of the river's name. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 7, p. 438.

<sup>35</sup> See Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, p. 146, *Sinopsis*, p. 26 and Mansikka, pp. 380-383, and Afanasiev, pp. 250-267 about the folklore data.

<sup>36</sup> As noted earlier (see note 28) Tatiščev had listed Adam of Bremen and Saxo Grammaticus as his sources for both Perun and Thor. These writers know nothing about Perun, although both speak about the worship of Thor. Saxo traces the origin of Thor and Odin in Scandinavia to sorcerers who began to claim the ranks of gods, and sees only some resemblance between Thor and Jupiter. See *The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*, book IV, pp. 225-226. Adam of Bremen describes in detail the worship of Thor in Sweden, stresses that Thor is a thundergod, and notes that with his scepter Thor resembles Jove. See Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg Bremen*, book IV, p. 207. Although Tatiščev may have used these works, we believe that he based his information on Arnkiel, who cited Saxo and Adam as his sources.

<sup>37</sup> Philipp Clüver (1580-1622), *Germaniae antiquae libris tres* (Lugduni Batavorum: apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1616). His etymological speculations appear on p. 227. The work contains interesting material about the customs of Slavs. Tatiščev refers to this work occasionally in his history.

<sup>38</sup> Arnkiel, *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion*, vol. 1, pp. 57-60.

<sup>39</sup> Strahlenberg's comment that the Ostyaks worshipped Thor, and the work of the thirteenth century traveler Rubruck who speaks of a "homo dei Turgemannus" among the Turks, may have further strengthened Tatiščev's belief in the almost universal worship of Thor. For Rubruck see "Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratie 1243 ad partes Orientales" in C. Raymond Beazley, ed., *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus reprints, 1967), pp. 146 and 187. We know that Tatiščev had used this work in a Russian translation which had been made upon his request. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 452.

<sup>40</sup> Strykowski knows nothing about Thor, but in his description of the Lithuanian gods he identifies Perun with Perkunas. See his *Kronika polska*, pp. 153 and 156. In turn, the Prussian historian Christoph Hartknoch (1644-1687) compares Perkunas to both Thor and Jupiter. Although we have no evidence that Tatiščev knew Hartknoch, it is to be noted that Hartknoch's dissertation "De Diis Prussorum veterum Maioribus" was published in 1697 with Petri de Duisburg's *Chronicon Prussiae*, a work which Tatiščev does cite in his history. See Petri de Duisburg, *Ordinis Teutonici acerdotis Chronicon Prussiae* (Francofurti et Lipsiae, 1679), pp. 130-132 for Hartknoch's data. It is also possible that Tatiščev knew O.

Rudbeck's *Atland eller Mannheim*, vol. 2 (Uppsala: Lychnos bibliotek, 1939), p. 330, where Rudbeck speaks of the worship of Thor by the Wends. Tatiščev requested the work of Rudbeck from the Academy but we have no evidence that he obtained it. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 452.

<sup>41</sup> Much has been said about the treaties of the Kievan rulers with the Greeks where the name of Perun appears to have been substituted for Thor. See especially, Chadwick, *Beginnings of Russian History*, pp. 84 and 88. Since Tatiščev knew of these treaties, and was also familiar with Arnkiel's information about similar oaths taken by the Nordic people, he could have assumed that it was Thor who was worshipped in Russia. Furthermore, a reference to Turova Božnica is made in the *Hypatian Chronicle* under the year 1146 which implies Thor's worship in Russia. (See Stanisław Rożniecki, "Perun und Thor, ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik der russischen Mythologie," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, vol. 23, 1901, pp. 462-520.) We know that Tatiščev knew this data and reproduced it in his chronicle account. See his *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 162. It is also possible that he knew from the *Sinopsis* about the worship of "some devil Tur" among the Slavs. See *Sinopsis*, p. 299. Mentioned also in *Life of Vladimir* in Perets, pp. 88, 105.

<sup>42</sup> For texts see the *Hustyn Chronicle*, p. 257, *Life of Vladimir* in Perets, pp. 87, 104-105, and the *Sinopsis*, p. 297.

<sup>43</sup> On Mokoš see especially V. V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov, *Slavjanskije jazykovye modelirujuščie semiotičeskie sistemy* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), pp. 18-19 and Jakobson, "Slavic Mythology," p. 1027.

<sup>44</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 340. Tatiščev also mentions a "Rektor Apic" who informed him that the Novgorodians had an ancient emblem with a bull's head. Apitz was Rector of the Lutheran school in Moscow. On his correspondence with Tatiščev see Andreev, "Perepiska Tatiščeva," pp. 296-297 and 314.

<sup>45</sup> Xors is attested without any characteristics and is considered to be of non-Slavic origin. On Xors see Jakobson, "Slavic Mythology," p. 1027, Unbegaun, p. 404, Niederle, pp. 120-122, Brückner, *Mitologia Slava*, pp. 144-148, Ivanov and Toporov, pp. 17-18, and Chadwick, p. 89.

<sup>46</sup> On Stribog see Niederle, p. 119, and Mansikka, pp. 394-395. Stribog is attested in literature without specific attributes. However, in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* the winds which blow arrows from the sea upon the brave armies of Igor are called "Striboži vnuci," i.e., the grandsons of Stribog. The *Slovo* was discovered only in the second half of the eighteenth century and we have no indication that Tatiščev was familiar with this work. Nevertheless, one "could" speculate that Tatiščev knew the *Slovo* deduced the war-like qualities of Stribog on the basis of this god's powers to direct winds with arrows toward battlefields, and hence drew a parallel between Stribog and Mars.

<sup>47</sup>Orbini, *Kniga istoriografija*, p. 105.

<sup>48</sup>See our discussion of Giovio and Schleusing in Part I, 2.

<sup>49</sup>Orbini, *Kniga istoriografija*, p. 14. See also our discussion of Orbini in Part I, 2. On Rusalki see especially Niederle, pp. 53-64.

<sup>50</sup>See our discussion of Schleusing in Part I, 2.

5. *On the Scythian gods of Herodotus and ancient customs*

<sup>1</sup>On Herodotus' mythology see De Vries, *Mythologie*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of Herodotus' Scythian pantheon see Ivan M. Linforth, "Greek gods and foreign gods in Herodotus" in *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Berkeley, California, 1926), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>In a letter to the Academy of January 16, 1736, Tatiščev requested several books, including Herodotus' history. He received the work apparently in a German translation, as in a note to the Academy of November 22, 1736 he wrote that he had asked Kondratovič to translate it from German into Russian. See Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 447. We know that in 1737 Tatiščev left a copy of Herodotus to the Mining school in Ekaterinburg. See Fedorov, "K istorii Ekaterinburgskoj biblioteki V. N. Tatiščeva," p. 82. Tatiščev turned to the study of Herodotus again after 1746. In a letter to the Academy of May 1746 he admits losing his notes and asks Schumacher to send him another copy of Herodotus in German. This he apparently received, as early in 1748 he wrote Schumacher that he had made a detailed index to Herodotus, better than the one in the original. See *Istoričeskij arxiv*, vol. 6, 1951, pp. 250, 271, 283.

<sup>5</sup>Such a translation had been made in 1535. See *Herodotus, der allerhochberühmtest Griechische Geschichtsschreiber, von dem Persier, und vilen andern Kriegen und Geschichten durch Hieronymum Boner, aus dem Latin in Teutsch gebracht* (Augsburg, 1535).

<sup>6</sup>*Herodotus, with an English translation by A. G. Godley*, vol. 2 (London: William Heinemann, New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1921).

<sup>7</sup>Herodotus, Paragraph 59, pp. 257-258. Tatiščev's paragraph numbering does not agree with Herodotus'.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, Paragraph 62, p. 260.

<sup>9</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 101. Tatiščev's paragraph numbering does not agree with Herodotus'. See note below.

<sup>10</sup>Herodotus, Paragraph 79, p. 281.

<sup>11</sup>For an explanation of Tatiščev's concept of "Sarmatian" see note 33, II, 4.

<sup>12</sup>Tatiščev distinguishes clearly between Slavic, Sarmatian, and Scythian tribes but realizes that the term Scythia was applied in antiquity also to territories inhabited by Sarmatian and Slavic tribes. See his *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 242-243.

<sup>13</sup>Tatiščev mentions notes 29 and 30, 25 and 132 on burials, and 103 on recompensation after death. Since these numbers do not agree in subject matter with the annotations in volume two, we give below our table of suggested correspondences, together with a list of correspondences presented by the

editors of his *Istorija*, vol. 2, pp. 328-329. References to Tatiščev's notes in our text are based on numbering in the center column.

*Table of Notes:*

Note in volume one:	Corresponding note in volume two:	Corresponding note according to editors of volume two:
	none found, possibly	
Note 25	Note 95	Note 25
Note 29	Note 30	none given
Note 30	Note 31	none given
Note 103	Note 107	Note 107
Note 132	Note 140	Note 140

<sup>14</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 101-102.

<sup>15</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 202. The text of the *Primary Chronicle* to which he refers appears on p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> This is Tatiščev's own admission. See his *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 383.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 388.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 202. This note refers to an account in the *Primary Chronicle*, according to which the Slavic tribes of Radimiči, Vjatiči, and Severjane burned their dead. Tatiščev reproduced this report in his history (*ibid.*, p.203). It also relates to the account of Oleg's burial by the Varangians (*ibid.*, p. 39) and Tatiščev's Note 95 to this incident (*ibid.*, p. 216). The fact that Olga, a Slavic princess, was buried (*ibid.*, p. 50) did not seem to disturb him since this was clearly a Christian custom, although in Note 140 he notes that *Tryzna* (not held at burial of Olga) was a Sarmatian word and a pagan ceremony (*ibid.*, p. 244).

<sup>19</sup> See Arnkiel, *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion*, vol. 1, p. 19 where, on the basis of Helmold, Arnkiel notes that the Slavs burned their dead.

<sup>20</sup> Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, pp. 391-392.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 219.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 102.

<sup>23</sup> Tatiščev charged that the Russian schism was the result of superstition and lack of enlightenment among the Old Believers. See his *Razgovor*, pp. 70, 74-75. For a discussion of Tatiščev's attitudes toward the schism see I. Kaplan "Tatiščev and Kantemir, two Eighteenth-Century Exponents of a Russian Bureaucratic Style of Thought," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s., vol. 13, 1965, pp. 499-501.

6. *On the improper worship of icons*

<sup>1</sup>The Seventh Council of Nicea (787 A.D.), known also as the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicea. It condemned iconoclasts and reenstated veneration of icons. See "Iconoclasm" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: McGraw-Hill), 1967, pp. 327-329.

<sup>2</sup>Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 1, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup>See I. Morev, "Učenie o sv. ikonax" in his *Kamen' very Mitropolita Stefana Javorskago* (St. Petersburg, 1904), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Morev cites the polemic writings of Josif Volokolamskij (1433-1508), Maksim Grek (1480-1556), the brothers Lixudy (end of seventeenth century), and others on this subject. See Morev, pp. 8-19.

<sup>5</sup>Mohyla's *Orthodox Confession* was the only Catechism in use during Tatiščev's life (see Note below). Written in Latin, it was approved by a Council in Kiev in 1640. Cleansed of "non-orthodox" influences, volume one, translated into Greek, was approved by the Council of Yassy in 1645. Abbreviated Polish and Slavonic editions were published in Kiev in 1645 and another Slavonic edition in Moscow in 1649. A complete Slavonic edition, translated from a 1662 Greek edition, appeared in Moscow in 1596 (reprinted in 1709 and 1743), with a word "On the veneration of holy icons" by John Damascene (d. ca. 754). On other editions and its full history see Verxovskoj, *Učreždenie Duxovnoj Kollegii*, vol. 1, p. 367, Pekarskij, *Nauka*, vol. 2, pp. 341-343, and James Cracraft, *The Church Reform of Peter the Great*. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1971, pp. 278-279. We have used a reprint of the 1698 Moscow edition: *Pravoslavnoe ispovedanie kafoličeskoj i apostol'skoj cerkvi vostočnoj, s priloženiem slova svjatogo Joanna Damaskina . . .*, perevod s grečeskago jazyka (Moscow, 1900). We know that Tatiščev had in his library a 1709 and a 1744 (1743?) edition of Mohyla's Catechism. See Pekarskij, *Novye izvestija*, pp. 56-57. NOTE: An earlier Catechism by Lavrentij Zizanij was published in Moscow in 1627, but the entire edition was confiscated and with only few exceptions burned. It was reprinted on the basis of the 1627 edition only in 1783. See *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky; bio-bibliohrafičnyj dovidnyk*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1960), p. 367.

<sup>6</sup>See Robert Pinkerton, "Origin and different sects of Russian dissenters" in Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, *The Present State of the Greek Church in Russia* (Edinburgh, 1814), pp. 307-308.

<sup>7</sup>See Morev, p. 287 and Cracraft, pp. 130-131. Javors'kyj complied. The book was published under the title *Kamen' very pravoslavnyj cerkve svjatyja synom na utverždenie i duxovnoe sozidanie . . .* (Moscow, 1728, also 1729, 1730, 1744, 1749). The work was temporarily banned in 1732 by Prokopovyč for its "anti-Lutheran" bias. In his *Razgovor*, p. 46, Tatiščev showed himself a supporter of Prokopovyč, citing the *Rock of Faith* as

an example of anti-Lutheran slander.

<sup>8</sup>Dimitrij of Rostov, *Rozysk o raskol'ničeskoj brynskoj vere* . . . (Moscow: V Sinodal'noj tipografii, 1647). Chapter 5, pp. 12-22 represents an attack against the improper veneration of icons.

<sup>9</sup>In the *Ecclesiastical regulations* of 1721, Prokopovyč condemned superstitious practices and admonished Bishops to observe that "false and invented miracles are not to be attributed to holy icons." See Verxovskoj, vol. 2, p. 40. The direct source for this regulation was the Episcopal Oath of 1716, prepared by Peter himself, according to which Bishops promised to ascertain "that holy icons are not deified and that invented miracles are not attributed to them." See Verxovskoj, vol. 1, p. 381. To illustrate this point, Prokopovyč preached on March 10, 1717, a sermon "On the veneration of holy icons" in which he attacked "ancient and recent" iconoclasts "because they refuted the use of holy icons, calling them idols." See his "Slovo o počitanii svjatyx ikon" in *Feofana Prokopoviča slova i reči* (St. Petersburg, 1760), p. 77. Prokopovyč returned to the proper veneration of icons once more in his *Primer*, entitled *Pervoe učenie otrokom* . . . (St. Petersburg, 1720), reprinted no less than 12 times during the reign of Peter. We have used the English translation of the *Primer*, entitled *The Russian Catechism*. See note 152, I, 2.

<sup>10</sup>Prokopovyč, *The Russian Catechism*, pp. 4-5. All quotes from Prokopovyč are to the same pages.

<sup>11</sup>Similarly, but more sharply, Dimitrij writes that all those "who do not venerate icons will be damned." See his *Rozysk*, p. 17.

<sup>12</sup>Mohyla, *Pravoslavnoe ispovedanie*, p. 133.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>14</sup>Dimitrij of Rostov, *Razysk*, p. 15.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Primary Sources*

- Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*. Translated with an introduction and notes by Francis J. Tschan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Andreev, A. I., "Perepiska V. N. Tatiščeva za 1746-1759 gg." in *Istoričeskij arxiv*, vol. 6, 1951, pp. 245-314.
- Aničkov, E. V., *Jazyčestvo i drevnjaja Rus'*. St. Petersburg: V. tipografii Stasjuleviča, 1914.
- Arnkil, Trogillus, *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion: was unsere Vorfahren Cimbrischer Nation, die Sachsen, Guten, Wenden und Fresen, und die von denselben herstammenden Mittermächtige Völeker . . . geglaubt*. Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1702.
- Aver'janova, A. P., ed., *Rukopisnyj leksikon pervoj poloviny XVIII veka*. Leningrad: Izd-vo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1964.
- Beazley, C. Raymond, ed., *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis*. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus reprints, 1967.
- Biblija, sireč knigi vetxago i novago zaveta po jazyku slovensku*. Ostrog: Joann Fedorov, 1581.
- Biblija, sireč knigi vetxago i novago zaveta po jazyku slavensku*. Moscow, 1663.
- Bielski, Marcin, *Kronika polska, nowo przez Joachima Bielskiego syna jego wydana*. Kraków: w drukarni Sibenychera, 1957. (Reprinted in *Zbiór pisarzy polskich*, vol. 9, 1829.)
- Buonaccorsi, Filippo, *Philippi Callimachi Vita et Mores Sbignei Cardinalis*. Edited by Irmina Lichońska. Warsaw: PAN, 1962.
- Charmoy, F. B., "Relation de Mas'oudy et d' autres auters musulmans sur le anciens Slaves" in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St. Pétersburg*, series 6, vol. 2. St. Petersburg, 1834.
- Clüver, Philipp, *Germaniae antiquae libris tres . . . adjectae sunt Vindelicia et Noricum ejusdem auctoris*. Lugdoni Batavorum: apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1616.
- Consett, Thomas, ed., *The Present State and Regulations of the Church of Russia*. London: S. Holt, 1729.
- Cross, Samuel H., ed., *The Russian Primary Chronicle*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930. (Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, vol. 12, pp. 75-320)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*. Translated and edited by S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor. Cambridge, Mass., 1953. (The Medieval Academy of America Publications, no. 60)

- Dale, Antonius, *Verhandeling van de onde Orakelen der Heydenen*. Amsterdam: by Andries van Damme, 1718.
- Demidova, N. F., ed., "Instrukcija V. N. Tatiščeva o porjadke prepodavanja v školax pri Ural'skix kazennyx zavodax" in *Istoričeskij arxiv*, vol. 5, 1950.
- Dimitrij of Rostov, *Letopis' iže vo svjatyx otca našego Dimitrija mitropolita Rostovskago čudotvorca skazujuščaja dejanija ot načal mirobytija do Roždestva Xristova . . . vtoroe izdanie*, vol. 2. St. Petersburg: Pri Imperatorskoj Akademii Xudožestv, 1796.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Rozysk o raskol'ničeskoj brynskoj vere, o učeni i x, o delax i x, i iz'javlenie, jako vera i x neprava, učenje i x duševredno i dela i x ne Bogougodna*. Moskva: V Sinodal'noj tipografii, 1847.
- Długosz, Jan, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Dąbrowski. Warsaw, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Bandieria Prutenorum, tudzież Insignia seu Clenodia Regni Poloniae*. Wydał Józef Muczkowski. Kraków, 1851.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Roczniki czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 1. Edited by J. Dąbrowski. Warsaw, 1961.
- Ebbo and Herbordus, *The Life of Otto, Apostle of Pomerania, 1060-1139, by Ebo and Herbordus*. Translated by Ch. H. Robinson. London, New York, 1920.
- Fabronius, Hermann Mosemann, *Neue Summarische Welt Historia*. Zu Schmakalden: durch Wolfgang Ketzeln, 1612.
- Frentzel, Abraham, "Commentarius philologico-historicus de Diis Soraborum aliorumque Slavorum" in *Scriptores rerum lusaticorum*, vol. 2 (edited by C. G. Hoffmann), Leipzig, Bautzen, 1719, pp. 85-236.
- Frentzel, Michael, "Dissertationes historicae tres de idolis Slavorum" in *ibid.*, pp. 63-84.
- Gal'kovskij, N., *Bor'ba Xristijanstva s ostatkami jazyčestva v drevenj Rusi*, vol. 2. Moscow, 1913. (Zapiski Moskovskogo Arxologičeskogo instituta, vol. 18)
- Gaultruche, Pierre, *The Poetical History, being a Complete Collection of all the Stories Necessary for a Perfect Understanding of the Greek and Latin Poets and other Ancient Authors*. 5th edition, corrected and amended by Marius d'Assigny. London: Pitt, 1683.
- Giovio, Paulo, *Pauli Iovii Novocomensis Libellus de Legatione Basilii Magni Principis Moschouiae ad Clementem VII*. Basileae, 1527.
- Gizel', Innokentij, *Sinopsis, ili kratkoe sobranie s raznyx letopiscev, o načale slavjanorosijskogo naroda i pervonačal'nyx knjazex bogospasaemago grada Kieva, o žytii svjatogo . . . pervejšago samodēržca Vladimira . . . Kievo-Pečerskaja lavra, v leto sozdanija mira 7188, ot voploščenija že Boga Slova 1680*.

- Guagnini, Alessandro, *Kronika Sarmacyi europejskiej Alexandra hrabi Gwagnina, przez Marcina Paszkowskiego za staraniem autorowym z łacińskiego na polskie przetoczona . . . niegdyś w Krakowie drukowana*. W. Warszawie: w drukarni J. K. Mci y Rzeczypospolitey u xx Societatis Jesu, 1768. (Zbiór dziejopisów polskich, vol. 4)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio, quae regnum Poloniae, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Russiam, Masouiam, Pomeraniam, Liuoniam & Moschouiae, Tartariae partem complectitur. Alexandri Gwagnini Veronensis . . . diligentia conscriptae*. Cracoviae: Typis Matthiae Wirzbietae, 1578.
- Harkavy, A., *Skazanija musul'manskix pisatelej o slavjanax i russkix*. St. Petersburg, 1870. (Slavistic printings and reprintings, no. 96. The Hague:Mouton, 1969)
- Hartknoch, Christophoro, "Antiquitates Prussicas, Dissertationes XIX (Dissertatio VII: De Diis Prussorum veterum Maioribus)" in Petri de Duisburg, *Ordinis Teutonici acerdotis Chronicon Prussiae*. Francofurti et Lipsiae, 1679.
- Hederich, Benjamin, M., *Gründliches Antiquitäten-Lexicon*. Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1743.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum*. Leipzig: Gleditschens Handlung, 1724.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Gründliches Mythologisches Lexicon*. Leipzig: Gleditschens Handlung, 1770. (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1967)
- Helmoldus, *Chronica Slavorum Helmoldi, Presbyteri Bosouiensis et Arnoldi, Abbatus Lubecensis in quibus res Slavicae et Saxonicae fere à tempore Caroli Magni usque ad Ottonem IV exponuntur Henricus Bangertus*. Lubecae: Sumptibus Statii Wessellii, 1659.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Chronicle of the Slavs by Helmold, Priest of Bosau*. Translated with introduction and notes by F. J. Tschan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935. (Records of Civilization Sources and Studies, vol. 21)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Slavjanskaja xronika*. Edited by M. N. Tixomirov. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963.
- Herberstein, Sigismund, *Notes upon Russia* (Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii). 2 vols. Translated and edited by R. H. Major. New York: Bust Franklin Publishers (n.d.).
- Herodotus, *Herodotus with an English Translation by A. D. Godley*, vol. 2. London: William Heinemann, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921. (The Loeb Classical Library)
- Hofmeister, A., ed., *Monachus Prieflingensis. Prüfeninger Vita des Bischofs Otto von Bamberg*. Greifswald, 1924. (Denkmäler der pommerischen Geschichte, vol. 1)
- Holtzmann, R., ed., see Thietmar von Merseburg.
- Kantzow, Thomas, *Chronik von Pommern in Niederdeutscher Mundart*. Stettin: bei Friedrich Heinrich Morin, 1835.

- Keyssler, Johann Georg, "Dissertatio de Cultu Solis, Freji et Othini" in Schedius, Elias, *De Diis Germanis*. . . . Halae, 1728. See entry under Schedius.
- Kosmografija 1670: *Knjiga glagolaemaja kosmografija sireč opisanie sego sveta zemel' i gosudarstvu velikix*. . . . St. Petersburg: V. S. Balašev, 1878-1881. (Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti, numernoje izd. 21, 57, 68)
- Krantz, Albert, *Vandalia*. Hanoviae: Typis Wecheliensis, 1619.
- Krojnyka, kotoraja načynaetsja ot' potopu pervoho mira, i stolpotvorenija, i razdělenija jazyk, i rassějanija po vsej vseleňej, i o roznyx narodax*. . . . Spysana sija Krojnyka v' Maloj Rossij, v mon-rju. . . Hustynskom Pryluckom . . . roku 1670. (PSRL, vol. 2, 1843)
- Kromer, Marcin, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX, recogniti ab autore, unacum funebri eiusdem autoris oratione, Sigismundi regis vitam compendiose complexa, et aliquoties iam prius edita. Accessit modo iudicium Francisci Robortelli*. . . . Basileae: per Ioannem Oporinum, 1558.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *O sprawach, dzieiach y wszystkich potocznościach koronnych polskich, ksiąg XXX przez Marcina Błażowskiego z Błażow: wyraznie na polski język przetłumaczone, przydatkami i dowodami niektórymi poniekd utwierdzone, y własnym onegoż kosztem z druku na świat podane*. W Krakowie, w drukarni Mikołaja Loba, 1611. Reprinted in *Zbiór dziejopisów polskich*, vol. 3. W Warszawie: Societatis Jesu, 1767.
- Lejbovič, L. I., *Svodnaja letopis' sostavlena po vsem izdannym spisкам letopisi, vyp. 1*, St. Petersburg, 1876.
- Ludewig, Johann Peter, ed., *Scriptores rerum episcopatus Bambergensis* (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, vol. 2). Francofurti & Lipsiae, 1718.
- Magnus, Johannes, *Historia Ioannis Magni Gothi sedis apostolicae legati*. . . . *de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus qui unquam ab initio nationi extitere, eorumque memorabilibus bellis late varieque per orbem gestis*. Romae, 1554.
- Magnus, Olaus, *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes and Vandals and other Northern Nations*. London: J. Streater, 1658.
- Mansikka, V. J., *Die Religion der Ostslaven: I. Quellen*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1922. (Folklore Fellows Communications, vol. 10, no. 43)
- Meyer, C. H., *Fontes Historiae Religionis Slavicae*. Berlin, 1931. (Fontes Historiae religionum ex auctoribus Graecis et Latinis collectos, edidit Carolus Clemen, fasciculus 4)
- Miechowski, Matthaeus, *Chronica polonorum*. Impressum Craccouiae: per Hieronym Vietore, 1521.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Traktat o dvux Sarmatijax*. Vvedenie, perevod i komentarij S. A. Anninskogo. Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1936.

- Mohyla, Petro, *Pravoslavnoe ispovedanie kafoličeskoj i apostol'skoj cerkvi vostočnoj, s priloženiem slova svjatogo Ioanna Damaskina*. . . . Perevod s grečeskago jazyka. Moscow, 1900.
- Müller, G. F., *Istorija Sibiri*. 2 vols. Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1931, 1941.
- Müller, G. F., ed., *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*. 9 vols. St. Petersburg, 1732-1764.
- Münster, Sebastian, *Cosmographiae universalis*. . . . Basileae: apud Henrichum Petry, 1554.
- Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov*. Moscow, Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1950. (AN SSSR, Institut istorii)
- Oppenbusch, Michael von, *Exercitatio historico-theologica in qua Religio Moscovitarum breviter delineata et exhibitata a M. Michaele von Oppenbusch*. Amstelodamense, Argentorati: Sumptibus Josiae Staedeli, 1667.
- Orbini, Mavro, *Il regno degli Slavi, hoggi corrottamente detti schiavoni*. Pesaro: Appresso Girolamo Concordia, 1601.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Kniga istoriografija počatija imene, slavy i razširenija naroda slavjanskogo i ix carej i vladetelej pod mnogimi imjanami i so mnogimi carstvijami, korolevstvami i provincijami*. Sobrana iz mnogix knjig istoričeskix črez gospodina Mavrourbina arximandrita raguškogo. Perevedena so italjanskogo na rossijskoj jazyk i napečatana poveleniem i vo vremena sčastlivogo vladenija Petra Velikogo. . . . V Sanktpeterburgskoj tipografii, 1722 godu, avgusta v 20 den'.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Kraljevstvo Slovena*. Edited by Sima Ćirković, Beograd, 1968.
- Ortelius, Abraham, "Deorum, dearumque capita ex antiquis numismatibus collecta" in Gronovius, Jacobus, *Thesaurus Graecorum*, vol. 7. Lugdoni Batavorum, 1697-1702, pp. 262-295.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Theatre of the Whole World* (London, 1606). With an introduction by R. H. Skelton. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Thesaurus geographicus*. . . . Hanouiae: apud Guil. Antonium, 1611.
- Peretc, V. N., "Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žytija v ukrainskix perevodax XVII v." in his *Issledovanija i materialy po istorii starimoj ukrainskoj literatury XVI-XVIII vekov*. Mowcow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1962, pp. 8-116.
- Persson, Peer de Erlesunda, "Istorija o Velikom Knjažestve Moskovskom," *Čtenija v OADR*, vols. 55, 1865 (book 4, pp. 1-88), 56, 1866 (book 1, pp. 89-184), 57, 1886 (book 2, pp. 185-280), 58, 1866 (book 3, pp. 281-341), and 61, 1867 (book 2 pp. 342-382).
- Petri de Duisburg, see Hartknoch, Christophoro.
- Pinkerton, Robert, "Origins and different sects of Russian dissenters" in Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, *The Present State of the Greek Church of Russia*. Edinburgh, 1814.

- Polnoe Sobranie Russkix Letopisej*. Moscow, 1841-1968.
- Popov, A. N., *Izbornix slavjanskix i russkix sočinenij i statej unesennyx v xronografy russkoj redakcii*. (Supplement to his *Obzor*) Moscow, 1869).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Obzor xronografov russkoj redakcii*. 2 vols. Moscow, 1866, 1869.
- Procopius of Caesarea, *Procopius, with an English translation by H. B. Dewing*, vol. 4. London & New York, 1924. (The Loeb Classical Library)
- Prokopovyč, Teofan, "Pro metod pysannja istoriji ta pro lysty," *Filosofs'ka dumka*, no. 1, 1971, pp. 99-109.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Razsuždenie o knige Solomonovoj naricaemoj Pesni pesnej*. Sočinennoe v leto 1730. Pečatano pri Moskovskom universitete. Moscow, 1774.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Russian Catechism, compos'd and publish'd by Order of the Czar: To which is annex'd a short account of the Church-Government and Ceremonies of the Moscovites*. Adorn'd with cuts, second edition. London: W. Meadows, 1725.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Slova i reči, poučitel'nyja, poxval'nyja i pozdravitel'nyja*. Edited by S. F. Nakoval'nin. St. Petersburg, 1760.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Slovo . . . v den' sv. ravnoapostol'nago Knjazja Vladimira," *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 22, July 1888 (Priloženie).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sočinenija*. Edited by I. P. Eremin. Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Vyderžki iz rukopisnoj retoriki F. Prokopoviča, soderžaščija v sebe izobraženie papistov i jezuitov," *TKDA*, 1865, pp. 614-637.
- Rezanov, V., *Drama ukrajins'ka*. Kiev, UAN, 1926-1929. (Zbirnyk Istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu UAN, vol. 7, part 1, 4-6)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Iz istorii russkoj dramy: Škol'nye dejstvijsja XVII-XVIII vv. i teatr Jezuitov*. Moscow: OADR, 1910.
- Rudbeck, Olaus, *Atlant eller Mannheim*. 2 vols. Uppsala: Lychnos Bibliotek, 1939.
- Saxarov, I., *Skazanija russkago naroda*. 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1849.
- Saxo Grammaticus, *The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*. Translated by Oliver Elton. Nandeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprints Limited, 1967.
- Schedius, Elias, *De Diis Germanis sive veteri germanorum, gallorum, britanorum, vandalorum religione . . .* Halae: Ex officina Crygiana, 1728. (Includes Keyssler, see entry above.)
- Schleusing, G. A., *La religion ancienne et modernes des Moscovites*. Enrichie de figures. Cologne: P. Marteau, 1698.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Religion der Moscoviter oder, Ausführliche Beschreibung derer Religion Anfang, Fortgang und jetzigen Wachsthum, wie auch ihrer Sitten, Gebräuche und Ceremonien*. Erstlich in Frantzösischer Sprache verfasst, nunmehr Teutsch über-

- setzt. Franckfurt am Mayn und Leipzig, 1712.
- Schleusing, G. A., *Universa Religio Ruthenica sive Moscovitica, oder die auffgehende Sonne der Christlichen Religion. Allen curieusen Liebhabern gründlich und wohlmeynend vorgestellt von Theophilo Wahrundo. Freystadt: J. Pietersen, 1698.*
- Schoettgen, Christian, *De originibus russicis dissertazione septem. Dresden, Leipzig, 1731.*
- Serebrjanskij, N., *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žytija (Obzor redakcij i teksty). Moscow, 1915.*
- Simeon Polockij, *Izbrannye sočienija. Podgotovka teksta, stat'ja i komentarii I. P. Eremina. Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1953.*
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Orel Rossijskij. Tvorenje Simeona Polockago. Soobščil N. A. Smirnov. St. Petersburg: M. A. Alexandrov, 1915. (Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti, numernoje izdanie 83)*
- Sobolevskij, A. I., *Perevodnaja literatura Moskovskoj Rusi XIV-XVII vekov; bibliografičeskie materialy. St. Petersburg, 1903. (Sbornik ORJAS, vol. 74, no. 1)*
- Stepennaja kniga. *Kniga stepennaja carskago rodoslovija, soderžaščaja istoriju rossijskiju s načala onya do vremen Gosudarja Carja i Velikago Knjazja Ioanna Vasil'eviča, sočinernaja trudami preosvjaščennyx mitropolitov Kiprijana i Makarija, a napečatannaja pod smotreniem Gerarda Friderika Millera. V Moskve: pri Imperatorskom universitete, 1775.*
- Strahlenberg, Johann Phillip, *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Russia, Siberia and Great Tartary. . . . Written originally in High German, now faithfully translated into English. London: Innys and Manby, 1738.*
- Strykowski, Maciej, *Kronika polska, litewska, žmódzka i wszystkiej Rusi: Kijówskiej, Moskiewskiej, Siewerskiej . . . Królewiec: G. Osterberger, 1582.*
- Tatiščev, V. N., *Duxovnaja. Kazan': izd. A. N. Ostrovskago, 1885.*
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Istorija rossijskaja s samyx drevnejšix vremen neusypnymi trudami čerez tridtsat' let sobrannaja i opisannaja pokojnym tajnym sovetnikom i astraxanskim gubernatorom Vasil'em Nikitičem Tatiščevym. Moscow: pri Imperatorskom Moskovskom universitete, 1768-1848. 5 vols.*
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Istorija rossijskaja v semi tomax. (Edited by A. I. Andreev, S. N. Val'k, and M. N. Tixomirov) Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1962-1968.*
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Leksikon rossijskoj istoričeskoj, geografičeskoj, političeskoj i graždanskoj. Parts 1-3. St. Petersburg, 1793.*
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Razgovor dvux prijatelej o pol'ze nauk i učilišč. Moscow, 1887. (Ctenija v IOIDR, book 1)*

- Thietmar von Merseburg, "Chronicon" (edited by R. Holtzmann) in *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, n.s., Berlin, vol. 9, 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Die Chronik des Thietmar von Merseburg*, 4th edition. Edited by R. Holtzmann. Leipzig, 1939.
- Thomasius, Christian, *Einleitung zur Sittenlehre*. (Fascimile of 1692 Halle edition) Hildesheim: George Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968.
- Tixonravov, N., *Russkija dramatičeskija proizvedenija, 1672-1725 godov*. 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1874.
- Titov, X., *Materialy dlja istorii knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajinu v XVI-XVIII vv; vsezbirka peredmov do ukrajins'kyx starodrukiv*. Kiev, UAN, 1924. (Zbirnyk Istoryko-filolohičnoho viddilju, no. 17)
- Verxovskoj, P. V., *Učreždenie dušcovnoji kollegii i dušcovnyj reglament*. 2 vols. Rostov na Donu, 1916.
- Walch, Georg, *Philosophisches Lexicon*. Leipzig: Verlegts J. F. Gleditschens, 1726. (Second, revised edition, Leipzig, 1733)

## Secondary Sources

- Abramovyč, Dmytro, "Litopysni džerela četji-Minej Dmytra Rostovs'koho," *Zapysky Istoryčnoji sekciji Vseukrajins'koji AN*, vol. 32, 1929. (Naukovyj zbirnyk za rik 1929)
- Adelung, Friedrich von, *Kritisch-literärische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700, deren Berichte bekannt sind*. 2 vols. St. Petersburg: Eggers & Company, 1846.
- Afansas'ev, A. N., *Poetičeskie vozzrenija Slavjan na prirodu*, vol. 1. Moscow, 1865.
- Aničkov, E. V., "Old Russian pagan cults" in *Transactions of the third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. 2. Oxford, 1908, pp. 244-259.
- Bahaliy, Dmytro, *Narys ukrajins'koji istoriografiji*. Kiev, 1923 (part one), 1925 (part two). (Zbirnyk Istoryko-filolohičnoho viddilu UAN, nos. 1, 1b)
- Barnason, Charles F., "Early Danish and Swedish writers on native history" in *Studies in Honor of John Albrecht Walz*. Lancaster, Pa., 1941.
- Barycz, H., *Dwie syntezy dziejow narodowych przed sądem potomności*. Losy "Historji" Jana Długosza i M. Kromera. Wrocław, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Maciej z Miechowa; Studium z dziejow kultury naukowej Polski doby Odrodzenia," *Nauka polska*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1958, pp. 47-100.
- Beleckij, A. I., "Stixotvorenija Simeona Polockago na temy iz vseobščej istorii" in *Sbornik statej v čest' prof. V. P. Bezeskula*. Kharkov, 1914, pp. 587-668. (Sbornik Istorikofilologičeskogo obščestva pri Xarkovskom universitete, no. 21)
- Berkov, P. N., "Lomonosov i fol'klor" in *Trudy Komissii po istorii AN SSSR. Lomonosov, Sbornik materialov II*. Moscow, 1946, pp. 107-129.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Russkaja literatura XVIII v. i drugie slavjanskije literatury XVIII-XX vv." in Berkov, P. N., ed., *Russkaja literatura XVIII veka i slavjanskije literatury; issledovanija i materialy*. Moscow, Leningrad, 1963, pp. 5-39.
- Bestjužev-Rjumin, K. H., *Biografii i charakteristiki*. . . . St. Petersburg, 1882.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Russkija izvestija Dlužoša do 1386 g. (O sostave russkix letopisej do konca XVI veka)" in *Letopis' zanjatij Arxeografičeskoj komissii, 1865-1866*, part 4, 1868.
- Blagoj, D. D., ed., *Istorija ruskoj literatury v trex tomas*. Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1958.
- Bobrzyński, M. and Smółka St., *Jan Długosz, jego życie i stanowisko w piśmennictwie*. Cracow, 1893.
- Bogatyrev, P., *Actes magiques; rites et croyances en Russie Subcarpathique*. Paris, 1929.
- Brückner, Alexander, *Mitologia Slava*. Bologna, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Mythologische Studien III," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, vol. 14, 1892, pp. 161-191.

- Bulič, S. K., *Očerki istorii jazykoznanija v Rossii*, vol. 1. St. Petersburg, 1904.
- Burmeister, Karl Heinz, *Neue Forschungen zu Sebastian Münster*. Ingelheim, Historischer Verein, 1971. (Beiträge zur Ingelheimer Geschichte, Heft 21)
- Chadwick, Nora, *The Beginnings of Russian History, an Enquiry into Sources*. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1946; reprinted 1966.
- Chrzanowski, Ignacy, *Marcin Bielski, studjum historyczno-literackie*. Lvov, Warsaw: Książnica Atlas, 1926.
- Čistovič, Ilarion, *Feofan Prokopovič i ego vremja*. St. Petersburg, 1868. (Sbornik ORJAS, vol. 4)
- Cracraft, James, *The Church Reform of Peter the Great*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Feofan Prokopovich" in J. G. Garrard, ed., *The Eighteenth Century in Russia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 75-105.
- Cross, Samuel H., *The Contribution of Gerhard Friedrich Müller to Russian Historiography; with some Consideration of August Ludwig Schlözer*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Harvard University, 1916.
- Čyževs'kyj, Dmytro, "Biblioteka Teofana Prokopovyča," *Naukovyj zbirnyk UAN*, vol. 2. New York, 1954, pp. 127-137
- Dąbrowski, Jan, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie, do roku 1480*, vol. 1. Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, PAN, 1964.
- Daniels, Rudolph L., *V. N. Tatishchev, Guardian of the Petrine Revolution*. Philadelphia: Franklin Publishing Co., 1973.
- De Vries, Jan, *Forschungsgeschichte der Mythologie*. Freiburg, München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1961.
- Della Cava, Olha Tatiana, *Sermons of Feofan Prokopovič: Themes and Style*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Columbia University, 1971.
- Diels, Paul, "Prove," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, vol. 40, 1925, p. 156.
- Dittrich, Z. R., "Zur religiösen Ur-und Frühgeschichte der Slaven," *Jahrbücher der Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s., vol. 9, 1961, pp. 481-510.
- Eremin, I. P., "K istorii obščestvennoj mysli na Ukraine vtoroj poloviny XVII v.," *TODRL*, vol. 10, 1954, pp. 212-222.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Literatura drevnej Rusi, etjudy i charakteristiki*. Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo Nauka, 1966.
- Fedorov, V. G., "K istorii Ekaterinburgskoj biblioteki V. N. Tatiščeva" in *Materialy k biografii V. N. Tatiščeva*. Sverdlovsk: Oblastnoj Kraevedčeskij muzej, 1964, pp. 78-90.
- Franz, Leonhard, *Falsche Slawengötter; eine ikonographische Studie*. Leipzig, 1941.
- Gasparini, Evel, "La danza circolare degli Slavi," *Ricerche Slavistiche*, no. 3, 1954, pp. 72-89.
- Gieysztor, Aleksander, "Slav Countries: Folk-Lore of the Forest," in *Larousse World Mythology*, ed. by Pierre Grimal. New York: Prometheus Press, 1965, pp. 401-416.

- Gieysztor, Aleksander, "The Slavic Pantheon and the New Comparative Mythology," *Minutes of the Seminar on Ukrainian Studies held at Harvard University*, no. 5, 1974-1975, pp. 82-84.
- Gimbutas, Marija, "Ancient Slavic Religion: A Synopsis" in *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, vol. 1. Mouton: The Hague, 1967, pp. 738-759.
- Golenduxin, L. D., "Novye materialy k biografii V. N. Tatiščeva" in *Materialy k biografii V. N. Tatiščeva*. Sverdlovsk: Oblastnoj Kraevedčeskij muzej, 1964.
- Goleniščev-Kutzov, I. N., *Italjanskoe vozroždenie i slavjanskije literatury XV-XVI vekov*. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963.
- Golubinskij, E. E., *Istorija russskoj cerkvi*, vol. 1. Moscow: Universitetskaja tipografija, 1901.
- Gorskij, A. N., *Svjatyj Dimitrij Mitropolit Rostovskij*. Moscow, 1849.
- Grau, Conrad, *Der Wirtschaftsorganisator, Staatsmann und Wissenschaftler Vasilij N. Tatiščev, 1686-1750*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1963.
- Grobecker, Manfred, *Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des Albert Krantz*. Hamburg, 1964.
- Hanusch, J. J., *Wissenschaft vom slavischen Mythos*. Lemberg, 1842.
- Hordyns'kyj, Svjatoslav, "'Vladymyr' Teofana Prokopovyča," *Naukovi Zapysky NTŠ*, vols. 130-132, 1920, pp. 19-71, 65-122, 65-134, respectively.
- Ikonnikov, V. S., *Opyt russskoj istoriografii*. vol. 2. Kiev, 1908.
- Iljinskij, G., "Dzidzilelia Jana Dlužoša," *Slavia Occidentalis*, vol. 5, 1926, pp. 525-529.
- Ivanov, V. V., and Toporov, V. N., *Slavjanskije jazykovye modeliruščie semiotičeskie sistemy*. Moscow, Izd-vo Nauka, 1965. (An SSSR, Institut slavjanovedenija)
- Jagić, I. V., *Istorija slavjanskoj filologii*. St. Petersburg, 1910.
- Jakobson, Roman, "Slavic Mythology" in *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*. New York, 1949, pp. 1025-1028.
- Jeršov, A., "Koly i xto napysav Hustyns'kyj litopys?," *Zapysky NTŠ*, vol. 100, Lvov, 1930, pp. 205-211.
- Kaplan, Frederick I., "Tatiščev and Kantemir, two Eighteenth-Century Exponents of Russian Bureaucratic Style of Thought," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s., vol. 13, 1965, pp. 497-510.
- Kartašev, A. V., "K voprosu o pravoslavii Feofana Prokopoviča" in *Sbornik statej v čest' Dimitrija Fomiča Kobeko*. St. Petersburg, 1913, pp. 225-230.
- Kolosov, E. E., "Novye biografičeskie materialy o V. N. Tatiščeve" in *Arxeografičeskij ešegodnik za 1963 god*. Moscow: Izd-vo Nauka, 1964, pp. 106-114.

- Koutaissof, E., "Tatishchev's Joachim Chronicle," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1951, pp. 52-61.
- Krek, G., *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*. Graz, 1887.
- Leger, L., *La mythologie Slave*. 2 vols. Paris, 1901.
- Lev, Vasyl', *Ukrajins'kyj perekład xroniky Martyna Bel'skoho*. Warsaw, 1935. (Praci Ukrajins'koho naukovoho instytutu, vol. 29, serija filolohična, knyha 4)
- Linforth, Ivan M., "Greek Gods and Foreign Gods in Herodotus," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1926, pp. 1-25.
- Łużny, Ryszard *Pisarze kręgu Akademji Kijowsko-Mohylanskiej i literatura polska*. Cracow, 1966.
- Machek, Václav, "Die Stellung des Gottes Svantovit in der altslavischen Religion" in *Orbis Scriptus Dmitrij Tschizewskij*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1966, pp. 491-497.
- Manuel, Frank E., *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*. New York: Atheneum, 1967.
- Marčenko, M. T., *Ukrajins'ka istoriografija; z davnyx časiv do seredyny XIX st.* Kiev: Vyd-vo Kyjivs'koho universytetu, 1959.
- Marsak, Leonard M., *Bernard de Fontenelle: The Idea of Science in the French Enlightenment*. Philadelphia, 1959. (Transactions of the American philosophical society, n.s., vol. 49, part 7)
- Maslov, S. I., "K istorii izdaniy Kievskogo "Sinopsisa"" in *Sbornik statej v čest' Akademika Sobolevskogo*. Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, pp. 341-348. (Sbornik ORJAS, vol. 101)
- Matusiak, S., "Olimp polski podług Długosza," *Lud*, vol. 14, 1908, pp. 19-90.
- Miljukov, P., *Glavnye Tečeniya russkoj istoričeskoj mysli*. Izd. 3., St. Petersburg, 1913.
- Močulskij, V., "Otnošenje južno-russkoj skolastiki XVII v. k ložno-klassicismu XVIII v.," *ŽMNP*, Aug. 1904, pp. 361-379.
- Mojseeva, G. N., "Lomonosov i pol'skie istoriki" in *Russkaja literatura XVIII veka i slavjanskije literatury; issledovanija i materialy*. Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963, pp. 140-157.
- Morev, I., *Kamen' very Mitropolita Stefana Javorskago*. St. Petersburg, 1904.
- Morozov, P. P., "Feofan Prokopovič kak pisatel'," *ŽMNP*, vol. 207, February 1880, pp. 416-476; vol. 208, March 1880, pp. 72-133; vol. 209, May 1880, pp. 107-148, vol. 209, June 1880, pp. 251-311; vol. 210, July 1880, pp. 1-49; vol. 210, August 1880, pp. 289-354; vol. 211, September 1880, pp. 1-65.
- Mytropolyt Ilarion, *Doxrystijans'ki viruvannja ukrajins'koho narodu*. Winnipeg: Research Institute on Volhyn, 1965.

- (Volyniana, vol. 14)
- Nehring, W., "Der Name Belbog in der slawischen Mythologie," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, vol. 25, 1903, pp. 66-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *O žyciu i piśmach Joachima Bielskiego*. Poznań, 1860.
- Niederle, Lubor, *Život starých Slovanu*. 2nd edition. Prague, 1924. (his Slovanské starožitnosti, vol. 2, part 1)
- Palm, Thede, *Wendische Kultstätten; quellen-kritische Untersuchungen zu den letzten Jahrhunderten slavischen Heidentums*. Lund: Gleerupska Universitetsbokhandeln, 1937.
- Pekarskij, P. P., *Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri Petre Velikom*. 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1862.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Novye izvestija o V. N. Tatiščeve*. St. Petersburg, 1864. (Supplement to ŽIAN, vol. 4)
- Peštič, S. L., *Russkaja istoriografija XVIII veka*, vol. 1. Leningrad: Izd-vo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "'Sinopsis' kak istoričeskoe proizvedenie," *TODRL*, vol. 15, 1958, pp. 284-298.
- Pettazoni, Raffaele, "West Slav Paganism" in his *Essays on the History of Religions*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, pp. 151-163.
- Pisani, Vittore, "Paganismo Balto-Slavo" in Venturi, Padre Pietro Tacchi, *Storia della Religioni*. Torino, vol. 2, 1949, pp. 55-100.
- Popov, Nil, *V. N. Tatiščev i ego vremja; epizod iz istorii gosudarstvennoj, obščestvennoj i častnoj žyzni v Rossii, pervoj poloviny prošedsago stoletija*. Moscow: Izdanie Soldatenkova i Ščepkina, 1861.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Učenyje i literaturnye trudy V. N. Tatiščeva," *ŽMNP*, vol. 245, June 1886, pp. 197-249.
- Porfir'ev, I., *Istorija russkoj slovesnosti*, Kazan', vol. 1, 1904, vol. 2, 1901.
- Potkański, Karol, "Wiadomosci Długosza o polskiej mitologii" in his *Pisma pośmiertne*, vol. 2. Cracow, 1924, pp. 1-93.
- Ptašickij, S., "Zapadno-russkie perevody xronik Bel'skogo i Strykovskogo" in *Novyj sbornik statej po Slavjanovedeniju, sostavljen i izdan učenicami Lamanskogo po slučaju 50-letija ego učeno-literaturnoj dejatel'nosti*. St. Petersburg, 1905, pp. 289-296.
- Pypin, A. N., *Istorija russkoj literatury*. 3 vols. 2nd edition. St. Petersburg, 1902.
- Radojčić, Nikola, *Srpska istorija Mavra Orbinija*. Beograd, 1950. (Srpska Akademija nauka, Posebna izdanja, knjiga 152)
- Robinson, A. N., *Istoriografija slavjanskogo vozroždenija i Paisij Xilendarskij*. Moscow, 1963.
- Rogger, Hans, *National Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Russia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Rogov, A. I., "Drevnerusskie perevody "Xroniki" Strykovskogo" in *Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik 1962*. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963.

- Rogov, A. I., "Maciej Strykowski i historiografia ukraińska XVII wieku," *Slavia Orientalis*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1965, pp. 311-329.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Russko-pol'skie kul'turnye svjazi v epoxu vozroždenija; Strykovskij i ego xronika*. Moscow: Nauka, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Strykovskij i russkaja istoriografija pervoj poloviny XVIII v." in *Istočniki i istoriografija slavjanskogo srednevekov'ja*. Moscow: AN SSSR, 1967, pp. 145-157.
- Roźniecki, Stanisław, "Perun und Thor, ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik der russischen Mythologie," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, vol. 23, 1901, pp. 462-520.
- Rybakov, V. A., "V. N. Tatiščev i letopisi XII v.," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 1, 1971, pp. 91-109.
- Šaxmatov, A. A., "Povest' vremennyx let i ee istocniki," *TODRL*, vol. 4, 1940, pp. 9-150.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Razyskanija v drevnejšix russkix letopisnyx svodax*. St. Petersburg, 1908.
- Schmaus, Alois, "Zur altslawischen Religionsgeschichte," *Saeculum*, vol. 4, 1953, pp. 206-230.
- Semkowicz, A., *Krytyczny rozbiór Dziejów polskich Jana Długosza (do roku 1384)*. Cracow, 1887.
- Senigov, I., "Istoriko-kritičeskie issledovanija o Novgorodskix letopisjax," *Čtenija O IDR*, vol. 4, 1887.
- Šepping, D. O., "Naši pis'mennye istočniki o jazyčeskix bogax russkoj mifologii," *Filologičeskie zapiski*, no. 6, 1888, pp. 1-31.
- Seznec, Jean, *The Survival of Pagan Gods; the Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*. Translated from French by Barbara F. Sessions. New York: Harper Torchbooks, The Bollingen Library, 1961.
- Šklovskij, V. B., *Čulkov i Levšin*. Leningrad, 1933.
- Šljapkin, I. A., *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja, 1651-1709*. St. Petersburg, 1891. (Zapiski Istoričesko-filologičeskogo fakul'teta Imp. Sankt Peterburgskogo universiteta, part 24)
- Sobolevskij, A. I., "Kogda načalsja u nas ložno-klassicism?," *Bibliograf*, no. 1, 1890, pp. 1-6.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Iz oblasti verovanij i obrjadov: Kupalo" in his *Materialy i issledovanija v oblasti slavjanskoj filologii i arxeologii*. St. Petersburg, 1910, pp. 258-266. (Sbornik ORJAS, vol. 88, no. 3, 1910).
- Sokolov, J. M., *Russian Folklore*. Translated by C. H. Smith. New York: Macmillan Co., 1950.
- Sreznevskij, A., "O obožaniji solnca u drevnix Slavjan," *ŽMNP*, vol. 51, 1846.
- Stemmermann, Paul Hans, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Vorgeschichtsvorschung*. Heidelberg, 1934.
- Stupperich, R., "Feofan Prokopovič und seine akademische Wirksamkeit in Kiev," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, vol. 17, 1941, pp. 70-102.

- Sumcov, N. F., "Innokentij Gizel'; k istorii južno-russkoj literatury XVII veka," *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 10, October 1884, pp. 183-226.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Ioannikij Galjatovskij; k istorii južno-russkoj literatury XVII veka," *Kievskaja starina*, vols. 8, January 1884, pp. 1-20; 9, February 1884, pp. 183-204; 9, March 1884, pp. 373-387; 9, April 1884, pp. 565-588.
- Šustorovič, E. M., "Xronika Ioanna Malaly i antičnaja tradicija v drevnerusskoj literaturi," *TODRL*, vol. 23, 1968, pp. 62-70.
- Tixonravov, N., "Tragedokomedija Feofana Prokopoviča 'Vladimir'," *ŽMNP*, vol. 203, 1879, pp. 53-96.
- Tetzner, J., "Bücher deutscher Autoren in Prokopovič's Bibliothek" in Winter, E., ed., *Die Deutsch-Russische Begegnung und Leonhard Euler*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958, pp. 125-142.
- Ulewicz, T., *Sarmacja; Studium z problematyki słowianskiej XV i XVI w.* Cracow, 1950.
- Unbegaun, Boris, O., "La religion des anciens Slaves" in Grenier, A., *Les religions etrusque et romaine . . .* Paris, 1948, pp. 387-445). (MANA, *Les religions de l'Europe ancienne*, vol. 3)
- Val'kina, I. V., "K voprosu ob istočnikax Tatiščeva" in *Rol' i značenie literatury 18 veka v istorii russkoj kul'tury*. Moscow, Leningrad: AN SSSR, 1966, pp. 74-93.
- Vernadsky, George, "Svantevit, dieu des Slaves Baltiques" in *Annuaire des l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* (New York, 1939-1944), pp. 339-356.
- Voznjak, Myxajlo, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury (viki 16-18)*, vol. 2. Lvov: Prosvita, 1921.
- Weber, L., "Svantevit und sein Heiligtum," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vol. 29, 1931.
- Wienecke, Erwin, *Untersuchungen zur Religion der Westslawen*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1940.
- Winter, E., "Feofan Prokopovič i načalo russkogo prosveščeniya" in *Rol' i značenie literatury XVIII veka v istorii russkoj kul'tury*. Moscow, Leningrad: AN SSSR, 1966.
- Znayenko, Myroslava T., "The Mythological Interests of Kievan Scholars in the Seventeenth and Beginning of the Eighteenth Century," *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies held at Harvard University*, no. 6, 1975-1976, pp. 41-44.

## Reference Works

- Barbier, A. A., ed., *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonyms*. 3rd edition, vol. 4. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1963.
- Berkov, P. N., ed., *Opisanie izdanij graždanskoj pečati, 1708-janvar' 1725*. Sostaviteli T. A. Bykova i M. M. Gurevič. Red. i vstupitel'naja stat'ja P. N. Berkova. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Opisanie izdanij napečatannyx kirillicej, 1689-janvar' 1725*. Sostaviteli T. A. Bykova i M. M. Gurevič. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1958.
- Brockhaus, F. A., and Efron, E. A., eds., *Enciklopedičeskij slovar'*, vol. 9, 1893 and vol. 17, 1895.
- Catalogue de la section Russica au ecrits sur la Russie en langues etrangeres*, vol. 2. Amsterdam, 1964.
- Cracraft, James, "Feofan Prokopovich: A Bibliography of His Works," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s., vol. 8, 1975, pp. 1-36.
- Dal', V. I., *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo Velikorusskogo jazyka*, vol. 2. St. Petersburg, Moscow, 1914.
- Estreicher, Karol T., *Bibliografia polska*. 34 vols. Cracow, Czionkami drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1870-1951.
- Gennadij, Grigorij, *Spravočnyj slovar' o russkix pisateljax i učenyx umersyx v 18 i 19 stoletijax i spisok russkix knig s 1725-1825 g.*, vol. 2. Berlin, 1880.
- Gorskij, A., Novostruev, K., eds., *Opisanie slavjanskix rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki*. Moscow, 1862. (Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris, vol. 2, part 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964)
- The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3. New York: Abigdon Press, 1962.
- Korovin, G. M., *Biblioteka Lomonosova*. Moscow, Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1961.
- Larousse World Mythology*. New York: Prometheus Press, 1965.
- Mintzloff, R. I., *Pierre le Grand dans la littérature étrangère*. St. Petersburg: I. Glasounow, 1872.
- New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7. New York: McGraw Hill, 1967.
- The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 12. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1957.
- The Oxford Annotated Bible*. Edited by H. G. May and B. M. Metzger. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Polski słownik biograficzny*. 12 vols. Cracow. Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1935-1967. (incomplete)
- Russkij biografičeskij slovar'*, vol. 2. New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1962.
- Slovar' russkogo jazyka*. 2nd edition, vol. 5, part 1. Leningrad: AN SSSR (Komissija po russkomu jazyku), 1930.
- Sovetskaja Istoričeskaja Enciklopedija*. 13 vols. Moscow: Sovetskaja Enciklopedija, 1961-1971.
- Sreznevskij, I. I., *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkago jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam*, vol. 2. St.

Petersburg, 1902.

*Svodnyj katalog russkoj knigi graždanskoj pečati 18 veka, 1725-1800.* 4 vols. Edited by E. I. Kacpržak and others.

Moscow: Izd-vo Gosudarstvennoj biblioteki SSSR, 1962-1967.

Thomas, Joseph, ed., *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1950.

Undol'skij, V. N., *Očerok slavjano-russkoj bibliografii.* Moscow, 1871.

*Ukraine, A Concise Encyclopedia,* ed. by Volodymyr Kubijovyč, vol. 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

*Ukrajins'ka Radjans'ka Encyklopedija,* vol. 3. Kiev: AN URSS, 1960.

*Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky; bio-bibliohrafičnyj dovidnyk,* vol. 1.

Kiev: Deržavne vyd-vo zudožn'oji literatury, 1960.

Vasmer, Max, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* vol. 2.

Heidelberg, 1955.

*Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna Ilustrowana.* Serja I., vol. 44-46. Warsaw, 1911.

## APPENDIX

I. Tatiščev's mythological data: Slavic mythology in the three versions of Tatiščev's history and in his <i>Leksikon</i>	169
II. Slavic mythology in secondary sources:	
1. Slavic mythology in the <i>Hustyn Chronicle</i>	181
2. Gizel's <i>Sinopsis</i> on Slavic gods	184
3. Slavic gods in the <i>Life of Vladimir</i>	187
4. Długosz on Slavic gods	194
5. Miechowski on Slavic gods	197
6. Kromer on Slavic gods	198
7. Kromer's translator Błażowski on Slavic gods	199
8. Bielski on Slavic gods	201
9. Strykowski on Slavic gods	202
10. Guagnini on Slavic gods	205
11. Orbini on Slavic gods	207
12. Bangert's edition of Helmold on Slavic gods	212
13. Schleusing on Slavic gods	216



## I. Tatiščev's mythological data

1. First version of Tatiščev's mythological data, contained in the Notes to the partially extant 1739 "primary redaction" of his history:

## № 92

Нестор упоминает, как это выше было видно, Владимира до крещения более с поношением, нежели с честью, так как хотя идола были уже прежде времени Владимира, однако он приписывает их сооружение ему. Но и сами дела ясно показывают, что Владимир тогда никакой похвалы не достоин, особенно из-за братоубийства, совершенного им над своим невинным и миролюбивым братом Ярополком. Стрыйковский сообщает, кн. 4, гл. 4, из древнего русского летописца, что руссы имели следующих идолов: 1) Перун — бог грома, которому они приносили жертву неугасимым огнем из дубовых дров, 2) Стрибо, 3) Мокош, 4) Хорс, 5) Дидо — богиня брака и любви, 6) ее сын Ладо, или Лело, который то же самое должен быть, что Купидо, и пр. Ростовский архиепископ Димитрий написал кое-что об этих идолах и их свойствах. Но никакого достаточного описания древние не оставили; может быть, они не хотели подобного оставлять после себя из опасения, чтобы это не побудило принявших христианство людей к отпадению, как то видим в Греции и Риме, где были сожжены многие бесполезные книги — сочинения языческих философов и историков.

Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 7 (1968),  
p. 97.

2. Second version of Tatišček's mythological data, contained in the 1746 "first redaction" of part two of his history:  
 a) Chronicle text:

**6. ВЕЛИКИЙ КНЯЗЬ ВЛАДИМИР I И ВЕЛИКИЙ,  
 А ПО КРЕЩЕНИИ I ВАСИЛИЙ ИМЯНОВАН**

По убиении Ярополка бысть Владимир князь всея Руси. Варяжко же, видев, яко убиен бысть Ярополк, бежа со двора в Печенеги. И много воева Владимира с печенеги, и одва приваби его Владимир, заходи к нему роте. Володимер же заляже (совокупися) жену братню грекиню, бе бо непрадна, от нея же роди Святополка. От греховнаго бо корене плод зол бывает, понеже первее бе черницею, а второе, Володимер заляже сию не по браку. От нея же родися Святополк, прелюбодейчищ бысть, убо тем ни отец его любяще, бе бо от двою отцу, от Ярополка и от Володимера (114). Блуд же, крамольник Ярополч, прият честь велию, и возносяшеса три дни. И убиен бысть от Володимира, реки ему: «Воздах ти честь, аки приятелю, а сужу, аки крамольника и убийца княжа».

Посем реша варязи Володимиру: «Сей град наш мы прияхом, да хочем окуп имати на них по 2 гривне от человека». И рече им Володимер: «Пождите им за месяц, донележе куны соберут». Пришедшу же времязи и не даде им. И реша варязи: «Сольстил еси намо, да покажи ны путь в Греки». Он же рече им: «Идите». И избра от них мужи добры, и смыслены, и храбры, и раздая им грады, остави у себе; протчии же идоша ко Царюграду (115). Владимир же посла пред ними послы, глаголя сице царю: «Се идут к тебе варязи, не мози их держати в граде, да не сотворят ти зло, яко же zde, но расточи я розно и семо не пушай ни единого». Володимер же княжа в Киеве и постави кумир на холме вне двора теремного Перуна деревянна, а глава ему серебряна, а ус золот, и Хорса бога, и Дажбу бога, Стриба бога, и Семаргла, и Мокош (116). И жряху им, нарицающе их боги, и привожаху сыны своя и дщери, и жряху им, служаще и просяще, надеющияся от нею вся желаемая улучити.

Володимер же посади Добрыню, уя своего, в Новгороде. И пришед Добрыня к Новугороду, постави кумира Перуна над рекою Волховом, и жряху ему людие новгородстии, яко богу. И бе Володимер побежден похотию женскою, быша бо водимыя ему, Рогнед, юже посади на Лыбеди, иде же есть ныне сельцо Предславно. От нея же роди четыре сына, Вышеслава, Изяслава, Ярослава, Всеволода, и 2 дщери; от грекини Святополка; от чехини Вячеслава; а от другия, Малфриды, Святослава и Мстислава; а от болгарини Бориса и Глеба (117). Наложниц же у него 300 в Вышегороде, в Белегороде 300, на Берестове в сельцы, яже зовут ныне Берестовое, 200. И бе не сыт блуда, приводя мужеския жены и девицы растлеваю, бе бо женолюбец, яко же и Соломон.

## b) Note 116 in explanation of the Chronicle text:

116. Нестор о Владимире до крещения не весьма с похвалою но более с поношением пишет, как и здесь видимо, что боги оные прежде Владимира были, но он ему возставление их приписует. Обаче видно и от дел, что Владимир тогда не многой хвалы был достоин, особливо убивство неповиннаго и миролюбнаго брата Ярополка. О богах же русских Стрыковский, кн. 4, глава 4, из рускаго древняго летописца сказует, что были: 1) Перун, грома бог, ему же неугасаемая жертва от дров дубовых, яко у грек и римлян Юпитеру содержана, 2) Стрибо, 3) Мокос, скотов, 4) Хорс, 5) Дидо, богиня брака или любви, 6) ея сын Ладо, или Лело, равный Купиде, 7) Тор, 8) Купало и пр. Димитрий, архиепископ ростовский, нечто пространнее о них начал было писать, токмо не докончал. В Берлине о них особая книжка с фигурами напечатана в четверть. Но достаточного описания ни от кого древних не осталось, может, что бывшия описания христиане пожгли, а сами опасались тогда о том писать, чтоб люди, христианство приявшие, воспоминанием не имели причины отпадать, как то в Греции и Риме со многими и небезпольными книгами учинилось, что многие языческих философ книги пожены и погублены; о чем многие ученые с великим сожалением воспоминают, что для малого непотребства великое сокровище древних гисторий и наук вольных неразумно погублено. Сии же боги были не славенские, но частию сарматские, частию варяжские, ибо Перун слово сарматское гром, а у варяг той же имянован Тор. Адам Бременский в положении северных государств, стр. 144, Саксо Грамматик, кн. 6, в Житии Фронтона IV-го, стр. 103. Подобно же и прочтих имяна. А словенских богов у вандалов, болгаров и пр. имяновали словенскими званием, яко Триглав был в Пафлагонии, от которого, мню, и народ триглавы, от латин испорчено триглифы имянованы. Зри р. 31 и 34. В Ругине острове триглав был вельми славен, о котором Кранций в Вандалии и Аркиель, книга 1, гл. 13, сказуют: «Святовид был наивышший бог вандалов с четырьмя головами или лицами». И хотя о сем Гельмольд и Саксо, неправильно имянуя Святовит, толковали, якобы вандалы проповедника римскаго монаха Вита обоготворили. Сие от незнания словенскаго языка, а паче, мню, от самохвальства и суеверства папистов произошло, что вместо вид положили вит. Фаброниус<sup>6</sup> в Гистории мира, часть 3, гл. 2, н. 4, сказует тако: «У боемцов есть бог богов Святовид, которое на их языке значит святой свет». И хотя сие ближе к разумению, однако ж неправо, ибо святовид может двояко толковаться. Естли сказать по их наречию свята вид, значит мира вид, разумя, что мира вид имеет четыре страны, восход, юг, запад и север. Естли же свянто вид, то значит святое зрение, равво как бы сказать всевидящий и святое зрение, или вид и образ святости. Сверх сих у вандалов и боемов были Бел бог злый, Черный бог добрый, Гельмольдий, кн. 1, гл. 53, Кранций, Вандалия, кн. 3, гл. 37; Поревит с пятью лицами, Паренут с четырьмя лицами. Были же боги по городам особые, яко Прове, или Проне, в Старгороде, Погода (его немцы назвали превратно Подаге) в Плене, Гельмольд, кн. 1, гл. 84, Кранций, кн. 4, гл. 3-я. Аркиель о сих богах, их украшениях, жертвах и пр., часть 1, пространно описал, что более до первой части сея Гистории принадлежит.

c) Revised notes to the Chronicle text (Voroncov manuscript 643):

К главе 6-й (примечания 159—211)

<sup>1, 1-1</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> приписано. <sup>2, 2-2</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> нет. <sup>3-3</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> О сих варягах. <sup>4-4</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> приписано о сем пространно говорит, что в конце сея Истории приобретено *вм. приписанного и зач.* говорит Олав Тригвазон, яко Мадый государь ходил в Естляндию разбоем, где от знатнейшого Клерка пленен. Но вуй его Сигур Гриссон служил в Руси у Владимира (Вольдемара), которой послан был в Естляндию подати собирать, и оной, узнав, сестренича своего освободя, взял в Русь. Олав был в Руси 9 лет и, узнав, того пленившего его Клерка убил, но сам ушел к королеве, имянуемой (Аллогия) Ольга, которая его спасла заплавою денег, но мать его, королева норвежская Астрида, оное заплатила, и он потом у Ольги княжески содержан. Из сего Стурлесона я выписку, переведши, в конце приложил, понеже в примечания вместили неудобно и обойти невозможно, особливо, что оную не всяк прочитать. <sup>5</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> исправлено из поношении. <sup>6-6</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> Стрыковский, кн. 4, гл. 4, из рускаго древняго летописца сказует, что были: 1) Перун, грома бог. Ему неугасимая жертва от дров дубовых, яко у грек и римлян Юпитеру, содержана. Он же у варяг Тор имянован [Он же... имянован *приписано*]; 2) Стрибог; 3) Мокос — скотов; 4) Хорс; 5) Дидо, богиня брака или любви; 6) ея сын Ладо, или Лело, равный Купиде; 7) Тор; 8) Купало и пр. Димитрий, архиепископ ростовский, нечто пространнее о них начал было писать, токмо не докончал. В Берлине о них особая книжка с фигурами напечатана в четверть. Но достаточного описания ни от кого древних не осталось; может, что бывшия описания христиане пожгли, а сами опасались тогда о том писать, чтоб люди, христианство приявшие, воспоминанием не имели причины отпадать, как то в Греции и Риме со многими и не бесполезными книгами учинилось, что многие языческих филозоф книги без разбора неразумно [без разбора неразумно *приписано*] позжены и погублены, о чем многие ученые с великим сожалением воспоминают, что для малого непотребства великое сокровище древних гисторий и наук вольных неразумно погублено. Сии же боги были не славенские, но частью сарматские, частью готические. [готические *вм. зач. варяжские*], ибо Перун — слово сарматское гром, а у варяг той же имянован Тор. Адам Бременский <sup>а</sup> в Положении северных государств, стр. 144, Саксо Грамматик, кн. 6, в Житии Фронтана IV-го, стр. 103, а пространнее Арнквел описал [а пространнее... описал *приписано*]. Подобно же и протчих имяна. А славенских богов у вандалов, болгаров и пр. имяновали славенскими званием, яко Триглав был в Пафлагонии, от которого, мно, и народ триглавыи, от латин испорчено триглифы имянованы, зри § 31 и 34 [31, 34 *зач.*]. В Ругине острове Триглав был вельми славен, о котором Кранций в Вандалии и Арнквел, кн. 1, гл. 13, согласует. Святовид был наивысший бог вандалов с четырьмя головами или лицами. И хотя о сем Гельмольд и Саксо, неправильно имянуя Святовит, толковали, якобы вандалы проповедника римскаго монаха Вита обоготворили, сие от незнания славенского языка, а паче, мно, от самохвальства и суевства папистов произошло, что вместо вид положили вит/Фаброннус <sup>6</sup> в Гистории мира часть 3, гл. 2, н. 4, сказует тако: «У боемцов есть бог богов Святовид, которое на их языке значит святыи свет». И хотя сие ближе к разумению, однако же неправо, ибо святовид может двояко толковаться. ЕСТЬЛИ сказати, по их наречию, свята вид, значит мира вид, разумея, что мира вид имеет четыре страны: восход, юг, запад и север. ЕСТЬЛИ же свянто вид, то значит святое зрение, равно как бы сказати всевидящий и святое зрение или вид и образ святости. Сверх сих у вандалов и боемов были: Бел бог злым, Черный бог добрый, Гельмольдий, кн. 1, гл. 53, Кранций, Вандалия, кн. 3, гл. 37; Поревит с пятью лицы; Паренут с четырьмя лицы. Были же боги по городам особые, яко Прове, или Проне, в Старгороде, Погода (его немцы назвали превратно Подаре) в Плене, Гельмольд, кн. 1, гл. 84, Кранций, кн. 4, гл. 3-я. Арнквел о сих богах, их украшениях, жертвах и пр., часть 1, пространно описал, что более до первой части сея Гистории принадлежит. <sup>7</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> далее приписано выше §... <sup>8</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> далее здесь. <sup>9-9</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> *вм. зач.* Из чего можно мнить, что Судислав и Позвизд были дети от братьев Владимировых. <sup>10</sup> *V*<sub>1</sub> *Вставлено*

3. Third version of Tatiščev's mythological data, contained in the 1749-1750 "second redaction" of his history:

a) Chronicle text of part two:

**6. ВЕЛИКИЙ КНЯЗЬ ВЛАДИМИР I -И ВЕЛИКИЙ,<sup>1</sup>  
А ПО КРЕЩЕНИИ I<sup>1</sup> ВАСИЛИЙ ИМЯНОВАН**

По убении Ярополка учинился<sup>2</sup> Владимир князь всея Руси. Варяжко же, видев яко убиен бысть Ярополк, ушел<sup>3</sup> со двора в Печенеги и, со оними нападая,<sup>4</sup> пределы Владимировы<sup>5</sup> разорял, отмсчая<sup>5</sup> смерть господина своего; и едва призвал его Владимир с клятвою, яко не сотворит ему никоего зла. По убении Ярополка взял Владимир к себе жену Ярополкову<sup>7</sup> грекиню, бывшую прежде<sup>8</sup> черницею, <sup>9</sup>которую Святослав, в пленя и для красоты лица ея, дал Ярополку в жену.<sup>9</sup> Оная была тогда чревата и вскоре родила<sup>10</sup> сына, злаго и беззаконного Святополка (159), от греховнаго бо ложа не может благочестивый родиться; перво бо еже бысть черница; второе, совокупися с нею Владимир<sup>9</sup> не по браку и осквернил семя брата своего. Сего ради Святополк бысть прелюбоденный сын от дву отцов, Ярополка и от Володимира. тем же и Владимир его не любяше. Блуд же, изменник Ярополков. принял<sup>10</sup> от Владимира честь великую и возносился три дни, потом убиен бысть от Владимира, тако глаголя ему: «<sup>12</sup>Я тебе по обещанию моему честь воздал, яко<sup>12</sup> приателю, а сужу, яко изменника<sup>13</sup> и убийцу государя своего». Посем варяги, пришедшие со Владимиром, стали просить<sup>9</sup> окупа с Киева,<sup>9</sup> глаголя: «Сей град наш есть, мы его взяли. надлежит нам со оного окуп взять по 2 гривны от человека». <sup>15</sup>А Володимер, опасаясь киевлян так тяжко оскорбить, уговорил варяг, чтоб ждали, доколе деньги<sup>16</sup> соберут. Варяги, ждав долгое время и не получа ничего,<sup>15</sup> начали проситься, чтоб их отпустил служить и греком, что Владимир им охотно соизволи, но, выбрав из них лучших и храбрых мужей, оставил у себя, дав грады и села на содержание. Протчия же пошли<sup>10</sup> ко Царюграду (160), а Владимир послал<sup>10</sup> пред ними <sup>17</sup>в Царьград объявить царю, что идут к тебе варяги служить. А при том советовал, чтоб для их своевольства во граде их не держал, дабы не учинили зла, как они и в Киеве учинили, но разослал бы их<sup>17</sup> разню и назад не отпускал,<sup>10</sup> что царь и учинил. Володимер же, государствуя<sup>18</sup> в Киеве, поставил на холме вне двора теремного кумир Перуна деревянный, глава ему сребрена, ус златы, да и других богов: Хорса. Дажбу, Стриба, Семаргла и Мокоша (161), <sup>19</sup>которым люди жертвы приносили и богами их имяновали, им приводили<sup>19</sup> сыны и дщери своя в жертву, служаще им <sup>20</sup>и просяще,<sup>20</sup> надеючися от них вся желаемая улучить. Оле невежества, оле сусчаго безумия, еже тварь, яко творца почитают, зделав своими руками, избавителем и помосчником себе имянуют, на них надеются и их боятся. Владимир<sup>9</sup> сам, прияв престол киевский, пребывал в Киеве, а в Новгород определил первого наместника<sup>21</sup> <sup>9</sup>вуйа своего Добрыню. И пришед Добрыня в Новгород. поставил кумира Перуна над рекою Волховом; и <sup>22</sup>оному людие новгородские приносили жертвы,<sup>22</sup> яко богу. Бе же Володимер побежден похотию <sup>23</sup>любодейства, имея обрученных жен:<sup>23</sup> Рогнед на Лыбеди.

- b) Note 161 in explanation of the Chronicle text, referring readers to part one, chapter two:

161. Нестор о Владимире до крещения не весьма с похвалою, но более с порицанием<sup>5</sup> пишет, как и здесь видимо, что боги оные прежде Владимира были, но он ему возставление их приписует. Обаче видно и от дел, что Владимир тогда не многой хвалы был достоин, особливо убивство коварное<sup>1</sup> неповинного и миролюбнаго брата Ярополка, <sup>2</sup>-н. 158.<sup>-2</sup> О богах же руских<sup>6</sup> и о идолопоклонении гл. 2.<sup>6</sup>

Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2 (1963), p. 227.

- c) Chapter two, "On ancient idolatry" in part one (Voroncov Manuscript 646):

## ГЛАВА ВТОРАЯ О ИДОЛОСЛУЖЕНИИ БЫВШЕМ

1. Выше я сказал, что Христовым пришествием второе мы просвещение очес душевных и телесных улучили, <sup>1</sup>-которое бы должно<sup>-1</sup> просвещению обретеннем письма последовать. Но порядок требует показать, что прежде приятия закона Христова было, ибо, не зная зла, невозможно внятно о добре разсудить или, не<sup>2</sup> представя чернейшаго, нелегко можно познать разность белизны. Тако здесь, если не вообразим себе, в каком мерзком зловерии и злоключении до проповеди нам Христовы предки наши пребывали, то не можем так точно о сем великом благоденствии уразуметь; колико бо первое было безумно и вредно,

богослужение мерзко, толико другое благостию и пользою душевною и телесною превосходит. Мы знаем, что законы иудеян<sup>3</sup> хотя весьма порочны и гнусны, да еше далеко языческих лучше и ближе были, но святой Иоанн и то тьмою, а Христа Спасителя светом имянует, глаголя: «свет иже во тьме светится». То коль паче болвохвальство тьмою именовать причину имеем, ибо иудей, хотя преданиями человеческими и чинами самовымышленными и богослужения закон божий искажали, обаче истинного бога еше признавали; а сии немало о том не знали, тварь тленную за творца почитали, о чем после скажу, а здесь о существе болвохвальства, что гречески идололатриа имяновано, представляю.

2. Имя идолопоклонение разное в себе заключает. У разных народов в числе богов, званиях, изображениях и им служениях великое разство было, одни бо того божишка, другие другаго боле почитали, о чем разные писатели немалые книги сочинили, мерзости, лжи и обману их служителей обличали. Но нам о тех, <sup>4</sup>яко же о их<sup>4</sup> славных в мире оракулях, или провещателях, великих каписчах и прославленных чудесами болванах воспоминать нет нужды, <sup>5</sup>понеже Гаутрухиа <sup>6</sup>а езуита с примечаниями и изъяснением <sup>7</sup>о идолах<sup>7</sup> и богослужениях, також Антониа Делиа <sup>8</sup>и <sup>9</sup>Фонтенеля<sup>9</sup> о оракулях на русской язык <sup>10</sup>переведены. Здесь <sup>11</sup>же токмо о том, что у нас было.<sup>12, -5</sup>

3. Да не воспомынет<sup>13</sup> же кто, чтоб я сие к поношению и поруганию предков или соблазну настоящих и будущих внес, оное бо самое сказание и примеры предков соответствуют. О первом мы тою мерзостию предков наших стыдиться причины<sup>10</sup> не имеем, зане видим от истории божественной и светской, что до пришествия Христова весь мир (кроме самой малой частицы израильтян или иудеев) в том погружен был; и ныне еше более дву третей народов почитать можем, не упоминая о носящих туне имя христиан; пример же имеем от святого Давида, который на многих местах такие мерзские дела предков своих воспоминает, особливо в псалме 105; Моисей в поношение ли старейшаго своего брата и первосвященника Аарона мерзское<sup>14</sup> богу дело воспоминает, и который пророк первых грехопадений предков своих не обличает? Равно же и о соблазне нет причины опасаться, ибо кто разум имеет, никогда не соблазнится, но паче имеет причину того, что богу противно, опасаться, яко Моисей и пророки не для соблазна бывшия идолослужения, но паче для омерзения их описали. <sup>4</sup>Невеждом же слово крестное или письмо святое по апостолу соблазн и юродство.<sup>4</sup>

4. О начале идолослужения, где и кем произнесено, и в разностех в народех здесь невместительно, да первое более за неизвестное почесть, ибо видим из письма святого, что люди до потопа от пути истиннаго заблудили. Другие кладут <sup>15</sup>ово [от] отца Авраамля,<sup>15</sup> ово от Нинуса, иные иное начало искали. О разных же мнениях хотя многие, трудясь достаточно, не учинили, но, оставя сие, представляю о существе и свойствах болвохвальства, о котором знатной богослов Вальх<sup>r</sup> в Лексиконе философском тако положил: «Идолопоклонство, гречески идололатриа, есть то бедное состояние души, когда кто что-либо за бога почитает и божескую тому честь воздает, которой никак богом быть не может. Чрез сие все силы души объемлются, ум погружается в заблуждени, что мнит того богом быть, еже не есть бог. И сие заблуждение возбуждает в желании несмысленные склонности и страсти, что человек без причины чего-либо, не могущаго ни зла, ни добра учинить, боится или надеется, а из сего состояния происходит внешнее их богослужение. Идолопоклонение же от существа суеверия есть разное, ибо суеверный хотя истинного бога признает и почитает, но не в пристойных обстоятельствах и безумным порядком; противно же тому идолопоклонник

в представлении видимом, а не в свойстве и порядке почитания блудит. Однако ж иногда суеверие в том же самом разуме берется, как идолослужение, или оное в себе заключает.

5. Многобожие большею частию со идолослужением так связано, что иногда за едино почитать можно, хотя некогда истинного бога от прочих различают; иногда же, из того в крайнее неистовство впадая, никоего бога не признают, и сии имянутся безбожники, гречески афеисты. Или почитая единого бога, да не сусчаго, или неистовым исповеданием отъемаля что-либо божеству свойственное, или прилагая непристойное, и сие уже есть многобожие; а ежели истинного бога непристойно чтить, тогда разумеется суеверство. Идолослужение<sup>16</sup> от обстоятельств на разные части разделяется. Томазий во Введении нравочений,<sup>4</sup> гл. 3, стат. 6,<sup>17</sup> мнит, что телеса небесные, яко солнце, луна и звезды, в разсуждении их слабого естественного света, суть инаго состояния и причины к почитанию их, неже прочие; ибо хотя ум наш обличается, что сие не есть сусчий сам бог, ниже за то почесться может, зане видимо и конечно, однако ж невидимо, какими бы достаточными доказательствами идолослужителя, солнце за бога почитаемого, обличить можно, еже оное не есть причина земных тварей пременения, в разсуждении, что наш разум действо оного во всех телах видит и признает, еже, кроме письма святаго, доказать невозможно. По сему Томазиеву разсуждению можем мы идолослужение на неразумное и весьма глупое разделить. Оное, когда кто небесные телеса или другие невидимые вещи за бога почитает, а сии земным видимым и никоего не боятся. Богословы разделяют идолопоклонение на грубое и легкое. Грубое бо состоит в том, когда твари божескую честь отдает или, как апостол Павел, К римлянам, гл. 1, стр. 23, написал: «Измениша славу истиннаго<sup>18</sup> бога в подобие образа тленна человека, птиц и четвероногих и гадов почтоша и послужиха твари паче творца». Сие же творят ово прямо, яко когда тварь богом имянуют и оной божескую честь воздают, или скрытно, когда, хотя богом не имянуют, но оной такие свойства и силы приписывают или честь отдают, которое единому токмо богу принадлежит, яко ворожей или колдуны, которые мнят что-либо чрез диавола делать или ведать и его о том просят и надеются, суть или несмысленны, или богом того злобно поставляют. Легкое же идолослужение есть, когда хотя бога единого, творца всемошна всюду присутственна и всемилостива, исповедует, но лицом токмо ему служит и поклоняется, а сердцем далече отстоит, иным вещам подвергается и оные за крайнее свое блаженство почитает, яко страсти своих желаний, любочестие, любоимение и плоти угодие. Но сие происходит от повреждения ума и необузданной воли человеческой».

6.<sup>19</sup> Архиепископ Прокопович<sup>с</sup> в Слове о посте, сказыванном 1717-го во вторую неделю поста: «Тяжкое есть идолослужение, когда кто, оставя истинный закон божий, а своему или других людей вымыслу последует и оным надеется царство небесное приобрести или неисполнением лишиться за таковое обстоятельство, которое бог за средственное и нам на волю и разсуждение каждого оставил, яко господь тем многократно фарисеев обличает». Апостол Павел, имеющим неистовое мнение о пище и питии, Римлянам, гл. 14, стих 17; 1-е Коринфянам, гл. 8, стих 8; 1-е Тимофею, гл. 4, ст. 3; Евреям, гл. 13, ст. 9; и мнящих оным небо улучшить или лишиться, точно чрево их идолом нарицает, глаголя: «И чрево им бог есть», Филиппийцам, гл. 3, ст. 19. Равно господь и добродетели, повеленные и весьма нужные, яко молитву, пост, милостыню, в лицемерии злоупотребляемые, яко языческие, запрещает.

Матфей, гл. 5 и 6. Сие же все ни от чего более, как от незнания закона божия и от неприлежности оной совершенно разуместь, происходит, <sup>15</sup> а пустосвяты слабым умом оное утверждают».<sup>15</sup>

О русском идолослужении Нестор в произвождении народов о славянех говорит, что почитали солнце, луну, огонь, озера, кладези и древа за богов. Потом на разных местех именами неких божишков положил, что ниже объявлю.

О славенских богах Арнкиел \* пространно описал, которых у пофлагон, болгар, вандалов <sup>20</sup> было немало. В Пафлагонии у галатов славен бог Триглав, которого и в Болгарии чтили, и от него может народ триглавы, а у латин испорчено триглифи <sup>21</sup> имянованы. В Вандалии в острове Ругине той же Триглав вельми славен был, о котором Кранций \* в Вандалии и Арнкиел, кн. 1, гл. 13. Святovid у вандал был наивысший бог с четырьмя лицами, которого Гельмольд и Саксон Грамматик, имянуя Святovid, толкуя, якобы они проповедника римского Вита обоготворили; но сие весьма неправо, ибо сей идол гораздо прежде Вита был почитаем, а паписты от самохвальства, Вид в Вит переменя, натягают. Фабриус в Истории мира, часть 1, гл. 2 и 4, скажет так: «У боемов есть бог богов Святovid, которое на их языке значит святой свет». И хотя сие неправо переведено, однако ж ближе к выразумению, ибо вид может двояко толковаться. Если по их наречию сказать Святovid, то разумеется вид мира и четыре лица значат 4 страны, яко восток, юг, запад и север; ежели же Свентовид, то значит святое видение, равно как бы сказать всевидящий или святое изображение. У них же были Бел бог злый, Черный бог добрый. Гельмольд, кн. 1, гл. 53, Кранций, Вандалия, кн. III, Паревид, мню Пятивид, с пятиицы, Паревид с четырьмя лицы. Были же боги по градом особо почитаемые: Пронес или Пронес в Стареграде, Погода (от немец превратно Подаге) в Плене, Гельмольд, кн. 1, гл. 84; Кранций, кн. 4, гл. 3. И хотя Арнкиел о богослужении, жертвах, украшениях и празднествах пространно описал, токмо я книги оной ныне не имею и выписка утратилась.

8. Сверх сего у разных писателей древних разные боги имян славенских находятя и, не упоминая других, здесь тех покажу, которых Германин Гедерих в его Лексиконах древностей и мифологическом \* объявил; он многих величество, вид и украшения описал, которое я, яко здесь неуместительное, оставил, но в Лексиконе точно покажу, токмо зде кратко упомяну.

Абелио, бог галлиев, мню, не испорчено ль из Бели или из Велии, а к тому А приложено; галли же были славяне, гл. 33.

Астароп и Астароф,  
бог сидониев

Астарте, богиня сирнев

Что славяне древле в Сирии и Финикии жили, и у еврей имена славенские, у славян еврейские употребляли, гл. 33 и 34; и сии, может, славенские от старости повреждены.

Бел бух, правильно Бел бог, выше положен.

Беленус, бог нориков. Сие имя из Бел испорчено. А о нориках гл. 14, н. 5.

Едуса и Едука, может, Едуниа или Едуша, которая детей еде обучала.

Енил, бог вендов. Имя что значит, дознаться неможно, но паче, мню, от еды или ежи, <sup>15</sup> или един.<sup>15</sup>

Флиис или Плиис, бог аботритов славян.

Один или Водин и Водон, зри ниже.

Паревид, бог вендов, выше.

Проноте, выше Проне.

Радегаст и Радоист.

Ругиевич, в Ругине острове, с семью лицы.

Сабатус или Забота, бог слезиан.

Сива, Сиеба и Дсива, мню, Диво или Дева, <sup>4</sup>ибо западных наречие дзева.<sup>4</sup> Сия богиня поляборов. <sup>4</sup>Имя сие, мню, прилагательное, как греки Юнону Парфеною имяновали, то же значит.<sup>4</sup>

Святовид и Святювид, знатнейший бог вендов, выше упомянут. Триглав в Стетине, зри выше.

Витислав, он же и Святовид, при котором Кейслер,<sup>\*</sup> много толкуя, от незнания славенского языка погрешил.<sup>22</sup> <sup>4</sup>Я паче мню, Вышеслав или Вечеслав.<sup>4</sup>

Водин и Один едино, <sup>4</sup>или Водим.<sup>4</sup>

Зерни бог, вместо Черный бог, добрый, зри выше.

Зит Тибер, бог вендов, мню, святой мир испорчено. Бог примирения, <sup>23</sup>или паче Житобор, т. е. собиратель жит, коему и празднество в осень отправлялось.<sup>23</sup>

9. В Руси же, может, у славян были те же или другие славенскими званиями, но нам о них никакого известия не осталось, а которых Нестор описал, то все суть звания сарматские или варяжския, как летописи № 151 показано. Стрыковский в кн. 4, гл. 4 из руского древняго летописца сказует: 1) Перун, бог грома, ему же неугасимый огонь содержан от дров дубовых, подобно как у грек Юпитеру, у варяг же Тор имянован. 2) Стрибо, мнится Марс. 3) Мокос, бог скотов. 4) Хорс, подобный Бахусу. 5) Дидо, богиня любви и брака, подобна Венере. 6) Ладо или Лело, сын Диды, равный Купиде, <sup>4</sup>Димитрий Лело мнит быть Меркуриа.<sup>4</sup> 7) Тор, тот же что и Перун, оба значат гром. 8) Купало, мнится, Нептун, ибо, праздная ему, в воде купались.<sup>15-9</sup> Русалки, Мауроурбин мнит нимфы.<sup>15</sup> О сих Димитрий Ростовский, яко достохвальнейший рачитель о просвещении народа, пространно писал, которое я у него пред лет 45 видел и читал, но в его оставших книгах,<sup>2</sup> Келейном летописце, О бородах и в Розыске на раскольников,<sup>\*</sup> не находится, разве есть особое не печатанное.<sup>24</sup> В Берлине, памятная, напечатана была о сих книшка <sup>15</sup>под именем Московитише религиа,<sup>15</sup> токмо я ее ныне достать не мог.

10. Что же древние иностранные о том писали, то, кроме Геродота, ничего обстоятельно не нахожу. Геродот же, кн. 4, гл. 9, написал: «Из богов скифы почитают следуюсчих: особливо почтение отдают богине Весте, по ней Иовишу и Земле, в том мнении, что Земля есть жена Юпитеру; потом чтят Аполлина, небесную Венеру, Геркулеса и Марса; сим убо во всей Скифии честь отдают. Но базилии имянованные почитают Нептуна. Веста по-скифски Табити называется, Юпитер — Палеус,<sup>25</sup> Землю называют Апиа, Аполлина — Остерум, Венеру небесную — Артампаса, Нептуна — Фамимасад (но сии имяна, видится, переведенные на греческий, ибо сарматы знаменования их сказать не могут). Они разсуждают, что непристойно божий образ, олтарь или храм делать, изъяз токмо Марса, которому они в честь то чинят. Храм же Марсов есть гряда великая хвороста складеная, наверху оной плоскость и всход с одной стороны. На сем костре или гряде поставляют старую персидскую саблю, и оной каждогодно кони и другие скоты в жертву убиваются, ис пленных ему согаго приносят в жертву, и кровию оного помазывают ту саблю». <sup>14</sup>В книге IV, гл. 40<sup>26</sup> сказует о чetyредесятнице, Бахусу греками празднуемой, которое скифы за мерзость почитали.<sup>4</sup>

11.<sup>27</sup> В чинах равномерно славяне от сармат разнствовали, яко Нестор н. 29 и 30, о погребениях, н. 25 и 132, о будущем воздаянии, н. 103,

описал, из которого многое с описанным у Геродота <sup>28</sup>-согласует. Многие же <sup>28</sup> ис того, яко у сармат некресченых, тако у невежд в христианстве во употреблении осталось, что я в Лексиконе гражданском руском пространнее описал, а много в Географии сибирской \* в описании народов показано, особливо же нечто в гл. 49 показано. Сие есть токмо к знанию древностей и научению тех, которые от неведения истинного закона христианского в суеверстве потоплены и в невежестве гинут. Небезъизвестно же всем нам, что невежды, потопшие в суеверии, всегда злобою преисполнены, искут противоречасчих им и обличаюсчих их безумие оскорблять, чего действием если не могут, то порицанием ереси беззакония, а, наконец, безбожия или афеиством порицать <sup>29</sup> и поносить, толкуя слова, сказанные по своей им страсти <sup>15</sup>-и уму; <sup>15</sup> да когда того мало, не скупо вымышляя, клеветают и не разумеют, что тем сами себя беззаконниками <sup>30</sup> делают, зане презирают закон божий, о клевете и ненависти запрещенное, и не боятся страшнаго его суда.

12. От таких безумных нужно предостерегаться, чтоб объявленное мое о мерзости идолослужения не приняли за то, что якобы я оно с почитанием святых мужей или икон равняю, на что кратко можно ответить словами святого Павла: кое соравнение есть Христа с Велиаром. Ибо идолослужители почитали самое существо весчи видимой, на оную надеялись и боялись, от нея самыя милости просили. Противно тому мы не весчеству предстоящему и видимому, но существу, в мыслях воображенному и совершенно милость и гнев изъявить могущему, честь и поклонение отдаем, на того надеемся и милости просим; а икону, яко вещь святую, для воспоминания нам написанного почитаем, на честие месте поставляем и от любви к написанному оную украшаем; власно книгу закона и чудес божиих Библию поставляем, а на нее не надеемся, ни боимся, ни милости <sup>23</sup>-от нея <sup>23</sup> просим, что Вселенский собор седьмой <sup>2</sup> жестоко и под клятвою запретил, как о том в Катехизисе и заповедей божиих истолковании ясно показано. Мы же и на иконах весчи написанные не все для почтения, но некое иногда токмо для воспоминования изображаем, например, Христова страдания образ есть нам, по апостолу Павлу, для всегдашняго в памяти имения весьма нужно, но при том написанных мучителей не почитаем; равно образ страшнаго суда представляет самого бога, ангелов и благоугодивших, а при том диавола и осужденных в вечное мучение. Да кто ж бы так безумен был, чтоб всех написанных на одной доске равно почитал. Если же кто иначе иконы святые почитает, нежели устав собора определил, яко на нее, а не на первообразнаго надеется или ее боится, одну, коего-либо обстоятельства ради, более, нежели другую, почитает, ей, а не богу чудотворения приписывает, тот воистинну по суду того собора невеждою назваться может, о чем <sup>31</sup> в Розыске на раскольников Димитриа, архиепископа ростовского, пространно изъяснено. Следственню, разумеюсчему разность свойств между иконы святыми и древними идолами нет причины сомневаться, соблажнятьца и сравнивать.

4. Slavic gods in Tatiščev's *Leksikon*:

БЕЛ БОГ: у Славян, Вандалов, во идолопоклонничестве был злый бог, или диавол: сие у них, мнится, во употребление произошло, когда они в Африке или Азии, в горячих местах обитали, как и доднес Арапы диавола белаго, ангела черного изобразуют, якоже и у Славян Черный бог был добрый. *Leksikon*, part 1, p. 128.

БОГИ ЯЗЫЧНЫЕ: Гречески идола, которых безумия, или суеверия ради по всей вселенной было великое множество, ибо все, что их очам приятным казалось, за Бога почитали, и не токмо светила небесныя, солнце, луну, планеты, звезды, якоже огонь, воздух и воду, людей славных, и мерзкое житие препроводивших, скверныя животныя и нечувственныя вещи за богов почитали, их помощи просили, и на них надеялись; всех тех иностранных описать здесь неудобно, ибо хотя о них сами идолопоклонники, а потом и Християне, многия и немалыя книги писали, но никто всех порядочно не собрал, я же токмо упоминаю о тех, которых наши предки, Славяне и в Руси особливо почитали; яко у Славян: Триглав Святovid, Бел бог, Черный бог, Поревид, Праве или Правы, Родомысль, Радогаст, и проч. У нас были более Сарматских, или Варяжских званий, яко Перун, Стрибо, Мокос, Хорс, Дида, Ладо, Тор, Купало, и проч. О них же смотри по именам. Всех сих по общем крещении, Владимир искоренил, однакож еще у идолопоклонников Российских, особливо в Сибири по разным народам, найпаче же у Калмык великое множество, и так что Калмыки сами их изчислить и описать не могут. Смотри Идолопоклонение.

. . . . .

ДИДО: была во идолопоклонничестве богиня любви, подобна Венусу Римскому, или Афродите Греческой, ея сын Ладо, и сих при браках почитали, и в песнях любовных доднесь восклицают.

Tatiščev, *Leksikon* (1973), part 1, pp. 128, 166-162 and part 2, p. 144.

1. Slavic mythology in the *Hustyn Chronicle*:

О идолах Руских:

Зде нечто скажем о богах Руских, не яко достойни суть воспоминания, но да увидим, каковою слепотою диавол тогда помрачил бяше человеки и в таковое безумие приведе, яко нетокмо не знаху истиннаго Бога, но еще приведе их в се, яко худым и бездушным вецем и стихиям богоподобную честь воздаваху. Впервых Перконос, си ест Перун, бяше у них старейший бог, создан на подобие человеце, ему же в руках бяше камень многоценный аки огонь, ему же яко Богу жертву приношаху и огонь неугасающий з дубового древия непрестанно паляху; аще ли бы случилось за нерадением служащаго иерея когда сему огню угаснути, таковаго иерея без всякого извета и милости убиваху. Второй Волос, бог скотий, бяше у них во великой чести. Третий Позвизд, Ляхи его нарицаху Похвист; сего верили быти бога аеру, си ест воздуху, а инии погоды и непогоды, инии его вихром нарицаху, и сему Позвизду, или вихру, яко Богу кланяющеся моляхуся. Четвертый Ладо /си ест Pluton/ бог пекелный; сего верили быти богом женитвы, веселия, утешения и всякого благополучия, якоже Еллины Бахуса; сему жертвы приношаху хотящи женитися, дабы его помощию брак добрый и любовный был. Сего Ладона, беса, по некаких странах, и доньне на крестинах и на брацех величают, поюще своя некия песни, и руками о руки или о стол плещуще. Ладо, Ладо, преплетающе песни своя, многожды поминают. Пятый Купало, якоже мню, бяше бог обилия, якоже у Еллин Церес, ему же безумныи за обилие благодарение приношаху в то время, егда имяше настати жатва. Сему Купалу, бесу, еще и доньне по некоиx странах безумныи память совершают, наченше июня 23 дня, в навечерие Рождества Иоанна Предтечи, даже до жатвы и далее, сицевым образом: с вечера собираются простая чад, обоего полу, и соплетают себе венцы из ядомого зелия, или корения, и препоясавшеся былием возгнетают огонь, инде же поставляют зеленую ветвь, и емшеся за руце около обращаются окрест оногo огня, поюще своя песни, преплетающе Купалом; потом през оный огонь прескакают, оному бесу жертву себе приносяще. Шестый Коляда, ему же праздник прескверный бяше декаврия 24. Сего ради и ныне, аще и благодать Рождеством Христовым осия нас и идолы погибоша, но единаче диавол еще доселе во безумных память свою удержа: сему бесу в память простая чад сходятся в навечерие Рождества Христова, и поют песни некия, в них же аще и о Рождестве Христовом поминают, но боли Коляду беса величают. И негоде бысть безумным людем сих богов: не доверяху бо им, ниже смеяху положити на них совершенную надежду, и в лепоту не бысть бо на кого уповати; но имеяху еще и более богов, си ест, Хорса, Дажбога, Стрибога, Се-

маргла, Мокоша, иные же кладязем, езером, рощениям жертвы приношаху. От сих единому некоему богу на жертву людей топяху, ему же и донныне по некоих странах безумный память творят: во день пресветлого Воскресения Христова, собравшися юнии и играюще, вметают человека в воду, и бывает иногда действием тых богов, си ест бесов, яко вометаемы во воду, или о древо, или о камень, в воде разбиваются и умирают, или утопают; по иных же странах не вкидают в воду, но токмо водою обливают, но единаче тому же бесу жертву сотворяют.

О погибели богов и о умножении благочестия в России:

Володымер же, окрестивши землю Рускую, погуби идолов со великим безчестием. Перуна бо, яко болшаго, повеле привязати коневы за опаш и влещи з горы ко Днепру, и пристави мужей десят, да влекущаго идола биют, и се творяше, не яко древо чуяше биение, но да большее безчестие бесу нанесет; иных же идолов повеле вметати, единых во огонь, иных же в воду, и капища их раздруши и не почи, дондеже до конца идолскую память погуби. И то видевше безумный плакахуся, яко тако бози их погибоша; смысленный же реша: "смысленный ест наш князь, и аще бы он ведал, яко добри суть бози, не бы их оставил и тако губил, и иную веру прийма; такожде и бояре наши смысленейшыи понеже познаху, яко бози сии суть прелесть, сего ради со князем крестися. Потом же Володымер нача церквы ставити и благочестие умножати. И посем рече: "не добро ест, яко мало ест градов около Киева," и нача ставити города по Десне, по Остре, по Трубеши, по Суле, постави же и над Стугною град и нарече его во свое имя Василиев; и нача избирати мужей лучших от Словян, и Чуди, и Кривич, и Вятч, и теми насели грады тия. Имяше же частыя рати с Печенеги; но помощию Божию одолеваше им. Посем же посла Володымер к жене своей Рогнеде, глаголя: "аз, убо, отнели же крещен есм и приях веру и закон христианский, подобает ми едину имети жену, юже ныне поях во христианстве; ты же избери себе от велмож моих, его же хочеши, и сочетаю тя ему." Она же отвешавши рече ему: "еда ли тебе требе ест царства небесного, мне же не требе его? ксему же бывши княгиню, како могу стерпети у слуги твоего раба быти? но прошу увести мя своему Христу, и да прииму святыи ангелский иноческий образ;" еже любо бысть Володымеру. Сын же ея Ярослав, хром сый от чрева матере своея, иже бе при ней сидя, егда услыша сия словеса от матере своея, возблагодари Бога о разуме и добром изволении ея; и абие здрав бысть и начат ходити, доселе не ходив. Рогнед же пострижесе во иночество, и наречено бысть имя ей Анастасия. . . .

**О княжении Володымеровом:**

В лето 6498 /990/. Пойде Володымер во землю Славенскую, и страну Залескую, в Суждалстей области и в Ростовстей, и постави тамо над рекою Клязмою град, и нарече его первым своим именем Владимир, и созда церков пресвятой Богородици соборную; повеле же людей повсюду крестити и церкви ставити, даде же им первого епископа Феодора. И оттуду пришед в Ростов и тамо раздруши идола Волоса, бога скотия /о нем же ищи в Житии преподобнаго Аврамия Ростовского чудотворца/; и постави им епископа Фому. Потом же прииде во Великий Новгород, и постави тамо архиепископа Иоакима Корсунянина. Сей Иоаким архиепископ раздруши в Новгороде идола Перуна, и потом повеле его увязав ужи влещи в реку Волхов; иных же пристави влекомаго бити, не яко древо чуюше биение, но да бес в нем действовавый посрамится. И се чудо дивно явися, яко бес в нем доселе живый не стерпе сего поношения, начат велми жалостно и болезненно велиим гласом вопити: увы, увы! горе, горе! яко впадохся в руце сих немилостивых человек, иже вчера мя яко бога почитаху, ныне же толика ми зла нанесоша; увы мне! увы мне! что им прочее сотворю?" Людие же единаче влечаху его, биюще, и пришедше на мост вринуша его в реку Волхов, идеже абие погрязе во глубину, и помале явися з воды; един же некто человек верже на него палицею, он же взем палицу, верже нею на мост и уби тамо мужей килка; порази же слепотою Новгородцов, яко оттоле в сие время, даже донныне, в коеждо лето на том мосту люди собираются, и разделшеса надвое убиваются.

.....

981:

И начат Володымер властителско жити, кумири ставити на холмех: вопервых постави Перуна яко старейшого з древа, а глава его сребряна, а ус золотый, на том месте, идеже ныне церков святого Василия; потом Хорса, Дажбога, Стрибога, Семаргла, Мокоша. И жряху им все людие, наричуше их богами, и приводяху им дети своя на жертву. Добрыню же, уя своего, посла на свое место до Новгорода; Добрыня же пришед до Новгорода, начат такожде ставити боги, якоже виде Володымера творяща в Киеве, и постави над Волховом, и проч., и кланяхуся им безумные людие и жряху им жертвы.

2. Gizel's *Synopsis* on Slavic gods:

О идолах:

В первых постави Началнейшаго Кумира, именем Перуна бога Грому, Молния, и Облаков дождевных на пригорку высоком над Боричовым потоком по подобию человеку: тулуб его бь от древа хитростне изсечен; главу имущь слиянну от серебра, оуши злати, нозе железни, в руках же держаше камень, по подобию Перуна палающа, Рубинами, и Карбункулем оукрашен, а пред ним огонь всегда горяше; ащеже бы по нерадению жреческому ключилося огню оугаснути, того ради жерца, аки врага бога своего, смертью казняху.

Вторый Идол бысть Волос, бог скотов. Третий Позвизд, инии же прозваша его Похвист, неции нарицаху вихром, исповедающе бога быти Воздуха, Ведра и безгодия.

Четвертый Идол Ладо: сего имяеху бога веселия, и всякаго благополучения, Жертвы ему приношаху, готовящися к Браку, помощю Лада мняше себе добро веселии и любезно житие стяжати. Сияже мерзость от древнейших идолослужителей произыде, иже неких богов Леля, и Полеля почитаху, ихже богомерзское имя и донныне по неким странам на сонмищах игралиных пением Лелюм по Лелюм возглашают. Такожде и матер Лелеву и Полелеву Ладу поюще Ладо Ладо, и того идола Ветхую прелесть диаволскую на Брачных веселиях рукама плещуще, и о стол биюще воспевают: и от сего Православному христианину всячески блюстися подобает, да невозбуждение казни Божия бывает.

Пятый идол Купало, егоже Бога плодов земных быти мняху, и ему прелестью бесовскою омраченным, благодарения, и жертвы в начале жнив приношаху. Тогожде Купала бога, или истиннее беса, и доселе по неким странам Российским еще память держится, найпаче в Навечерии Рождества святого Иоанна Крестителя, собравшися в Вечер Юноши, мужеска девическа и женска полу, соплетают себе венци от зелия некоего, и возлагают на главу, и поясуются ими, ащеже на том бесовством игралищи, кладут и огонь, и окрест его, емшися за руце, нечестиво ходя и скачут, и песни поют сквернаго Купала часто повторяюще, и чрез огонь прескачуще самых себе тому же бесу Купалу в жертву приносят. И иных действий диаволских много на скверных соборищах творят, их же и писати нелепо ест. Посем святаго Иоанна Крестителя праздник, еще и о Празднице святых Верховных Апостол Петра и Павла, свою сеть диавол запинает чрез колыски, на нихже бо колысушимся приключается в незалпу спасти на землю, оубиватися, и эле без покаяния душу свою испущати. Сего ради и колысок яко сети диаволския хранитися всякому христианскому человеку, да не упадет и оувязнет вню, нужда ест.

О облиянии водою на Велик день:

Неции от древних беззаконий, Источником и Озером оумножения ради Плодов земных жертвы приношаху, а временем и людей в воде топяху. По неких странах Российских еще и доселе древняго того безчиния отновляется память, егда въ время Пресветлаго дне Воскресения Христова собравшися обоего полу Юноты или и старын, друг друга по подобию некоего оутешения в воду вкидают, и случается наваждением бесовским въверженному в воду, или о камень, или о древо разбитися, или оутопати, и эле испущати душу свою: инниже аще и вкидают в воду, то поливают водою, томужде бесу жертву древних забобонов отновляюще. А Ныне в обычай оутешения, а не жертвы идолския творят. Обаче лучше бы и тому не быти. Шестый Идол Коляда, бог Празничный емуже праздник велий Месяца Декабря в 24. дня, составляют, обаче аще людие Российскии и святым Крещением просветишася, и идолы искорениша, но неции памяти того беса Коляды, и доселе неперстают отновляти, наченше от самого Рождества Христова, по вся святя дни собирающися на богомерския игралища, песни поют, и вних, аще и о Рождестве Христовом воспоминают, но здеже беззаконно и Коляду, ветхую прелесть диаволскую много повторяюще присовокупляют. К сему, на тыхъже своих законопротивных соборищах, и некоего Тура сатану, и прочия богомерзкия скареды измышляюще, воспоминают. Инны лица своя и всю красоту человеческую по образу и подобию Божию сотворенную, некими лярвами или страшилами, на диаволский образ пристроенными закрывают, страшше или оутешающе людий, Творца же и Зиждителя своего оукаряюще, и аки бы не доволствующе или мерзяшеся творением руку его. Что всячески подобало бы христианскому человеку оставити, а сим образом, имъже его сотвори Господь, доволствовати. И прочия Богопротивныя мерзости измышляемы бывають, их же и писанию предати не подобает.

Разве тех бесовских Кумир, еще и инны идолы мнози бяху по имени, Усляд или Осляд, Корша или Хорс, Дашуба или Дажб, Стриба или Стрибов, Симаергля или Семаргл, и Макош, или Мокош, имъже бесом помраченны людие, аки Богу жертвы, и хваления воздаваху. Сия же мерзость, в всем Государстве Владимиром, по повелению его содевашеся.

Послаже Великий Князь Российский Владимир на свое место в великий Новгород племенника своего именем Добрыню. И той достигши Велика Новгорода, яко в Киеве виде Владимира творяща, тако, подражая ему, соделоваше тамо, идолы ставляше, богами их нарицаая, и людем кланятися и требы им приноситьи, нуждею повелеваше.

.....

О оутверждении совершенном Веры Православныя, в России и искоренении кумиров:

Великий оубо Самодержец Россейский Владимир окрестившись сам, и Киевский и всея Российския земле Народ святым Крещением просветивши, абие повеле бесовския кумеры и кумерницы разорати, крушити, и до основания искореняти, а наместах их Божественныя Церкви созидати. Первейшаго бога или идола Перуна повеле до конска хвоста оувязати, и влещи в Днепр, приставивши дванадесят паличинков, да бьют его палицами, не яко чувственное древо, но да поругаются бесови, иже чрез него народ чловеческий прелщаше. Привлекше же его к берегу, в вергоша в Днепр, и заповеда Владимир да нигде же припустя его к берегу, дондеже минет Пороги: нижаеже Порогов изверже его ветр под едину гору велику, яже и до ныне Перун гора нарицается. . . . Повеле же Владимир поставити Каменную Церков в Киеве святого Спаса великую, и на том месте идеже кумир Перун бьаше Церков святаго Василия в Имя на Крещении святом себе данное созда. И прочия вся Богомерзския идолы овья в воду, и капища бесовския искореняти, нетокмо в Киеве, но везде по всем Россейском своем Государстве, а Церкви Божественныя от Камения и древес созидати. . . .

Gizel', *Sinopsis* (Kiev, 1680), pp. 26-29,  
41-43.

3. Slavic gods in the *Life of Vladimir*:III. УКРАИНСКОЕ ЖИТИЕ ВЛАДИМИРА  
ПРОСТРАННОЙ РЕДАКЦИИ

*Первичная редакция по списку собрания Киево-печерской лавры  
№ 370 (155), XVII в. (Л)*

.....

III. И от того часу Володымер ставил болваны всюду в панствѣ своем; найпервей поставил болвана Перуна найстаршого в Киевѣ на горѣ, на том мѣстцу, где тепер церков святого Василия. Потом и по иных мѣсцах других болванов (которым имена нижей суть описаны) ставил и офѣру им всѣ люде за росказаням его, называючи их богами, чинили, и приводили им дѣти свои на офѣру и забивали. До Новгорода (л. 526) зась великого Добриню, вую своего, на свое мѣсце послал. Добринь теж воевода, пришедши до Великого Новгорода, почал также ставити болваны и богами их называти казал; як видѣл, що Володымер у Киевѣ чинил, так и он там такими теж их и именами называл, и кланялися им людеи и офѣры чинити примушал.

.....

XII. Тут спомним о богах албо рачей балванах, которих они мѣли за бога, не иж бы годни были испоминаня, але абысмо знали, якою слѣпотою балвохвалства на той час дѣявол послѣпил был людеи и в якое шаленство привѣл, же не тилко не знали правдивого бога, але еще бездушным речам, от людеи учиненым, належащую честь бозкую отдавали. Первый теде в них бог был Перун, учиненый на образ человекѣка з дерева, голова ему была срѣбная, а усы золотыи, в которого камѣнь был в руках, як огонь. Тому як богу офѣры приносили, и огонь неугасаючий перед ним завше горѣд, и если бы ся трафило за недозорством попа их служачого, огню згаснути, такого без вшелякои вымовки и милости, яко неприятели бога своего, убивали. Второй бог Волос быдлѣчий. Третий Позвизд, ляхи его звали Шохвист, а нѣкотори и Вихром его называли; того вызнавали быти бога воздуха, погоды и негоды. Четвертый Ладо; того вѣрили быти богом веселя, утѣхи и вшелякого доброго повоженя. Тому офѣры приносили, котори женитися мѣли, абы за его помочю веселье доброе и житие любовное мѣли. Того Лада по нѣкоторих сторонах и до сего часу на веселях, руками плещучи, албо о стол бѣючи, «Ладо, Ладо» спѣваючи, в пѣснях своих часто его споминают. Пятый Купало, которого

урожаю быти бога розумѣли. Тому теж шалены и звездены подякованя и офѣры прино(л. 530 об.)сили на початку жнив; которому то Купалѣ бѣсу по нѣкоторих сторонах и тепер памятку отправуют, а особливо в навечеріе рожества святого Іоана Предтечи таким способом: в вечер зобравшия так млоденци, як и панны, плетут собѣ вѣнки з зѣля и опоясуются, кладут зась огонь и берутся за руки и около огня оногo скачут, спѣваючи пѣсни, в которых часто спѣвають Купала, а потом през огонь оный перекакуют, бѣсу оному Купалѣ офѣру себе самих приносят; и много иных вымыслов бѣсовских брыдких на той час чинят, що неслухная і писмом подати. А нѣкоторіх з них криницам, озерам за обфитость урожаю приносили, а часом на офѣру й людей топили, що и тепер шаленіи по нѣкоторих сторонах памятку чинят: под час знаменитого праздника воскресенія Христова зобравшия, молодий й обоего полу, взявши чочячка, вкидають в воду, и трафляється за спораженем тых богов, то есть бѣсов, иж вкиненіи в воду албо о дерево, албо о камѣнь в водѣ розбиваються и умирають, албо утопають; в иных зась сторонах не вкидають в воду, тылко поливають водою, що еднак томуж бѣсу офѣру приносят. Шестый Коляда, которому празник великий чинювали декабра 24-го дня, алубо нас

ласка рожеством Христовым освѣтила, й болваны погинули, але еднак нѣкоторіи шаленіи памятку бѣсу Колядѣ почавши от самого рожества Христова, през всѣ свята сходячіся и пѣсны, в которых и о рожествѣ Христовом споминають, еднак же болше Коляду бѣса выхваляють; там теж на схадзках своих Тура и иньи брыдкии речи вымышляють чого ся также не годит и писмом выразити. Не досить теж было шаленым людям тых богов, але мѣли еще их много, которым имена суть тыи: Хорс, Дажбог, Мокша, Стрыбог, (л. 531) Семаргл.

XIII. А окрестивши Володимер землю Рускую, всѣ болваны з великим безчестіем крушил. Найпервѣй Перуна, як старшого, казал, увязавши до хвоста конского, волочи з горы до Днѣпра и приставил мужіи 12, абы его волукучого били киями; то чинил, не иж бы дерево тое чути мѣло, але абы большое безчестіе бѣсу учинил и из него ся насмѣял, которій людий опукивал и зводил. А кгда так чинили, невѣрныи нѣкоторіи кіяне плакали, а оны, приволокши его до берега, вкинули его в Днѣпр. Росказал теж Володимер, абы оногo Перуна нѣгде до берега не пріпукано, аж минет пороги, и там нижей порогов выкинул его вѣтер до одной горы високой, которую Перенум и тепер зовут. А на том мѣсцу, где был балван Перун, казал Володимер поставити церков найма святого Васілія великого. И всѣх инших балванов казал вкидати едних в огонь, а другіх в воду, и божницю до крунту роскидати. И не перестал аж до конца всѣх балванов выгубил, а на тых мѣсцах церкви казал будовати.

XII. Тут<sup>1</sup> спомним<sup>2</sup> о болванах, которых<sup>3</sup> оны мѣли за боги, <sup>3</sup>не иж бы годны были и споминаня, але<sup>3</sup> абысмо познали, яко слѣпотою болвохвалства на той час діявол послѣпил был людей, и до якого шаленства приводил и ошуканя, же не тылко не знали правдивого<sup>4</sup> бога, але еще и бездушным нѣмым речам, от людей учиненым, надлежащую честь бозскую отдавали. Первый теда<sup>5</sup> в них<sup>5</sup> бог был Перун, з дерева учиненый на образ чловечій,<sup>6</sup> голова ему была срѣбраная,<sup>7</sup> а усы золотыи, в которого камѣнь<sup>8</sup> был в руках велми ясный, пред которым огонь завше горел. А если бы ся трафило за недозорствомъ попа их<sup>9</sup> служачого огню згаснути,<sup>10</sup> такого <sup>11</sup>без впелякого вымовки,<sup>11</sup> як неприятеля бога своего убивали.<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>Вторый бог<sup>13</sup> — Волос, быдлчій. Третій<sup>14</sup> — Позвизд,<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>ныни его звали Похвист,<sup>16</sup> а нѣкоторые и Вихром<sup>17</sup> его называли;<sup>18</sup> того визнавали быти бога воздуха, погоды и непогоды. <sup>19</sup>Четвертый бог<sup>19</sup> — Ладо; того вѣрыли<sup>20</sup> быти богом веселья, утѣхи и впелякого доброго повоженья.<sup>21</sup> Тому офѣры приносили,<sup>22</sup> которые<sup>23</sup> женитися мѣли, абы за его помочу веселье<sup>24</sup> доброе и житіе любовное мѣли. Того Лада по нѣкоторых сторонах и до сего часу<sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup>на веселях,<sup>26</sup> руками плещучи або о<sup>27</sup> стол бѣючи, «Ладо, Ладо» <sup>28</sup>слѣваючи, в пѣснях своих<sup>28</sup> часто его спомынают.<sup>29</sup> Пятый<sup>30</sup> Купало, которого урожаю быти бога разумѣли. Тому теж шаленыи и зведенныи<sup>31</sup> подякованя и офѣры приносили на початку жнив; которому то Купалѣ богу, або рачей бѣсу по нѣкоторых сторонах и тепер памятку отправуют, а особливе в навечеріе рождества<sup>32</sup> святого<sup>33</sup> Іоанна Предтечи таким способом: в вечер зобравшиися млоденци<sup>34</sup> и панны плетут собѣ вѣнки из жѣлья<sup>35</sup> розного, кото-

XII. <sup>1</sup> *BC* доб. же. <sup>2-2</sup> *BC* і о болванах, которых. <sup>3-3</sup> *BC* иж бы годно их было и споминати, але для того. <sup>4</sup> *BC* правдивого. <sup>5-5</sup> *BC* в них. <sup>6</sup> *BC* чловечій (?). <sup>7</sup> *BC* срѣбраная. <sup>8</sup> *BC* камень. <sup>9</sup> *BC* им. <sup>10</sup> *BC* загаснути. <sup>11-11</sup> *BC* без впелякого фолгованья и вымовки. <sup>12</sup> *BC* убивалы. <sup>13-13</sup> *BC* Второй в них бог был. <sup>14</sup> *BC* Третий в них бог был. <sup>15</sup> *B* Позвиздний. <sup>16-16</sup> *C* а ныне; *B* его зывали Похвист. <sup>17</sup> *B* вѣтром. <sup>18</sup> *BC* называлы. <sup>19-19</sup> *BC* Четвертый в них бог был. <sup>20</sup> *BC* вѣрили. <sup>21</sup> *BC* поваженья. <sup>22</sup> *BC* чинили. <sup>23</sup> *BC* котори. <sup>24</sup> *BC* веселіе. <sup>25</sup> *BC* дня. <sup>26-26</sup> *BC* на весѣлях. <sup>27</sup> *BC* об. <sup>28-28</sup> *BC* слѣвают, и в впеляких пѣснях своих. <sup>29</sup> *BC* спомынают. <sup>30</sup> *BC* Пятый в них бог был. <sup>31</sup> *BC* зведеніи. <sup>32</sup> *BC* рождества. <sup>33</sup> *BC* святого. <sup>34</sup> *BC* зобравшиися млоденци. <sup>35</sup> *BC*

ры<sup>36</sup> кладут на голову и опоясуются ими;<sup>37</sup> кладут зась огонь и берутся за руки и около огня оног скачут, спѣваючи пѣснѣ,<sup>38</sup> в которых часто спомынают<sup>29</sup> Купала; а потом<sup>39</sup> през огонь оны и<sup>39</sup> перескакують, бѣсу опому Купалѣ<sup>40</sup> офѣру себе самых приносят;<sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> много и иных<sup>41</sup> вымыслов бѣсовских брыдких на той час<sup>42</sup> на оных схадзках<sup>42</sup> чинят, що не слушная и писмом подати. <sup>43</sup> Нѣкоторые з них<sup>43</sup> криницам, озерам за обфитость урожаю приносили, а часом на офѣру и людей топили, <sup>44</sup> що и тепер безрозумныи по нѣкоторых сторопах<sup>44</sup> чиняють: под час знаменитого праздника воскресенія Христова <sup>45</sup> зобравшыся молодцы<sup>45</sup> обоего полу и взявши чоловѣка, вкидают в воду,<sup>46</sup> и трафляється<sup>47</sup> за споряженьем<sup>48</sup> тых богов, то ест бѣсов, иж вкиненый в воду албо о дерево, албо о камѣнь<sup>49</sup> розбивается<sup>50</sup> и умирает,<sup>51</sup> албо утапаєт,<sup>52</sup> а в инших зась<sup>51</sup> сторонах не вкидают<sup>53</sup> в воду, але толко<sup>54</sup> поливают водою, що <sup>55</sup> еднак томуж бѣсу офѣру<sup>55</sup> чинят. Шестый<sup>56</sup> — Коляда, которому праздник великій чинювали<sup>57</sup> декаврїя<sup>58</sup> 24<sup>59</sup> дня. А любосмо рождеством<sup>60</sup> Христовым и святым крешеніем просвѣщенны, и болвану погнуули, еднак же<sup>61</sup> нѣкоторые шаленыи<sup>62</sup> памятку бѣсу Колядѣ и тепер чинят; почавши от самага рождества<sup>63</sup> Христова през всѣ свята сходячися пѣсни спѣвают, в которых и о рождествѣ<sup>64</sup> Христовом споминають, але болшей Коляду бѣса выхваляють. Там теж на схадзках<sup>65</sup> своих Тура<sup>66</sup> и инныи<sup>67</sup> брыдкіи речи вымышляють,<sup>68</sup> чога<sup>69</sup> ся так же не годит и писмом выразити.<sup>70</sup> Не досыть<sup>71</sup> теж было шаленым людям тых богов, але еще их мѣли много, которым <sup>72</sup> имена суть тыи:<sup>72</sup> Хорс, Дажб,<sup>73</sup> Мокша, Стрыбог,<sup>74</sup> Семаргл.

из зѣля. <sup>36</sup> БС которіе. <sup>37</sup> БС ими. <sup>38</sup> БС пѣсни.  
<sup>39-39</sup> БС през оный огонь. <sup>40-40</sup> БС офѣруют сами себе.  
<sup>41-41</sup> БС и иных много. <sup>42-42</sup> Б на оных соборыщах.  
<sup>43-43</sup> БС Нѣкоторые з них. <sup>44-44</sup> БС що и тепер по нѣко-  
торых сторопах безрозумныи. <sup>45-45</sup> БС зобравшыся молодцы.  
<sup>46</sup> БС у воду. <sup>47</sup> БС трафляет. <sup>48</sup> БС за споряженьем.  
<sup>49</sup> БС о камень. <sup>50</sup> БС розбивается. <sup>51</sup> БС нет. <sup>52</sup> БС  
утапаєт. <sup>53</sup> БС кидают у. <sup>54</sup> БС тылко. <sup>55-55</sup> БС еднак же  
тому же богу офѣры. <sup>56</sup> БС шестый в них бог был. <sup>57</sup> БС  
чинювали. <sup>58</sup> БС декаврїя. <sup>59</sup> Б 25. <sup>60</sup> БС рождеством.  
<sup>61</sup> БС оущ. <sup>62</sup> БС нѣкоторые шаленыи. <sup>63</sup> БС рождества.  
<sup>64</sup> БС о рождествѣ. <sup>65</sup> Б соборыщах. <sup>66</sup> Б Туры. <sup>67</sup> БС  
и лпыѣ. <sup>68</sup> БС вымышляють. <sup>69</sup> БС того (?). <sup>70</sup> БС выдати.  
<sup>71</sup> БС досыть. <sup>72-72</sup> С имена сіи суть; Б имена суть: Тый...  
<sup>73</sup> Б Дожб. <sup>74</sup> Б Стрыбог.

XIII. А окрестивши святыи Владымер<sup>1</sup> землю Рускую, всѣ болваны<sup>2</sup> з велим<sup>2</sup> безчестіем крушил<sup>3</sup>, палил, в воду вкидал. Найпервѣй Перуна як<sup>4</sup> старшого казал, увязавши до хвоста конского,<sup>5</sup> волочи<sup>6</sup> з горы до Днѣпра, а приставил<sup>7</sup> мужей дванадцять,<sup>8</sup> абы его волокучого<sup>9</sup> были кіями; то чинил не нж бы дерево тое чути мѣло, але абы<sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup>большое безчестіе<sup>11</sup> бѣсу учинил, и з него ся насмѣял, <sup>12</sup>который людей<sup>12</sup> ошукывал и зводил;<sup>13</sup> а при-волокиши до берега, <sup>14</sup>рассказал вкинути его в Днѣпр; приказал засѣ, абы оногo нѣгде до берега не припускано,<sup>14</sup> аж минет пороги, и там ниже порогов приплинув<sup>15</sup> до <sup>16</sup>едной горы високой,<sup>16</sup> которую Перуном и тепер зовут. А на том мѣстцу,<sup>17</sup> где был болван Перун, казал Владымер<sup>18</sup> поставити<sup>19</sup> церков<sup>20</sup> на имя святого<sup>20</sup> Василия великаго; и иных<sup>21</sup> всѣх болванов казал кидати, едних<sup>22</sup> в огонь, а <sup>23</sup>других в<sup>23</sup> воду, и божници<sup>24</sup> до грунту роскидати,<sup>25</sup> и неперестал, аж всѣх болванов выкоренил. Выкоренивши<sup>26</sup> святыи Владымер<sup>27</sup> болвохвалство, вѣру святыю розъширяючи, на тых мѣстцах <sup>28</sup>церкви святыи<sup>28</sup> будовал,<sup>29</sup> где божници были казал; <sup>30</sup>благочестіе умножаючи, мѣста около Кіева над рѣками Десною, Остром, Трубешем, Сулою фундовал.<sup>30</sup> На той час мѣсто над рѣкою Стугною осадил и назвал его своим<sup>31</sup> именем крещенным Василев,<sup>32</sup> которое тепер<sup>33</sup> Василковом зовут.

XV. Знову выслал святыи Владымер<sup>1</sup> до Царигорода, до святѣйшаго патріярхи Сергія, просячи, абы ему прислал еще болшей епископов; и<sup>2</sup> прислал ему святѣйшій патріярх<sup>3</sup> епископов три, Іоакима, Феодора, Фому, з которыми ипол Владымер в повѣт Суждалскій и Ростовскій и заложил там мѣсто над рѣкою Клязмою и назвал его першим

XIII. <sup>1</sup> БС Владимер. <sup>2-2</sup> БС з великим. <sup>3</sup> БС покрушил. <sup>4</sup> БС яко. <sup>5</sup> Б кунского. <sup>6</sup> БС волочит. <sup>7</sup> БС приставыл. <sup>8</sup> БС 12. <sup>9</sup> БС волокучи. <sup>10</sup> БС бы. <sup>11-11</sup> БС болшей безчестя. <sup>12-12</sup> БС которій людій. <sup>13</sup> БС и изводил. <sup>14</sup> С не допускано; <sup>14-14</sup> Б ошук. <sup>15</sup> С приплинул; Б приплинул. <sup>16-16</sup> БС едной високой горы. <sup>17</sup> БС доб. в Кіевѣ. <sup>18</sup> БС Владимер. <sup>19</sup> БС поставит. <sup>20-20</sup> БС в имя святого. <sup>21</sup> БС иных. <sup>22</sup> БС едних. <sup>23-23</sup> БС других у. <sup>24</sup> БС доб. их. <sup>25</sup> Б вывергати. <sup>26</sup> БС А выкоренивши. <sup>27</sup> БС Владимер. <sup>28-28</sup> БС церкви святыя. <sup>29</sup> БС казал будовати. <sup>30-30</sup> БС Там казал... фундовать. <sup>31</sup> БС своим. <sup>32</sup> БС Василев. <sup>33</sup> Б которое то и по се число.

XV. <sup>1</sup> БС Владимер. <sup>2</sup> БС В тот час. <sup>3</sup> БС доб. Сер-

своим именем: Владимир.<sup>1</sup> Поставил<sup>4</sup> там церков в имя<sup>5</sup> пресвятой богородици,<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>и дал им<sup>6</sup> епископа Феодора.<sup>7</sup> А оттоль ишол<sup>7</sup> в Ростов и там, покрушивши болваны и на тых<sup>8</sup> мѣстцах поставивши церкви,<sup>9</sup> дал им епископа Фому. А потом пришол<sup>10</sup> до Великаго<sup>11</sup> Новгорода <sup>12</sup>и там болвана Перуна, увязавши,<sup>12</sup> казал волочи<sup>13</sup> до рѣки и волокучого бити<sup>14</sup> кіями. Бѣс,<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>который в оном<sup>16</sup> болванѣ мешкал, не могл терпѣти оногo насмѣвиска, почал жалосно<sup>17</sup> великим голосом кричати: «Бѣда, бѣда мнѣ, жем<sup>18</sup> впал в руки немилостивых людей,<sup>19</sup> которыи недавно мене<sup>19</sup> як бога чтили, а тепер такую мнѣ зельживость незносную чинят; що бым далее чинити мѣл, не знаю». Приволокши<sup>20</sup> его на мост, вкинули в рѣку.

XVII. Вернувшись<sup>1</sup> до Кіева, святой Владимир роздѣлив<sup>2</sup> панство свое, Рускую землю, на <sup>3</sup>дванадцать княжений<sup>3</sup> и посадил на ных дванадцать<sup>4</sup> сынов своих, которых мѣл з розъных жен. <sup>5</sup>Найпервѣй старшого сына своего Вышеслава посадил<sup>5</sup> в Великом Новгородѣ, Изяслава — в Полоцку, Святополка — в Туровѣ, Ярослава по смерти <sup>6</sup>Вышеслава — в Новгородѣ, <sup>6</sup>Бориса — в Ростовѣ, Глѣба — в Муромѣ,<sup>7</sup> Святослава<sup>8</sup> — в Деревѣх, Всеволода — в Володымеру, Мстислава<sup>8</sup> — в Тмутороканѣ, Станѣслава<sup>9</sup> — в Смоленску, Брячислава — в Луцку, Судислава — в Псковѣ, з которыми послал и священников,<sup>10</sup> приказуючи сыном<sup>11</sup> своим, абы кождый з них<sup>12</sup> по своих панствах казал вѣры християнской учити и крестити людей в имя отца и сына и святого<sup>13</sup> духа, а болваны и божници<sup>14</sup> крушити и з кгрунту выворочати,<sup>15</sup> а на тых мѣстцах церкви святыи ставити, которое приказанье его з пилностію<sup>16</sup> всѣ сыны его заховали.

гій. <sup>4</sup> БС И поставил. <sup>5-8</sup> БС Пресвятой богородицы. <sup>6-8</sup> БС и оставил там. <sup>7-7</sup> БС И пошол оттоль. <sup>8</sup> БС на тѣх. <sup>9</sup> БС церкви. <sup>10</sup> БС ишол. <sup>11</sup> БС Великаго. <sup>12-13</sup> БС и пришедши, и там болваны и Перуна, старшого бога, увязавши. <sup>13</sup> БС волочит. <sup>14</sup> БС волокучи бити. <sup>15</sup> БС доб. же. <sup>16-16</sup> БС которій в том. <sup>17</sup> БС жалосне. <sup>18</sup> БС ижем. <sup>19-19</sup> БС которій мя недавно. <sup>20</sup> БС доб. же.

XVI. <sup>1</sup> БС доб. же. <sup>2</sup> БС роздѣлил. <sup>3-3</sup> БС 12 княжений. <sup>4</sup> БС 12. <sup>5-5</sup> Б Найпервѣй посадил старшого сына своего Вышеслава; С Найпервѣйшаго сына своего Вышеслава посадил. <sup>6-8</sup> Б опуц. <sup>7</sup> С в Муромѣ. <sup>8-8</sup> Б опуц. <sup>9</sup> БС Станислава. <sup>10</sup> Б доб. осми. <sup>11</sup> БС сином. <sup>12</sup> БС ных. <sup>13</sup> БС святого. <sup>14</sup> БС божницы. <sup>15</sup> БС доб. велѣл. <sup>16</sup> БС з пилностю.

"Ukrainskoe žytie Vladimira prostrannoј redakcii: Vtoraja redakcija po tekstu, napečatannomu v knige "Vyklad o cerkvi i cerkovnyx rečax" (Univ, 1960)" in Perets, *Issledovanija i materialy*, pp. 104-107.

II. УКРАИНСКОЕ ПРОЛОЖНОЕ ЖИТИЕ ВЛАДИМИРА ПО  
 РУКОПИСНОМУ ПРОЛОГУ XVII в. СОБРАНИЯ  
 РУМЯНЦЕВСКОГО МУЗЕЯ (БИБЛИОТЕКИ СССР  
 ИМЕНИ В. И. ЛЕНИНА) № 325

II. Пришел до Kiова и побил уси боги свое, Перуна, Хорса, знову бог его был Мокош, и потом вся боги побил и у Днепру потопил. Малыя и велкия киями почали бити, а они ревли, як волы, и плынули у верх воды. И дети малыя каменем его затопили. И потом возвал всех много людей и заказал им, абы ишли креститися, назначил им день и то им приказал: „Ежели хто не найдется утро на реце, то будеть противным мне“. И сышолся весь град, всяк возраст мушинский и женский и малых детей, слылисе на реку Почайну и младенцы на верху воды стояху, одны до пояса, другия брядят. А священники на берегу стоят, молитвы отправуют над крестимыми, и отгуль наречеса мѣсто святое, где тепер царство небесное церкви святых мученик Туровѣ, пойман был первый ходотай нашему спасению.

"Ukrainskoe proložnoe žitie Vladimira," in Perets, *Issledovanija i materialy*, pp. 76-77.

4. *Długosz on Slavic Gods:*

## Book One:

Wiadomo też o Polakach, że od początku swego rodu byli bałwochwalcami oraz że wierzyli i czcili mnóstwo bogów i bogiń, mianowicie Jowisza, Marsa, Wenerę, Plutona, Dianę i Cererę, popadłszy w błędy innych narodów i szczepów. Jowisza zaś nazywali w swym języku Jessą, wierząc, że od niego jako najwyższego z bogów przypadały im wszystkie dobra doczesne i wydarzenia zarówno niepomyślne, jak i szczęśliwe. Jemu więc też większą aniżeli innym bóstwom cześć oddawali i częstszymi wielbili ofiarami. Marsa nazywali Ładą. Wyobraźnia poetów uczyniła go wodzem i bogiem wojny. Modlili się do niego o zwycięstwa nad wrogami oraz o odwagę dla siebie, cześć mu oddając bardzo dzikimi obrzędkami. Wenerę nazywali Dwidzileylą i mieli ją za boginię małżeństwa, więc też upraszali ją o błogosławienie potomstwem i darowanie im obfitości synów i córek. Plutona nazywali Niją, uważając go za boga podziemi i stróża oraz opiekuna dusz, gdy ciała opuszczą. Do niego modlili się o to, aby wprowadzeni byli po śmierci do lepszych siedzib w podziemiach. [Duszom] tym wybudowano w mieście Gnieźnie najważniejszą świątynię, do której pielgrzymowano ze wszystkich stron. Dianie natomiast, uważanej według wierzeń pogańskich za niewiastę i dziewicę zarazem, matrony i dziewice [oddawały cześć przez składanie] przed jej posągami wieńców. Rolnicy zaś i prowadzący gospodarkę rolną czcili Cererę, na wyścigi składając jej w ofierze ziarna zbóż. Za bóstwo uważali także "pogodę" i takież zwali je Pogodą, czyli dawcą dogodnego powietrza. Był też bóg życia, zwany Żywie. A jako że państwu Lechitów wydarzyło się powstanie na obszarze zawierającym rozległe lasy i gaje, o których starożytni wierzyli, iż zamieszkuje je Diana i że Diana rości sobie władztwo nad nimi, Cerera zaś uważana była za matkę i boginię urodzajów, których dostatku kraj potrzebował, [przeto] te dwie boginie: Diana w ich języku Dziejanną zwana i Cerera zwana Marzanną cieszyły się szczególnym kultem i szczególnym nabożeństwem. Tym więc bogom i boginiom stawiali Polacy świątynie i posągi, ustanawiali kapłanów i dawali ofiary, wreszcie gaje ogłaszali za święte i w szczególnie bardziej uczęszczanych miejscach odbywali obrzędkami i modlitwy oraz zaprowadzali uroczystości z nabożeństwami, na

które zbierali się mężczyźni i kobiety wraz z dziećmi. Swoim tutaj bogom składali ofiary i całopalenia z bydła i trzód, niekiedy zaś z ludzi wziętych do niewoli, wierząc, że ofiarami ubłagają mnóstwo rozmaitych gminnych bóstw. Na ich cześć ustanawiane były i urządzone igrzyska w pewnych porach roku, dla przeprowadzenia których nakazywano zbierać się w miastach tłumom mieszkańców obojga płci ze wsi i osiedli. Odprawiano zaś je przez bezwstydne i lubieżne przyśpiewki i ruchy, przez klaskanie w dłonie i podnieśliwe zginanie się oraz inne miłosne pienia, klaskanie i uczynki przy równoczesnym przywoływaniu wspomnianych bogów i bogiń z zachowaniem rytuału. Obrządek tych igrzysk, raczej niektóre jego szczątki [istnieją] u Polaków aż do naszych czasów, mimo że wyznają oni chrześcijaństwo od 500 lat, powtarzane są co roku na Zielone Świąta i przypominają dawne zabobony pogańskie dorocznym igrzyskiem, zwanym po polsku „Stado”, co tłumaczy się po łacinie *grex*, kiedy to stada narodu zbierają się na nie i podzieliwszy się na gromady, czyli stadka w podnieceniu i rozjątrzeniu umysłu odprawiają igrzyska, skłonni do rozpusty, gnuśności i pijatyki.

.....

#### ROK PAŃSKI 987

*Bałwochwalcy Rusini stawiają posąg ku czci bóstwa Pioruna.*

Kiedy Włodzimierz umocnił swój tron, zwróciwszy się ku sprawom religii porozmieszczał na górach w pobliżu zamku kijowskiego świątynie, posągi i pożyszczca, pobudował przybytki i miejsca kultu. Wśród wszystkich zaś bogów jego bezbożnego zabobonu, bóg Piorun był szczególnie czczony i poważany, jemu więc poświęcił większe świątynie i ozdobił je najznakomitszymi posągami. I nie tylko sam książę, ale i cały naród ruski naśladować go składał tę godną pogardy cześć Piorunowi, najprzedniejszymi ofiarami i całopaleniem. Sporządził Włodzimierz głównemu swemu bogu Piorunowi postać i posąg z drzewa, głowę ze srebra, a uszy ze złota, innym bogom również wyznaczył gaje i posągi, a przyprowadzając swoich synów i córki składał ofiary bogom i kalał siebie i ziemię ruską bałwochwalstwem.

Długosz, *Roczniki czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1961), pp. 165-167 and 260-261.

*Lada:*

Que ex domo accipitrum deriuacionem sumpsit, deferens babatum cruce signatum, et in uno cornu sagittam (spiculo sursum elevato), in altero retortam, in campo rubeo defert. Lada a nomine dee polonice, que in Mazovia in loco et in villa Lada colebatur, vocabulum sumpsit. Viri bellicosi, veraces, sed simplices.

Długosz, *Banderia Prutenorum* (Kraków, 1851), p. 59.

*Miechowski on Slavic Gods:*

Volume two, book two:

Dicto inicio renascendi in Christo per baptismum polonorum: Dicenda sunt execranda idola eorum, adorata, priusquam ad uere fidei cognitionem, uerique dei culturam peruenerunt. Fuerunt autem ut est in Cronographis uidere: dii, quos more gentilitatis coluerunt, isti: Iupiter, Mars. Pluto, Venus, Diana, Ceres, Iouem uulgari sermone Iessam nuncupabant. Hunc dixerunt omnipotentem omnia dantem, Omniaque facientem: quoniam Iouis omnia plena sunt. Martem appellarunt Ledam, duces bellorum, & largitorem uictoriarum. Plutonem uocauerunt Nya, meliores sedes inferni, post mortem ab eo postulantes. Venerem dixerunt Dzidzililya. Ab hac impetrabant foecunditatem, uoluptates, & prolis copiam. Dianam nuncupabant Dzeuiana, continentiam, uenationes, & foelices aucupationes ab ea praecantes. Cererem uocarunt Marzana, fertilitatem agrorum, & arborum ab ea petentes. Et quia ad instar graecorum (quibus non multum distant) multa sategebant facere. Deos graecorum coluerunt: ut ego a maioribus meis accepi. Adorabant Pogoda, quod sonat temperies: Adorabant spiraculum, siue flatum tenuis aurae, per spicas frugum, & folia arborum sibilantem, atque cum sibilo transientem: Vocantes numen eius Pogwisd: Adorabant Ledam matrem Castoris & Pollucis, Geminosque ab uno ouo natos, Castorem, & Pollucem, quod auditur in hodiernam diem, a cantantibus uetustissima carmina: Lada, Lada, Ileli, Ileli, Poleli cum plausu & crepitu manuum: Ladam (ut ausim ex uiuae uocis oraculo dicere) Ledam uocantes, non Martem, Castorem Leli, Pollucem Poleli. Omnia iam praefata idola, omnia auguria, incantatores, & phitones, abstulit inclitus princeps Mieczeslaus, & de regno relegauit, sub interminatione uitae mandans, ne quisquam, praeter uerum & unicum deum, in personis trinum, peramplius glorificaret. Ego i puericia mea uidi tria idola de praedictis in parte confracta, circa ambitum monasterii sanctae Trinitatis iacentia Craccouiae: Iamdudum sublata.

Miechowski, *Chronica polonorum* (Craccouiae: per Hieronym Vietore, 1521), p. 24.

6. *Kromer on Slavic Gods:*

Book three: "De Relionibus priscorum Polonorum & Slauorum, et religione Christiana ab ijs suscepta."

... Colebant itaque pro dijs Poloni, & caeterae Slauci nominis gentes, praecipue Iouem, Martem, Plutonem, Cererem, Venerem, Dianam: quos Iessam, Ladum siue Ladonem, Niam, Marzanam, Zizililiam, Zieuanam siue Zieuaniam, uocabant. De his eadem quae caeteri homines fere sentiebant: his delubra lucosque dedicabant: his simulachra et sacerdotes consecrabat: his libabant, his imolabant: his festos dies epulis, choreis, plausibus, cantibus iusibusque uarijs indulgentes, agebant. Quem ritum festorum dierum Dlugossus usque; ad suam tempestatem, aliquot post susceptam religionem Christianam seculis, perdurasse memorat. Solitos enim uiros & mulieres, senes et iuuenes, ad lusus & choreas pariter conuenire ijs diebus, quos nos Pentacosten uocamus: eumque coetum, Stado, quasi gregem uel armentum, appellatum esse. Nescio ad hoc sit, quod Russi & Lituani, praestertim in pagis, adhuc retinent, deum Ladonem choreas ducentes, & manibus complodentes, ingeminant. Fuisse uero Gnesnae sanctissimum Niae siue Plutonis templum, idem Dlugossus refert. Adhaec autem Ziuie, quasi tu dicas uitalis (aura nimirum) Pogoda, hoc est, serenum, siue temperies: Pochuist, quam Miechouiensis auram, nos intemperiem interpretamur, (indeque Pochuiscel à Masouijs adhuc coeli intemperies dicitur) Polonis dij fuere. Sunt qui his addunt Lelum & Polelum, quos in conuiuis & compotationibus appellari adhuc audimus, eosque Castorem & Pollucem esse autumant. Pioerunum autem, hoc est fulmen, & Stribum, & Chorsum, & Mocosium Russi peculiariter coluere, ut proditum est eorum annalibus. Balthici uero sinus accole Radogostum, Suanteuitum, & Proue...

7. *Kromer's translator Błażowski on Slavic gods:*

Chwalili tedy Polacy, y narody insze Slowianskie za Bogi, Jowisza osobliwie, Marsa, Plutona, Cererę, Wenerę, Dyanę: nazywaiąc ich Jessa, Ładem, abo Ładonem, Nyą, Marzańą, Zezylią, Ziewonią. O tych oni toż własnie, co y ludzie inszy, rozumieli: tym na cześć ołtarze, słupy, gaie, y kapłany poswiącali: tym ofiary oddawali, bydło mordowali: onym na chwałę roczne święta, zchadzki, uczty, tańce, kleskania, śpiewania, y rozmaite gry zwodząc, obchodzili. Ktore to obrzędy świąt bałwochwalskich, że y Długosz czasow swych, nieco po przyzięciu wiary chrześcianskiej zaznał, samże spomina, mowiac, że zwykli byli męzczyzna, białęgłowy, starzy y młodzi na gry y tance zgromadzać się wespołek, własnie pod czasem Świątek naszych: ktore zchadzki ludzi stadem, iako bydło abo trzodę iaką, nazywano. Ztądże podobno Ruś y Litwa, Sielanie zwłascza, zwyczaj taki chowaią: iż tance swoje wiodąc rękami klescza, y Łado powtarzaią. Dostatecznie o Ładonie, krotkości folguiąc iako mniemam, nie pisze Kromer: przetoż czegom z piśm, y obyczaiow Ruskich, w tey ziemi urodziwszy się, dosięgnął, dostateczniej podaię. Ładona narody Ruckie miały niekiedy za Boga takiego, ktoremu rządy, w powodzeniach y sprawach pociesnych przypisuiąc, Panem go wszelakiego szczęścia czynili: zaczym na chrzcinach dziątek swych, na grach, biesiadach, weselach, y wszystkich inszych podług myslnych pociechach, wzywali go. Nie inaczey, iako Łacinnicy Hymena, Grekowie Jea abo Bachusa, y inszy inszych. Wszytka tedy Ruś, pamiątke poganstwa y podziśdzien zachowuiąc, zwłascza w pieśniach swadziebnych, na weselach Ładona pomienionego wyrażaią: gdy lub to dłoniami w stoł, lub też rekę o rekę biiąc, na każdym wierszu pieśni Ładona opiewaią: A tu iuż Kromera słuchaymy. Długosz, prawi, spomina, że w Gnieźnie, stal kościół Nyey, abo Plutonowi na cześć poświęcony. Mieli ktemu więcey Bogow Polacy: iako to Żywie, co wyłożyć mozesz żywotnym, abo żyjącym: Pogodę, Pochwist, co Miechowita powietrzem, a ia Niepogodą wykladam: ztądże Mazurowie niewczesność powietrza, pochwiścieniem mianuią. Jabym zaśie rzekł, że Pochwiściel, wiatrem abo wichrem świszczącym iest, ktory więc z wielkim pochopem przypadszy, na cokolwiek trafi, nagłem obrotem kręci: gdyż y samo nazwisko toż poswiadcza: gdy od własności pobiegu (świscze abowiem lecąc) Poświszcieniem, abo od pochwytywania, Pochwiścieniem rzeczony zda sie bydz: a to niech przy rozsądku czytelnika zostanie. Mnieman iednak, że y Ruś, a nie tylko Mazurowie pochwiściciela

tego (iesliż wichrem iest) chwaliła, ztąd dochodząc: że y podziśdzien znayduie się tak gruba Ruś Ukrainna, ktora, ile razow ten wicher przed oczyma iey przypada, zawsze głowy swe nachylaiąc, pokłon mu rozmaicie wyrządza. Są, Kromer powiada, ktorzy Lela y Polela przydaią: ktorych słyszemy, że y tych czasow pod piiany wieczor spominaią: y rozumieią że ci Kastorem y Polluxem są. Piorun zasię Strybę, Chorsa, Mokossa, Ruś własnie chwaliła, iako dzieie roczne ich pokazuią. Przy wzmiance o Rusi uczynioney, nie zdało mi się, Moskwy też narodu Ruskiego, przepominać: ktorey ludzie miedzy wielą Bogow falszywych Perkonosa, to iest piorun chwaląc, bałwana onemu na cześć niegdy byli wystawili; tegoż, przy przyjmowaniu wiary chrześcianskiej obaliwszy, do rzeki z lamentnym śpiewaniem dla utopienia ciągnęli. A gdy go na most rzeki oney przywlekli, y bić kiyami poczęli, wrzeszczał y narzekał Czart przez bałwana onego: wrzucony potym z mostu na głębią pornął: lecz prędko zaś wyrnąwszy, kiem miedzy gmin ludzi na moście stojących cisnął, y kilku zabił. Czym pamiątkę sobie czyniąc, takim szalenstwem ludzie zaraził, że y tych czasow obywatele Nowogrodu wielkiego, (tam się abowiem działo) młodź zwłaszcza, na każdy rok, gdy on czas przychodzi, na dwie części rozdwoiwszy się, na most wychodzą: gdzie rowni szalonym, sami z sobą walcząc, szkodliwie rany, a pod czas y śmierć zadaią sobie. Tegom ia z piśm Ruskich napierwey pocześci doszedł, ale rzetelniey potym wybadałem na Mikołaiu Giedzinskim z Giedna Familiey starożytney Prawdzicow, ktory w woysku zacney pamięci Krola Stephana żołd do Moskwy wiodąc, te rzeczy ze zwyczajiu narodu onego wyczerpnął. . . . A tu Kromera słuchaymy. Obywatele zasię morza Niemieckiego, Radogosta, Swatowita, abo ś. Wita, ktemu Prowę za Bogi wyznawali. . . .

*Kromer, O sprawach, dzieiach y wszystkich potocznościach koronnych polskich, book 3 (w Krakowie: w drukarni Mikołaja Łoba, 1611, pp. 42-43).*

8. *Bielski on Slavic Gods:*

Book one:

Polacy przyiąwszy wiarę Chrześcijańską, potłukli obrazy Bałwańskie, w których Czarty chwalili za Bogi, wszędzie po miasteczkach, y po wsiach drugie popalili, także wszystkie modły pogańskie zagubili, przez edykt abo roskazanie książęce, ustawiwszy na to dzień pewny, to jest dzień 7. Marca. Ktore Bałwany, pisze Miechowita, że ieszcze ich widział trzy takowe potłuczone w kościele u S. Troyce w Krakowie, gdzie długo tak na ziemi leżały.

Za tegoż to Mieszka w Krakowie nad Wisłą, gdzie dziś Klasztor Panieński S. Jagnieszki, był kościół pogański, z ktorego też Mieszko kazał wyrzucić Bałwany czartowskie, a Passyą Pana Chrystusowę ryta wstawić.

Zamey też ieszcze pamięcy był ten obyczay u nas po wsiach, iż na Białą Niedzielę, poście topili Bałwan ieden, ubrawszy snop konopi abo słomy w odzienie człowiecze, który wszystka wieś prowadziła, gdzie nablížey było iakie ieziorko abo kałuża, tamże zebrawszy z niego odzienie, wrzucili do wody, śpiewając żałobliwie: Smierć sie wiie po płotu, szukaięcy kłopotu, etc.

Potym co naprędzey do domu od tego mieysca bieżeli, który abo ktora się w ten czas powaliła wrożka tę mieli, iż tego roku umrze. Zwali tego Bałwana Marzana, takbym rzekł, że to był Bog Mars, iako Ziewanna, Diana: a Dzidzilia, Bogini Venus: y Jessa, Bog Iovis: a Nia, Bog piekielny Pluto, ktore oni obyczaiem pogańskim za Bogi chwalili, y kościoły im budowali, lasy poświęcali dni pewne święte ustawiali, ofiary sprawowali, y ku czci ich biesiady y tańce stroili. Jakoż pisze Długosz, że ieszcze za niego, o Świątkach zwykli sie byli ludzie schadzać po wsiach, tak mężczyzny iako białęgłowy, y dziwne tańce wymyślać, k woli im: a zwali to pospolicie Stado. Pisze tenże Długosz, że też w Gnieźnie stał długo kościół S. Nije. Mieli ieszcze y drugie swe Bogi, iako Lela y Polela, ktore niektorzy rozumieją za Castora y Poluxa, chwalili za Boga y Żywot, Pogodę, Niepogodę, którą zwali Fochwistem, a dziś w Mazowszu zowia ieszcze Pochwiściel, chwalili y Pioruna, Ruś zwlaszcza, iako y Stryba, Chorza, Mokossa: a Pomorzcy Radogosta, y Swatewita, y Prowa. Także wiele innych tych błażenstw pogańskich było.

*Bielski, Kronika polska, nowo przez Joachima Bielskiego syna iego wydana* (Kraków: w Drukarni Jakuba Sibenychera, 1597), pp. 51-52.

9. *Strykowski on Slavic Gods:*

Book IV, chapter III: "O Białey y Czarney Rusi  
..."

Włodymirz Wielki ... z Nowogroda też wielkiego do Kijowa stolicę przeniósł. A czyniąc bogom swoim offiary za dusze bratow pobitych Holhy i Jaropełka, bardzo wiele bałwanow i kościołow pogańskich w Kijowie i po okolicznych gorach i polach Kijowskich nastawiał i pobudował; a naprzod bałwan bardzo wysoki postawił Piorunowi albo Porkunowi, bogowi gromow, chmur i łyskawic, ktorego nabożnie i z wielka uczciwością chwalił; sam tułów jego był z drzewa, misternie rzezany, głowę miał srebrną odlewana, uszy złote, nogi żelazne, a rąku trzymał kamien, na kształt pioruna pałającego, rubinami i carbunculussem ozdobiony. Drugie bałwany byli mianowane: Usład, Korssa, Dassuba, Striba, Symaergla, Makosz, etc., ktorych Russacy kumerami jednostajnie nazywali, i tym ofiary czynili i modlitwy boskie wyrządzali.

.....

... I kazał zarazem łamać, tłuć, y z gruntu wywracać Bałwany Charsa, Stryba, Mokosa, a Włosa Bałwana, ktory był mian za bydłowego i leśnego Boga (iako był u Arkadow Pan Faunus) kazał w wychod pospolity wrzucić, i w nieczystościach wtopić. Pioruna też przedniejszego Bałwana kazał koniowi do ogona przywiązać i wlec przez Miasto do Dniepru, tamteżę go w Dnieprze nawiąawszy kamieni utopiono.

Strykowski, *Kronika polska* (Królewiec: G. Osterberger, 1582), pp. 132 and 140.

## Book IV, chapter IV:

... Naprzod tedy Polacy, Pomorczycy, Mazurowie ty najprzedniejsze Bogi mieli, Jowisza, ktorego oni zwali Jessa, tego chwalili za wszechmocnego, y za dawce wszech dobr, Plutona też Boga Piekielnego, ktorego zwali Nia, chwalili wieczor, prosili też od niego po śmierci lepszego y wcześniejszego mieysca w Piekle, y dzzow (sic!) albo uskromienia niepogody, ktorego Kościoł był w Gnieźnie najświętszy, iako Długosus świadczy. Cererę też Boginią ziemną wynalezycielkę zboża wszelkiego, którą oni zwali Marzana, tey też w Gnieźnie, iako Wincenti Kadłubkus Biskup Krakowski, pierwszy Kronikarz Polski pisze, był wielkim kosztem zbudowany kościół, gdzie iey na chwałę dziesięciny wszelkiego zboża po żniwach ofiarowali, prosząc na drugi rok o żyzne urodzaie. Wenerę też Boginią miłości zwali Zizilią, ktorey modły czynili dla płodu, y wszelkich roskoszy cielesnych od niey żadali. Dianę boginią łowow swym ięzykiem zwali Ziewonią albo Dziewanną. Castora też y Poluxa Rzymskich boszkow chwalili, ktorych Lelusem y Palelusem nazywali, co ieszcze y do dzisiejszych czassow u Mazurow y Polakow na besiadach, gdy sobie podleia, iawnie slyszemy, kiedy Lelum po Lelum wykrzykaia. Chwalili i matkę Lelowę y Polelowę Ledę, którą według Greckich basni Jowis Bog niemogąc iey inaczey dostać, przemieniwszy się w Labęcia płodną uczynił, isz iaie zniosła, z ktorego się Helena (dla ktorey Troia zginięła) y Castor s Poluxem bliznięta urodzili, albo wylęgli, a potem miedzy Bogi policzeni; a zwykli byli mężowie y niewiasty starszy y mlodzi na Święta tych Bogow swoich w iedno sie schodzić mieysce, do tańcow y krotofil inszych, którą schadzke kupalą zwali, zwłaszcza 25 dnia Maia Miesiaca y 25 Czerwca, co ieszcze do tych czasow w Rusi y w Litwie zachowywaią. Bo skoro po niedzieli Przewodney aż do S. Jana Chrzciela niewiasty y Panny do tańcow sie gromadą schodzą, tam uiawszy się za ręce Łado, Łado, y Łado moia powtarzaia. Spiewaiąc na pamiątkę Ledy albo Ładony Matki Kastora y Poluxa, acz prości ludzie niewiedzą skąd ten obyczay urosł, także owy kołyski dziwne, o świętym Pietrze y wieczory święte po narodzeniu Pańskim, wszystko z starodawych zabobonow Pogańskich poszło, bo się też tego y w Turcech sam własnym okiem napatrział. Roku 1575, Decembris 20 die (sic!) y zaś kiedy u nas Szrodopóście wielkie.

Chwalili ieszcze Polacy wiatr szumiący za Boga, ktory nazywali żywie, także Pogodę Boga iasných i wesołych dni, iako slysział Miechouius od przodkow swoich. Chwalili też drugi wiatr Pochwist, ktory,

iako Miechouius pisze (ale Cromer Pochwist niepogoda wykłada) ieszcze y dziś Mazurowie Pochwiscelem zowią. przeto kiedy iusz taki się wiatr świszczący trafił, padali y klękali.

Chwalili nad to y Ruskie Bogi, to iest Pioruna, Striba, Mokossa, Chorsuma, y inszych, ktorym był Włodimirz Monarcha wszystkiey Rusi, Syn Swentosławow z nałożnice, czyniąc ofiary za Braty pobite, w Kijowie bardzo wiele Kościołow zbudował, y Bałwanow po górach okolicznych nastawiał, a zwłaszcza Bałwan Piorunowi Bogowi gromow, chmur y łyskawic (sic!) (ktorego najwięcey chwalił) nayozdobniey wystawił, ciało samo y kształt wzgorę wyniosły był z drzewa misternie rzerzany, głowa iego z Srebra, uszy ze złota, w ręku zaś trzymał kamień na kształt Pioruna pałaiącego, ktoremu na cześć y na chwałę ogień Dębowy, ktory wiecznym zwano, Kapłani ktemu przystawieni palili, co iesliby dla niepilności strożow kiedy zgasł, takowych na gardle karano. Co też Litwa, Zmodź y starzy Prusowie zachowywali.

.....

... Litowcey y Zmodźey Bogi byli osobliwi ...  
 Dzidziś Łado, to iest wielki Bog, ktoremu bieluchne kupłany na ofiare bijali, ktorego też Święta 25 dnia Maia aż do 25 Czerwca obchodzili w karczmach, a Niewiasty y Panny po łakach y po ulicach tance uiawsze się okolo za ręce stroili, spiewaiąc żałośnie i powtarzaiąc łado, łado, łado, Didiś musu Dewie, to iest, wielki nasz Boże Łado, co y dziś ieszcze w Litwie, w Zmodźi, w Liflanciech y w Rusi czynia ....

Strykowski, *Kronika polska*, pp. 146-147 and 157.

10. *Guagnini on Slavic Gods:*

Book one:

965 (Mieczysław) ... rozkazał wszystkim, y każdemu z osobna w państwach swych, na dzień siódmy Marca tegoż roku, iako sie wyżey pomienilo, bałwany wszystkie próżnych Bogow popalić, y wniwecz obrocić. Abowiem przedtym wszelakie rzeczy stworzene, Słońce, Miesiąc, Powietrze, ktore zwali Pogwidem za Bogi czcili. Nad to Jowisza, ktorego oni Jossą: Plutona, ktorego Ładonem: Cererę, którą Nija, której kościoł był w Gnieźnie znamienity: Wenerę, którą Marzana, Dianę, którą Ziewonią pogańskim ięzykiem nazywali, za Bogi chwalili. Takież Lela y Polela, to iest, Kastora z Polluxem, też czcią Boską czcili y chwalili, y ieszcze y podziśdzień w wielkiej Polsce przy biesiadach Lela y Polela ludzie, zwłaszcza na wsiach wspominaią. A mieli ten zwyczaj, tak mężczyzny iako y niewiasty, tak młodzi iako y starzy, w dni święte tych Bogow swoich, ktorego z nich kiedy święcono na mieyscach pewnych, gry, tańce, y krotofile rozmaite stroić: a osobliwie 25 Maia, y 25 Czerwca, ktore zgromadzenie lud pospolity stadem nazywał: co się ieszcze poniekąd w Litwie y w Rusi, y dotychmiast zawadza po wsiach. Abowien poczawszy od Niedziele Przewodney, aż do ś. Jana Chrzciciela, niewiasty y dziewczki w dni święte do tańca kupami się schodząc, y śpiewaiac swoje stare pieśni, Ładona często wspominaiąc, rękoma kłaskaiąc, y powtarzaiąc Łado, Łado, szerokie koło okrągłego tańca, wszystkie się za ręce poiąwszy, pośród rynku wywodzą: zowie ten taniec Ruś y Litwa Korohodem. Na Śląsku też przy granicy Polskiej 17 dnia Marca (to iest ktorego czasu te bałwany z posrzedku Chrześcian wygubiono) chłopięta po wsiach y miasteczkach według dawnego obyczaiu, bałwana iakiego na kształt niewiasty, z słomy abo tam z iakiej podłey materyy ubudowawszy, y chusiami obwinawszy, wszyscy się do gromady schodzą, tamże z wielkim rąk klaskaniem y foremnym spiewaniem głasy rozmaite rozwodzą, bałwana onego z mostu w rzekę wrzucaią...

.....

Book seven:

[On the Novgorod Perun]: ... miał w sobie forme człowieczą, kamień ognisty na kształt piorunu w rękę trzymając, bo Perun z ruskiego piorun znaczy. Na

cześć tedy tego bałwana ogień z drzewa dębowego ustawicznie w dnie y w nocy gorzał. A ieśliby ten ogień za nieopatrznością tego, który tam na ten czas by tey rzeczy dozorca, zgasł, na tych miast go na radle karano.

Guagnini, *Kronika Sarmacyi Europejskiej* (w Warszawie: w drukarni J. K. Mci, 1768), pp. 30 and 485.

О народе Славенском:

. . . Прокопии прилагает, яко народ Славенской и Антянов, не был правительствуем единым токмо человеком, но из древняго времени живяше в народолюбной и общеи волности, что все дела полезные, или вредительные приносилися от них на совет всех, что было все единообразно у обоих народов; что наболшие их признавали между Богов, единого токмо точию Перуна /то есть строителя громостреляния/ Господа единого вселенныя, которому повинни были на жертву приносить быков, и протчая животныя; Они не познавали фортуны Госпожи над человеки; а когда ради недуга в дому, или от бед на войне, творят какой обет ради избавления своего, восприяв паки здравие, или миновав беду, должны суть по повелению исполнити обещание оброка, которые такому жертвеннику причитали паки восприятие здравия; они же поклонялися лесам и нимфам /то есть русалкам/ и протчым демоном которым жертвуя, воспримали свои предзнателства добрые или злые. . . . Между иных Богов поклонялися Идолу /названому яко Бог, то есть Бог крепкий/ под которого ногами стояла едина глава человеческая, а другая львова, в правой руке держущь копеице, а в левой круглой шар сребраной. Сеи был отлучен от протчих Идолов Славенских. . . .

.....  
 . . . Понеже Поляки были потоплены во Идоло-служении преукорененном; Идоли же их первенственные были, Иовиш или Дии, Марс или Арис, наречен Леда бог войны, и датель побед: Плутон намянованныи Ниа, податель лутчих Престолов во своем Царстве. Венеру или Афродиту называли Дидилиа, от сея прошали Многоплодия и сладострастия ко изобилию детеи, Диане или Артемиде дали имя Зевана или Зевониа, тои молилися о воздержании, и щастливых звероловительствах, Цереру или Димитир, нарицали Марцана, от которыя ожидали плодородия Поль, и Древес. Поклонялися Ветру, которой протекает по колосам жит, и по ветвам Древес, нарицающе его Догода, или Похвист, именем же Догодовым значили Ведро, а Похвистовым имянем нерастворение или ненастие воздуха; Такжеде поклонялися Леде матери Кастановой и Поллуксовой, под именем Лада и Лелии и Полели, древнейшия их песни припевалися в их речах Лада Лада, и Лели и Лели, Полели Полели.

В Боемии, в день недели четвертыя великого поста, постановлял народ на телеге болваны Марцанин и Зевонин, которых носили со славою и с пением плачевным. По томже вметали в Эзеро или в реку, на память того дня, сиречь 7 дня Марта месяца, в который день Мечислав учинил явнародный указ, что бы сокрушати кумиры Идолские.

Боемляне во время своего Короля Боривоя и Королевы Людомилы, восприяли Крещение чрез Святоплуга Короля Моравского в лето 900. Но Поляки закоснели во Идолослужении даже до 965 лета, в неже действием и тщанием Короля их Мечислава, пришли во Христианство щицевым образом; понеже Мечислав имел себе по употреблению обыкновенному онаго народа Идолослужителного, седм жен, с которыми аще и много лет совокуплялся но неможаше раждати сынов, ради наследия себе на Королевство. Увещавали его некоторые Христиане обретавшыися во дворе его, еже оставити языческую поганую веру, ради восприятия веры Христа подателя сынов, и утешителя общаго всех. И при том сопрящися истинне и законне со единою точию женою Христианкою. Онже послал в Боемию просити себе в жену дочь Дуки Болеслава, братоубицы Владиславова, почитаема за Святаго; Болеслав уступил дочь, обаче за договором, что бы ему быти Христианином. Мечислав тому соизволил. И в самыи тойже день лета 965 восприял в Гнезне Святое Крещение, и женился на Домбровке дщери Болеславлеи, и тако он при своей жизни пекся вести и содержати по всему Королевству благочестие Христианское, посылая указы по всем градам; да бы во един некий день на то определенныи, сокрушили все идолы, и да бы крестилися кийждо. Литвяне такожде народ Славенской, были зело упрямы во своем Идолослужении, поклоняхуся вместо Бога своего первенственнаго огню, под именем Знич . . . /Here follows a description of the pagan customs of Lithuanians prior to their acceptance of Christianity/

.....

#### О Славянех Ругянех:

. . . Платили усердно Ругяне дань Карлу при его жизни, а после его смерти, оставили дань купно с благочестием Христианским, и построили храм во Архоне. В которой принесли болван Святовита /которого они называли Святовичь/ и толико мужие, елико и жены на всякой год приносили в сей храм дань по единому пенязю с головы, и тако впадше в грубонечестие, поклонялися сему идолу Святовиту, которой был учинен деревянный, возраста Гигантского, о четырех лицах, подобием Фонаря, дабы от всякия страны храма виделося лицо идолово. Еще же онже был без бороды с кудрями со всякой стороны вырезанными, по употреблению власов Славян Ругянских, во одежде долгое даже до ног, держашь в правой руке рог из металла. Который рог наполнял вином поп един бородатыи, со многими церемониями и торжествами, и оставлял его наполнен до утра; ежели убудеш или не убудеш, гадаиствовали, последование изобилюю, или не дороду последующаго года. Сеи же болван левою рукою подперса, на бедре в стороне

виделася узда и седло коня его с мечем зело великим и украшенным. Стоял тот идол между четырех сводов каплицы, стоящая среди храма, завешен от всех стран завесами красными зело богатыми и украшенными. Един только поп в Каплицу в день, един точию предидущию празднику, входил удержавая дыхание. И когда хотел отдохнути, бежав ко дверем, выставляя главу свою на ружу, да бы Идол неосквернился дыханием смертным. Был един Конь белой посвящен Идолу, у которого из хвоста, или из гривы неповолено было выдернути волос, ниже кто мог садитися на него, оприч единого токмо попа: верил ослепленный той народ, что Идол ездил на нем всякократно, егда он хотел разорять их неприятели. А ко уверению истинны сея веры, предлагали, что егда оставляли его с вечера во обыкновенной его конюшне добре чищена и привязана, обретали его часто в конюшне на утрие вспотелаго и огрязненнаго, яко бы ездил в большие пути ноцию. От путешествия того коня происещевали добрыи злыи случаи своих ратеи, и ради того окончания втыкали стоима 6 копей в землю перед храмом парами едино против другога, равно разстоящие между собою, и ко всякой паре привязывали иное копие поперег, толико высоко от земли, что коню возможно и без прыгания было по верхе проити; Потом в день уставленный сему действованию, поп по долгих и торжественных молитвах, взяв с церемониями великими коня за узду, еждаше его чрез три поперечные оные копия. И ежели переступал вся три ногою правою, без всякия помешки правая с левою, в некоторых предреченных чинах известны бываху о победе. И тако во примере противнаго; Идолу же давали третью часть от добычей и от всех корыстей учиненных, и окроме того емуже было в его почтение особливое 300 коней, и 300 человек с его страны, которые за него ходили на войну, которых всю добычу вручали верно попу, которых все полагал в сокровище церковное, откуда никогда не было повольно выняти ни малейшую часть; На всякой год по собрании доходов, жертвовали многие скоты сему Идолу, и тогда же некоторых христиан взятых на войну, которых кровию подтверждал поп, что зело оныи услаждался. После той жертвы приносили круглыи пирог великий, зделанныи из Муста, величеством вместителен содержати единого человека, в которой вшедши поп вопрошал у людей высоким голосом, ежели могут его видети, и все отвечавали ни, обращая молити Идола, да бы в приидущию год хотя мало его могли видети. Само Король Датский, между иных чужестранных, послал сему Идолу едину чарку златую в дар, за что восприял почесть; понеже в кратком времени умер смертью нужною и лютою, что весма не помог ему Святовит.

Затвердели Ругяне в заблуждении Грубианства на 350 лет, дондеже Валдемар Король Датской с сильным флотом соединясь с Казимеровыми и Богославовыми Князеи Померанских, и Прибиславовыми Государя Обостритов Славян, вшедши в Ругию, победил сих людей свирепых, и возложя осил болвану Святовиту на шею, приказал разволочити по всему воиску в присутствии Славян. И потом разсеци на части и сжеч всенародно. Разсыпал храм до основания, со всяким служением побрал сокровищ, и учинил указ, да бы все оставили Идолослужение, и восприяли служение истиннаго Бога, повелел построить 12 церкви своим особливым иждивением, и тако весь остров учинил Христианами.

Яромар Государь Ругянский, утвердил оным людям образом и частыми поученми своими веру Христову, в сердцах шатающихся онаго народа грубого и презестокото паче всякого зверя, который был зело упрям во обращении паче всех протчих народов Славянских моря Венедицкого или Балтийского. Предреченное же забобонство Святовитово у Ругянов имеющее силу, стояло многое время в сердцах у Боемлян, дондеже Блаженный Вичеслав Князь Боемский, дал им Мощи Святого Виты, ради народного их почитания; обаче же не возмог истребити весма память Идола Святовита. Понеже еще и ныне Боемляне не сохраняют поздравления частеишаго и всенароднеишаго, разве под провещеванием имене Вито, приемлюще приятели приезжающих из далека с сими речми ВИТЕИ ВИТЕИ; Показующе срадоватися о их здравии соблюденном дарованием Святовита. Идолослужение сих Славян Венедов по частем. В протчем же имели в политике человеческой изрядные законы, и похвальные обыкности. . . . .

Юлииские в Померании, аки уже последние остались восприяти веру Христову, в лето 1226. Магистр чина Тевктонскаго, вооружился на Славян Прусов, и одолев их тогда, первое ввел веру христианскую на языке Немецком, от чего погас аки весма язык Славян Прусских. . . . .

#### О Славянех Россииских:

. . . Кто желает знати все дела преславныя народа Россииского, найдет тыя собраны в книгах Иеремия Рускаго, Сигизмунда Герберштейна, и Францишка Бизия Бергамскаго, и Краковиты, который описал истинно две Сармации, Россияне же суще погаными имели за Идолов, Перуна /то есть громовое стреляние/ Стриба, Корша, и Мокосла. . . . .

. . . Владимир . . . ввел паки в Киеве Идолослужение и болванопочтение, ихже имяна Перун с главою серебряною, Услад, Корса, Дазва, Стриба, Зимцерла,

Махош, и Кумиры учинены деревянные. . . .

.....

О Аланех:

. . . Не имели ни Церкви, ни Храма, ниже Попов, ниже Богов особливых, ни шалашей, ни кибиток: выняв сабли из ножен, и воткнув голыя в землю, поклонялися им, яко Богу Марсу, егоже верили быти пастыря всем оным местам в них же баталии имели. Имели знание дивное о будущих делех, о которых гадателствовали, собрав некакия прутики прямыя, и разобрав их во время определенное с некоторыми обавании наговорными. . . .

Orbini, *Kniga istoriografija* (St. Petersburg, 1722), pp. 13-15, 45-49, 62-67, 70, 74, 105.

12. *Bangert's edition of Helmold on Slavic gods:*

Postquam ergo mortuus est Kanutus cognomento Lawardus rex Obotritorum, successerunt in locum ejus Pribizlaus atque Niclotus, bipartito principatu, uno scilicet Wagirensium atque Polaborum, altero Obotritorum provinciam gubernante. Fueruntque hi duo truculentae bestiae, Christianis valde infesti. Invaluitque in diebus illis per universam Slaviam multiplex idolorum<sup>(a)</sup> cultura, errorque superstitionum. Nam praeter lucos atque penates, quibus agri & oppida redundabant, primi & praecipui erant, Proue Deus Aldenburgensis terrae, Siwa Dea Polaborum, Radigast Deus terrae Obotritorum. His dicati erant flamines & sacrificiorum libamenta, multiplexque religionis cultus. Poro solennitates diis dicandas sacerdos juxta fortium nutum denunciat, conveniuntque viri & mulieres cum parvulis, mactantque diis suis hostias de bobus & ovibus, plerique etiam de hominibus Christianis, quorum sanguine Deos suos oblectari jactitant. Post caesam hostiam sacerdos de cruore libat, ut fit efficacior oraculis capessendis. Nam sanguine daemonia facilius invitari, multorum opinio est. Consummatis juxta morem sacrificiis, populus ad epulas & plausus convertitur. Est autem Slavorum mirabilis error: nam in conviviis & comotationibus suis, pateram circumferunt, in quam conferunt, non dicam consecrationis sed execrationis verba, sub nomine Deorum, boni scilicet atque mali, omnem prosperam fortunam a bono Deo, adversam a malo dirigi profitentes, ideo etiam malum Deum sua lingua Diabol sive Zcerneboch, id est, nigrum Deum, appellant. Inter multiformia autem Slavorum numina praepollet Zuantevith Deus terrae Rugianorum, utpote efficacior in responsis, cujus intuitu ceteros quasi semideos aestimabant. Unde etiam in peculium honoris annuatim hominem Christicolam, quem fors acceptaverit, eidem litare consueverunt. Quin & de omnibus Slavorum provinciis statutas sacrificiorum impensas illo transmittabant. Mira autem reverentia circa fani diligentiam affecti sunt; nam neque juramentis facile indulgent, neque ambitum fani vel in hostibus temerari patiuntur. Fuit praeterea Slavorum genti crudelitas ingenita, saturari nescia, impatiens ocii, vexans regionum adjacencia terra marique. Quanta enim mortium genera Christicolis intulerint, relatu difficile est, cum his quidem viscera extorserint, palo circumducentes, hos cruci affixerint, irridentes signum redemptionis nostrae. Sceleratissimos enim cruci affigendos autumant: eos autem quos custodiae mancipant pecunia redimendos, tantis torturis & vinculorum nodis

plectunt, ut ignoranti vix opinabile sit.

Idolorum, a) Uti in plurimas gens Slavica erat divisa nationes: ita varia diversis in locis colebat numina, idque tanta cum veneratione, ut eisdem non bestiarum, tantum, sed & Christianorum sanguine crebro litarent. Ex istis tria illa, quae nostris in locis a profana gente mira superstitione culta sunt, quaeque Auctor hic & alibi commemorat, breviter hoc loco describere operae pretium fuerit, ut nos foeditate immanis idolatriae adducti gratis animis immensum veri DEI agnoscamus & depraedicemus beneficium, qui Majores nostros tandem ex Cimmeriis istis paganismi tenebris liberatos in clarissima Evangelii luce locavit, & dispulsa impiae superstitionis caligine animos nostros beata sui cognitione & Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi illustravit.

Prove, Wagriorum deaster, magna in veneratione apud gentem supersitiosissimam habitus fuit. Meminit ejus Auctor & infra c. 69 & 83. Nomen dupliciter effertur: Proue & Prono. Prior lectio est in *MS.L & S.* altera in *Chron. antiquo Saxoniae.* Priorem confirmat nomen vici in Wagria, ubi idolum ejus in luco stetit, qui vicus ab illo *Provenaw* dictus, idem nomen in hunc usque diem retinet. Sunt, qui scribant, etiam in veteri Lubeca aliquod ejus idolum ad cultum stetisse, quorum sententiam cum antiquorum Annalium suffragio destitui videam, suis eam auctoribus relinquo. Hic Prono, virili forma in columna stabat, coronā caput redimitus, oblongis atque erectis auribus, altero pede tintinnabulo insistens, ocreas etiam indutus. Dextrā ferrum rubrum & q. candens tenebat: altera vexilli contum quatiebat. Ferrum qua forma fuerit, non usque adeo certum. Vomeris speciem retulisse quidam non sine causa prodidere. Nostra illa figura ex *Chronico Sax.* expressa est; in quo vocatur *ein provensen*, quasi dicas, ferrum probationis, forte quod in ipsius luco & fano, & ad sacras illas quercus, inter quas stabat idolum, (uti refertur infra c. 83) qui criminis alicujus rei essent, contrectatione ferri aut vomeris candentis examinandi & explorandi essent. Ita enim illa examinis per ferrum superstitio in Wagriorum animis radices egerat, ut eam ne tunc quidem, cum jam ad veri Dei cultum operā Episcoporum & sacerdotum erudirentur, deponere prorsus vellent. Vide infra c. 83.

Radegastus, celebre Obotritorum numen, praecipua quadam religione a coeca gente diu cultus fuit. Totus ille in urbe Rethra in fano suo stabat aureus, uti scribit *Heimo Udo* supra c. 2. n. 7. Capillis capitis avicula dispassis alis inhaerebat. Pectori tauri caput nigrum, gentis insignia, additum, quod dextra fulciebat. Sinistra bipennem jactabat. Imaginem ejus ex *Chronico Saxon.* adjecimus. Nomen illi a Radegasto, Rege quondam Obotritorum bellicosissimo, inditum fuisse putatur. Hunc enim cum post res magnas feliciter gestas & praeclara edita facinora in praelio (sic!) occubisset, pro numine colere

coeperunt. Si quis tamen contendat, idolum Rege fuisse anti-  
 quius, & hunc ab illo denominatum esse, non multum refragabor.  
 Sed cum illa Rethre in Pomerania sita fuerit, & vero praecipue  
 ab Obotritis Radegastus cultus sit, etiam in urbe Mechlenburgo,  
 atque vicino oppido Gadebuscho templa illi & statuas dicatas  
 fuisse, *Reimarus Kock Chronico Lubec. MS.* ex veterum Annalibus  
 retulit: atque inde Gadebuscho nomen inditum, ut Dei lucus  
 vocaretur. Res confirmatur etiam appellatione amnis, qui  
 Gadebuschum alluit, & inde ab ipso oppido Gadebuscho longo per  
 agrum Melchlenburgensem tractu Radegastus nuncupatur, donec  
 Stöpenissae nomen ille subit; quod retinet, donec in lacum  
 Dassoviensem se exonerat. Sed & vicus post tertium a Gadebuscho  
 lapidem superest, cui idem in hunc usque diem nomen. Ostentant  
 etiam incolae oppidi in templo Gadebuschiano genus metalli in  
 fenestra versus Occidentem, cujus simile hodie nulli artifices  
 norint. Atque id de corona statuae Radegasti superesse ex  
 Majorum traditione dictitant.

*Ditmarus*, Episcopus Merseburgensis, qui circa annum Chris-  
 ti clo (!) vixit, in literas retulit, in Redariorum pago,  
 i. e. districtu, urbem antiquam Riedegast fuisse. In hac fanum  
 affabre factum, in parietibus fani deorum & dearum imagines  
 mirifice sculptas extitisse. Urbem binominem, & eandem cum  
 Rethre fuisse, atque alterum nomen ab idolo suo Radegasto  
 traxisse vero simile est. Vide *Ditmar*, l. VI. p. 65.

Nec a veritate alienum videri potest, Radegasto aut  
 semper, ex quo ille Numinis loco haberi coepit, plura templa  
 dicata in his locis fuisse, idque exemplo aliorum Deorum, quorum  
 nomini diversis in locis fana consecrate fuere, aut, cum Otto M.  
 anno 960. urbem Rethram cum Radegasto idolo everteret, & tamen  
 Auctor noster tempore Pribislai & Nicloti, i. e. circa annum  
 1130. post annos videlicet 170. Radegastum ab Obotricis cultum  
 esse commemoret, illam gentem antiquae atque avitae supersi-  
 tionis tenacissimam Radegasti idolum aliis in locis denuo  
 statuisset, & Majorum numina retinuisse, donec ipsa tota abjecto  
 idolorum cultu ad CHRISTI fidem conversa est.

Qui genealogiam Principum Mechlenburgensium ad Anthyrium  
 referunt, caput illud taurinum a Bucephalo Alexandri M. esse  
 contendunt. Anthyrium enim Alexandro militasse, & postquam ille  
 in fata concessisset, ad suos Obotritos navi reversum esse,  
 atque insignia bucephali caput in prora, gryphum in puppi  
 ostentasse; quam sententiam nos in suspenso reliquimus.

Radegastus autem, ut illud de nomine adjiciamus, Graecis  
 Βοδογᾶστος, ut *Zosimo l. V. in Arcadio & Honorio*, & in  
*Olympiodori Excerptis*, Latinis nonnullis Radegaisus appellatur,  
 ut *Isidoro Hispalensi Chron. Goth. Era 437. Freculpho Episcopo*  
*Chron Tom. II. l. 5. c. 5. Gast*, vox nostra, non, ut hodie,  
 hospitem, sed quemvis hominem ad omnia promptum & habilem  
 significabat. Multae hinc apud veteres appellationes, cum hac  
 voce compositae. Inter *Auctores Legis Salicae* apud *Basilium*  
*Joann. Herold* occurrunt Bodogast, Salogast, Windogast, &  
 Wisogast. *Carolus M. Praefatione Capitulorum*, quae ad Legem

Longobardorum addenda, scribit Ducibus, Comitibus & Gastaldiis. *Leg. Francor. l. IV.* Alias voces hinc factas collegit *Meibomius Not. in Witichind, pag. 42.*

Sivva Raceburgensium Dea fuit. Stabat illa utraque manu in tergum rejecta, altera uvam cum folio viridi, pomum aureum altera tenens. Capilli per tergum ad poplites usque fluebant. Ea Venus Polaborum fuit, atque uti nonnulli autumant eodem in monte culta fuit, in quo postea ab Henrico Leone templum cathedrale conditum. Apud eosdem ei lucum dicatum ferunt, quem in eodem monte fuisse, credibile est.

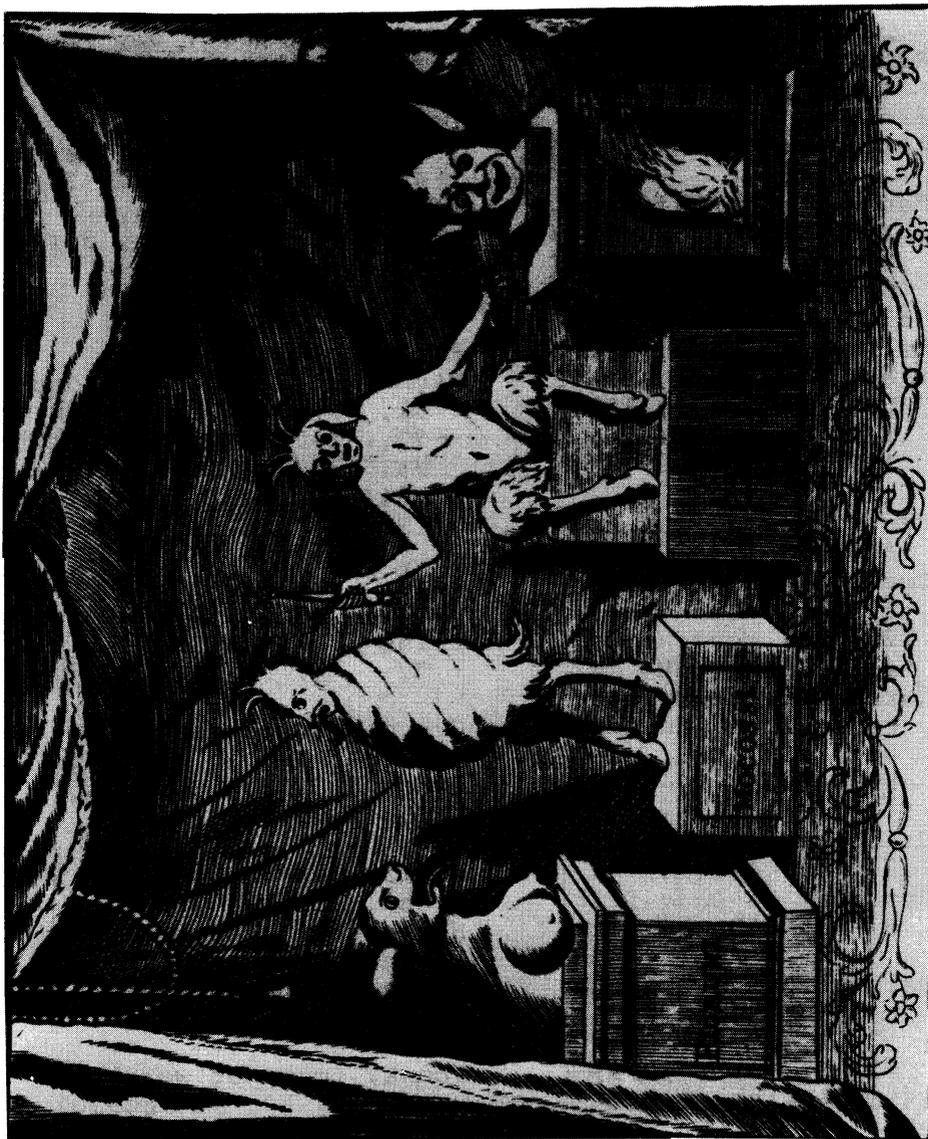
Podaga, Plunensium idolum, cujus Auctor infra c. 83 meminit, qua forma fuerit, nulli scriptores, quod equidem sciam memoriae prodidere.

Helmoldus, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Bangertus (Lubecae, 1659), pp. 125-127.

13. *Schleusing on Slavic gods:*

. . . Es ist nich unbekant, und die historien bezeugen es, dass vor der Regierung der Printzessin Ola and ihres Enckels, des Printzen Wolodimirs, die Russen oder Moscowiter noch gantz in Heidenthum gesteckt, so dass sie die Bilder ihrer falschen Götter Pioruni, Stribi, Chorsi and Mocossi anbeteten. Ich habe die Figuren dieser Götzen von einem zum Christenthum bekehrten Juden, der sich nach Russischer Art hatte tauffen lassen, bekommen, und habe auch das meiste, so ich allhier von der Moscowitischen Religion anführe, von ihm, als welcher eine vollkommene Wissenschaft davon hatte, erfahren. Über die erwehnte vier Götzen, hatten die Moscowiter noch andere falsche Götter, als den Jupiter, Saturnus, Mars, & & davon zu lesen Martinus Cromer, I. 3. *Rer. Polon.* wie auch Paul. Jovius, *Lib. de Legat. Basil. M. Principis Moscov. ad Clement, VII. Pontif.*

Schleusing, *Religion der Moscowiter* (Franckfurt am Mayn und Leipzig, 1712), pp.4-5. Illustration on next page.



## INDEX MYTHOLOGICUM

- Abelio, 72, 77  
 Aphrodite see *Venus*  
 Arcona (Rügen), temple, 32, 42  
 Astaroth, 72, 77  
 Astarte, 72, 77  
 Ares see *Mars*  
 Artemis see *Diana*
- Bacchus, identified with *Lado*, 17-18; *Xors*, 81, 86-87, 91, 100; in *Scythia*, 90-91  
 Belenus, 73, 77  
 Belbog (Belboch, Belbuck, etc.), 31, 39, 41-42, 69, 70-72, 77, 102, 121(126), 122(128), 135(22)
- Castor and Pollux see *Lel and Polel*
- Ceres (Demeter), identified with *Kupalo*, 17, 20, 86; *Marzana*, 33, 41-42; *Nya*, 38  
 Černebog (Černyj bog, Czerneboch, Zerneboch, etc.), 31, 39, 41-42, 69, 70-71, 76-77, 116 (28)
- Czech paganism, 40, 69, 74, 79, 134(16)
- Cupidon, as *Lado-Lelo*, 81-83, 100, 141(21)
- Dažbog (Dasva, Dašuba, Dažd'bog, etc.), 14, 17, 21-22, 37, 40, 42-43, 63-64, 81, 99, 130(15-16), 139(2)
- Diana (Artemis), 26, as *Dziewana*, 33, 41-42
- Dead, burial and cremation, 91-92, 147(18)
- Demeter see *Ceres*
- Dido, as *Kievan goddess*, 81-83, 86, 91, 100, 117(51), 140(12), 141(21)
- Divo (Deva, Dziwa) see *Siva*
- Dualism, Slavic, 31. See also *Belbog* and *Černebog*
- Dzydzileyla (Dzidzilia, Didilia, Zizilia), 33, 41-42, 116(41), 141(15)
- Dziewana (Dziewanna, Zievana, Zevonia), 33, 41-42
- Edusa, 73, 77
- Enil see *Hennil*
- Etymological speculations, 31, 41; *Tatiščev's*, 67, 70, 78-79, 80, 84, 90, 98, 113(114), 133(5), 134(19), 136(37), 137-138(69), 142(33-34)
- Fire, Slavs' worship of, 31, 62-65, 131(23-25)
- Flins (Flints, Pliis), 73, 77
- Groves, trees, and mountains, Slavs' worship of, 31, 62. See also *Zutibure*
- Helios, as *Dažbog*
- Hennil (Enil), 73, 77
- Hephaestus (Feost), as *Svarog*, 63
- Hymen, compared to *Lado*, 17
- Icons, improper worship of, 10, 59, 94-96, 101, (149(9))
- Idolatry and Superstition, among Slavs, 62-65; views on, *Dimitrij of Rostov*, 23-24, 127-(34); *Prokopovyč*, 27, 61, 111(104-105); *Tatiščev*,

- 9-10, 53-61, 65, 92-96, 100-101, 126(23); Van Dale and Fontenelle, 50-51; Walch, 51-61, 65. See also *Materialistic worship, Monotheism, Polytheism*
- Idols, see under individual deities, places, and nationalities
- Jupiter (Jove, Jovisz, Dij, Zeus), as Jesza, 33, 41-42; compared to Lado, 17; compared to *Perun* and *Thor*, 84-86, 90-91, 100, 143(36); worshipped in Russia, 39, 44; in Scythia, 88-91, 141(25)
- Kievan gods, 14-23, 27, 33-34, 36-40, 42, 63-65, 81-87, 99. See also individual deities
- Koljada, 17-21, 27, 107(32)
- Kumeri (Cumeri), 37, 40, 42
- Kupalo, 17-21, 23, 27, 81, 84, 86, 91, 100, 107(32), 109(71)
- Lada (Liada), 21, 33-34, 36, 38, 117(50-51), 140(13), 141(14, 20). See also *Lado*
- Lado, 17-18, 20-21, 23, 27, 36, 38, 82-83, 117(51), 140(13), 141(14, 20). See also *Lada*
- Lado-Lelo, son of *Dido*, 81-83, 86, 100, 117(51)
- Lakes, springs and wells, Slavs' worship of, 31, 62
- Leda, mother of Castor and Pollux, 22, 41, 82; the same as *Lada*, 34 117(50), 140(13); same as *Mars*, 42, 140(13)
- Lel and Polel (Castor and Pollux), 21-22, 34, 38, 41, 81-83, 117(50-51), 140(13)
- Lelo see *Lado-Lelo*
- Lithuanian paganism, 17, 37, 38, 42, 82, 140(9)
- Mars (Ares), the same as *Lada*, 33, 117(50); as *Leda*, 41-42; as *Marzana*, 36; as *Stribog*, 81, 86-87, 91, 100; in Scythia, 88-90; worshipped in Russia, 39, 42, 44, 87
- Materialistic worship, Tatiščev's views on, 59-60, 64-65, 101, 128-129(49)
- Marzana (Marcana), 33, 36, 38, 41-42
- Mercury, as Lelo, 81, 83, 100. See also *Lado-Lelo*
- Mokoš (Makos, Moško, Macosch, etc.), 14, 17, 20-22, 27, 34, 36-37, 40, 42-44, 64, 81-82, 87, 99, 123-124(158), 140(8), 144(43)
- Monotheism, primitive, views on, Arnkiel, 45; Tatiščev, 59-61, 92, 100; Walch, 59; of Slavs, 29, 129(50)
- Moon, 56, 60, Slavs' worship of, 62-63, 65, 131(24-26)
- Mountains see *Groves, trees, and mountains*
- Myths, views on and interest in, Dimitrij of Rostov, 23-24, 109(71), Fontenelle and Van Dale, 50-51, Galjatovskij, 109-110(82), Gaultruche, 49-50, Herodotus, 88, Prokopovyč, 25-28, 111(98, 101), Simeon of Polock, 108-109(69), Tatiščev, 49-51, 91

- Neptune (Poseidon), 26, 89, as *Kupalo*, 81, 86, 91, 100.
- Novgorod idols, 15, 38, 87, 122(145), 144(44)
- Nymphs see *Rusalki*
- Nya, 33, 38, 41
- Odin (Othin, Wodan), 30, 32, 73, 75, 85, 136(32); worshipped by Slavs, 73, 75, 77
- Oracles, Tatiščev's, Fontenelle's and Van Dale's views on, 49-51, 101
- Perun (Pero, Perkunas), 14-15, 17-18, 20-21, 23, 26-27, 33-34, 36-38, 40, 42-44, 64, 77, 81-82, 84-86, 90-91, 99-100, 118(58), 123(158), 139(1-2), 140(9), 143(36), 144(41)
- Podaga, 31, 39, 70, 80
- Pogoda, 33, 41, 42, 70, 80
- Polabian deities, 29-32, 35-36, 39, 41-42, 45, 65, 66-80, 98-99. See also individual deities
- Polish paganism, 21, 32-38, 41, 65, 81-83, 86, 99-100. See also individual deities
- Polycephalous gods, 30, 32, 39, 67, 68-69, 74, 77. See also *Porenut*, *Porevit*, *Rugievit*, *Triglav*, *Svantevit*
- Polytheism, Tatiščev's and Walch's views on, 53, 55, 60-61
- Porenut, 32, 69, 77, 136(38, 40)
- Porevit (Parevid, Puruvit, Pjativid), 32, 69, 74, 77, 98, 116(28)
- Poseidon see *Neptune*
- Poxvist (Pogwizd, Pochwisciel, Pozvizd), 12, 17-18, 20-21, 27, 34, 41, 106(28-29)
- Pluto, compared to *Lado*, 17-18, 20, 38; *Nya*, 33, 41
- Prove (Prone, Prono, Pronote, Prave, etc.), 31, 35-36, 39, 41, 69-70, 74, 77, 80, 136(40, 42)
- Radegast (Redigast, Radigost, Radoist, etc.), 30, 31-32, 35-36, 39, 41, 74, 77-79, 136(48), 137(52-59)
- Riedegost, temple, 29, 30, 78
- Rinvit, 116(28)
- Rugievit (Rugievič, Rugevit), 32, 74, 77
- Rusalki (Nymphs), 82, 86-87, 100, 109(71)
- Russian gods see *Kievan gods*
- Sacrifices, 14-15, 29, 37, 50, 62, 64
- Sarmatian paganism, 19, 63, 81, 84-86, 90-92, 99-100, 122(145)
- Saturn, worshipped in Russia, 39, 44
- Scandinavian gods, 30-32, 85, 136(32), 143(36). See also *Varangian paganism* and individual deities
- Scythian gods of Herodotus, 87-91, 100, 146(1-2)
- Semargl (Simargl, Simaergla, Zimcerla), 14, 17, 21-22, 37, 40, 42-43, 64, 81, 99, 139(2-3)
- Siva (Siwa, Sivve, Sieba, Shiwa), 31, 39, 41, 75, 79, 80. See also *Żywie*
- Springs see *Lakes, springs and wells*
- Stars, 45, 56, 60; Slavs'

- worship of, 131(23)
- Stribog (Striba), 14, 17, 21-22, 34, 36-37, 40, 42-44, 64, 81-82, 86-87, 91, 99-100, 123-124 (158), 144(46)
- Sun, 56, 60; Slavs' worship of, 62-65, 131 (23, 25-26)
- Superstition, see *Idolatry and Superstition*
- Svantevit (Suantouitus, Svjantovid, Svjatovit, Zuantewith, etc.), 31-32, 35-36, 39, 41-42, 68-69, 75, 79-80, 116 (28), 134(16), 137-138 (69)
- Svarožič (Zuarasici), 29-30, 77
- Svarog (god of Svarov), 14, 63, 130(14)
- Temperies, 33
- Thor, 30, 32; as *Perun*, 81, 84-86, 90-91, 100, 143 (36, 40); worshipped in Russia, 86, 144(41)
- Tjarnoglofi, 116(28)
- Trees see *Groves, trees and mountains*
- Tur, Slavic demon or deity, 20-21, 144(41)
- Turova božnica, 144(41)
- Turupid, 116(28)
- Ukrainian gods, see *Kievan gods*
- Uslad (Oslad), 21-22, 37, 40, 42-43, 139(3)
- Varangian paganism, 63, 81, 84-85, 92, 99, 100
- Venus (Venera, Aphrodite), as *Dido*, 81, 91, 100, 141(21); as *Dzydzileyla* (Didilia, Zizilia), 33, 41-42, 83; as *Marzana*, 38; in Scythia, 88-89
- Vitus, St., worshipped as pagan deity, 79. See also *Svantevit*
- Volos, 15, 17, 20-23, 27, 37, 81, 87, 139(1-3)
- Wells see *Lakes, springs and wells*
- Wodan see *Odin*
- Xors (Corsa, Korsa, Korssa), 14, 17, 20-22, 34, 36-37, 40, 42-44, 64, 81-82, 86-87, 91, 99, 123(158), 140(8), 144(45)
- Zabota (Sabatus, Sabotus), 74, 79-80
- Zernebuck, see *Černebog*
- Zievana see *Dziewana*
- Zizilia see *Dzydzileyla*
- Zobten, holy mountain, see *Zabota*
- Zutibure (Zit Tiber, Zuttibor, Žitibor), holy grove, 29, 76, 80
- Żywie, 33. See also *Siva*