



Slavica 50th Anniversary Reissue

Lord Novgorod the Great

**Essays in the History and Culture of
a Medieval City-State**

by Henrik Birnbaum

From the Publisher

This book represents the sixth 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, 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 them with colleagues and students.

Lord Novgorod the Great: Essays in the History and Culture of a Medieval City-State is one of several major works Henrik Birnbaum produced as part of his extensive research in this area, including a second book with Slavica in 1996 (*Novgorod in Focus*, still in print as of this writing). Two other books appeared with other publishers, so this topic manifestly constituted one of the major touchstones of his long and eminent research career.

Slavica would like to express its sincere thanks to Marianna Birnbaum 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
13 June 2016

LORD NOVGOROD

THE GREAT

UCLA SLAVIC STUDIES

Volume 2

**Published under the auspices of
the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures,
University of California, Los Angeles**

LORD NOVGOROD

THE GREAT

Essays in the History and Culture of a Medieval City-State

Part One:
THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By

Henrik Birnbaum

1981

Slavica Publishers, Inc.

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

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

ISBN: 0-89357-088-5.

Copyright © 1981 by Henrik Birnbaum; all rights reserved.

Text set by Randy Bowlus.

Printed in the United States of America.

In Memory of
Alexander V. Issatschenko

Au XV^e, même au commencement du XVI^e siècle, il y avait encore dans la marche des événements en Russie une fluctuation telle qu'il n'était point décidé lequel des deux principes formant la vie populaire et politique aurait le dessus: le prince ou la commune, Moscou ou Novgorod. Novgorod, libre du joug mongol, grande et forte, mettant toujours les droits des communes au-dessus des droits des princes, cité habituée à se croire souveraine, métropole ayant de vastes ramifications coloniales en Russie, Novgorod était riche par le commerce actif qu'elle entretenait avec les villes anséatiques. Moscou, fidèle fief de ses princes, s'élevant sur les ruines des anciennes villes par la grâce des Mongols, ayant une nationalité exclusive, n'ayant jamais connu la véritable liberté communale de la période de Kiev, Moscou l'emporta; mais Novgorod aussi a eu des chances pour elle, ce qui explique la lutte acharnée entre ces deux villes . . . La Russie pouvait être sauvée par le développement des institutions communales ou par l'absolutisme d'un seul. Les événements prononcèrent en faveur de l'absolutisme, la Russie fut sauvée; elle est devenue forte, grande; mais à quel prix? C'est le pays le plus malheureux du globe, le plus asservi; Moscou a sauvé la Russie, en étouffant tout ce qu'il y avait de libre dans la vie russe.

A. Herzen (A. I. Gertsen), *Sobraniye sochineniy v tridtsati tomakh*, T. 7-oy, Moscow, 1956, pp. 31-2.

С самого начала политическая организация Новгорода и новгородских земель существенно отличалась от остальных удельных территорий своей своеобразно демократической, почти республиканской формой правления. Ограниченность власти князя и наместника, руководящая роль парламента („вече“), живой торговый и культурный обмен с мореплавательскими странами Прибалтики, почти полное отсутствие политической угрозы со стороны кочевнической степи, необходимость технически равняться на технику вооружений и военную тактику войск Тевтонского Ордена—все это оставило глубокий след на государственном устройстве, политическом мышлении и экономическом складе города-государства и решающим образом затронуло быт его жителей.

A. V. Isachenko, *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1973), p. 50.

Contents

Foreword	11
Novgorod's Legendary Beginnings	
The Testimony of Historiography and Archeology	13
Five Centuries of Dependence and Independence	
The Political Backdrop for Novgorod's Cultural History	40
Topography and Demography	
A Horizontal and a Vertical View of Novgorod's Population	55
The Art of Statecraft	
Institutions and Ideologies in the Republic of Novgorod	82
Notes	101
Chronological Tables	131
Bibliography	153

Foreword

The four essays appearing in this volume form part of a broader treatment of medieval Novgorod, its history and culture. It is intended both for the specialist with a different area or time focus and for the general reader. Conceived originally as a book-length cultural history of the North Russian city-state, the research involved and the pertinent writing were subsequently altered and reorganized so as to yield a series of individual studies, rather than one single comprehensive monograph, without however cutting into the overall scope initially envisaged. Thus, these essays retain the basic goal of the originally planned book: to combine independent research with a readable presentation of a particular variety of the East European cultural legacy. The four studies included in the first part are designed to provide the necessary general background, prehistoric as well as recorded, against which to view this specific brand of medieval civilization in Eastern Europe. Topics to be treated in the sequels to this first volume include: "On Language, Literacy, and Oral Tradition in Novgorod," "From Birchbark Message to Verbal Art," "The Perception of This World and the Other," "The Artist and the Artisan," "The Churches of Novgorod," "The Frescoes and Icons of Medieval Novgorod," "Orthodoxy and Heresy in Declining Novgorod," and "Novgorod in the Perspective of Half a Millennium."

My own interest in Old Novgorod dates back many years. Some of my previous relevant research is referred to on the following pages, along with many contributions by other specialists in the field, active in the past or working at the present time. I am indebted to a great many of them irrespective of whether I could always embrace their particular views or was unable to share some of them. A few to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude shall be mentioned here by name. They are: Academician D. S. Likhachev (Leningrad), Professors K. Onasch (Halle), A. Poppe (Warsaw), V. L. Yanin (Moscow), and Dr. N. J. Dejevsky (Oxford). All of them, and many others, have assisted me in various ways by offering their advice, sharing their expertise, and referring me to secondary literature other than the obvious and to primary source material as yet untapped.

A dear friend, whom the acknowledgment of my gratitude can no longer reach, was Professor A. V. Issatschenko. A bold and unorthodox scholar, breaking new ground and advancing challenging hypotheses also regarding Novgorod, he was bent on exposing ideologically entrenched notions and shaking prevailing misconceptions. Even if some of his own ideas were on occasion overly speculative or proved untenable, this does not detract from the originality of his thought and from the

fresh flavor of his perceptive observations. These essays on medieval Novgorod — Russia's first true window to the West — are dedicated to the memory of this inspiring Westernizer.

I am further much obliged to many institutions and individuals for their support and assistance. In addition to regularly receiving, over a number of years, individual grants from the Committee on Research of the UCLA Academic Senate, a substantial share of which has benefited my study of medieval Novgorod, I was the recipient of a major research grant from the National Endowment of the Humanities awarded for the purpose of furthering my Novgorod-related research. With funds coming from this grant I was able not only to employ advanced graduate students and young scholars over a period of three years as my research assistants, but this support has also made it possible for me to travel to the Soviet Union and Scandinavia for study and other work in Novgorod and Pskov, as well as in Moscow and Leningrad, Tallinn and Riga. In Scandinavia, I was able to consult and view relevant materials in Stockholm and Visby, and to attend the Eighth Meeting of Scandinavian Slavists convened at Askov, Denmark, in the fall of 1977; in the special conference section devoted to Novgorod, I had an opportunity to present some of my preliminary findings and ideas and to take part in the formal and informal discussions with colleagues in the field. The grant received from NEH has, moreover, enabled me to acquire a number of specialized publications, particularly some early and rare ones, in addition to not otherwise easily accessible materials on Novgorodian art and architecture indispensable for my studies. By courtesy of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies one of the Center's research assistants was temporarily assigned to me for work on my Novgorod project. My thanks also go to the UCLA Center for Russian and East European Studies for making its facilities and equipment available for the production of this volume. Professor Charles E. Gribble of SLAVICA Publishers, Columbus, Ohio, has — as many times before — generously supported my efforts to disseminate the results of my research.

Last but not least, I would like to thank those persons, research assistants and others, on whom I have been able to rely in the course of preparing the final typescript as well as in matters of English style. They are, in the order of their employment with me, Dr. Shirley Tabata Ponomareff, Ms. Grace Fielder, Mr. John Dingley, Ms. Lori Jennings, and Mr. Randy Bowlus. I am also indebted to Mr. Noel Diaz, the UCLA Cartographer, for drawing the more difficult plans and maps appearing in this volume. And, finally, I would like to thank my wife, Marianna D. Birnbaum, for the advice she has given me regarding both style and substance of this book.

Pacific Palisades, California, December 1980.

Henrik Birnbaum

Novgorod's Legendary Beginnings

The Testimony of Historiography and Archeology

The Northeast European Plain, extending from the Baltic Sea to the Ural Mountains, is broken by an elevation which at one point measures 1053 feet. This range, the Valdai Hills, reaches from south of the source area of the Western Dvina (Daugava) to the southern tip of Lake Onega. It separates the northwestern portion of Russia and the adjacent Baltic countries of Latvia and Estonia from the rest of North Russia, forming a natural watershed. The rivers west of it run into the Baltic or bodies of water connected with that sea while most rivers east of the Valdai Hills belong to the Upper Dnieper and Volga basins and ultimately empty into the Black and Caspian Seas. It is here, in the Valdai Hills, that the Volga originates. Parallel with and some fifty – one hundred miles west of these hills, two smaller rivers, the Lovat' and the Volkhov, run north-northeast. The former falls into Lake Il'men'; the latter links that lake with Lake Ladoga a good hundred and twenty miles to the north. It is just north of Lake Il'men', a few miles up the Volkhov — roughly one hundred miles south of Leningrad and about three hundred twenty miles northwest of Moscow — that present-day Novgorod, the descendant of the ancient Russian city, is located. Despite its inhospitable position on the southern edge of the virtually uncultivable taiga, the site must have seemed attractive as a potential place of permanent settlement to the first men living in the area just as it would to early arrivals from faraway regions. Considering that the water level centuries ago was much higher than it is today, this appeal is understandable given the protection offered by Lake Il'men', the Volkhov, and a whole system of smaller tributary rivers and streams as well as inaccessible marshes (once to a large extent shallow lakes) and vast forests.

Who were these local tribes and travelers from distant lands who came to the Il'men'-Volkhov basin, to the crossroads of several major waterways connecting the seas of northern and southern Europe and linking up with yet farther trade routes — to the Middle East and beyond? Before addressing this question we must take a brief look at some of the disciplines prepared to suggest an answer.

The beginnings of Novgorod are shrouded in a mist of legend and lore. For any factual information about its founding — if indeed we can speak of such a specific event and not merely of the gradual growth of a small settlement or, rather, the merging of several neighboring villages into one larger township — and about its earlier existence we depend primarily on the findings and inferences of archeologists and prehistorians. Significant, increasingly precise, and revealing though they no doubt are, the conclusions reached by these scholars, nonetheless, are not always entirely reliable and incontestable. To exemplify the tentative and approximate nature of some of their claims we can mention the necessary corrective adjustments, known in the trade as calibrations, of otherwise highly impressive radiocarbon dating. Also, in the particular instance of ascertaining the origins of Novgorod, the results of archeological and prehistoric research are frequently colored by heated arguments between various groupings of specialists (e.g., the Moscow vs. the Leningrad “school” of archeology) and crucial issues are often blurred by irrelevant nationalist considerations and political controversies (cf., e.g., the mutual accusations for “Normanist” and “anti-Normanist” bias leveled by Soviet and Scandinavian scholars, respectively). Moreover, even cautious and circumspect inquiry has on occasion yielded but preliminary answers in need of subsequent modification. Yet it ought to be stated that the findings of archeologists and prehistorians — based on dendrochronology, stratigraphic analysis, and other methods — are of paramount importance for elucidating the beginnings of the early urban community on the Volkhov as well as the extant traces of pre-urban settlement in that region. As the Soviet archeologist and historian V. L. Yanin has stated with specific reference to medieval Novgorod, an integrated evaluation of relevant data, reconciling preliterate testimony with written records, is bound to minimize possible misreadings of the available evidence.¹

For in addition to archeological finds and other artifacts devoid of writing, there are also primary historical sources, slanted though their presentation sometimes turns out to be, which shed light on pertinent facts and events. The first systematic account of local — Novgorodian — origin, the so-called Synodal copy of the older version of the First Novgorod Chronicle, does not provide any information on these matters. It begins *in medias res* by reporting on certain occurrences of the year 1016, the initial portion of the text being lost. However, the younger version of the same annals explicitly mentions the earliest developments in the area, including the founding of its first towns. Here, toward the end of the entry for the year 854 (or 6362 by the chronicler’s count), bearing the heading “The Beginning of the Land of Rus’,” we read:

In the time of Kyi and Shchek and Khoriv [there were] the people of Novgorod, called Slovene, and the Krivichi and the Merya. The Slovene had their territory, and the Krivichi theirs, and the Merya theirs; each ruled over their tribe; and the Chud’ [ruled] over their own tribe. And they paid tribute to the Varangians, a white squirrel [skin] per man. And those

[Varangians] that were among them exerted force upon the Slovene, the Krivichi, and upon the Merya and the Chud'. And the Slovene and the Krivichi and the Merya and the Chud' rose against the Varangians and drove them out beyond the sea. And they began to rule themselves and to set up towns. And they rose to fight against each other and there was a great war and feud among them; and town rose against town, and there was no law among them. And they said to themselves: "Let us look for a prince who would rule over us and govern us according to the law." And they went beyond the sea to the Varangians and said: "Our land is vast and abundant, but there is no order among us; come to us to rule over us and to govern us." They (= the Varangians) chose three brothers with their kinsmen, and they took with them a large and marvelous retinue, and they came to Novgorod. And the oldest settled in Novgorod; his name was Rurik. . . And from these Varangians, these arrivals, Rus' got its name, and it is from them that it is called the land of Rus'; and the Novgorodian people are of Varangian stock to this very day.²

Similar information on the subject of Novgorod, though in this particular regard not quite as explicit and coherent, can be found in the most important chronicle of medieval Russia, the so-called Nestor Chronicle, written in the Russian South and also known as the Primary Chronicle (or, translating its Russian name, *Povest' vremennykh let*, Tale of Bygone Years). Scattered through passages in the opening section and in a couple of early entries of that chronicle, the references to Novgorod and the surrounding area at the dawn of Russian history read:

The Slavs (= Slovene) also dwelt about Lake Il'men', and were known there by their characteristic name. They built a city which they called Novgorod. . . . By following the Lovat', the great lake Il'men' is reached. The river Volkhov flows out of this lake and enters the great lake Nevo (= Ladoga). The mouth of this lake opens into the Varangian (= Baltic) Sea.

Entry for 859 (6367):

The Varangians from beyond the sea imposed tribute upon the Chuds, the Slavs (= Slovene), the Merians, the Ves', and the Krivichians.

And the entry for 863 (6370), adding a few details:

They (= the Varangians) thus selected three brothers, with their kinsfolk, who took with them all the Russes (or: Rusians) and migrated. The oldest, Rurik, located himself in Novgorod. . . . On account of these Varangians, the district of Novgorod became known as the land of Rus'. The present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the Varangian race, but aforetime they were Slavs (= Slovene). . . . In these cities (viz., Polotsk,

Rostov, and Beloozero) there are thus Varangian colonists, but the first settlers were, in Novgorod, Slavs (= Slovene); in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves'; in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians. Rurik had dominion over all these districts.³

As can be seen from these passages, Novgorod and Novgorodians are first mentioned in an entry for the year 854 (in the First Novgorod Chronicle) and in an introductory section not marked for a specific date (in the Nestor Chronicle). Also, the reference in the local town chronicle is in such general terms that the year of that entry has not been considered particularly significant. In a later chronicle compilation, the so-called Patriarchal copy of the Nikon Chronicle (dating from the sixteenth century), "the Slovene, that is, the Novgorodians" are mentioned in an entry for 859 (6367) as well as in an immediately preceding, undated paragraph on the Varangians, and previously, in the same text, in connection with the presumed migrations of the Slavs:

But the Slavs (= Slovene) who had come from the Danube settled near Lake Ilmer' (= Il'men') and were called by their name, and they founded a city and called it Novgorod, and they appointed Gostomysl as [their] elder.⁴

Finally, regarding the testimony of the Russian chronicles of the Middle Ages, it may be noted that they are, by and large, unanimous in pointing to an indigenous Slavic population of early Novgorod or, at any rate, in the region around Lake Il'men' at the time of the — second — arrival of the Varangian Northmen. The leader of the settlers from Scandinavia, Rurik (or Rurik), is attributed a particular role in the origins and naming of the city where, presumably, he established himself. It is worth mentioning, however, that in the oldest extant manuscript of the Nestor Chronicle, the so-called Laurentian copy (written in 1377 by the monk Lavrentiy for Prince Dimitriy Konstantinovich of Suzdal'), there is a blank after Rurik's name, and the phrase "located himself in Novgorod" (or, more literally, "sat in Novgorod") has been supplied from another variant of that chronicle, the so-called Troitsa or Trinity copy (written around 1400 and subsequently destroyed by the 1812 Moscow fire). By the same token, in the other major version of the Nestor Chronicle, represented by the so-called Hypatian copy (dating from c. 1425), and also in three other manuscripts of which two generally follow the Laurentian text more closely (the Radziwill copy from c. 1490, the Academy copy from c. 1450, while the Khlebnikov copy of the mid-sixteenth century goes back to a prototype underlying the Hypatian copy), Rurik is said to have settled in Ladoga after the Varangians had first built (or, to render the Old Russian wording more closely, "carpentered," literally, "cut") that town. The chronicle's Ladoga is today's Staraya Ladoga, near the estuary of the Volkhov into Lake Ladoga. Though this substitution of Ladoga for Novgorod may very well be explained as an alteration introduced only in a later, namely, the third version of the Nestor Chronicle (associated with Prince Mstislav, son of

Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh of Kiev), it nonetheless probably echoes a local tradition kept alive in Ladoga. Nothing seems to contradict the possibility that the Varangians, recalled to North Russia by local Slavic and Finnic tribes and now headed by Ryurik (Hrœrekr, in Old Norse), first built or reinforced the town of Ladoga — the Aldeigjuborg of the ancient Nordic sagas — on a previously inhabited site, to judge by archeological evidence. Thereafter they could have moved up the Volkhov, settling in or near an already existing Novgorod or at the location where this community was soon to develop. In fact, precisely this sequence of events is suggested by the testimony of several manuscripts of the Nestor Chronicle (Radziwill, Academy, Hypatian, and Khlebnikov copies) a few lines later in the text.⁵

In comparing and supplementing the data of the Old Russian chronicles with pertinent references found in historical sources outside Russia, it should be pointed out that Novgorod is widely believed to have been specifically mentioned for the first time in the famous treatise known as *De Administrando Imperio*. This manual of statecraft was compiled and written by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus sometime between 948 and 952; its final version, designed as a political guide for his son Romanus, dates from 951-2. Here, the opening sentence of chapter nine, "Of the coming of the Russians in *monoxyla* (i.e., dugouts hollowed out of a single tree-trunk) from Russia to Constantinople," reads:

The 'monoxyla' which come down from outer Russia to Constantinople are from Novgorod, where Sviatoslav, son of Igor, prince of Russia, had his seat, and others from the city of Smolensk and from Teliutza (= Lyubech) and Chernigov and from Vyshegrad.⁶

The Greek form of Novgorod's name is given, in the genitive, as (*apò tou*) *Nemogardàs*, but this spelling is now usually emended to *Nevogardàs* (other proposed readings: *Neogarda*, *Neùogarda*, *Neuogardàs*), with its second component patterned on Old Norse *-gard(r)* as in *Hólmgarðr* 'Holmgarth', the ancient Scandinavian name for Novgorod.⁷

There is, as can be gathered from the above adduced excerpts from medieval Russian chronicles and from the work of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, almost a century that separates the mention of Novgorod in the Russian sources and in the Byzantine account. To be sure, Constantine does not indicate in his survey whether the North Russian city (if indeed he meant it) had existed for a number of years at the time of his writing. To shed further light on this potential chronological discrepancy and the earliest ethnic composition of Novgorod and its region, it may be useful to turn to archeology and find out if archeological and other prehistoric evidence, including onomastic data, tends to support any particular view concerning the origins of Novgorod and its people. Here is what A. V. Artsikhovskiy, head of the Novgorod Archeological Expedition organized jointly by the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Moscow University, had to say a quarter of a century ago about the beginnings of the city on the Volkhov:

Deposits of the tenth century are feeble outside the Nerev End, where dendrochronology dated the first road to A. D. 953. There is slight evidence for occupation earlier than this elsewhere in the city. At a site in Yaroslav's Court a small ninth-century deposit occurred, but belonging to a house rather than a town. In spite of extensive areas still not dug we can be reasonably certain that there was no real town on the site before the mid-tenth century. — The tenth century is a comparatively late date for the appearance of a town. In the chronicles Pskov is called the younger brother of Novgorod, but excavations have shown that the younger brother was considerably senior, with signs of occupation in the first century A. D. and growth into a town by not later than the eighth century. Novgorod was called the most ancient Russian city, the cradle of Russian statehood and culture, but clearly some Russian towns are older than it. — The puzzling name of the town perhaps deserves an archeological explanation. Like Carthage and Naples, the ancient city on the Volkhov was called 'new town', but by reference to what older center was it new? — M. K. Karger considers that the old town was Gorodishche (the hill-fort), 2 km upstream, where he excavated in 1934. He found three layers, the middle with hand-made pottery he dated to the ninth to tenth centuries. There are various objections. The remains were found not in the hill-fort but on the promontory and at its foot. Hand-made jars of this type are certainly older than this. All the pottery at Novgorod is wheel-made, and it seems certain that the potter's wheel was in general use by the ninth century. The term hill-fort (*gorodishche*) applied to this area in the chronicles from the twelfth century was used throughout Russia for all ancient earthworks. There may well have been a prehistoric earthwork there, although it is curious that remains older than the twelfth century have not been found within the earthworks. It is quite impossible to believe that the original city was there. — Where, then, was the original town? Some have identified it with 'Old Rusa' (south of Lake Il'men'), but 'old' is not a term applied to it by the chroniclers. Excavations there have not been sufficient to throw light on the age of the town. — A more serious claimant is Staraya (Old) Ladoga on the lower reaches of the Volkhov. Excavations have shown that it arose not later than the seventh century, and that it had become a proper trade-and-craft town not later than the ninth century. All the structures and objects found there can be arranged to form a continuous series with those at Novgorod. In the tenth century the center would have been transferred from the lower to the upper Volkhov, but the snag is that Ladoga was always a small town, while Novgorod from the beginning was a large one. — In the excavations, below the oldest deposits a curious offering was found. In a hole dug

into the subsoil was an arrangement of nine wooden bowls of varying dimensions, some with pretty decoration. Seven were set in a semicircle, the other two in the middle. Two large lumps of wax lay in the middle. The bowls were placed on edge so their contents would pour out and then the hole had been filled in. Prior to the occupation of this spot nine heads of household (probably heads of great families) had performed a sacrifice. Evidently this was carried out where they intended to settle.⁸

Needless to say, archeological work has continued at several locations within the perimeter of Old Novgorod since Artsikhovskiy made this statement. Digs were conducted at various sites of the Nerev End (*Nerevskiy konets*) in the northern part of the ancient town (on the left bank of the Volkhov) where a total of twenty-eight layers, corresponding to the number of superimposed roadways, made up of half-logs joined in deckings, have been established. In addition, excavations have also been carried out in other parts of the city, notably in the Slavno End (*Slavenskiy konets*) on the opposite side of the river, facing the citadel or kremlin (*Detimets*). On the same, left-bank Sophia Side of town, in 1973-77 twenty-eight layers of archeological deposits were excavated south of the citadel, in what was once the People's End (*Lyudin konets*, also known as *Goncharskiy konets* or Potters' End). The strata unearthed here belong to the early tenth through fifteenth centuries, the oldest layer presumably dating from the 920s-30s. On the right-bank Market (or Merchant) Side of town, fourteen strata of deposits have been ascertained not very far from the river. But whereas the twenty-eight layers of the Nerev End have been dated with great precision to a period from 953 (28th level) through 1462 (1st level) and the dig in the People's End has revealed an equal number of layers (reaching back to the second quarter of the tenth century), the more approximate datings of the less well-preserved but thoroughly studied fourteen layers at the site on the right bank of the Volkhov range only from the 1120s (14th level) through the 1360s (1st level). Yet the earliest ascertainable dwellings found here beneath the systematically examined cultural strata seem to go back to the turn of the tenth century. Previous excavations at a site on former Elijah (*Il'ina*) Street have yielded finds chiefly from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but date back in their earliest layers to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (starting with the mid-eleventh century). Further archeological explorations on the Market Side around the area once occupied by Yaroslav's Court (*Yaroslavov dvor* or *Yaroslavovo dvorishche*) have in one instance established as many as twenty-seven chronological strata dating from 974 (27th level) through the 1440s (1st level), while other digs in this district have brought to light objects of which the oldest go back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These include sites at the so-called Gothic Yard or Gotland Quarter (*Got'skiy dvor*, at first a trading post for traveling peasant merchants from the island of Gotland but later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a division of the Hansa's factory in Novgorod) in the immediate vicinity of Old Market

Square (*Torg*) as well as east and north thereof, all within the Slavno End.⁹

Archeological finds within the perimeter of Old Novgorod and the surrounding territory (notably at *Gorodishche*, later misleadingly also known as *Ryurikovo gorodishche*, just south of the city), which can be unequivocally identified as of Varangian (Scandinavian) origin, point mostly to the eleventh, in a few instances perhaps to the tenth, century. By contrast, other areas in Russia, particularly Gnezdovo (near Smolensk), the Ladoga district, and the Upper Volga region, have yielded earlier material, in part identifiable as Norse in origin.¹⁰

All in all, then, the earliest comprehensive and carefully analyzed archeological evidence from Novgorod and its vicinity to date reaches essentially no farther back in time than the mid-tenth century. This, therefore, would point to the period of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' writing rather than to the claims about the founding of a city on the Upper Volkhov attributed to Rurik and his Varangians, as told in the Old Russian chronicles. In fact, according to the local sources, the existence of a Slavic settlement at Novgorod — presumably located in the Slavno district, whatever its specific nature — even predates the second arrival of the Northmen, called in by the feuding Slavic and Finnic tribes of the area in the early 860s. Thus the last two and a half decades of technically ever more sophisticated archeological studies by and large confirm the findings reported by Artsikhovskiy in the mid-1950s to the effect that no full-fledged urban community existed on the territory of Novgorod in the ninth century.

Turning once more to the testimony of the medieval Russian chronicles in order to cast further light on what must seem contradictory evidence, one should note that Novgorod is subsequently mentioned in the younger version of the First Novgorod Chronicle in the entry for the year 922 (= 6430) in connection with Prince Oleg's alleged visit to the city while en route to Ladoga where, according to the tradition represented by this text, he died and was buried.¹¹ And under the year 947 (= 6455) both the Nestor Chronicle and the First Novgorod Chronicle tell that Princess Olga went to Novgorod.¹² At the time she was regent on behalf of her minor son, Svyatoslav, after the assassination of her husband, Prince Igor. It should be pointed out in this context that, at best, Rurik can be considered a semi-lendary figure of early Russian history. We cannot be entirely sure that he ever existed and that, if indeed he did, he had settled permanently at the site of what was to become the city of Novgorod (cf. above). If we are to believe the chronicle account, he must have died around 880 or shortly before that, after having been in charge in the region for about seventeen years. By contrast, we have less reason to doubt the reported achievements of Oleg, Igor, and Olga; yet, what we are told about Oleg may in part also belong to the realm of folklore. At any rate, most of the historical facts and dates reported for these rulers appear plausible: Oleg is said to have died in 913 in the Nestor Chronicle, but, as we have seen, only by 922 in the First Novgorod Chronicle; Igor, Oleg's foster son, in 945; and Olga, Igor's wife and vengeful widow, in 962. Only Oleg's claimed conquest of Kiev in 882 and the discrepancy

as to the year of his death raise some doubts. By the same token, the assertion of the chronicles that Igor was Rurik's direct offspring has, for chronological reasons, been considered less likely.¹³ But by and large, and with the possible exception of Oleg's alleged visit to Novgorod in 922, it seems reasonable to assume that the chronicler's information about the earliest historically attested rulers of Old Rus' is essentially trustworthy. This would also apply to the reference to an already existing Novgorod or, rather, to what may have been a nucleus of the future city by the mid-tenth century (Olga's visit of 947).

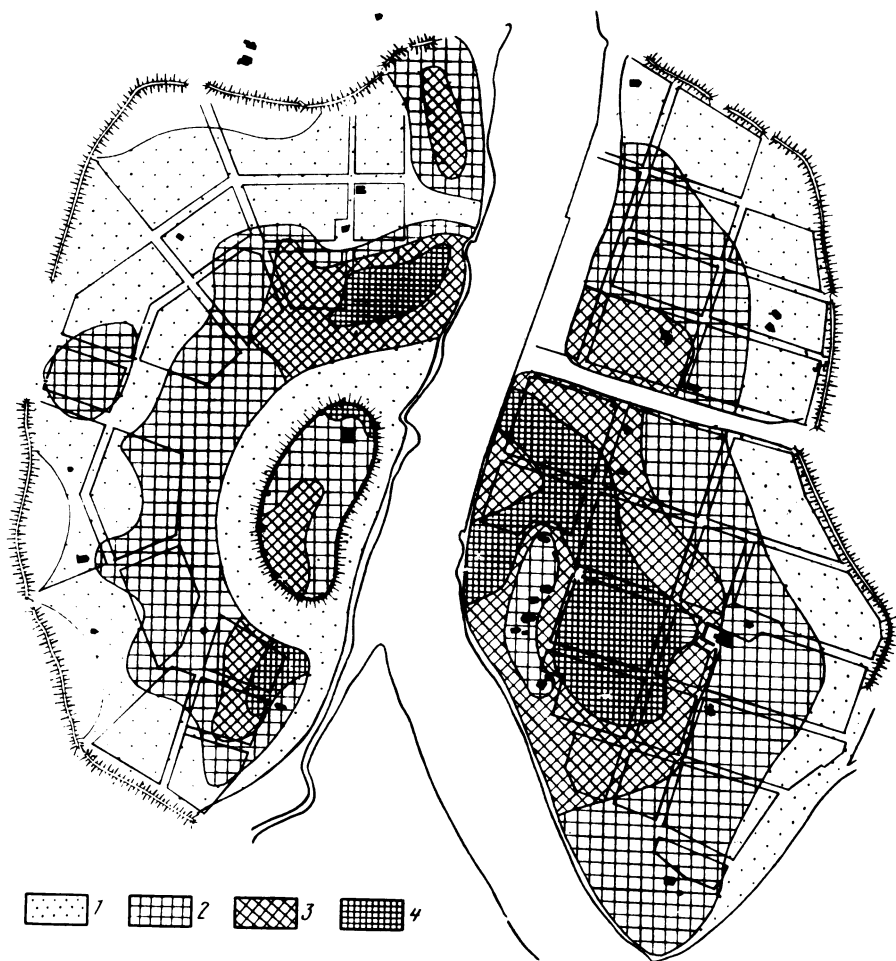
As a matter of fact, Novgorod is mentioned in an even earlier context in both the First Novgorod Chronicle and the Nestor Chronicle — earlier, that is, than in connection with Oleg's questionable passing through the city and Olga's more plausible visit, but later than its first mention in the initial portions of the two chronicles quoted above. Yet this particular reference, too, is rather dubious as to its chronological significance. Thus, we read in the Laurentian copy toward the end of the entry for 882 (= 6390):

Oleg began to build stockaded towns, and imposed tribute on the Slavs (= Slovene), the Krivichians, and the Merians. He commanded that Novgorod should pay the Varangians tribute to the amount of 300 *grivny* a year for the preservation of peace. This tribute was paid to the Varangians until the death of Yaroslav.¹⁴

A similar passage can also be found in the First Novgorod Chronicle close to the end of the entry for 854 (= 6362) which, however, clearly covers a much longer period since the next entry is for the year 920 (= 6428). Here roughly the same information is given, except that it refers not to Oleg but to his successor Igor:

And this Igor began to set up towns and established tribute for the Slovene, and [that they would have] to pay [it] to the Varangians; and for the Krivichi and Meryans to pay tribute to the Varangians; and from Novgorod 300 *grivnas* a year for the sake of peace, which they do not pay.¹⁵

In addition to the discrepancy regarding the continued payment of this tribute, commented upon by D. S. Likhachev, it makes some difference, of course, whether the taxation was imposed on Novgorod by Oleg (presumably before 913 and perhaps as early as at the beginning of the 880s) or by Igor sometime around or just before 920. At any rate, the amount of the tribute or taxes — 300 *grivnas* — is considerable and would suggest a community of some size and wealth on which such a large sum of money could be reasonably levied each year. This piece of information, found both in the local town annals and in the major, statewide chronicle reflecting the interests of the central power of the grand prince of Kiev, is quite revealing. However, its problematic chronological attribution, between 882 and 920, makes it difficult to use it for any far-reaching conclusions as to the actual size and specific status of Novgorod in the first years of its existence.



Location of cultural layer in Novgorod according to thickness (after Yanin & Kolchin)

1. up to 2 m thickness
2. 2-4 m thickness
3. 4-6 m thickness
4. more than 6 m thickness

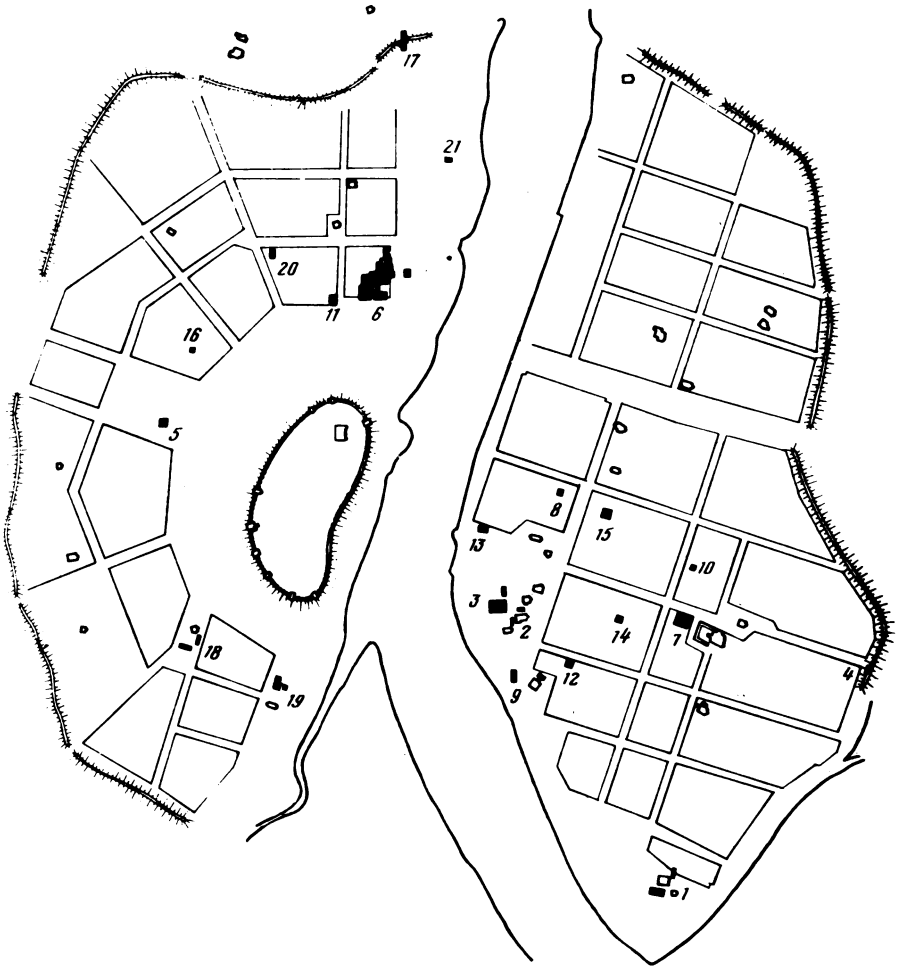
Moreover, it is worth noting that while extensive excavations have been conducted in the three oldest boroughs or “ends” (*kontsy*) of Novgorod — Nerev, Lyudin, and Slavno — by the Novgorod Archeological Expedition, less archeological work, in the sense of cutting deep into the cultural layer of prehistoric deposits, has been carried out in the very heart of the old town, on the territory of the citadel or *Detinets* itself.¹⁶ Yet it has been established, particularly by digs completed in the late 1950s, that only in the northernmost corner of the *Detinets* does the cultural layer reach a thickness of more than 6 m, that is, a depth roughly equivalent to that ascertained in the Nerev End, in a small section of the Lyudin End, and throughout a fairly large portion of the Slavno End. A somewhat wider southwestern section of the kremlin’s territory has a cultural foundation of 4 to 6 m.¹⁷

As for the fortifications or ramparts surrounding the *Detinets*, it is generally believed that the first large-scale citadel or fortress was built here only in 1044 by Prince Vladimir, son of Grand Prince Yaroslav, with the latter’s approval or at his instigation. The younger version of the First Novgorod Chronicle notes under the year 1044 in a somewhat puzzling and laconic wording that “by the spring Volodimir (= Vladimir) founded Novgorod and made it.”¹⁸ It is not entirely clear whether this first regular wall around the citadel was made of wood or stone, but the fact that construction on the new St. Sophia Cathedral built of stone (to replace the wooden one which had burned down) was begun the following year, in 1045, might suggest that the protective walls erected just before that were made of stone or at least reinforced with it. Further, it is interesting to note that the word *detinets*, referring to the stockaded or enclosed area of settlement in Old Rus’ rather than to the outer perimeter of the walls, with moat and external defense line (known as *ostrog*), is used in the chronicles as a virtual synonym of *gorod*, in modern Russian meaning ‘city, town’ but in earlier usage ‘enclosed area, fenced-in settlement’.¹⁹

There is no reason to assume that the citadel walls built in 1044 — whether of stone or wood or some combination thereof — did not have a predecessor in the form of some more primitive ramparts, presumably enclosing a slightly smaller area. In fact, it is well known that such escape or refuge forts (*Fluchtburgen*, in German), where the local population gathered for protection in times of danger and war, existed all over central and eastern Europe during the early Middle Ages and preceding centuries. In particular, remains of earthworks serving this purpose — later on occasion forming part of more sophisticated defense constructions — have been found in northern and western Russia.²⁰

At this point, the reference to Novgorod as a major source of revenue to the grand prince of Kiev will be disregarded because of the above discussed difficulty of placing it chronologically with any degree of certainty. Still, it is at least conceivable that it was an as yet essentially preurban or at most emerging urban settlement, with a defensible central section, that the local chronicler had in mind when reporting that Oleg and, later, Olga visited Novgorod. And we may safely assume that the annalist, not to mention the scribes of the extant copies of the

LORD NOVGOROD THE GREAT



Location of sites excavated by the Novgorod Archeological Expedition (after Yanin & Kolchin)

1. Excavations in Slavno, 1932-7
2. Excavations in Yaroslav's Court, 1938-9
3. Excavations in Yaroslav's Court, 1947-8
4. Excavation in the rampart
5. Chudintseva Street excavation site
6. Nerev excavation site
7. Elijah Street excavation site
8. Buyanyi excavation site
9. Gotland Yard excavation site
10. Slavno excavation site
11. Tikhvinskaya Street excavation site
12. Mikhaylova Street excavation site
13. Market Square excavation site
14. Kirovskaya Street excavation site
15. Rogatitsky excavation site
16. Lyudogoshcha Street excavation site
17. Excavation in the rampart
18. St. Barbara Monastery excavation site
19. Troitskiy excavation site
20. Cosmas-and-Damian Street excavation site
21. Dmitriyevskaya Street excavation site

younger version of the First Novgorod Chronicle, fully grasped the difference between a newly forming township on the territory of the *Detinets* (or *gorod*) and its adjoining semi-rural settlements at the dawn of history and the highly developed, pulsating urban community — indeed metropolis — of Novgorod of their own time.

Finally, it has only recently become clear that the first wooden roadways of the mid and late tenth century (953 at the Nerev site, 972-4 at the Mikhaylov or Suvorov site in the Slavno End) may not have been laid directly on the natural subsoil but on top of a cultural layer which at some points — at Nerev, in any case — is of considerable thickness. While as yet not thoroughly examined, these underlying strata of prehistoric deposits have already yielded a set of vessels which can be dated to the ninth or early tenth century. There are therefore strong indications that some preurban rather than purely rural homesteads existed here at that time. Archeological finds of a variety of imported goods (slate distaffs, walnuts, amphoras, boxwood articles, clayware, beadwork and other glass objects, Arabic silver coins, amber, nonferrous metals, textiles, etc.), dating from the tenth century and thus testifying to a more developed, sophisticated community at this location, tend to indirectly corroborate such an assumption.²¹

Considering all that has been said so far, what can we tentatively conclude as to the origins of Old Novgorod on the basis of the archeological evidence at hand and the historical records — local (First Novgorod Chronicle, in particular), otherwise domestic (Nestor Chronicle), and foreign (Constantine Porphyrogenitus' treatise)? It would certainly seem reasonable to surmise that some settlement, or rather several settlements, existed in the Novgorod area already in the ninth century. They must have been fairly small and insignificant, however, and were probably located within the three earliest boroughs of Novgorod, the Nerev, Lyudin, and Slavno Ends. Between these narrowly bounded areas there soon developed another, somewhat different — political and cultic rather than residential and commercial — type of settlement on the protected slight elevation formed by the ground of the later citadel. As evinced by archeological finds going back to the mid and late tenth century, this town on the Upper Volkhov was by then a major trade center with well-established connections linking it to both southern Russia, notably Kiev (as well as Volhynia), and western and northern Europe. In addition, it probably had contacts with Byzantium, as, conceivably, attested by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that in some form or another a preurban or early urban community, the predecessor of the tenth-century town, came into being as early as the late ninth century. But a truly urban community seems to have developed only in the tenth century — in all likelihood the result of a fusion and integration of the original separate settlements. Only by 953 and in the following decades did there exist, in the Nerev End and elsewhere, the first streets — or wooden roadways, to be precise — connecting the various, more and more numerous homesteads-turned-estates (*usad'by*).²²

To better understand the initial phase in the formation of an early medieval urban community in this area we must now return to two interrelated questions already briefly touched upon: Who were the first permanent settlers on the Upper Volkhov? And, how can we explain, in this specific instance, the very name of the city, Novgorod, or New Town?

The Old Russian chronicles are unanimous, as we have seen, in stating that the first people to have settled in the region of Lake Il'men' and, specifically, Novgorod were the Slovene or Slavs. Here, a word of explanation is called for regarding the synonymous, or quasi-synonymous, use of the ethnonyms Slovene and Slavs. On the one hand, Slovene (or, in more precise transliteration, *Slověne*) is simply the Old Russian, and generally early Slavic, term for the Slavs. Hence also the erroneous reference in the Nikon Chronicle, echoing a similar assertion in the Nestor Chronicle, that the Slovene/Slavs "had come from the Danube" (cf. above) — mistakenly placing the original homeland of the Slavs somewhere on and around the Middle and Lower Danube. By the same token, Slavs (as the term is used in English) is of course the broad designation for all native speakers of a language or dialect belonging to a specific — namely, precisely the Slavic — branch of the Indo-European language family. On the other hand, it can be shown that the Slavic term for 'Slavs' (*Slověne*, *Slavyane*) was used in other instances as a more narrow name for some particular Slavic tribe or people, frequently in areas bordering on non-Slavic territory; cf. the ethnonyms Slovenes, Slovaks, and Slovicians (all three originally denoting merely Slavs of a certain region). Consequently, the Slovene of the Il'men' district can also be identified as a particular Slavic tribe — again, one neighboring with a non-Slavic, in this instance Finnic, population.

Usually it has been assumed that these North Russian Slovene (or Il'men' Slavs) were an East Slavic tribe, in fact the northernmost group among the Eastern Slavs, subsequently to form an integral part of the Russian people. There can, moreover, be little doubt that the vernacular language of Old Novgorod was essentially East Slavic — that is, marked by a number of linguistic, mostly phonological, traits characteristic of the eastern branch of Slavic as distinct from West and South Slavic. As a matter of fact, we know of no unequivocal linguistic evidence to controvert this view. Yet, in more recent years, certain claims previously advanced by the Russian philologist A. A. Shakhmatov and subsequently modified and supplemented with further data by N. M. Petrovsky in the first quarter of this century have been revived and buttressed with some new arguments. They suggest that the first or, at any rate, some very early Slavic settlers of Novgorod might not have been Eastern Slavs at all but rather Western Slavs — Pomeranian Wends, to be precise — coming from the southern shores of the Baltic. This view was expounded in some detail by the Russian ethnologist D. K. Zelenin and the Soviet archeologist and historian V. B. Vilinbakhov. In a fairly recent study, "On the Language of Old Rus," H. G. Lunt, pursuing a similar line of argument, has asserted that

The Slavic settlers in the territories of Ladoga, Novgorod, and Izborsk-Pskov in Igor's time, c. 900, were very likely newcomers from the southern coast of the Baltic — West Slavs rather than East Slavs. These are the unsophisticated *Slovene* whose silk sails, booty from the Greeks, rip — to the apparent amusement of the presumably aristocratic narrator of the episode in the *Povest' vremennyx let* (PVL), s. a. 907.

However, in a note elaborating on this resuscitated idea, the Harvard Slavist hastens to concede that he knows “of no purely linguistic evidence of importance, apart from personal names and toponyms.” Still, he contends that “historical accounts, including the repeated association of the term *Wend/Venedes* and *Slovene* (e.g., in Livonian chronicles . . .) and archeological data . . . are more convincing.” He then goes on to clarify that his own “acceptance of this hypothesis rests largely on the discussion given by Omeljan Pritsak in a comprehensive work, *The Origins of Rus*, now being prepared for publication.”²³

O. Pritsak's much heralded major piece of research is not yet available so that we cannot judge the possible merits of its relevant argument which perhaps goes beyond the findings and speculations of Shakhmatov, Petrovsky, Zelenin, and Vilinbakhov. And, incidentally, it is not readily clear why the Novgorod *Slovene*, if indeed they had come from the southern shores of the Baltic, should have been less sophisticated than the ethnic and social group among which the allegedly aristocratic East Slavic narrator — i.e., the chronicler or his informant — counted himself.²⁴ Also, there is actually not much in the archeological data alluded to by Lunt that would unambiguously support his assumption. True, the finds examined by archeologists and prehistorians do, as we have seen, point to early commercial contacts with the West, that is to say, the countries around the Baltic. It should be noted, however, that such contacts were not limited to the West. But the remnants of imported goods of western origin unearthed in Novgorod (and its immediate vicinity) are indicative of no more than precisely that: the existence of early — and, it would seem, intensive — trade links with the Baltic and, indirectly, more distant areas.²⁵ It is therefore conceivable and even likely that among those engaged in commerce with Novgorod at the very dawn of its attested or, rather, retrievable history there may have been some tradesmen from the flourishing West Slavic merchant towns on the southern coast of the Baltic. Yet, none of the archeological evidence unequivocally suggests that the Novgorod *Slovene* migrated *en bloc* to the Il'men'-Volkhov basin from Pomerania in relatively recent times (say, in the eighth and early ninth centuries).

It is possible that Zelenin's compromise hypothesis, rather well underpinned with facts and arguments, can be accepted. According to this scholar, elements of Pomeranian Slavs — that is, Lekhitic Wends — after having moved through Baltic territory and settled in Livonia, began to enter the Il'men'-Volkhov region as early as the tenth and perhaps even the late ninth century so that the chronicler (presumably Nestor, writing in the eleventh century) was familiar with tales to that effect. However, these Pomeranian Slavs, if they did penetrate into the

Novgorod area as early as just indicated, were still not the first Slavic settlers there. Rather, they encountered a Slavic population which itself had moved into this district a century or two earlier, probably from the Upper Dnieper region. At most, therefore, we could assume that a mixed East-West Slavic population may have received a further West Slavic infusion as a result of a more massive emigration of Slavs from Pomerania to Livonia and North Russia in the twelfth century, that is, after the Christianization of the Baltic Slavs in 1128. The fact that through the early twelfth century arrivals from West Slavic Pomerania were on the whole pagans (while any possible newcomers from the expanding Polish state were Catholics of the Latin faith) undoubtedly must have colored the Russian chronicler's account.²⁶

Another possibility has been seriously considered, however. Prior to their arrival in the attested region of settlement, the by then fairly well crystallized East Slavic tribal group which subsequently became known as Slovene (or called itself by that name) may, several centuries earlier, have originated in some Western portion of the rapidly extending and dialectally disintegrating area of Slavic settlement. This region, however, could no longer have been the original homeland or "cradle" of the Slavs, controversial though the latter's exact location has remained to this day. In other words, the forebears of the Novgorod Slovene may possibly, but only tentatively, be traced to a relatively western region within an earlier, somewhat less widespread, area once occupied by the Slavs. Yet it is of course arguable whether it is even methodologically admissible to attempt an identification of such a hypothetic ethno-linguistic entity as the ancestors of the North Russian Slovene. If at all definable, it would be part of a wide range of only just emerging, still quite closely related Slavic tribal groups. These groups subsequently spread in several directions in the course of the far-reaching migrations of the Slavs. Previously Baltic and Finnic populated territories were thus conquered by the expanding Slavs.

More recently, the broadly conceived western-origin view was advocated, for example, by the Soviet historian V. V. Mavrodin. In a publication summing up his previous inquiry into the origin of the Russian people, Mavrodin proposes that not only the southern and western neighbors of the Slovene, the Krivichi, can be shown to have migrated from the West, namely, from the northwestern (Proto-Lekhitic) ethno-linguistic subgroup of the ancient Slavs, but that also regarding the Slovene "one can observe ties with the West Slavic world." Supposedly, these ties manifest themselves in certain anthropological characteristics (pertaining to their material culture, such as timbered huts, the shape of knives, and the type of ceramics) as well as in their language. However, the latter claim is not substantiated by any particulars as far as the Slovene are concerned. According to Mavrodin, "the Krivichi, with their Polochanian branch, and the Il'men' Slovene constituted the mighty mass of the northwestern, northern, and northeastern Slavs of eastern Europe."²⁷

In this context it may be useful to make some more specific reference to the related but somewhat different view set forth earlier by the Russian scholar A. A. Shakhmatov. This view was based primarily on the

pertinent account of the Nestor Chronicle, including some revealing omissions in it. According to Shakhmatov's reasoning, the tribes of the Radimichi and Vyatichi, usually considered East Slavic, were actually of West Slavic — more specifically, Lekhitic — provenience. The North Russian tribes, while in this conception assumed to be of East Slavic stock, are said to have been affected in their speech by these dislocated Western Slavs whose territory they had to cross in their northward migration and with whom they remained in contact, to some extent, even after having reached their ultimate settlement sites. These Eastern Slavs of northern Russia were of course the Krivichi of the Smolensk-Vitebsk-Polotsk-Pskov-Izborsk area (in the northwest) and the Slovene of Novgorod, Beloozero, and the Upper Volga region where they presumably lived in territories adjoining those of the displaced Western Slavs (in the northeast).²⁸

It is Shakhmatov's overall notion of the glotto- and ethnogenesis of the Eastern Slavs that has served as a point of departure for the recent important study by G. A. Khaburgayev on the ethnonymy of the Nestor Chronicle. Subjecting Shakhmatov's relevant views to a thorough critique while acknowledging their originality and merits at the time of their presentation, Khaburgayev sketches an altogether different conception concerning, among other things, the origin and emergence of the Slovene and the Krivichi. For him, Slovene is not the designation of any particular East (or, for that matter, originally perhaps West) Slavic tribe but merely the chronicler's term used to specifically identify the Slavs of the Novgorod-Il'men' region as such, that is, by contrast to the non-Slavic, Finnic and Scandinavian (Varangian) population of the area. Khaburgayev therefore also does not believe in the possibility of clearly separating the Il'men' Slavs (Slovene) from the Krivichi. For both — or rather, for the essentially indistinguishable entity of the Novgorod Slavs and the Krivichi (the latter at first centered in and around Smolensk) — he, too, assumes a western or Lekhitic, more specifically Pomeranian, origin. The Soviet linguist seems to consider the primary linguistic criterion for this association to be the retention of the Common Slavic voiced velar *g*, which in a large portion of the Slavic language territory, stretching from South Russian dialects to Sorbian (in present-day East Germany), has been shifted to a fricative or aspirate. Admittedly, this phonological feature alone would not appear overly persuasive in view of the controversial chronology and details of the sound change affecting the voiced velar stop in vast areas of East and West Slavic. Khaburgayev dates the western origin of the Northeast Slavic tribal entity back to a period prior to the ultimate formation of separate West, East, and South Slavic ethno-linguistic subgroups. He thus views the eastward migration of the ancestors of the Novgorod Slavs and the Krivichi — presumably, on the whole, following land routes rather than coming by sea, across the Baltic, and along the major waterways — as a phenomenon of disintegrating Late Common Slavic and the regrouping of its dialectal divisions. Like many other linguists, the Soviet scholar is highly skeptical about hypotheses advanced by archeologists which are unsupported or unsupported by linguistic, especially onomastic, evidence. This particularly applies to the farfetched inferences based solely on the shape

of grave mounds in the area under discussion.²⁹

In this context it should be noted, however, that not all Soviet archeologists are, in fact, inclined to rely heavily on purely archeological data. Thus, for example, P. N. Tret'yakov, taking into account the by now well-established fact that the Upper Dnieper region was settled in early times by various Baltic tribes (as shown, in particular, by a substantial Baltic component in the local hydronymic nomenclature), has rightly warned against basing ethnic identifications for prehistoric periods exclusively or even primarily on archeological finds made, above all, at ancient burial sites. He has thus contested some of the far-reaching inferences drawn by his fellow archeologist V. V. Sedov on the basis of the particular type and shape of grave mounds as well as from the artifacts (weapons, tools, female clothing and jewelry, etc.) found at such barrows. In his argument, Tret'yakov has pointed out that some of the habits and preferences in life style reflected in these testimonies of material culture may well have been transferred from one tribe to another, particularly in times of coterritorial existence or close local ties. Some of them can even be considered outright hybrid phenomena, resulting from the cohabitation and mingling of early East Slavic and Baltic ethnic groups. Tret'yakov is therefore not overly optimistic about the possibility of actually tracing any of the attested East Slavic tribes — known by name from the Nestor Chronicle and other annalistic accounts — back to their presumed origins. Rather, he argues quite forcefully, these tribal groups emerged as clearly defined and identifiable entities only at a time when they had already reached their recorded settlement area, or, at least, were on the move in that direction. In the particular instance of the Slovene and Krivichi, they had thus absorbed and largely assimilated the local Baltic substratum whose previous territories of settlement they had passed through or were in the process of occupying. By the same token, this was the period of the first formation of fairly large-scale political alliances, foreshadowing the statehood of Kievan Rus'.³⁰ From this plausible line of reasoning it is evident that any attempt to retrace a possible early migratory route of the Il'men' Slavs or their predecessors which would ultimately point to the Slavic West is fraught with major, perhaps insurmountable, difficulties.

But let us for a moment further consider the hypothesis of a relatively recent arrival of the Slovene to Novgorod and the adjacent region. Presumably, they would have come by sea and the North Russian waterways as well as via the land route through Old Prussia (then Baltic territory, roughly identical with subsequently German East Prussia), Samogitia (a portion of Lithuania), Curonia, and Livonia (the last two areas forming part of present-day Latvia). It is not easy to know whether Lunt could have had in mind some data other than that published and scrutinized by previous scholars when he referred to anthroponymic and toponymic evidence as potentially corroborating the theory that the Novgorod Slovene were in fact Western Slavs. Hardly any of the Christian (and pre-Christian) names encountered in Novgorodian documents that have been studied by the Swedish Slavist A. Baecklund would unambiguously point to West Slavic rather than East Slavic — in addition to

today, seems to consider that the Krivichi — but not the Slovene (whom he traces to the Upper Dnieper region) — originated in present-day Poland, presumably Pomerania.³⁶

In addition to its earliest Slavic population, Old Novgorod is believed to have had a permanent non-Slavic ethnic component at the beginning of its existence and for centuries thereafter. Members of one or several Finnic tribes — the indigenous inhabitants of the Il'men'-Volkhov region prior to the arrival of any Slavs (or, for that matter, Scandinavian Northmen) — are now considered among the first settlers of Novgorod. This original Finnic element is thought to have been the earliest people to live in the Nerev settlement (subsequently, Nerev End). However, it is not quite clear what specific Finnic tribe or tribes constituted those first settlers. Most prominent among the Finnic peoples mentioned in the Old Russian chronicles are the Chud' (or Chudyans) and the Merya (or Meryans); cf. the chronicle passages quoted above. The Meryans of the medieval Russian annals are considered by some scholars the predecessors of today's Cheremis or Mari people. Others, however, maintain that this contemporary East Finnic group is merely closely related to but not directly descended from the extinct Meryans of the Middle Ages. The name Merya was earlier believed to be echoed in the name of the Nerev End, that is, if one accepts the possibility that initial *n*- has been substituted for original *m*-.³⁷ (Such a sound shift is known in Slavic, including Russian, although it usually operates in the opposite direction.) Another, perhaps more attractive explanation (and conceivably in some way even combinable with the one just mentioned) is that Nerev may be associated with the isolated ethnonym Norova (attested in various copies of the Nestor Chronicle in different spellings and forms: *Norova*, *Neroma*, *Moroma*, *Morava*). Its precise identity has not been established, but in all likelihood it is related to the river name Narva (Russian *Narova*, Old Russian *Norova*) linking Lake Peipus with the Gulf of Finland near the town of Narva.³⁸ It is therefore quite possible that this otherwise virtually unknown tribe or ethnic group formed part of, or was closely related to, the Estonians who, to a considerable extent, made up the Chud' of the Old Russian chronicles. Generally, however, Chud' is a broader designation, encompassing more than one Finnic tribe in present-day Estonia and Ingermanland, not even counting the so-called Zavolochskaya Chud' east and northeast of Lake Onega and north of Beloye ozero or White Lake. It is also conceivable that the Norova tribe could have belonged to the Veps (Old Russian *Ves'*) or, somewhat more likely, the Vote (Old Russian *Vod'*) groups.³⁹ A trace of the Estonian (or cognate Finnic) component of Old Novgorod could be preserved in the name of a street in the *Zagorodskiy konets* on the Sophia Side of town — Chudintseva Street. But the street name may have merely indicated the general direction of its western continuation, pointing toward the land of the Chud'.⁴⁰ And, the so-called *Vodskaya* (or *Votskaya*) *pyatina*, an outlying administrative district extending northwest of town, can be mentioned as possibly echoing the Vote component of Novgorod or, in any case, its northern territories.

Even if in past times the Meryans occupied areas farther west than do today's Volga-Finnic Cheremis, their main center in the early medieval period was at a considerable distance from Novgorod; cf. the reference in the Nestor Chronicle to that tribe as living in — and presumably around — Rostov (see above). It is therefore more likely that the Finnic tribe or tribes — probably identical with the little known Norova — initially settling in the northern district of Novgorod, Nerev, belonged to some other group: the Estonians (Chud'), the Vote (Vod'), and/or possibly the Veps (Ves'). Some portion of the latter may also have constituted the earliest population of the other left-bank settlement of Novgorod, Lyudin.⁴¹

Finally, there is of course yet another non-Slavic group in early medieval Novgorod — the Scandinavians or Varangians. As we have seen, they are already mentioned at some length in the initial sections of both the First Novgorod Chronicle and the Nestor Chronicle, and later on in these works many more references to the Varangian Northmen can be found. However, the claim that “the Novgorodian people are of Varangian stock to this very day” and of the Kievan chronicler that “the present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the Varangian race” (see above) must, of course, not be taken literally to suggest that all or most Novgorodians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were in fact men and women tracing their ancestry back to Scandinavia. But, by the same token, there can be little doubt that Novgorod, at least in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, had become something of a Scandinavian stronghold. There is obviously some truth in the chronicle account of the Varangians' initial penetration into North Russia. They presumably came from mainland Sweden, the Åland archipelago, and the Baltic island of Gotland. The indigenous population of that island in early times spoke a language closely related to, but not identical with, Old Swedish; this local vernacular, Old Gotlandic, was only gradually integrated into the Swedish dialects. Some of the Northmen could also have arrived from the closer regions of the early Swedish settlements on the eastern shores of the Baltic, primarily from southern Finland and parts of Estonia. And there must be at least a kernel of truth in the semi-legendary tale, recorded in the Old Russian annals, of the second calling-in of the Varangians. It is also likely that they were led by a certain Rurik (Hrørekr) and his kinsmen even though the three-brother motif as such, as well as the act itself of calling-in foreigners as rulers, belongs to the basic formulaic stock of folklore. Moreover, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Scandinavian traders and warriors — Vikings, in other words — sailed up the major North Russian waterways, the Neva (or the then virtual strait connecting the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga), the Volhkov and Lovat' rivers, as well as the Western Dvina. Alternatively, they may have availed themselves of some smaller streams linking Lake Ladoga with Lake Onega and White Lake. Continuing their travel a short stretch across land — by portage, that is, by carrying their fairly light ships and perhaps pulling or rolling them on tree trunks — to the upper reaches of the great Russian rivers Volga and

Dnieper, they ultimately made their way to the rich markets of the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic Caliphate around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea and south of the Caspian.

The towns of Ladoga, at the entrance of the Volkhov into Lake Ladoga, and Polotsk, on the Upper Dvina, were soon firmly in Scandinavian hands, with the local Varangian rulers remaining semi-independent for some time. There is no reason to doubt the essence of the chronicler's recording or implying how the Varangians moved on from Ladoga (their Aldeigja or Aldeigjuborg) up the Volkhov, to the site of the emerging community of Novgorod or, rather, to one of the settlements or townships which later was to fuse with others into one — new — town; perhaps this took place as early as the mid-ninth century. However, while, as was indicated above, archeological evidence brought to light so far tends to corroborate such a general assumption, Varangian finds in Novgorod proper seem to date only from a slightly later period. It is primarily the relative share of Scandinavian versus indigenous Slavic, Finnic, and — farther to the south, in the Upper Dvina and Upper Dnieper regions — Baltic elements that continues to be a matter of some controversy. Soviet (especially Moscow-based, to a lesser extent Leningrad-based) scholarship insists on the predominant role of the domestic prehistoric component while non-Soviet (particularly Scandinavian, earlier also German) researchers also emphasize the special significance of the Nordic materials and other remains of imported, foreign artifacts.⁴²

The center of Varangian officialdom — the prince and his entourage — soon shifted from Ladoga and, presumably, Novgorod to the south, as Rurik's successor and kinsman Oleg established the capital of the newly formed state in Kiev, thus continuing the southward move of the Scandinavians in Russia. But Novgorod, with its northern outpost Ladoga, remained the main entry point for the Varangian tradesmen, exiled or fugitive rulers and chieftains, and hired mercenaries brought to Rus' by the Varangian-Russian princes. Such mercenaries (and assassins) were employed especially during the frequent internecine feuds and struggles of these rulers for power and dominance in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Thus, Novgorod, with its Scandinavian garrison, served as a reliable power base both for Vladimir (later known as the Saint) in his showdown with his brother Yaropolk, who at one point forced Vladimir to flee to Sweden for a period of about three years, and for Yaroslav (called the Wise) in his military dealings first with his half brother Svyatopolk and later with his brother Mstislav. Vladimir, as well as Yaroslav, ruled over Novgorod before ascending the grand-princely throne of Kiev.⁴³

Initially, the Varangian Northmen seem to have settled in the district of Novgorod originally populated by the Slovene — Slavno. Possibly, a reminiscence of that fact can be seen in the name of one of the main arteries of that district, Varangian Street (*Varyazhskaya ulitsa*). Yet, as in the case of two other thoroughfares of Old Novgorod, *Prusskaya* and *Chudintseva* (cf. above), it is not quite certain that these street names can in fact be identified with any particular population living within the city

limits (or, earlier, in one of its original boroughs). Possibly, street names such as these merely point in the general direction of a particular ethnic group not necessarily found inside the perimeter of the ancient town; or they may even be of a slightly more recent date — too recent, in any case, to carry much weight in the determination of Novgorod's earliest ethnic composition.⁴⁴ For strictly speaking, it appears that at least the Varangian mercenary troops, though perhaps not the Scandinavian tradesmen, were assigned their special quarters on the right bank of the Volkhov, but not actually within the confines of the original settlement of Slavno itself. Rather, the Varangian warriors were placed in the immediate vicinity of what was originally Slavno, close to the river, in an area adjoining the residence of the prince — known as Yaroslav's Court after its completion and extension, and likewise originally situated outside the settled township of Slavno.⁴⁵

As was previously mentioned, Slavno was also known as *Slavenskiy kholm* ('Slavno Hill') or simply *Kholm*. There undoubtedly exists a connection between the Old Russian — or, more accurately, Old East Slavic — *Kholm*⁴⁶ and the Old Scandinavian designation for Novgorod, *Hólmgarðr*. But it is not readily clear whether the Old Russian name for the settlement where the earliest Northmen lived, or near which the Varangian Guard had been stationed, can be considered merely a Slavic adaptation of Old Norse (here, more specifically, Old Swedish) *holmr*, or whether the Old Russian form — though it represented a loan from Germanic — served as the basis for the Scandinavian place-name *Hólmgarðr*. Compare also Old Scandinavian *Koenugarðr* 'Kiev', *Miklagarðr/Mikligarðr* 'Constantinople, Byzantium' and, in Adam of Bremen and Helmold, *Ostrogard* 'Novgorod, Russia' (see above, with n. 33). As was already indicated, the view that Old Norse *Hólmgarðr* as a ready compound represents nothing but an adaptation of an Old Russian **Kholmgorod* appears less convincing.⁴⁷

This, then, brings us once more to the enigma of Novgorod's own, genuine Slavic name, meaning New Town (cf. English *Newton*). Here, as we have already seen, two schools of thought — one older, the other more recent — are in competition. Earlier scholars, puzzled by the name of the Volkhov city, looked for its predecessor elsewhere, outside the site of Old Novgorod. *Gorodishche* ('hill-fort'), a good mile south of the city, was soon discarded by a majority of specialists. Although some archeological finds there date back to prehistoric times (the tenth century and earlier), they mostly seem to represent imported objects, and the hill-fort's association with Rurik (whence its later designation, *Ryurikovo gorodishche*) is merely legendary.⁴⁸ Still, considering its controlling position at the outflow of the Volkhov from Lake Il'men', it is conceivable that the Northmen, on their southward move from Ladoga, first established themselves at precisely this hill-fort and only thereafter did some of them transfer to nearby Slavno. Rus(s)a — now Staraya Russa — a few miles south of Lake Il'men' (on a minor river running parallel with the Lovat') has recently, as a result of extensive excavations, turned out to be quite old as well. Its deepest cultural layer goes back to the early eleventh and probably even the tenth century, as far as

has been determined to date.⁴⁹ Yet it seems less likely that the first settlers of Novgorod should actually have come from Rusa. No detailed archeological data is as yet available for the town of Kholm, on the Upper Lovat' about fifty miles south of Lake Il'men', where the tributary Kun'ya enters the Lovat' — suggestive if only because of its name (cf. *Hólmgarðr*); thus, nothing can be said with any certainty about the earliest settlement at this location. Of all the places with an established prehistoric cultural layer it is Ladoga — present-day Staraya Ladoga — that, primarily because of its many analogies in archeological finds and their patterning, has been considered most seriously as a potential predecessor of Novgorod. It seems that the site at Ladoga was populated very early, prior to any uncontested permanent settlement on the territory of Old Novgorod, even though, unlike Novgorod, it remained a small township; cf. also A. V. Artsikhovskiy's statement quoted above. However, it is far from certain that a Slavic tribe, presumably the Slovene, reached the southern shores of Lake Ladoga and settled there in greater numbers before they established themselves at the northern outlet of Lake Il'men' — the outflow of the Volkhov — at Slavno and possibly just south thereof, the defensible hill-fort of Gorodishche. Rather, we can assume with a high degree of probability that the township of Ladoga was populated initially by some Finnic tribe and that its first arrivals from more distant regions were Northmen, advancing from the coasts of the Gulf of Finland, or through it, directly from Sweden. It seems more plausible to imagine, therefore, that the Il'men' Slavs, moving north along the Volkhov, made their way to Lake Ladoga and the settlement existing on its shoreline only at a time when Finns and probably even Swedes were already established here, presumably engaged in barter with the local population.⁵⁰

Consequently, in more recent years, experts in the field increasingly tend to favor another theory — or, rather perhaps, working hypothesis — which would account both for the beginnings of Old Novgorod and for its somewhat perplexing name. As was previously indicated (n. 7, above), B. Kleiber, in 1957, offered a fairly sensible explanation for the Slavic name Novgorod in connection with his proposed interpretation of Old Norse *Hólmgarðr* as meaning 'island region, town of islands'. According to the Russian-Norwegian scholar, "the surroundings of the market [= Market Square, Russian *Torg*, H.B.] (and subsequently the other bank of the river as well) were rendered inhabitable by means of drainage and other earthworks. In this way, a new town came into being, new in relation to the old one on the islands around. This explains perhaps the name Novgorod: 'new town', a name which is otherwise difficult to understand."⁵¹

The suggested explanation is not very far from the recent line of reasoning adopted by Soviet archeologists and historians, V. L. Yanin and M. Kh. Aleshkovskiy in particular. As was pointed out above, these scholars believe that the early urban community of Novgorod was the result of a gradual growth and fusion of the three earliest settlements or semi-rural townships on the Upper Volkhov: Slavno (founded by the Slovene), Lyudin (early settled by elements of the Krivichi, but before

that perhaps by some Finnic tribe), and Nerev (with a Finnic population). Once the territory situated between these settlements, the defensible area of the *Detinets* on the left bank of the Volkhov (separating Lyudin and Nerev), had been set aside for shared public functions — a meeting ground of the combined assembly of these townships, the joint *veche*, and a place of common worship, presumably with its pagan temple — this new core area was viewed as the center of an indeed new, larger, and ethnically increasingly more integrated community encompassing all three earliest boroughs or “ends.” And it was this new heart of the merged settlements that was now referred to primarily as *gorod* ‘town’ or, rather, as the ‘new town’: *novŭ gorodŭ*, very soon yielding the toponym Novgorod. If we adopt this point of view, then, the name Novgorod came to stand both for the administrative and cultic center of town, the *Detinets*, and for its old residential quarters or “ends” (*kontsy*) — *Slavenskiy*, *Lyudin* (or *Goncharskiy*), and *Nerevskiy konets*. As was also indicated before, the tract of land along the right bank of the river adjoining Slavno did not initially form part of this settlement but was only subsequently incorporated into the Slavno End. This was that ‘extra-territorial’ pier area reserved for foreign traders where the prince, too, was allowed to establish his town residence. He was at first perceived as an alien ruler, forced upon the townspeople from the outside, and was later severely limited in his powers.⁵² It is quite possible that this fusion of the initial three smaller settlements into one large entity and the crystallization of a new, common center of town on the location of the *Detinets* was somehow connected with the — second — arrival of the Varangians in the area. After taking over or reinforcing their hold on Ladoga, the Scandinavians, probably a few decades later, moved the center of their political, military, and commercial operations to this ‘new town’ on the Upper Volkhov. It would seem that such an overall conception of the beginnings of Novgorod as an urban community and the origin of its name — consonant, except for the assessment of the role of the Northmen, with the findings and reconstructions of recent Soviet scholarship — carries a fair measure of inherent probability and provides the best, most natural explanation available.

Five Centuries of Dependence and Independence

The Political Backdrop for Novgorod's Cultural History

The recorded history of Novgorod as an autonomous or semi-autonomous political entity spans half a millennium — from the 970s to the 1470s. In 1478, the once proud but now humbled Lord Novgorod the Great — *Gospodin Velikiy Novgorod*, as its boastful citizens would refer to it in happier days — succumbed to Grand Prince Ivan III of Moscow. The city on the Volkhov was formally annexed by the Muscovite state together with its widespread possessions — the so-called Novgorod land (*Novgorodskaya zemlya*). Already prior to this, in the mid-1300s, Novgorod's "younger brother" Pskov, with the adjoining territory under its control, had seceded from the republic. By the year 1478 the Novgorodians lost even the last semblance of their former glory and independence. As for the city's cultural life, however, it should be noted that it was not until after this disaster that some personalities became active in the North Russian community and certain phenomena closely associated or identified with it fully unfolded. In more than one way these men and events constitute a direct continuation of Novgorod's cultural evolution prior to its loss of freedom and ultimate downfall. To fully appreciate their role, one should view them in their broader historical context. In particular, this holds true for some of the activities of Archbishop Gennadiy (Gennadius), appointed to his office in 1484, as well as for the circle of learned men with whom this Renaissance prelate surrounded himself, a practice reminiscent of, if not outright emulating, that of some contemporaneous princes of the Church in the West. It also applies to the religious sect of the so-called Judaizers (*zhidovstvuyushchiye*), who came to the fore in the 1480s and 90s and were vigorously persecuted by Gennadiy. The same can further be said about certain reflections in literature and art of the political turmoil and spiritual strife which beset the townspeople on the banks of the Volkhov during that period. While Novgorod thus ceased to be of major political significance by 1478, this particular year is not equally crucial as a chronological watershed when it comes to the cultural role played by the medieval city in the Russian North.

If the *terminus ad quem* of Novgorod's independence — or, by then, formal autonomy at most — is not a matter of controversy, it is more difficult to indicate a precise point in time marking the beginning of the city's documented history. In other words, the chronological boundary separating prehistoric legend and hearsay tradition from established fact and verifiable information is tenuous, and any attempt at drawing such a line is bound to be subjective. Given this qualification, it would seem reasonable to narrow down to the decade between 970 and 980 the time space in which Novgorod made its first, more than occasional appearance on the pages of early Russian history — indeed, of the Old Russian annals. True, we have the chronicler's account of Olga's visit in 947 which may well be reliable. There is also little reason to doubt the accuracy of the generally well-informed Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus' reference to Novgorod in the mid-tenth century (that is, if it actually was the Volkhov city and not some other Novgorod, farther to the south, that he had in mind — a possibility discussed by me elsewhere). But it is only by the 970s that we find ourselves on firmer historical ground regarding events and facts associated with Novgorod and the Russian North.

In 972, Olga's son Svyatoslav, the prince of Rus' who entertained bold and ambitious plans for extending his rule into the East Balkans, had been ambushed and killed by the Pechenegs (Patzinaks) at the Dnieper rapids upon his return from one of his campaigns south into the Lower Danube region. Succeeded on the Kievan throne by his oldest son Yaropolk, Svyatoslav had previously, in 970, assigned his third son, Vladimir, to rule over — or, rather, to reside in and share the rule of — Novgorod. This is how the Nestor Chronicle tells of Vladimir's becoming prince of Novgorod in the entry for 970:

At this time came the people of Novgorod asking for themselves a prince. "If you will not come to us," said they, "then we will choose a prince of our own." Svyatoslav replied that they had need of a prince, but Yaropolk and Oleg both refused, so that Dobrynya suggested that the post should be offered to Vladimir. For Vladimir was the son of Malusha, stewardess of Olga and sister of Dobrynya. Their father was Malk of Lyubech, and Dobrynya was thus Vladimir's uncle. The citizens of Novgorod thus requested Svyatoslav to designate Vladimir to be their prince, and he went forth to Novgorod with Dobrynya, his uncle.¹

Closely echoing this account, the First Novgorod Chronicle (here quoted from the Commission copy of the younger version) reports for the same year:

At that time the people of Novgorod came, asking for a prince for themselves: "If he (i.e., a prince) is not coming to us, then we will find a prince for ourselves." Said Svyatoslav to them: "Someone should go to you." And Yaropolk and Oleg refused. And Dobrynya said to the Novgorodians: "Ask for Volodimir!" For Valdimer' was from (= the son of) Malusha, Olga's house-

keeper, and Malusha was Dobrynya's sister while Malko Lyubtsanin (= Malk Lyubchanin) was their father, and Dobrynya was [thus] Volodimer's uncle. And the Novgorodians said to Svyatoslav: "Give us Volodimer!" And he said: "He is yours." And the Novgorodians took Volodimer to them; and Volodimer went off with Dobrynya, his uncle to Novgrad (= Novgorod).²

Vladimir's rule in Novgorod came to a temporary halt in 977 when Yaropolk turned against his second brother, Oleg, whom his father Svyatoslav had installed in the territory of the D(e)revlyane, an East Slavic tribe settled west of the Dnieper and south of its tributary Pripyat'. Oleg was defeated and killed, inadvertently it seems, and, as we learn from the Nestor Chronicle:

When Vladimir in Novgorod heard that Yaropolk had killed Oleg, he was afraid, and fled abroad (in the original: beyond the sea). Then Yaropolk sent his lieutenants (*posadniki*) to Novgorod, and was thus the sole ruler in Rus'.³

A virtually identical statement can also be found in the First Novgorod Chronicle.⁴ About three years later, however, in 980, Vladimir returned from Sweden with Varangian mercenary troops and immediately established his base of operations in Novgorod. He apparently first turned against the Scandinavian-born ruler of Polotsk, Rogvolod (Old Norse, Ragnvalðr), whom he defeated and killed and whose unwilling daughter, Rogneda or Rogned' (Ragnheiðr), he married. This therefore spelled an end to the largely independent status of the Polotsk region on the Upper Dvina vis-à-vis the loosely grouped federation of East Slavic principalities under the formal overlordship of the grand prince of Kiev. Next, Vladimir waged war against his brother Yaropolk. Having come to the capital city with a large force, the crack unit of which was made up of his mercenary troops recruited from Scandinavia, Vladimir entered Kiev after Yaropolk had fled to the town of Rodnya farther to the south. It was here that Vladimir had his brother slain by two Varangian assassins after having lured him to a face-to-face meeting. Thus, in that same year, Vladimir ascended the Kievan throne, thereby becoming the supreme ruler of Rus'. Upon moving his residence to Kiev, he entrusted the administration of Novgorod to his uncle Dobrynya.⁵

For the following decades of Novgorod's history the evidence is still rather scanty. For example, we learn only from the concluding section of the lengthy chronicle entry for 988, the year the Kievan state was converted to Christianity, that Vladimir had placed his oldest son Vysheslav to rule in Novgorod. Vysheslav thus replaced or shared power with Dobrynya, and when he died — at an unspecified date, but presumably in 1010 — he was succeeded in the Volkhov city by Yaroslav, then prince of Rostov.⁶

It is remarkable how little is recorded in the Old Russian annals, including the local town chronicle, concerning the introduction, probably in 988/9, of Christianity in the city on the Volkhov. Novgorod, after all, was an early and major stronghold of paganism. In fact, a new statue of

the chief deity, Perun (the god of thunder), was erected on the bank of the river as late as 980 or very shortly thereafter by Dobrynya.⁷ Possibly, Perun was at first imposed on the people of Novgorod by the Varangian rulers who may have transferred some of the functions of their Germanic god of thunder, Thor (Þórr), to the Slavic deity. The First Novgorod Chronicle, *sub anno* 6497 (= 989), has only this to say about the advent of the Christian faith to Novgorod:

Volodimir and the entire land of Rus' were baptized. And they appointed a metropolitan in Kiev and an archbishop in Novgorod, and bishops, priests, and deacons in other towns. And there was rejoicing everywhere. And to Novgorod came Archbishop Akim of Korsun' (= Cherson) . . .

Thereupon follows a colorful tale about how this churchman destroyed the pagan sanctuary and had Perun's wooden statue cut down, dragged, and thrown into the Volkhov. The story continues with how the pagan god was verbally abused by a Novgorodian who addressed him irreverently, kicked the wooden statue floating in the river, and told it — and thus the god — that he “had eaten and drunk enough and ought to swim off now.”⁸ Full of folkloric elements and politically inspired allusions of a later time — the second half of the twelfth century, to be exact — this of course cannot be a genuine or particularly accurate account of the events associated with the introduction of Christianity in Novgorod. Even the reference to the first spiritual head of the congregation as archbishop can hardly be correct since it is known that the bishop of Novgorod was not raised to the dignity of archbishop until 1165. In all likelihood this reference merely reflects the subsequent claims of Novgorod's first archbishop Il'ya (Elijah, 1165-86), one of the city's most influential and shrewd prelates. By the same token, the statement that Akim (probably a distortion of Joachim) came from Cherson in the Crimea, a town serving as an important point of contact between the Kievan state and Byzantium, may well correspond to fact. More information on the Christianization of Novgorod, in part also legendary and strongly colored by political considerations, is contained in the much more recent, so-called Joachim Chronicle. This text is associated both with Novgorod's first bishop, Akim (Joachim), and with Patriarch Joachim (1674-90), who, previous to becoming patriarch, was metropolitan of Novgorod (1672-74). It is known only from V. N. Tatishchev's compilation in the first half of the eighteenth century. Here the story is told of how Dobrynya became instrumental in implementing Vladimir's new religious policy when he, together with the local military commander, the *tysyatskiy* Putyata, lent forceful support, “by fire and sword,” to Bishop Akim's difficult task of winning over the reluctant Novgorodians to the new faith. A subsequent resurgence and temporary prevalence of heathenism may have been subdued only in 1030 by Akim's disciple and claimed successor, Yefrem; but nothing more about his alleged tenure as bishop of Novgorod is known.⁹

By the early eleventh century, a few decades after the official conversion to Christianity in 988/9, Novgorod's history is, generally speaking,

firmly on record and need not be further pursued in any detail here. In other words, the stage thus set for its subsequent cultural evolution, we need not be concerned with closely tracing the political development of the North Russian city-state up to its eventual ruin. Rather, in this preliminary study, we will merely seek to identify in broad outline the main phases of Novgorod's independent and quasi-independent history and to indicate the major political and social factors which shaped its fate. This, together with some remarks on the physical setting of the city and its immediate surroundings, viewed as a tangible manifestation of its social structure — aspects to be explored in a separate essay — will provide the necessary background against which we can consider and assess various facets of Novgorod's cultural history. The city's intellectual and artistic life merits specific comment in terms of the particular and unique contribution its people, both natives and temporary residents, have made not only to early Russian civilization but to medieval European culture as a whole.

Novgorod's attested history until the city-republic's final surrender to Muscovy can be divided conveniently into four fairly clear-cut periods:

- (1) from the 970s to 1136,
- (2) from 1136 to 1238/40,
- (3) from 1238/40 to 1387, and
- (4) from 1387 to 1478.

The first of these periods or phases in the history of the North Russian city and its subject territories can be said to be the time when the prince, acting not only on behalf of the central authority of the Kievan state but also asserting his own, independent rights, shared power with the *veche*, which primarily seems to have represented Novgorod's landed nobility. It is clear that during this period the prince of Novgorod did, on occasion, make attempts to sever his ties with Kiev and to bring to an end Novgorod's formal recognition of Kievan supremacy over the Volkhov city and its immense hinterland. The latter, by the time it had reached its full expansion in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, extended to the coast of the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean, to the reaches of the Pechora River, and to the slopes of the North Ural Mountains. Perhaps the most noted early attempt of rebellion against Kiev was the incident in which Prince Yaroslav, in 1014, refused to keep up the payment of a substantial annual tribute to his father, Grand Prince Vladimir. Consequently, the latter prepared to move against his son, an action prevented only by Vladimir's sudden illness and death the following year.¹⁰ In fact, Yaroslav's single move to end Novgorod's dependence on Kiev has been construed, particularly by the freedom-minded townsmen on the banks of the Volkhov, as the beginning of Novgorod's independence and "glory" (*slava*). This, notwithstanding the fact that Yaroslav, once he had won the upper hand in Kiev by 1019 (after defeating his half brother Svyatopolk), vigorously reasserted the central power of the grand prince over the northern city in whose internal affairs, incidentally, he retained an active interest. The notion that with Yaroslav's rebellion of 1014 against his father the city had set out on the

road toward political autonomy has persisted in Russian oral tradition and literature and is also echoed in the famous Igor Tale.¹¹

In 1136, after an uprising of the citizens of Novgorod, instigated and directed by the mighty and influence-hungry boyars, legislative power was returned to the town's own representatives, the *veche*. The prince essentially retained only judicial power which, however, was rigorously circumscribed and which he from then on had to share with the mayor or *posadnik*. This official was originally a princely lieutenant appointed by him, but in effect soon became the chief elected spokesman of the feudal lords and representative of their interests. (In this connection it will be recalled that Yaropolk is said to have sent his *posadniks* to rule temporarily over Novgorod after Vladimir had fled to Sweden, and that Vladimir's uncle Dobrynya was dispatched as *posadnik* to Novgorod once Vladimir had succeeded to the grand-princely throne of Kiev.) Moreover, the Novgorod townspeople or, in reality, the boyars were now granted the right to invite favorably inclined or otherwise acceptable princes and to reject and expel unwanted rulers from the city. In other words, this signaled the end of the previously formalized understanding by which the oldest son of the grand prince of Kiev would automatically occupy the Novgorodian throne. From the ruler's point of view, then, Novgorod would serve merely as the stepping stone toward the highest position of power in the land, and by implication would discourage the prince of Novgorod from rebelling against or even asserting himself vis-à-vis the authority of Kiev. It is believed by some scholars that from this time on the prince was no longer allowed to reside within the city, but that he had to move his official residence, up to then at Yaroslav's Court on the right bank of the Volkhov, outside the city — to Gorodishche (subsequently known also as *Ryurikovo gorodishche*, presumably to add to its prestige). Others, among them V. L. Yanin (oral communication), are of the opinion that Yaroslav's Court on the Market Side (near the Cathedral of St. Nicholas) continued to serve as the prince's — modest — town residence while his more permanent and splendid quarters were at Gorodishche just south of Novgorod.

Toward the end of the twelfth century there was further curtailment of the prince's authority over the system of *sotnyas* (literally, 'entities of one hundred', usually comprising several street quarters and, in turn, in pairs forming one "end," *konets*). The system of "hundreds" was an administrative division of the urban community different from, and in some ways competing with, that of the *kontsy*, the latter firmly remaining in the hands of the feudal lords. The shift in power implied that the prince's direct control over the city's increasingly significant merchant population had come to an end. At the same time, a new elective office was created, that of the — now redefined — *tysyatskiy*, originally designating a military commander of a unit of one thousand men. This new official assumed considerable power, representing as he did the entire citizenry with the exception of the boyars and the people immediately dependent on them (and mainly living in the quarters of the landowners' large town estates or *usad'by*). His position was second only to that of the head of the boyars, the *posadnik*, and the other chief spokesman of the

city's upper class, the bishop (or, after 1165, archbishop). As of 1156, when Arkadiy, a native of Novgorod, was elected bishop (and, in 1158, was confirmed in his office by the metropolitan of Kiev), the Novgorod Church had, for all practical purposes, ceased to be dependent on Kiev — in much the same way as the metropolitan of Kiev had by then long gained virtual autonomy in relation to the patriarch of Constantinople. The upgrading of the Novgorod see to archbishopric a decade later thus merely signaled a formal recognition of this increase in power and importance. Soon, beginning no later than the early thirteenth century, the archbishop of Novgorod was to preside regularly over the delegated body and executive organ of the *veche*. This smaller group of men to whom the town assembly had entrusted most of the executive powers was called the Council of Notables or Lords (in Russian, *Sovet gospod*); it included both current and past *posadniks* and *tysyatskiys*, in addition to the leaders of the various "ends" and "hundreds." In reality the Council acted as the city-state's government but has occasionally also been referred to as its senate. In his capacity as chairman of the Council of Lords, the spiritual head of the archdiocese, with the title of *vladyka* (literally, "ruler"), also had to perform certain public functions. Thus, for example, he would serve as the official representative of the Republic of St. Sophia — the name itself a telling synonym for the more pompous Lord Novgorod the Great — in its external dealings with dignitaries of other Russian principalities as well as with foreign statesmen and officials. (For similar designations, i.e., making reference to a patron saint, of medieval and Renaissance city-states elsewhere in Europe, compare, among others, the Republic of San Marco — for Venice, and that of Sv. Vlaho or St. Blaise — for Dubrovnik.) This was the period when Novgorod gradually attained greater importance and a large measure of political independence. Formally continuing to acknowledge the suzerainty of the grand prince of Kiev, the Volkhov metropolis and its widespread territories remained a part of the loosely organized federation of Russian principalities constituting the strife-torn Kievan state in name only. The powerful city-republic of landed boyars and increasingly influential merchants, the latter binding the North Russian commercial center into a tight-knit fabric of international trade, had just about reached the peak of its political, economic, and cultural evolution when, all of a sudden, it faced mortal danger — the threat of invasion by the Mongols.¹²

Russians, in this particular instance allied with the steppe people of the Polovtsians (also known as Cumans), had encountered these new, militarily superior nomads — moving swiftly on horseback — for the first time in 1223. On the banks of the small river Kalka in the southeastern part of the country, the Russians and Polovtsians had suffered a stunning defeat at the hands of the invaders. After their initial victory, however, the Mongols (or, by a slightly less accurate term, Tatars) withdrew as suddenly as they had made their first, frightening appearance. But they were soon to return. In 1236, having crossed the Urals, they attacked and subdued the Volga Bulgars. The following year they turned against the Russian principality of Ryazan' whose capital they stormed, massacring

its population. Then, in the winter of 1237/38, the Mongols launched an attack on the Russian Northeast, the Vladimir-Suzdal' region, heartland of the Russian state since the transfer of the capital from Kiev to Vladimir by Andrey Bogolyubsky in the second half of the twelfth century. Their task accomplished, the advancing intruders seem to have chosen Novgorod as their next target. But although the Mongol cavalry had moved with great speed and ease on the frozen rivers and swamps during the winter, the spring thaw of 1238 forced them to abandon their operation aimed at the Volkhov city after they had captured the town of Torzhok halfway between Moscow and Novgorod. Instead, the Mongols now turned south, regrouped, conquered and devastated additional Russian territories, notably Chernigov and the adjoining area northeast of Kiev. In 1240, they captured the former capital itself. They then quickly moved on and in two separate thrusts invaded and passed through southern Poland, virtually reaching the borders of the Holy Roman Empire (after their victory, in 1241, over Poles and Germans at Legnica/Liegnitz in Lower Silesia). Simultaneously, after having crossed the Carpathian Mountains, they smashed the army of the Hungarian king and, with their advance guards, reached the shores of the Adriatic. But again, possibly because of difficulties in keeping the long lines of supply and communication going, and in the face of some internal political problems, the Mongols under their new khan, Batu, retreated hastily from their incursions into Central Europe. They now established themselves in the Lower Volga area, with the capital of Saray (subsequently, Old Saray) as the center of their new state, known as the Khanate of the Golden Horde. Russia, with the exception of Novgorod and its territories, remained firmly under Mongol control.

Meanwhile, the situation of the North Russian city-state was peculiar, indeed unique. True, the fall both of Vladimir, the seat of the grand prince, and of the old capital Kiev put an end to any and all allegiance the Volkhov city and its people may have had, if only as a formality, to a supreme ruler of Russia. The almost miraculous salvation — perceived by many as such — of the city from the approaching Mongols in 1238 coincided with the election of the barely twenty-year old Alexander as prince of Novgorod. The young prince and his astute advisers immediately seized the opportunity to negotiate an agreement with the conquerors of most of the Russian lands. Accordingly, the Republic of Novgorod and its prince acknowledged the Mongol ruler as their formal overlord. In return for this, and for the high price of committing themselves to pay a substantial annual tribute to the khan, the Novgorodians were spared the fate of the rest of the country. No Mongol troops were permanently stationed on its territory and no Tatar ever entered the city unless specifically invited and with the permission of the prince and the nobles.¹³ The special relationship between Novgorod and the Golden Horde was formalized and symbolized by the khan's granting the city and its prince his charter of privilege (*yarlyk*) to be reconfirmed in the course of the Russian ruler's frequent visits to the Mongol capital. The people and the prince of Novgorod thus accomplished almost exactly what, a century and a half later, the patrician merchants of another

Slavic city-republic, Dubrovnik (Ragusa) on the Adriatic coast, would succeed in attaining by negotiating, patiently and shrewdly, a similar agreement with another “infidel” invader, the Ottoman Turks, who were then holding Southeastern Europe under their sway.

The position and role of Alexander as prince of Novgorod at this critical juncture in the city-state’s history was most unusual also in terms of his relationship with the Novgorod commune and its oligarchic leadership. Having succeeded to the throne at a time of great and imminent danger threatening the republic from the east, he was soon called upon to defend Novgorod on its western borders. In 1240 he defeated a Swedish army on the banks of the Neva, which later earned him the surname Nevsky. However, in 1249, a second Swedish “crusade” in Finland, directed against Novgorod, was launched. This time — but not earlier, in 1240, as has been suggested — the Swedish troops were under the command of the able Earl Birger (Birger jarl), the military and *de facto* political leader of the kingdom across the Baltic. Once more the Swedes gained the upper hand in central Finland (Tavastland). Novgorod’s defeat on this occasion was due, at least in part, to Alexander’s absence from his realm while on a prolonged visit to Mongolia (1247-50). A final peace treaty between Novgorod and Sweden was not concluded until considerably later, in 1323, at the fortress of Orekhovets/Nöteborg. By that agreement the town of Viborg in southeastern Finland was recognized as the easternmost outpost of Swedish dominance in the area. The eastern portion of the Carelian Isthmus and the banks of the Neva remained under Novgorod’s control.¹⁴ Briefly abandoning his princely position in Novgorod as early as 1242 — an action resulting from difficulties with the town’s strong-willed citizenry — the charismatic Alexander Nevsky was called back to Novgorod to defend the republic once more, this time against an adversary threatening the city-state from the southwest.

After a relatively brief rule over Estonia by the Danes under King Waldemar II (called the Victorious) in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the Baltic lands had become entirely dominated by two German orders, who after the Fourth Crusade became active in this last pagan corner of Europe. The Brothers of the Sword or Livonian Knights (as they were subsequently called) were founded in 1204 in support of the newly established bishopric of Riga (1201). And, toward the end of the 1220s, the Knights of the Cross, better known as the Teutonic Order, were resettled under their grand master, Herman von Salza, in northern Poland, at Chelmno/Kulm on the fringes of the duchy of Masovia. Assigned the task of converting the pagan Prussians and after having conquered most of their territory, the knights of that war-waging spiritual order soon extended their expansive interests to the north and the east. They turned against Lithuania, then still heathen, and, in 1237, the two German orders were merged into one, that of the Teutonic Knights, retaining only as a token two separate regional administrations. By 1242, the German Order, aided by Estonian auxiliary troops, was ready for a major showdown with the by now troubled boyar republic.¹⁵ And again it was Prince Alexander Nevsky who averted disaster: in a battle fought in

part on the ice of Lake Peipus, the Russians — Novgorodians, Pskovians, and Suzdalians — routed the army of the Teutonic (Livonian) Knights and their Estonian allies, taking a great number of prisoners among the Germans. Strengthened by his military exploits against Swedes and Germans in the beginning of the 1240s, Alexander subsequently had less difficulty with the Mongols whose loyal and favorite vassal he remained. In this connection it should be pointed out that the Mongols, once they were in control, on the whole showed great restraint in their dealings with the cooperative dignitaries of the Orthodox Church, subsequent claims to the contrary by Russian clerics notwithstanding. In 1246, upon the death of his father, Alexander assumed the title of grand prince of Novgorod with the approval of the khan and in 1252, at the instigation of the Mongol ruler, also became grand prince of Vladimir and as such nominal head of all Mongol-occupied Russian lands. At his death in 1263, Alexander had thus achieved as much in terms of military and political success as was possible under the prevailing circumstances.

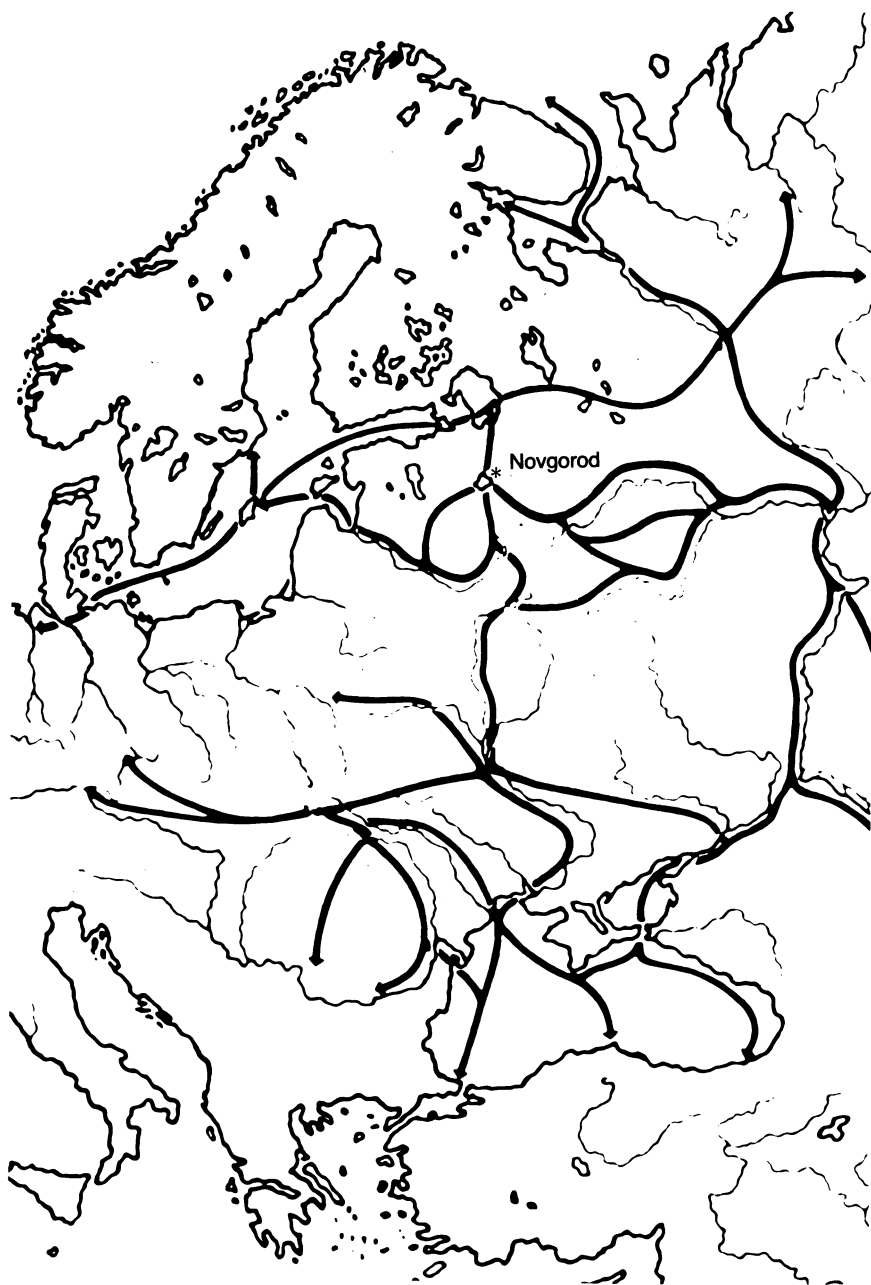
While the military, political, and ecclesiastic penetration of the Baltic lands by Germans constitutes perhaps the most conspicuous early manifestation of what has been termed *Drang nach Osten*, this German drive toward Eastern Europe took another less obvious form as well. To be sure, it went hand in hand with the political expansion but ultimately turned out to be of even greater significance. This was the eastward spreading of the Hansa or, rather, the establishment of merchant towns forming part of the Hanseatic League, which occurred roughly at this time and opened a massive flow of German traders and craftsmen to the East.

As is well known, Novgorod was from its very emergence eminently oriented toward commerce. Grown out of a cluster of small settlements or townships serving, initially, as tradeposts for local — Slavic and Finnic — tribes, the Volkhov city was situated on the waterway “from the Varangians to the Greeks,” that is, from Scandinavia to Byzantium. It also formed a major link between Northern Europe and the Middle East, notably the Caliphate of Baghdad, with the Volga providing the main artery for moving goods (which, after having made the sea travel across the Caspian, would be further transported by caravan). Thus, Novgorod early became one of the chief points of distribution and transshipment in an international network of trade routes. To begin with, its westward trade seems to have been focused on Sweden, in particular, the Mälars district (with the towns of Birka and Sigtuna) and the island of Gotland, as well as the southern shores of the Baltic with its several West Slavic, i.e., Wendish-Pomeranian, and Danish centers of commerce. In those early days, in the eleventh century and at the beginning of the twelfth, one of the places visited by Novgorod tradesmen seems to have been a Slavic merchant town located near the mouth of the river Trave, at the place where soon thereafter, in 1143, Lübeck was to be founded. The very name of Lübeck (derived from *Lyubitsi*, etymologically identical with that of the Russian town of Lyubech) betrays its Slavic origin. In 1158, this town was brought under the rule of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. From then on, it gradually became the main trade center of the

southern Baltic region. At the same time, German merchants who had established themselves in Visby on Gotland began to compete with the local tradesmen (Swedish *farmannabönder*) of the Baltic island's countryside. Soon, Gotland, with both its enterprising trading peasant population and the mercantile German townsmen of Visby, became Novgorod's major partner in its commercial contact with the West. The Gotlanders, perhaps Scandinavians and Germans jointly, founded their own facility or "factory" (branch office and warehouse) in the heart of Novgorod, on the Market (or Merchant) Side — *Torgovaya storona* — near the piers where the vessels bound for foreign parts were berthed. Conceivably, the Gotland (or "Gothic") Yard — Russian *Gotskiy dvor*, Swedish *Gutagård* — with the Church of St. Olaf was the direct successor of an Old Scandinavian *farmannagarðr*. This term is by some surmised to be echoed in the Old Russian *Poromonī dvorū*, known from the chronicles' account of the first major conflict between the Varangians and the people of Novgorod; the equation of the Norse word with the Russian designation is by no means certain, however.¹⁶

At any rate, the Gotland Yard, probably founded no later than the mid-twelfth century and perhaps even earlier, was older than the other, similar foreign-trade station in Novgorod, the so-called German Yard (*Nemetskiy dvor*). Subsequently, because it had its own church — so far only known from written records but not yet excavated — the German establishment was also called the Yard or Court of St. Peter (German *Peterhof*). The German Yard is believed to have been set up toward the end of the twelfth century and was located not very far from the Gotland Yard (though not directly adjoining it) and close to Market Square (*Torg*) in the Slavno End.¹⁷ Soon *Peterhof* became the main branch office of Lübeck and other Hanseatic merchants. Originally perhaps merely a subsidiary of the older Gotland Yard, it was the German Yard that, in the heyday of the Hansa — that is, in the late fourteenth and throughout most of the fifteenth century — served as the official Novgorod base, with office, storage facilities, and its own house rules (so-called *schras*), of the league of German merchant towns. The Hansa factory in Novgorod was shut down only in 1494 by Grand Prince Ivan III, more than a decade after the city-state had formally ceased to exist as an autonomous political entity. It was not reopened until 1514, when the Hansa reached a compromise agreement with the Muscovite state. This agreement contained a number of concessions pertaining, in particular, to the rights of Russian merchants in the Hanseatic towns of Livonia (at that time including northern Estonia). In effect, however, this was merely part of a broader normalization of the commercial relations between Muscovy and the West, and no longer just Novgorod and its former trading partner.

Initially Novgorod tradesmen, too, traveled to Visby (where, in the early thirteenth century, they even had their own establishment with its — Orthodox — church right in the heart of town¹⁸), to Lübeck, and to other merchant towns. Later, however, the nature of the commercial contacts between Novgorod and the West changed. The Hansa became the North Russian city's primary trading partner and most often — toward the end



Trade routes linking Novgorod with Europe and Asia.

exclusively — only the German merchants traveled to and temporarily settled in Novgorod. They came either by land, following various routes through the Baltic territories, or along the established sea lanes, using their sturdier, broadly built freight boats, the well-known Lübeck cog (German *Kogge*). Numerous trade agreements concluded between Novgorod and the Baltic cities — Lübeck, Riga, Visby, etc. — guaranteeing the German merchants free access and safe conduct, testify to this formal understanding. In the meantime, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Volkhov city's trade with the Hansa shifted more and more away from Lübeck, at that time engaged in a lengthy conflict with Denmark, to the Livonian towns of Riga, Dorpat (Tartu), and Reval (Tallinn).¹⁹

Once Novgorod had asserted itself against Swedes and Germans militarily, it was able, by keeping and even increasing its western trade, to continue to act as a major link with Northern and Western Europe. It could manage this in a period when the rest of Russia, because of the Mongol occupation, was to a large extent cut off from normal connections with its western neighbors. In addition to stabilizing its relations with the Swedes and the Germans, a process interrupted by many setbacks in the form of renewed military confrontation, the Novgorod Republic was reaching an arrangement — occasionally disrupted by armed conflicts — with yet another power in the area, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. An ally of Novgorod in opposing German expansion in the Baltic lands, Lithuania comprised a sizable East Slavic population and had reconquered large areas of Russian (or, to be exact, Ruthenian, i.e., Ukrainian and Belorussian) territories from the Mongols including, incidentally, the old capital of Kiev. In 1386 the Lithuanian grand duke, Jogaila, married the ruling queen of Poland, Jadwiga, converted to the Catholic faith, and, as king of Poland, assumed the name Władysław II Jagiełło. He thus founded a new dynasty and combined the two states into a personal union with its foreign policy directed initially against the Teutonic Knights. The new dual state of Poland-Lithuania now provided Novgorod with a valuable counterbalance in the republic's precarious maneuvering between its mighty southwestern neighbor and the increasingly menacing, successful "gatherer of the Russian lands," Muscovy.²⁰

If the second period in the independent city-state's history, which lasted from 1136 until 1238/40, marked the republic's ascent to power and prosperity, the following, third period, from 1238/40 to 1387, was one when Novgorod, although frequently involved in warfare, reached a certain plateau of external stability and economic recovery. The later came about after the city-state had also suffered from the material hardships inflicted on Russia by the Mongols. The return to normalcy was largely a result of extensive foreign trade and continued income derived from the city's vast, efficiently administered northern and eastern hinterland. Politically, the vassalage under the ruler of the Golden Horde gave the Republic of St. Sophia considerable protection, particularly against its eastern neighbors, the Russian principalities in whose dealings — notably, the rivalry between Moscow and Tver' — Novgorod on occasion managed to interfere. Thus, the North Russian

republic had in fact merely exchanged one overlord, the virtual phantom administration of the grand prince of Kiev, later of Vladimir, for another, admittedly more powerful but, as it turned out, more cooperative one, the khan of the Golden Horde. After the military and political achievements of Novgorod's glorious and shrewd leader, Alexander Nevsky, in the mid-thirteenth century, the influence of the prince in the city-state's internal affairs again declined sharply. His power base among the citizenry was further reduced by a loss of control over the administrative *sotnya* infrastructure and by the ascent to power of the *tysyatskiy*, whose authority nearly matched that of the representatives of the propertied boyars, the *posadnik* and the *vладыка*. In the early fourteenth century, the townspeople abolished the position of prince of Novgorod altogether and, without a prince of their own, merely recognized the formal sovereignty of an outside ruler, for example, that of the grand prince of Tver' (Mikhail Yaroslavich Tver'skoy, 1304-19). It was only Novgorod's conqueror, Grand Prince Ivan III of Moscow, who, as a mere token, restored the title of prince of Novgorod.

It is one of the ironies of history that the loosening of the Mongol grip on Russia also signaled the beginning of the decline in power for Novgorod — the occupier's Russian ally and model satellite. As early as the winter of 1386-87, less than a year after the establishment of the formidable personal union between Poland and Lithuania, Dmitriy Donskoy of Moscow, the victor of Kulikovo, turned against the Republic of St. Sophia. In the course of his military expedition against the Volkhov city, he devastated large portions of its vicinity as well as more distant parts of the Novgorod land. This time the city-republic was let down by its recent ally, Lithuania, whose new strong man, Vytautas (Vitovt, Witold; grand duke, 1392-1430), a cousin and former opponent of Jogaila-Jagiełło, had switched from the Orthodox to the Catholic faith so as to bring himself in line with the official policy of the newly established dual monarchy. Novgorod was now forced to agree to harsh and humiliating conditions, dictated by the Muscovite autocrat, conditions only allegedly restoring the situation "in its olden form" (*na vsei starině*); in reality, they rendered the city and the widespread territories it administered to a large extent dependent on Muscovy. Moreover, a fine of 8,000 rubles was imposed on the people of Novgorod and the grand prince of Moscow installed his own governor or lieutenant (*namestnik*) and tax collectors (*chernobortsy*) in the city.²¹

The fourth and last period of the by now only quasi-autonomous Novgorod, from 1387 to 1478, is that of the republic's steady political decline. The city-state, desperately trying to maneuver between the two newly emerged great powers of Eastern Europe, was in fact no longer able to steer a successful middle course. As the Muscovite ruler — the only truly independent East European sovereign embracing Orthodoxy after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 — continued to "gather" other Russian lands, the position of Novgorod became more and more precarious. After a stormy meeting of the town assembly in 1471, where the pro-Lithuanian and the pro-Muscovite parties (to some extent also representing latent Catholic versus Orthodox interests) clashed, the

Novgorodians sent a sizable army of allegedly 30,000–40,000 men against a much smaller Muscovite troop, believed to have numbered a mere 4,000–5,000 soldiers. Despite their quantitative superiority, the Novgorodians were defeated and the *veche* of the besieged city surrendered to Grand Prince Ivan III in August of 1471. Yet Moscow did not immediately move to annex the city-state. Tensions between the Lithuanian and the Muscovite factions continued to mount and reached another peak in 1475. Called in by his Novgorodian followers, Ivan appeared in the city “to judge and to legislate in his patrimony.” Aware of the sensitivity of the political situation and of the cultural and economic ramifications, the Muscovite grand prince again delayed final action, this time until late 1477, when he set out with his army against the once so mighty Lord Novgorod the Great. In January of 1478 the Volkhov city definitely succumbed and was formally incorporated into the Muscovite state. Thus the proud Republic of St. Sophia ceased to exist. As was mentioned above, in 1494, the Hansa establishment, heretofore enjoying extraterritorial status of sorts, was closed down. And in 1510/11, Novgorod’s “younger brother” and onetime satellite town (*prigorod*), Pskov, followed suit and became part of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. Perhaps it was not a mere coincidence that in the same year, 1510, the Pskovian abbot Filofey (Philotheus), in an epistle directed to the son of Ivan III, Grand Prince Vassiliy III, formulated for the first time the much-quoted theological and political doctrine declaring Moscow the Third Rome. Ivan IV, known as the Terrible, or, more accurately, the Awesome, completed the work of his predecessors in 1570/71 by perpetrating a veritable bloodbath among the townspeople of Novgorod, already decimated by hardships and deportations. It was at the hands of Ivan’s personal security force, the dreaded *oprichniki*, that a great number of Novgorodians, particularly members of the clergy, perished. Ivan IV also administratively redistributed the former Novgorod land so as to eliminate all traces of its onetime identity and cohesion. The memories of the Muscovite autocrat’s punitive action and personal visitation on the North Russian city persist in the local tradition to the present day.²²

It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century, with the founding of St. Petersburg by Peter the Great, that Novgorod, which in the early seventeenth century had briefly come under Swedish rule, found a worthy heir. The metropolis on the Neva was both to serve as a “window to the West,” as the Volkhov city had once done, and to become the center of a flowering, truly European civilization in the mid and late eighteenth century, under Peter’s daughter, Empress Elizabeth, and, above all, at the refined court of her brilliant successor, Catherine II, by later generations deservedly named the Great.

Topography and Demography

A Horizontal and a Vertical View of Novgorod's Population

In exploring the physical setting in which the particular Novgorodian brand of Old Russian culture came to develop and flourish, and the social makeup of the people who generated it and carried it on, let us first take a look at the topography of the city and its environs. As has been discussed elsewhere, it is now rather generally believed that the urban community on the Upper Volkhov grew out of three settlements, two on the left bank of the river and one on the right. By the time they had reached the size of small townships, these settled areas coalesced and were to a certain extent — never completely — integrated into a single larger unit. The early town thus comprised three semi-autonomous “ends” (*kontsy*) grouped around the previously uninhabited district of the *Detinets*, the later kremlin or citadel. This central section, originally perhaps merely a defensible haven, was soon to become the site of common worship (first pagan, subsequently Christian) and joint administration. In the earliest days the terrain of the *Detinets* seems to have been transected by a small, shallow stream emptying into the Volkhov from the west; but this creek was soon drained and its bed filled with earth. It was only then that the tract of land to be occupied by the citadel took on its later shape and attained a fairly even elevation and commanding position. The first protective walls enclosing the city's administrative and religious center were, as we know, erected in 1044, although it is conceivable that they replaced some earlier and more primitive, noncontinuous earthwork fortifications.

What remains a matter of controversy is whether the three original villages on the Upper Volkhov — Nerev, Lyudin, and Slavno — all came into being at roughly the same time or whether one is older than the others. At one time, archeologists were inclined to consider the earliest of the three to be the township on the right bank of the Volkhov, Slavno, the first settlement of the local Slavic tribe of the Slovene. Possibly it was connected with the hill-fort of Gorodishche farther to the south, at the outlet of the Volkhov from Lake Il'men'. More recently, however, it has been proposed that it was the old, presumably originally Finnic village of Nerev on the left river bank, situated more to the north, that

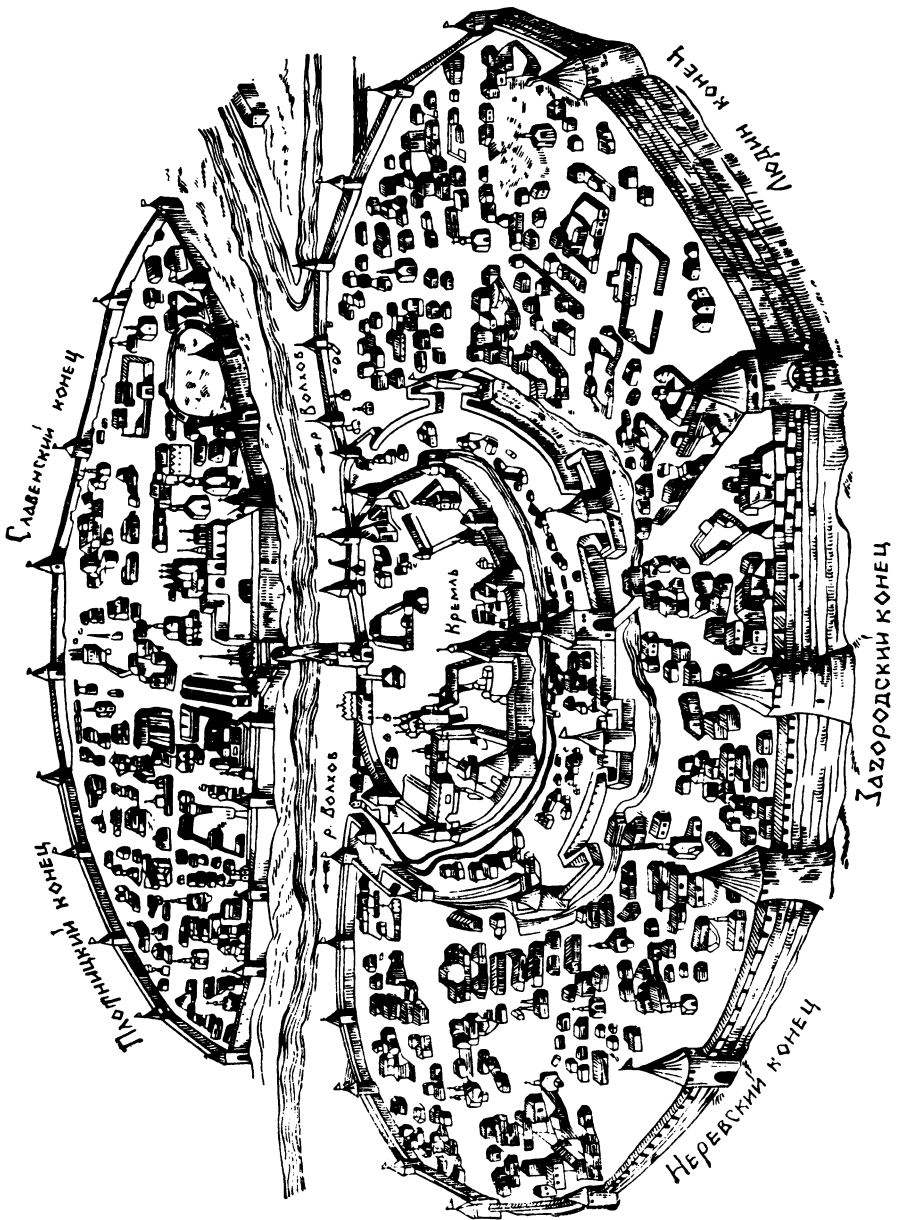
was there first. Still other researchers have claimed that both Nerev and Lyudin — the latter populated early by the controversial Slavic or Slavic-Baltic tribe of the Krivichi but at first perhaps likewise a Finnic settlement — predate Slavno.¹ The available archeological evidence is hardly conclusive in this respect; and even if a determination could be made on archeological grounds, it would have little bearing on the general subject matter with which we will be concerned here. Rather, what matters for our purpose is the fact that Slavno, Nerev, and Lyudin were indeed the oldest districts of the city. Their immediate predecessors were in existence before the formation of Novgorod as a whole — the larger city being a development associated with the emergence of the *Detinets* (or *gorod* proper) as the center of the New Town (i.e., Novgorod).

Some scholars tend to think that the number three of the original settlements-turned-“ends” is alluded to in a few references to the symbolic (at one time even magic) figure three, perhaps also three hundred, in the Old Russian chronicles and other historical sources. Thus, M. Kh. Aleshkovsky has pointed out that in the Laurentian copy of the chronicle text, in the entry for the year 1169 (that is, in the Suzdal’ Chronicle following the Nestor Chronicle in this codex), we are told about the miraculous lament of *three* icons of the Holy Virgin in *three* of Novgorod’s churches in connection with a complaint regarding an injustice done by the citizens of Novgorod to the people of Suzdal’ *three* years earlier, that is, in 1167. For this year the local chronicle also reports the assassination of *three* men siding with the prince of Suzdal’.² By the same token, it is less likely that the mysterious three hundred golden belts, mentioned in a Low German account submitted to the city of Riga in 1331, is a synonym for the Novgorod *veche* or, for that matter, the *Sovet gospod* (as had been suggested earlier) and therefore somehow echoes the original threefold constituency of the city’s population. Rather, as was persuasively argued by K. Rasmussen, the designation “300 golden belts” in some way refers to a portion — probably the three most wealthy entities — of the *sotnya* system, the one competing with the North Russian commune’s organization by “ends”.³

In 1168 another borough, the so-called Carpenters’ End (*Plotnitskiy konets*), was created and added to Old Novgorod. Presumably the establishment of the separate fourth “end” was a concession made by the town magnates to the merchant population living in the as yet unincorporated district to the north of the Slavno End. As suggested by its name, this district also seems to have housed a considerable number of craftsmen, in particular carpenters — a most important trade in view of the rich supply of timber in the region. Similarly, the alternative name of the ancient *Lyudin konets* (People’s End, though this could possibly be a folk-etymological reinterpretation of an earlier Finnic toponym), namely, *Goncharskiy konets* (or Potters’ End), is thought to indicate that there were quite a few artisans, mostly engaged in the manufacture of ceramics, residing in that part of town. Of course, boyars, who had their town estates (*usad’by*) primarily along *Prusskaya ulitsa* on the northwestern edge of the borough, and a good many clerics attached to St. Sophia Cathedral as well as to some local parish churches, also lived in this

particular “end.” The landed nobility seems to have agreed to increasing the number of *kontsy* — the administrative units firmly in the hands of the feudal lords — to four in anticipation of an assault on Novgorod by the prince of Suzdal’ and his men in retaliation for the events that had taken place in 1167 and which were overtly directed against the North-east Russian principality (cf. above). At any rate, in the First Novgorod Chronicle (older version as recorded in the Synodal copy), in the entry for 1169, mention is made of a unit of four hundred Novgorodians who were dispatched to the region “beyond the Voloĭ” to serve as a tax-collector’s guard. While on their mission, they were attacked by a numerically superior force from Suzdal’ which, however, the Novgorodians managed to fend off. The figure of four hundred associated with this episode is considered to reflect for the first time the new regional structure of the Volkhov city, each of the four *kontsy* supposedly marshaling one hundred armed men.⁴

A fifth and last borough was formally established in Old Novgorod only toward the end of the thirteenth century. This was the *Zagorodskiy konets*, a designation occasionally rendered in English as the Suburban End but more properly translated “the end beyond the *gorod* (i.e., the *Detinets*).⁵ It was indeed located on the other side of the citadel (in relation to a central position, on or near the river), that is, west of the *Detinets*, between the Nerev End in the north and the Lyudin End in the south, with Prussian Street forming the boundary. It seems that the district long known simply as *Zagorod’ye* was not incorporated as a separate borough under the jurisdiction and supervision of the boyar-dominated *veche* until sometime during or shortly after the 1260s. This tentative chronology is based on the following reasoning: In Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich’s so-called Charter about road-deckings (wooden roadway pavements) there is a section — possibly inserted later — relating to the administrative entities known as *sotnyas* (“hundreds”). Of the ones enumerated here, only eight are said to have been town *sotnyas*, together forming the then existing four “ends.” A ninth town *sotnya* was apparently not yet subject to the authority of the *veche* and a tenth is explicitly mentioned as being under the jurisdiction of the prince. The eight regular town “hundreds” as well as the tenth princely *sotnya* had their respective counterparts in rural *sotnyas* (subsequently paired into so-called *pyatinas* or “fifths”; see below) whereas the ninth *sotnya*, headed by its own *sotskiy* but not yet part of any *konets*, lacked such an equivalent in the countryside. It can be gathered, however, that at the time of the drafting of this particular charter or, at any rate, the section or addition pertaining to the street deckings, the city still consisted of only four “ends.” Depending on how one dates this document, the *terminus ad quem* for the founding of the *Zagorodskiy konets* would be either 1264 or sometime between 1265 and 1267.⁶ It appears, though, that *Zagorod’ye* had existed as a separate district, only partially settled, for about two centuries prior to its incorporation as a full-fledged borough within the administrative structure of Old Novgorod and its achievement of the formal status of “end” in the late thirteenth century. Chudintseva Street, cutting right through *Zagorod’ye*, and Prussian Street on its



Pictorial plan of Old Novgorod as shown on a late-17th-century Icon of the Sign (after Yanin)

southeastern edge seem to have been dotted with estates of wealthy nobles and merchants engaged in long-distance trade after the area had become an "end," that is, turned into the *Zagorodskiy konets*.

In this connection it is interesting to note that a regular town wall surrounding and protecting all of Old Novgorod seems not to have been erected until the late fourteenth century.⁷ Therefore, up to the 1390s, the city was quite different from other major medieval towns of Western and Central Europe. Even the protective walls of the *Detinets*, which in their earliest form can be traced back to 1044 (at which time, however, they enclosed a considerably smaller area than the citadel), had not actually converted the center section of town into a genuine fortress. Thus it has been ascertained that some of the early streets of Old Novgorod with their wooden deckings originally continued right into the terrain of the subsequently enlarged *Detinets*. The Novgorod kremlin became a fully defensible, large-scale citadel, constructed of stone, only during the fourteenth century when Italian architects were called in for the purpose.

At the same time it should be pointed out that the earliest individual *kontsy* (Slavno, Nerev, and Lyudin) were surrounded by a belt of fortifications and ramparts, thus reflecting their former status of separate settlements. In this sense, then, these original townships were physically not fully integrated into the larger city but instead retained, along with the various "end" (*konchanskiy*) forms of government, a certain measure of separate, regional identity. Thus there is some — albeit indirect — evidence that Prince Vseslav of Polotsk, who in 1067 turned against Novgorod, was able to capture Novgorod proper, that is, the *Detinets* with St. Sophia Cathedral. But he apparently failed, or perhaps not even attempted, to enter the stockaded area of the Nerev End and bypassed the likewise enclosed and thus defensible Lyudin End. It has been suggested that Prince Vseslav's campaign against Novgorod constituted an attempt to bring the Russian North under the rule of the tribe of the Krivichi. Or, possibly, he was bent on renewing a North Russian federation by uniting some of the major tribes and towns of the region against the central authority of the Kievan grand prince. But, obviously, the earlier Krivichian population of Lyudin (if we are to adopt V. L. Yanin's and his followers' conception of the initial ethnic makeup of Novgorod) was either not eager to side with the ruler of Polotsk or had been substantially weakened. In any case, Prince Vseslav must have approached the heart of Novgorod through *Zagorod'ye*, at that time sparsely populated and, not yet being an "end," open to attack. In subsequent centuries, other conquerors of the Volkhov city — Andrey Bogolyubsky of Vladimir in 1167, a hundred years after Vseslav's expedition, and the Muscovite rulers, Ivan III in the late fifteenth and Ivan IV in the sixteenth century — followed essentially the same track when marching on the North Russian metropolis.⁸

To some extent, the lack of a unified defense system and full integration was compensated for by Novgorod's Church. It spread its houses of worship more or less evenly throughout the city while keeping its own unchallenged center inside the *Detinets*, namely, at St. Sophia Cathedral

and the adjoining episcopal palace, known as the House of St. Sophia (*Dom sv. Sofii*). Perhaps even more importantly, the Church established a chain of largely fortified monasteries in the immediate environs of the city, thus providing it if not with a formidable outer defense system then at least with an "early warning system." To cite N. J. Dejevsky:

Many monasteries appeared within a circumference of 3-4 km around Novgorod in the 12th century. These certainly formed the first line of defence around the open town. On the west bank five monasteries were built in an irregular line extending 4 km southward from Novgorod to the 12th century Yurievskii monastery. It is most probable that four more monasteries formed the northern extension of this line in the 12th century. The sites of two lie just within the later town wall, and two more lie just outside the northern section of the wall. — A similar line of monasteries seems also to have formed on the east bank in the 12th century. The northern end of this line, the 12th century Antoniev monastery, commanded the river above Novgorod, just as the Yurievskii monastery did below the town. Two monasteries formed a line extending southwards from the Antoniev monastery to the edge of the original east bank quarter. Their sites now lie just within the town wall. These monasteries overlooked the main land route linking Novgorod with Vladimir and Moscow. The east bank quarter itself was protected by a flood plain and a river beyond. One monastery stood on an island in that river and another further south on the east bank of the river. — The topography of Novgorod's churches and monasteries in the 12th century suggests the way in which the church extended its authority in the town. In the first half of the century churches were built along the town's main thoroughfare, i.e., the River Volkhov, and the market-place, which was the town's commercial heart. In the second half of the century church construction extended into the residential quarters and parish churches proliferated. It seems that Novgorod's prelates first consolidated their influence over the town's main thoroughfare and business district, and then extended it over the residential area. At the same time, they girded the town with approximately 14 monasteries, all within 4 km of the bishop's palace.⁹

This is not the place to discuss the institutional implications or the architectural and artistic significance of Novgorod's churches and outlying monasteries. Both topics will be treated at some length in separate essays. Yet, regardless whether individual building projects were initiated and commissioned by the spiritual head of the city or whether he and his fellow clerics merely recruited wealthy patrons (including the prince of Novgorod), there can be no doubt that the carefully planned construction policy of the Church contributed significantly to physically integrating the various districts of the town. It served to

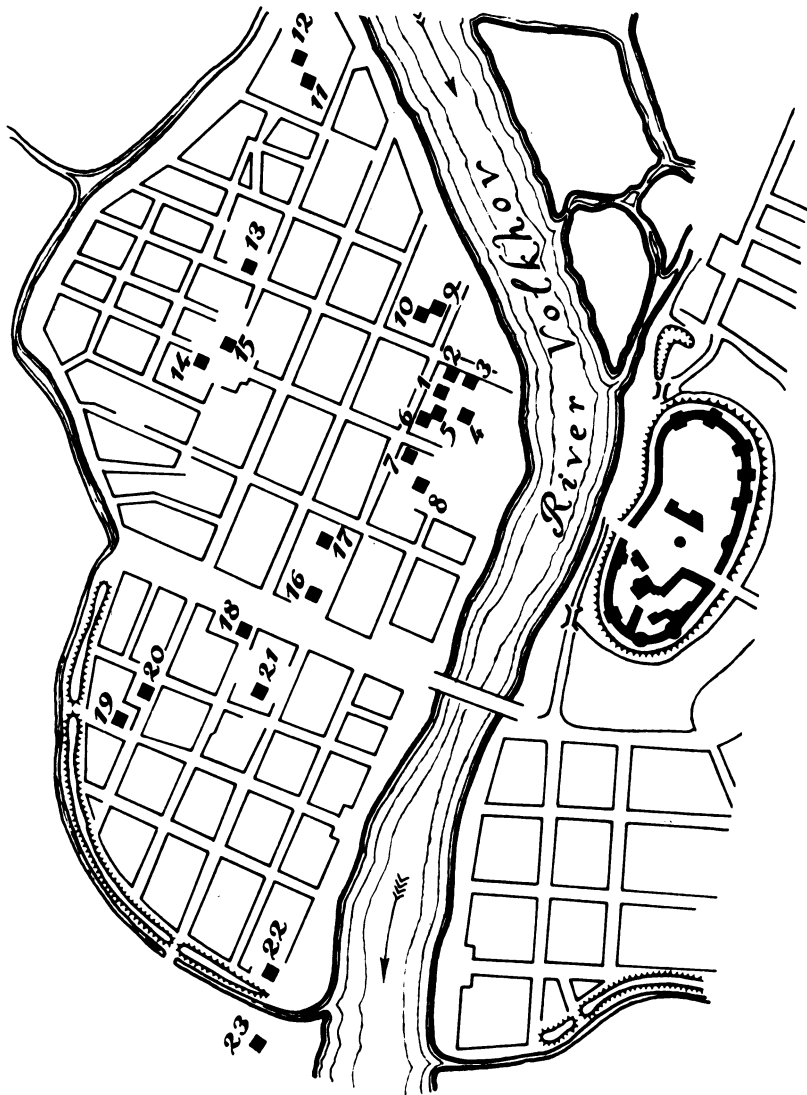
shape the city's coherence and uniformity, some remaining vestiges of its complex origin and regional diversity notwithstanding. Furthermore, the planners and implementers of this policy added to Novgorod's unique, protected position by establishing a number of defensible monasteries in and around the city's outskirts, centrally controlled by the Cathedral and House of St. Sophia from the very heart of the urban community.

Although Novgorod eventually became one of medieval Europe's most populous and densely settled cities, the growth process was a slow and gradual one.¹⁰ Obviously, in the initial stages of the city's recorded history not even all the territory within the narrow bounds of the old town was used for residential construction. This was particularly true of the central section, that of the *Detinets*, at first with no permanent residential settlement at all (the streets extending into that portion of town were of a later date), as well as of the open districts which were transformed into and incorporated as "ends" only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (the *Plotnitskiy* and *Zagorodskiy kontsy*). Moreover, some of the tracts on or near the right bank of the Volkhov, which were set aside for commercial activities, could evidently not be used for building residential quarters. But, to some extent, the same also applied to those parts of the three earliest settled boroughs farther away from the mercantile center of town. Here, too, the first houses seem to have been semi-rural homesteads which were subsequently turned into urban manors (*usad'by*), belonging to the soon-to-crystallize class of wealthy boyars. It was when these estates were being linked up by roadways paved with wooden deckings of crudely worked half-logs (a new layer being added every thirty years or so) that a genuinely urban settlement began to take form. These early medieval roadways or streets (*ulitsy*), along which other dwellings soon mushroomed, were by no means straight or laid out in a consistent and regular pattern according to some overall city plan. In fact, Novgorod did not get a symmetric, coherently conceived network of streets until much later, in the days of Catherine the Great. At that time, on the left-bank Sofia Side, that network came to consist of a semicircle of parallel roads around the citadel with cross streets converging on it. On the opposite Market Side, the streets ran parallel and perpendicular to each other. And it was only during that time that the old town's many small crooked streets and lanes disappeared forever or, rather, until some were excavated and reconstructed by archeologists in the twentieth century. In other words, in the late eighteenth century the old roadways of Novgorod were paved over and replaced by a system of more modern, straight, and generally much broader streets.¹¹ Even the major thoroughfares of Old Novgorod (whose continuation as highways in the countryside usually extended deep into one of Novgorod's colonial "fifths" or *pyatinas*) were not preserved as such and were either simply covered over or underwent major modification and adjustment to fit the city's new street network. These more important, larger roads were, among others, the previously mentioned Chudintseva Street passing through the Suburban End, Prussian Street forming the boundary between that district and the Lyudin End,



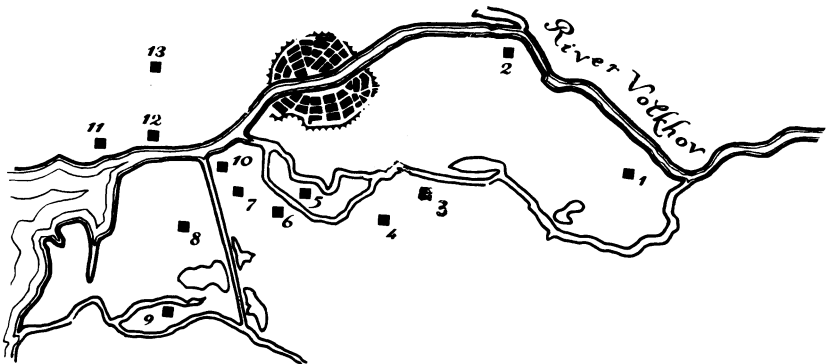
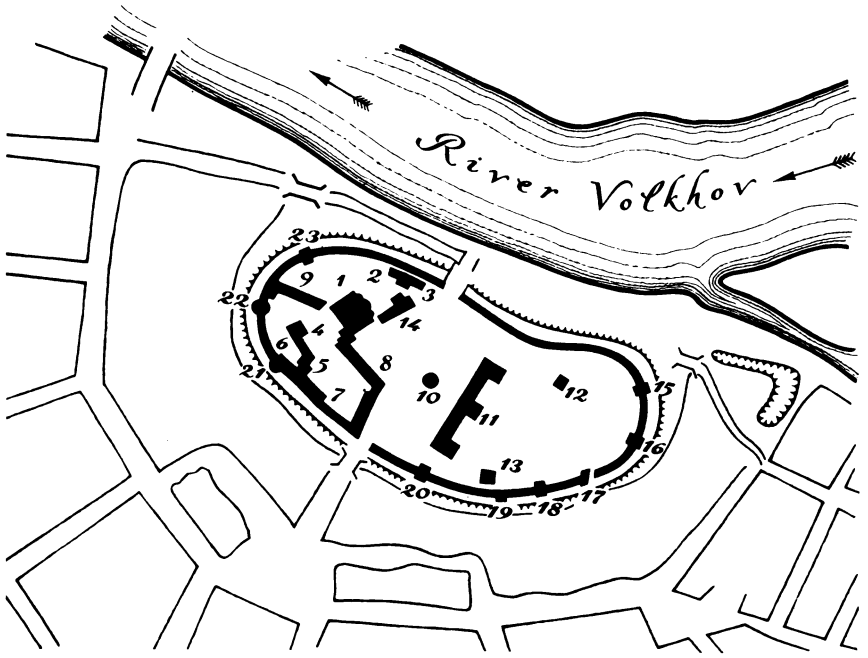
Key to plan of Sophia Side (after Karger)

1. White tower
2. Church of St. Blaise in Volosova Street
3. Church of the Holy Trinity in Redyatina Street
4. Church of the Persuasion of Thomas
5. Church of St. John the Almsgiver
6. Church of SS. Peter and Paul on Sinich'ya Hill
7. Ruins of the Church of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin in the Tithe Monastery
8. Church of the Twelve Apostles
9. Church of St. Theodore Stratilates in Shchirkova Street
10. Church of the Holy Trinity in the Monastery of the Holy Spirit
11. Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Kozhevniky
12. Church of the Intercession in Zverin Monastery
13. Church of St. Simeon in Zverin Monastery
14. Church of St. Nicholas the White



Key to plan of Market Side (after Karger)

1. St. Nicholas Cathedral in Yaroslav's Court
2. Church of St. Procopius
3. Church of the Myrrh-Bearing Women
4. Gatehouse of the Trading Mart
5. Church of St. Parasceve-Pyatnitsa in Market Square
6. Church of the Assumption in Market Square
7. Church of St. George in Market Square
8. Church of St. John in Opoki (in Market Square)
9. Church of St. Michael in Mikhaylova Street
10. Church of the Annunciation in Vitkov Lane
11. Church of Elijah in Slavno
12. Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Slavno
13. Church of the Apostle Philip in Nutnaya Street
14. Church of Our Savior in Elijah (Il'ina) Street
15. Cathedral of Our Lady of the Sign
16. Church of St. Demetrius of Salonica in Slavkova Street
17. Church of St. Clement in Ivorova Street
18. Church of St. Theodore Stratilates on the Brook
19. Church of the Nativity of Our Lady in Mikhalitsa
20. Church of the Assembly of Our Lady
21. Church of St. Nicetas (Nikita)
22. Church of SS. Boris and Gleb in Plotniki
23. Church of St. John the Theologian in Radokovitsi



Key to plan of the Detinets (citadel; after Karger)

1. St. Sophia Cathedral
2. St. Sophia bell cot
3. "Little house by the bell cot"
4. Palace of Facets
5. Bell tower
6. Archbishop's palace
7. Likhud Seminary
8. Metropolitan's Chambers
9. Nikita Chambers
10. Millennium Monument
11. Chancery (Public Administration) building
12. Church of St. Andrew Stratilates
13. Church of the Intercession
14. Church of the Entry into Jerusalem
15. Palace tower
16. Savior tower
17. Prince's tower
18. Kukuy tower
19. Intercession tower
20. (St. John) Chrysostom tower
21. Metropolitan tower
22. Theodore tower
23. Vladimir tower

Key to the plan of the Environs of Novgorod (after Karger)

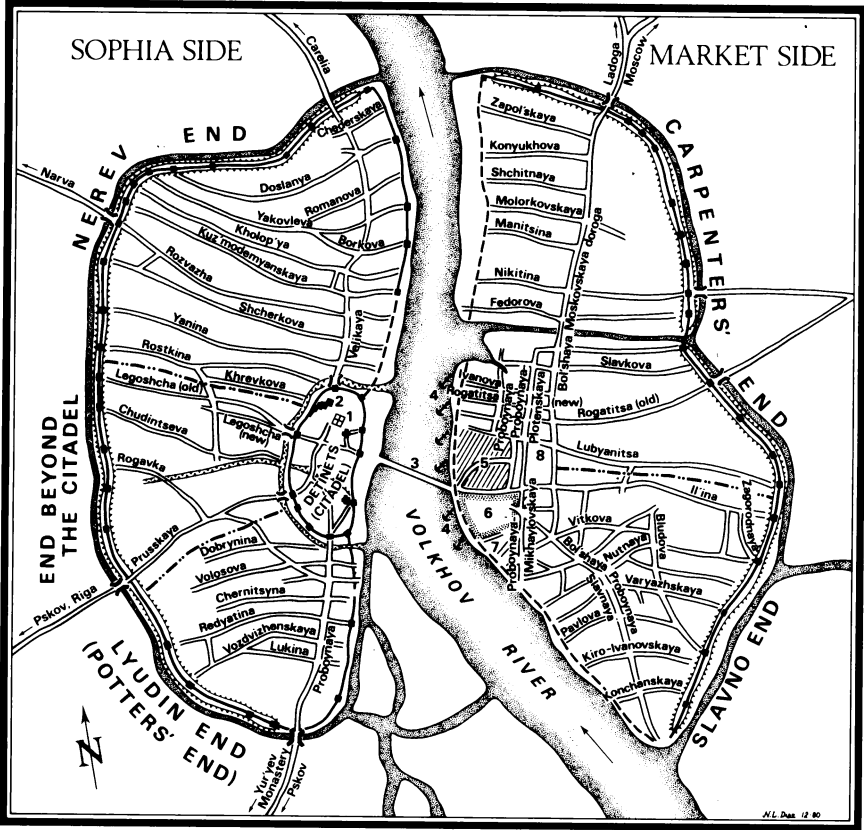
1. Khutyn Monastery of the Transfiguration
2. Derevyanitsky Monastery
3. Church of the Assumption (Dormition) on Volotovo Field
4. Church of Our Savior in Kovalyovo
5. St. Cyril's Monastery
6. Church of St. Andrew in Sitetsky Monastery
7. Church of Our Savior on Nereditsa Hill
8. Church of St. Michael in Skovorodsky Monastery
9. Church of St. Nicholas in Lipno
10. Church of the Annunciation in Gorodishche
11. Church in Peryn Monastery (formerly P. Sanctuary)
12. Yur'yev Monastery
13. Church of the Annunciation at Arkazhi
14. Syrkov Monastery
15. Vyazhishche Monastery

Varangian Street in the Slavno End, but also, for example, Elijah Street (*Il'ina ulitsa*) and Great Thoroughfare (*Bol'shaya Proboynaya*) or Slavno Street (*Slavnaya ulitsa*) in the same district. The latter linked up with Great Moscow Road (*Bol'shaya Moskovskaya doroga*) running north through the Carpenters' End. In the Nerev End there was High Street (*Velikaya ulitsa*) and, crossing it, Cosmas-and-Damian Street (*Kuzmodem'yanskaya ulitsa*). It has only been in the last few decades that some of these major arteries, with their many layers of cultural deposit, have been partly unearthed in the course of the archeological excavations carried out at various sites in Old Novgorod.

Initially these ancient medieval streets, both the smaller ones and the segments of the larger thoroughfares, formed the basic communal entities and hence the smallest administrative units of the medieval town. Each street of Old Novgorod had a local administrative setup with its own head or elder (*ulichanskiy starosta*). In terms of the early urbanization process on the territory of the emerging city, the street was secondary only in relation to the individual boyar estates themselves.¹² Several street blocks or quarters would join into a larger unit or *sotnya*. As mentioned earlier, two *sotnyas* constituted an "end" (*konets*). It was therefore only natural that the head of a "hundred" would be the *sotskiy*, originally probably the commander of a military troop of one hundred men (thus, *sotskiy* with some qualification could be rendered as 'centurion'). The functionally comparable, though superior, official of all ten *sotnyas*, corresponding to the five *kontsy*, was the *ttsyatskiy* ('chiliarch'), that is, at first the commander of the town militia of one thousand citizens. Earlier in the service of the prince, he was subsequently transformed into an elected official of the town assembly and charged with additional public tasks and duties, primarily, it seems, in the sphere of the executive and judiciary branches of government. The *ttsyatskiy* thus, in fact, became yet another instrument of the authority wielded by the landed aristocracy.

As was already mentioned, in the earlier period of Novgorod's history the *sotnya* system, subject to the prince, and the administration of the "ends," firmly in the hands of the city's powerful feudal lords, coexisted and to some extent competed with each other. This was the case until the prince lost his political footing in the city and the *sotnya* administration, headed by the *ttsyatskiy*, came under the direct control of the boyar-dominated *veche* as well. Yet the concentration of power in one central authority, resting with the nobles, had its limits. But sustained efforts were made in particular by the Church and its highest representative, the *vладыка* — himself increasingly a mouthpiece of that same wealthy Novgorod patriciate — to overcome the lingering spirit and remaining manifestations of local regionalism. The ecclesiastic leadership promoted the complete integration of the body politic of the city in the broader, overall interest of the Republic of St. Sophia. Thus, in addition to the general or joint town assembly, i.e., the main *veche*, there were regular meetings of district assemblies, likewise referred to as *veche* or, more specifically, as *konchanskoye veche*. And just as the city as a whole had its elected mayor or *posadnik* (an office, as we have seen, transformed

Novgorod in the 15th Century (after Orlov and Goehrke)



Legend:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 St. Sophia Cathedral 2 Archbishop's Palace (with Palace of Facets) 3 Great Bridge 4 Piers 5 Market Square (Torg) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 6 Yaroslav's Court (Yaroslavovo dvorishche) 7 Gotland Yard (Gotskiy dvor) 8 Presumed site of St. Peter's or German (Hansa) Yard (Nemetskiy dvor, St. Petershof) |
|--|---|

from that of an original princely appointee), so each *konets* had its *posadnik* or district mayor. In fact, at times, and more often in the final phase of the by then semi-independent Novgorod Republic (after 1387), *posadniks* of different "ends" followed each other in rapid succession at the helm of the city government. Occasionally they would even rule jointly as simultaneous members of the *Sovet gospod*, which was chaired by the archbishop — forming a smaller council of *posadniks* within that ruling body. In the Council of Lords, the *stepennyi posadnik* (chief mayor) would previously have been joined by his predecessors but not by district mayors. This, therefore, was a further expression of the increasing tension and struggles within the ranks of the feudal lords of Novgorod, often following district lines, during the final, strife-torn period of the city-state's history.

Another factor contributing to the preservation of district regionalism inherent in the medieval republic throughout its evolution as an autonomous or semi-autonomous political entity is the circumstance that adjoining — or, in one case, at some distance from — the urban *sotnyas* (*gorodskiye sotni*) were their rural or provincial counterparts. These, too, were usually referred to as *sotnyas* and, more specifically, as *sel'skiye sotni*. Their affairs were handled, initially at any rate, by the local officials of their opposite numbers among the town *sotnyas*. In the earlier phase of Novgorod's history these rural "hundreds" were subject to the authority of the prince. Only gradually, as the magnates and the Church acquired more and more land of their own, would much of the rural *sotnya* territory change hands and become the property of mighty boyar families and of the clergy, the Church and individual monasteries frequently being recipients of major private deeds and other donations. This free exchange and cooperation across city limits was facilitated by the fact that throughout most of its medieval period, up to the end of the fourteenth century, Novgorod remained a genuinely open city, that is to say, a community not enclosed within town walls. By the second half of the thirteenth century all five town "ends" were firmly established and organized. The *sotnya* system, having come under the authority of the boyars, had now lost much of its earlier significance. This authority was represented in the *veche* and carried out through its executive organs (especially the Council of Lords) and officers, mainly the *posadnik* and the *tysyatskiy*. At about the same time, the rural "hundreds" were transformed or, rather, integrated into five vast administrative regions — veritable colonial territories in fact. They were initially, though probably never entirely, controlled and administered by the corresponding town districts or *kontsy*. These so-called *pyatinas* (literally "fifths") — each area with its own past forming part of Novgorod's earlier history — were as follows:

- (1) the *Votskaya* (or *Vodskaya*) *pyatina* in the north and northwest, extending deep into Carelia beyond Lake Ladoga;
- (2) the *Shelonskaya pyatina* in the west and southwest, from the west bank of the river Lovat' to the east bank of the river Velikaya and

reaching Lakes Pskov and Peipus and, farther to the north, even including a short stretch on the coast of the Gulf of Finland;

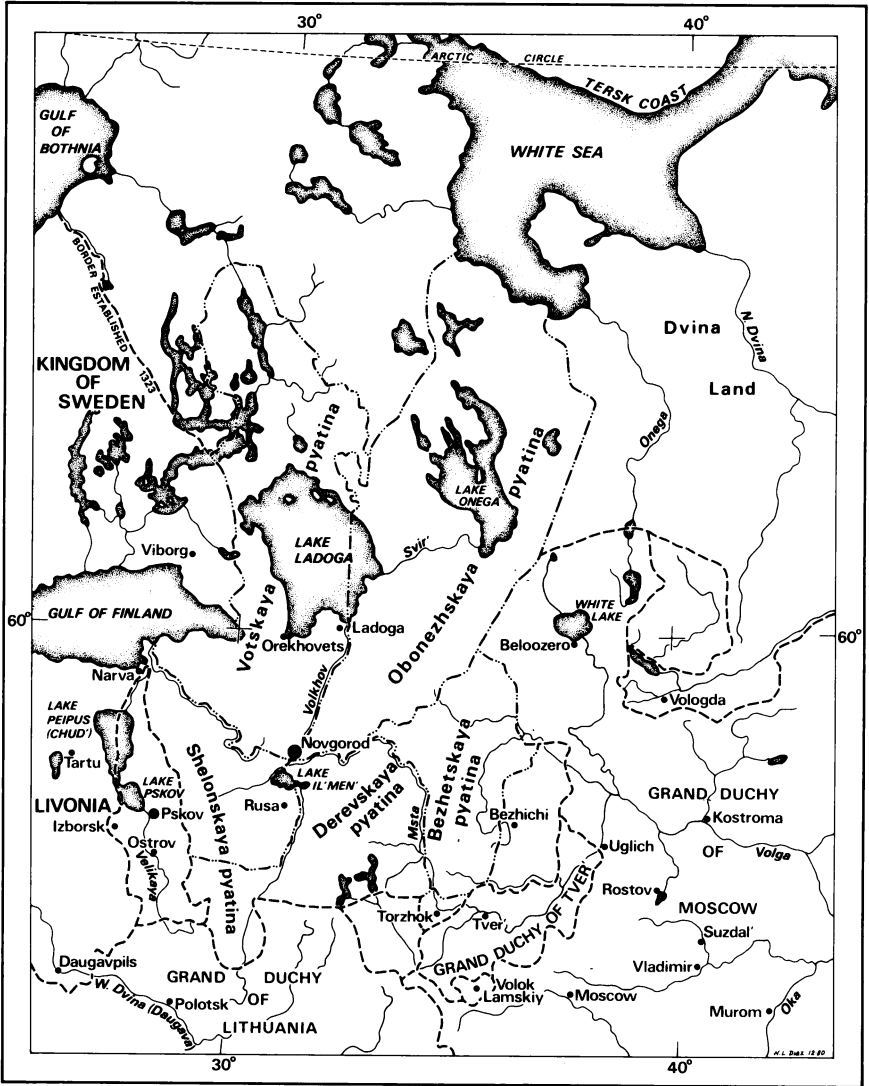
- (3) the *Derevskaya pyatina* in the southeast, between the rivers Lovat' and Msta, extending in the south to the source of the Volga and comprising the town of Torzhok (captured by the Mongols in 1238);
- (4) the *Obonezhskaya pyatina* occupying an area from Novgorod toward the northeast, east of the Volkhov, and up to and beyond Lake Onega, in the north stretching as far as to the White Sea; and, finally,
- (5) the *Bezhetskaya pyatina*, in the more distant east and the only "fifth" at no point directly adjacent to the city of Novgorod, bordering on the principalities of Tver' (in the southeast) and Vladimir-Suzdal' (in the east).

It was a portion of the second "fifth" listed here, the *Shelonskaya pyatina*, that was lost in 1348 when Pskov, Novgorod's "younger brother," previously one of its satellite towns (*prigorody*; cf. below), seceded and became an independent city-state. It was also here, on the territory of this *pyatina*, that Novgorod was decisively defeated by the forces of Grand Prince Ivan III as they were closing in on the Volkhov city. Parts of these "fifths" formed separate administrative regions, so-called *volosti*, some of which, however, were located outside and beyond the *pyatinas* proper and as such were the common concern of Novgorod as a whole, that is, of the city-state's central administration. Among these "dominions" were the Tersk Littoral (*Terskiy bereg*) in the far north, covering the southern portion of the Kola Peninsula; the distant *Yugra volost'* on the western slopes of the Ural Mountains; the so-called *Zavoloch'ye* or *Dvinskaya zemlya* on both sides of the Northern Dvina; the *Permskaya zemlya* on the Upper Kama; and, farther to the north, the *Pechorskaya zemlya* or *volost'* on both sides of the river Pechora and reaching to the coast of the Arctic Ocean.

In this context it ought to be mentioned that the major decisions concerning the administration of these territories were made in Novgorod, in its central governing bodies and offices or at the level of the respective "end" administrations (*konchanskiye upravleniya*). But much of the public and, especially, economic affairs of this vast colonial realm of Novgorod were conducted on a day-to-day basis at regional centers, Novgorod's many so-called suburbs or, more accurately perhaps, satellite towns. Pskov (until the mid-fourteenth century) and Ladoga (now Staraya Ladoga) were merely the most famous and, presumably, oldest among them. But the satellite towns of the capital city of Novgorod also included the almost equally ancient town of Rusa (present-day Staraya Russa) and, further, Volog Lamskiy (later Volokolamsk), Velikiye Luki, Torzhok, Rzhev, Bezhitsy (or Bezhichi, now Bezhetsk), and Izborsk. Usually these *prigorody* were strategically situated at one of the many commercial waterways or trade routes which, as a tight network, formed the many-threaded lifeline of the mighty republic of wealthy landowners and prosperous merchants.¹³

This brings us to one more fundamental question which we have already touched upon several times without squarely addressing it: that

The Novgorod Land in the 15th Century (after Goehrke)



of the social stratification of medieval Novgorod. Which were the social classes that made up the total population of the Volkhov township-turned-metropolis and, to a varying degree and in diverse forms and functions, also contributed to its role as a major center of culture and civilization? To begin with, there is obviously a time dimension inherent to this question: the several strata of the Novgorod townspeople cannot have remained static throughout the centuries as each of them grew more and more numerous. We must assume a certain urban dynamic of demographic change, an upward — and, it seems, also downward — mobility of some groups of the city population. Needless to say, this complex question cannot be fully answered here. Instead we will have to limit ourselves at this point to making only some general observations and to identifying areas of continuing controversy.¹⁴

Let us begin at the top of society's ladder, with the class of feudal lords and boyars. Clearly the enormous wealth that the landed nobility of Novgorod had managed to accumulate by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries marked the last stage in a long economic development. It should also be noted that some of the richest boyar families of the later period were not originally from the capital city but had at some time relocated to it. They came from regional centers, satellite towns or some other places important because of natural resources, manufacture, or commerce. Some clans would maintain residences both in Novgorod and out in the provinces. Thus, for example, the grand dynasty of the Stroganovs — comparable to the Fuggers of Augsburg — resided for a long time in the distant town of Sol'vychegodsk, the "salt capital" of the Russian North, on the river Vychehda, a tributary of the Northern Dvina.¹⁵ In the early phase of Novgorod's attested history, the gradually emerging boyar class, which more and more separated itself from the rest of society to form an exclusive aristocratic elite, developed from what at first must have been merely a number of thrifty and commercially minded well-to-do peasants and traders. Though not yet controlling those vast expanses of land (particularly in the north and northeast) to be owned by their descendants, some of these early nobles already held considerable power. They exerted their political influence primarily in relation to the prince — the faraway grand prince of Kiev, his lieutenant (*posadnik* and later, when this designation had assumed a new meaning, *namestnik*), and, especially, the local prince of Novgorod, who himself acted as a viceroy of sorts of the Kievan sovereign. The history of the boyar class of Novgorod is largely that of its struggle with the prince for power and of its wresting a greater measure of authority from him and his representatives. The owners of large estates in the countryside and imposing mansions in town (usually anywhere between 1200 and 2000 square meters in size) were firmly rooted in the district or "end" organization of the city. They were represented in the town assembly, made up the members of its executive organs, and supplied the city's chief official. In this connection it is worth pointing out that in all probability the year 1136 did not, as primarily V. L. Yanin's research has demonstrated, mark quite as important a turning point in the balance of power between the prince and the local boyars as had been previously

assumed. Even before the events of that year, after which the prince had to reside permanently outside the city limits at nearby Gorodishche, the increasingly consolidated boyars were a formidable political force. But, by the same token, for a long time after that date — before, during, and after the critical years of the rule of Alexander Nevsky — the prince continued to exercise much influence and retain certain political and military functions. Thus, he only gradually ceased to be the crucial factor in the city's internal power play in which the feudal lords ultimately gained the upper hand.¹⁶ In this context it should be remembered that the prince himself remained a major, if not the single most important landowner, a role subsequently challenged only by the Church whose own possessions had rapidly increased in size. The collapse of the Kievan state in the first half of the thirteenth century, when most of the Russian rulers of other territories became mere puppets in the hands of the khan of the Golden Horde, further tipped the scales in favor of the boyars in the internal power struggle of the Republic of St. Sophia. While several facets of the evolution and growth of Novgorod's landed aristocracy are still in need of more thorough examination and many details have either been irretrievably lost together with the documents accounting for them or have yet to be filled in, the general picture of the status and role of the uppermost stratum of Novgorod society that emerges is fairly clear today. It may be added that, along with the prince and the Church of Novgorod (including its many wealthy monasteries), the boyars of the city-state were the patrons of the arts, primarily Orthodox ecclesiastic art, of course.

Not all of the feudal landowners belonged to the privileged class of the patriciate, however. Though this fact as such has long been established, it is not easy, or even possible, to draw a sharp line between the boyars proper and the equally well-to-do landowners who were not part of the nobility. The hereditary aristocracy in the narrow sense, among other things, enjoyed the privilege of settling its intraclass conflicts through blood feuds — carried out very much in the same way the vendetta operated in the West — since this segment of the town population was not subject to the jurisdiction of the prince. Also, once the office of the *posadnik* had become tantamount to that of elected mayor, it would only be from among the boyar families that the highest city official could be chosen. However, in the early historical sources — the chronicles as well as certain legal documents — a distinction is made between what are called the 'greater' and the 'lesser free men' (*vyatshiy* vs. *men'shiye muzhi*), at odds with each other, more than anything, over the Mongol tribute. The former are clearly identical with the boyars (so that the term can be considered a synonym for *bolyare/boyare*¹⁷). But the meaning of the latter is less transparent, particularly as it did not become more firmly established in the official nomenclature of the Novgorod Republic until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and then usually under the equivalent term of *zhit'i lyudi*. Yet it appears that this was a designation applied to the nonaristocratic segment of the city's landed burghers, in wealth often equal to and occasionally even surpassing the boyars. Politically less privileged, this group ranked, as

far as social prestige was concerned, just below the self-proclaimed aristocracy.

Two social classes or, rather loosely composed groupings among the citizenry of Old Novgorod are, if possible, even more difficult to define. Strictly speaking, the clergy did not form a class of its own. Broadly divided into what has become known as 'black' and 'white' clerics — i.e., monastic as opposed to ecclesiastic clergy, monks vs. priests and deacons (*chernoye*, in contrast to *beloye dukhovenstvo*) — the members of the clerical estate could, in principle, come from all walks of life. In other words, they could be recruited from the most diverse social milieus. It seems to hold true, nonetheless, that the ordinary priests of the local parish churches could frequently be from the ranks of the lower classes of Novgorod's townfolk, that is, from the so-called *chernye lyudi* or *chern'*, while the bishop, or later archbishop, the *vладыка*, would usually have his roots in the upper strata of society, at least if he was a native son of the city. Similarly, the monks and, in particular, the monastic leadership also tended to belong to the upper social classes by birth. The higher monastic echelon was made up of the abbots or hegumens (*igumeny*) of the various monasteries within the city limits and in its environs, as well as the chief monastic administrator, the archimandrite of Novgorod, who resided in St. George's (Yur'yev) Monastery just south of the city. United by common spiritual goals and only occasionally representing political interests somewhat different from those of the aristocratic laity, the clergy, complex in its social composition, played a role in society which is not always easily assessed.¹⁸ Generally, the representatives of the Church, headed by the *vладыка*, were more concerned with the welfare of all of Novgorod and indeed the city-state as a whole and only secondarily with any particular interests of the boyar class, while the monastic community was especially preoccupied with the status and influence of the local aristocracy. In promoting cultural activities — architecture, the visual, decorative, and applied arts, literature, and historiography — the Church, including the monasteries, played a decisive part, of course.

The professional merchants of medieval Novgorod, too, in no way formed a homogeneous class or group within the urban society. Western scholarship has long referred to the prosperous Novgorod merchants as the political equals of the propertied nobility, conceiving of them as the city's most powerful and significant element along with or even outranking the boyar class. Thus, while Soviet historians insist on speaking of the North Russian city-state as a boyar or feudal republic, western specialists occasionally have identified Novgorod as a merchant republic of fundamentally the same type as Venice or Dubrovnik (where, it should be noted, the generalizing label used for the Adriatic city-states is not entirely adequate either). But it seems that the people engaged in commerce on the banks of the Volkhov were of many different social backgrounds, resources, and outlooks. On the one hand, there were the merchants pursuing external, in part international trade on a large scale. These were the *gosti* (literally, 'guests'), foreigners, temporarily stationed in Novgorod, as well as Russians. Among the latter, again,

were native Novgorodians trading with both foreign merchant towns and other parts or commercial centers of Old Rus'. Moreover, this category also included Russians from outside the Novgorod land but residing, at least for some time, in the Volkhov city and doing business with it or its immense and rich colonial realm. Thus, there is some evidence, for example, that merchants from Smolensk on the Upper Dnieper over a period of time maintained a permanent trading establishment in Novgorod. *Kuptysy* (literally, 'merchants'), on the other hand, was a term either used broadly to refer to anybody engaged in the exchange and the buying and selling of goods; or it was applied in a more restricted meaning only to the people trading within the borders of the republic (that is, between the city of Novgorod and one of its *prigorody* or *volosti* or, even more narrowly, inside the city itself). This latter group must have been quite sizable; somewhat surprisingly it seems to have been identical, in part, with some of the local craftsmen and artisans. In other words, many of the small manufacturers of a variety of goods and merchandise were the same ones who sold their products on the local market. Yet this can only have been a relatively minor portion of the vast artisan population of Novgorod. Rather, these petty merchants must have been small shopkeepers and door-to-door peddlers and were, in effect, indistinguishable from a particular segment of the craftsmen of the North Russian metropolis.

These few remarks about the merchants of Novgorod should suffice to indicate, in general terms, that we are dealing here not with a well-defined, coherent social class or professional group but rather with a hybrid segment of townspeople made up of members from various strata of the city's social structure. As financiers, the prosperous merchants may have belonged to the feudal, patrician class or to the less powerful, though equally wealthy portion of the Novgorod citizenry, the *zhit'i lyudi*. But even those who acted as commercial agents or traveled on business must have commanded considerable influence and respect, particularly in a city with such a pronounced sense of material values. Other portions of the trading population of Novgorod might in fact have simply been enterprising craftsmen largely dependent for their livelihood on the support and patronage of the feudal lords on whose urban estates or other property they had their quarters and made their living. It should be stated, though, that as a whole, and especially during the later medieval period, the merchants of Novgorod (or what has been subsumed under this cover term) played a fairly significant role in the affairs of the city. This was particularly true of their financial contribution for the purpose of providing military units to control the vast Novgorod land and to defend it against foreign as well as Russian enemies.

Undoubtedly, much still remains unclear and insufficiently investigated regarding the wide range of commercial activities which took place in and around the Volkhov city, since all too many facts and factors have been summarily lumped together under the poorly qualified label of the Novgorod merchant class. Thus, to take just one telling example, experts have not yet been able to agree even on the question of whether

any or all of the more significant merchants of the city were organized in guilds of the type known from the medieval towns of Western and Central Europe. Some scholars, for example, N. L. Podvigina and earlier M. N. Tikhomirov, assume a certain number of merchant associations in medieval Novgorod. Others, among them today's foremost expert, V. L. Yanin, seem inclined to play down this possibility and believe that there was, in fact, only one truly professional organization of merchants in Old Novgorod deserving of the designation guild (not counting, of course, the efficiently administered foreign establishments, the Gotland Yard and the German or St. Peter's Court belonging to the Hansa). This purely Russian guild was the one associated with the Church of St. John the Baptist (or 'Forerunner', in Old Russian *Ioann Predtecha*, to be precise; the church, also referred to as *na Opokakh* in Market Square, is not the aforementioned one associated with the German Yard). It was established as early as 1127 by Prince Vsevolod, who was expelled by the Novgorodians in 1136, and had its quarters in Market Square. This was the famous *Ivanskoye sto* ('St. John's hundred') which, it seems, admitted only the most wealthy merchants, the owners of urban estates and representatives in the town assembly. The members of this guild derived their great wealth from the lucrative foreign trade in wax, in addition to controlling the system of weights and measures of Novgorod commerce. In effect, therefore, these appear to have been boyars or, at any rate, feudal lords of the second rank engaged in trade. They were certainly not typical of the numerous smaller merchants and traders active throughout the city.¹⁹

A very large segment of Novgorod's urban population, probably in fact its majority, was made up of craftsmen, the bulk of its *chernye lyudi*. The Volkhov city was not only, as we have seen, a major trade center of Northeastern Europe but it was also among the most important manufacturing towns of medieval Europe. It was the Novgorod craftsmen who constituted the work force of this large hub of production. Though not belonging to the upper strata of society, the masses of townspeople who earned their living by their own handiwork (and only to a lesser extent by engaging in the sale of their manufactured goods) exerted a certain amount of political influence by their sheer number and economic weight. Originally subject to the authority of the prince, the craftsmen and artisans of Novgorod were the typical members of the *sotnya* organization which only gradually, but never completely, came under the political supervision of the urban nobility. Even then they had a spokesman in the person of the *tisyatskiy* to represent their particular interests. It was also from this lower middle-class townsfolk that the city's militia and military levy were primarily recruited. For that reason alone it was this part of the population that in the earlier days of Novgorod's history — and still in the mid-thirteenth century — formed the very core of the prince's power base in town. Also, it was the craftsmen, along with that other segment of the Novgorod *chern'* present in the capital city as well as in the countryside of the republic's widespread territories, the *smerdy* or free peasants (whose freedom, however, was increasingly threatened and curtailed by the feudal lords), who

carried the brunt of the city-state's tax burden and, during the times of the Mongol suzerainty, tribute obligation. In recent years it has been argued by V. L. Yanin and his school, compellingly I would submit, that the *veche* as well as the "end" administration were largely controlled by — and initially, until the second half of the twelfth century, even exclusively made up of — the boyars. Yet it is at least conceivable that the ordinary citizens already early on had a say in the decision-making bodies on the lower, regional or district level, at the public meetings of the *kontsy*, the gatherings of the individual street quarters, and in the offices of the *sotnyas*. Admittedly, it is not entirely clear to what extent the Novgorod craftsmen actually lived on the property of the boyars, as well as that of the nonaristocratic prosperous merchants, that is, within the perimeter of the enclosed and presumably defensible multi-dwelling estates of the ranking families. In many instances, it would seem that they did, and those artisans clearly must have been dependent on their landlords to whom they were tied by personal bonds and obligations. Obviously, the same did not apply to those craftsmen, perhaps a minority, who lived and worked outside the *usad'by* and thus were the masters of their own modest dwellings and shops.

The mere fact that two of Novgorod's boroughs reflect in their very name the professions particularly prominent there — the Potters' End (*Goncharskiy konets*) and the Carpenters' End (*Plotnitskiy konets*) — points both to the size of that class and, indirectly, to its role as a social and political factor. Even the alternative designation *Lyudin konets*, for *Goncharskiy konets*, suggests that common people were its predominant residents — regardless of whether the older name of that borough is its original designation or a folk-etymological reshaping of an earlier Finnic place-name. It is true, though, that neither one of these two "ends" was settled exclusively by artisans and craftsmen; both also had a sizable merchant population. The Potters' or Lyudin End, moreover, had a considerable component of clerics and, at least on its fringe along Prussian Street, a fair amount of wealthy boyars. Conversely, the craftsmen, even the potters and carpenters, were not limited to the districts bearing their appellation. Many artisans were engaged primarily in the manufacture of goods, everyday small-size commodities and products as well as heavier material used in construction work and transportation, all of which was produced to satisfy the needs and taste of an ever more discerning and sophisticated society. However, others — weavers, cloth-cutters, and cobblers among them — may have concentrated as much, or in part even exclusively, on mending and repairing the articles they and their fellow craftsmen manufactured.

The role of the artisans in creating works of art — the decorative and applied arts in particular — cannot be sufficiently stressed, of course. After all, who else but the carpenters and the masons, the draftsmen and the master builders were entrusted with constructing houses of worship, including some beautifully decorated stone churches and chapels? The contribution of the manual laborers of medieval Novgorod to the crafts and arts, ranging from making delicate pieces of jewelry to casting monumental, artistically executed church doors, not to mention many other kinds of metalwork with their own special significance, is

social role of the icon painter in his workshop and the book illuminator in his scriptorium, both holding a position somewhere midway between craftsman and cleric, will also be commented upon in some detail. The sometimes assumed connection between the particular trade of the clothcutters and the spreading of a heretic, anti-feudal movement in the Orthodox Church — that of the so-called *strigol'niki* — will be examined elsewhere.

Finally, it should be mentioned that in the opinion of some earlier scholars (e.g., M. N. Tikhomirov, B. A. Rybakov, V. V. Stoklitskaya-Tereshkovich), the Novgorod craftsmen were organized in professional associations or corporations comparable to the artisan guilds known from the medieval towns of Western and Central Europe. However, others (especially, V. L. Yanin and N. L. Podvigina) doubt, on good grounds, that a full-fledged corporate organization of the professional crafts had actually developed in Old Novgorod or, at any rate, that it was functioning as early as the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. These scholars believe, rather, that what we know or can surmise about the lives and activities of the Novgorod craftsmen points at most to some bare beginnings in this direction.²⁰ Further population groups engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry but living within the town estates of Novgorod proper, as well as holders of various subordinate public positions (such as town scribes, messengers, watchmen, official servants, and guards), constituted additional, relatively smaller segments of the city's *chernye lyudi*.

At the bottom of the social ladder we find, in Novgorod as elsewhere, the private servants, ranging over a variety of domestic and other service professions. While some of the people who carried out menial work or ran errands may well have been free, though poor or of no means at all, others must have been outright serfs or slaves. Some experts have expressed doubts as to the presence of genuine bondsmen in Old Russian society. It is indisputable that most of the peasant population (namely, the previously mentioned *smerdy*) remained free, although as a rule they were impoverished and worked primarily for the feudal lords (including the Church) on their widespread estates. In other words, they retained for a long time the choice of moving around or away, not yet being tied to the soil, something which occurred increasingly during the fifteenth and, even more so, sixteenth centuries. By the same token, it appears certain, however, that the urban community of medieval Novgorod did include serfs, although their precise number at any particular time is virtually impossible to ascertain. This is attested to by the designation of some localities in the city itself, among them the street name *Kholop'ya ulitsa* or Serf Street in the Nerev End and also by a number of legal documents (*gramoty*) and birchbark letters referring to runaway serfs, the exchange or lending out of serfs, or other arrangements concerning slave labor.²¹ Given the functioning of feudal society in the Middle Ages, the role of the lowest strata in the creation of lasting cultural values could only be peripheral at most.

In addition to the various indigenous social classes briefly reviewed, there were obviously other groups in Novgorod who at one time or another and in different ways contributed to shaping and influencing

the city's cultural life. Foremost among them were, no doubt, the many foreigners, carriers of itinerant cultural material (or *Wandergut*, to use the apt German term), who gave the city its character and atmosphere of an international center where various roads crossed and trends mixed. Initially, in the late tenth and throughout most of the eleventh century, these outsiders were, besides Varangian mercenary troops (which included the prince's guard), the early tradesmen from faraway places visiting on the banks of the Volkhov. Among them, in addition to Greek, Arab, Persian, and perhaps some other merchants from southern and eastern lands — probably also some middlemen of Turkic (Altaic) race — were the peasant traders of Gotland, Wendish merchants from Pomerania, various Baltic (Prussian, Lithuanian, Latvian), Danish and Swedish traveling buyers and salesmen. The latter came from Haithabu, Birka, Sigtuna, and other merchant towns. Later, the Scandinavian, West Slavic, and Baltic traders were gradually replaced by Germans of the emerging Hanseatic League — mostly from Lübeck and Visby but, as time passed, more and more from the Livonian towns of Riga, Dorpat, and Reval. Due to their need for entertainment, refinement, and beauty, and because of their special preferences and foreign experience, these aliens brought along tales and legends, art objects and valuables, spices and coins to Novgorod and thus added to the city's own civilization and sophistication, to its cultural awareness and receptivity. The specific brand and blend of Russian medieval culture which came to flourish and was transmitted in and through the urban setting on the Volkhov was, to a large extent, shaped and determined by the rare combination of solid material foundation and imaginative spiritual power that the socially differentiated, multi-ethnic, and indeed international community in the Russian North was able to provide and generate over the period of half a millennium.

For some time, toward the end of the republic's autonomy and in the immediately following decades, the intellectual, aesthetic, and religious climate in Novgorod continued to gain strength and intensity in the face of approaching and past disaster. To a considerable degree, this was a result of the influx of travelers and visitors from the North German and Livonian towns; from Lithuania and Poland (including the Ruthenian lands, then under the rule of the Polish-Lithuanian state); from the German, Czech, and Italian heartlands of the Holy Roman Empire; from Hungary-Croatia; and even from France, England, Spain, and the Netherlands. But, naturally, materials, ideas, and ideologies which reached Novgorod from other parts of Russia also had their impact on the course of the city's cultural evolution.

Since we are mainly concerned with the assessment of phenomena unfolding and personalities performing in a markedly urban milieu, there is no need at this point to delve into the specific social structure of the smaller towns and the countryside of the Novgorod land other than the immediate environs of the city, dominated, as we have seen, by a chain of monasteries. Yet it should be noted that the particular relations among people living in the Novgorod provinces do, in fact, present many intriguing and challenging problems of their own.²²

As indicated at the outset, this broad topographic and demographic outline was primarily intended to provide a general backdrop against which to view and gauge the peculiar brand of intellectual, religious, and artistic traits of medieval Novgorod. These characteristics both distinguish the North Russian city-state from the shifting cultural panorama of the rest of Old Rus' and, subsequently, Muscovite Russia, and, at the same time, secure it a special — indeed unique — place in the evolution of European civilization during the Middle Ages.

The Art of Statecraft

Institutions and Ideologies in the Republic of Novgorod

The notion that political life, its schemes and intrigues as well as its creative and visionary aspects, constitute an integral part of human civilization, and that the state itself can, under certain circumstances, provide the framework for a sophisticated art form, has been an accepted tenet of historical scholarship at least since Jacob Burckhardt. In his classic treatment of Italian Renaissance culture he devoted the first portion of his book specifically to "The State as a Work of Art." In discussing the peculiar political landscape that emerged in Italy in the final days of the struggle for supremacy between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen emperors, when a multitude of small despotates and urban communes took shape, Burckhardt suggested that it was then and there that "a new fact appears in history — the state as the outcome of reflection and calculation, the state as a work of art."¹ And only recently, more than a century later, the same point was once again eloquently made and, with some modification, elaborated by Lauro Martines in his study on the city-states of Renaissance Italy, with the historical category of the Renaissance interpreted as extending from the birth of the communes in northern and central Italy during the eleventh century.²

It can be argued, of course, that the art of statecraft had some remarkable practitioners even before the emergence of the Italian city-states. And, great statesmen in Antiquity and the Middle Ages — rulers as well as advisors — frequently, by their actions and decisions, influenced the cultural evolution of a people or a country. In some instances, these political leaders were themselves great artistic talents or distinguished scholars, embodying the height of the cultural achievement of their time. There is no doubt that while rulers of vast empires and their advisors in state affairs were often great cultural figures as well, it is primarily in the more limited sphere of the city-state that innovative political thought was first conceived and its institutionalized implementation attempted. Long before the Italian city-states and their role of evolving and refining modern political concepts and testing them against the realities of the day, there was the city-state of ancient

Greece. The *polis* must be acknowledged as the earliest instance where political genius and practical realism were combined into a constellation which, with some qualification, has been accurately referred to as the cradle of modern democracy. This holds true even though the two foremost theoreticians of government in their respective times, Plato and Machiavelli (both ultimately unsuccessful when testing their pertinent ideas), pleaded for autocracy, tempered by reason, rather than for any form of true democracy or even oligarchy.

On Slavic soil, two city-states in particular stand out as political entities where the art of statecraft was exercised with much sophistication and felicitous skill, despite the fact that both, in the end, succumbed to superior political and military powers. These two city-states are Dubrovnik-Ragusa, the Republic of St. Blaise on the South Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, and Novgorod, the Republic of St. Sophia, controlling the waterways linking the Baltic to the Russian North. It would no doubt be tempting to comment on the many similarities and parallels ascertainable between these two Slavic city-republics. This, however, is not the place to pursue such a comparison. In what follows, attention will therefore be focused exclusively on Novgorod and its particular context, inquiring into its art of statecraft, the ideologies that inspired it, the social background that shaped it, and the institutions that were established to translate these concepts and ideas into political reality.

Much has been made, particularly in the West and, earlier, by Russian "Westernizers" (in Russia and abroad), of Novgorod as an alleged haven of democracy, or at any rate, as a city where political freedom was more ingrained and more widespread than anywhere else in Old Rus'. Novgorod was frequently pictured as being well under way on the road to a participatory democracy. The *veche*, the general town assembly, was viewed as a symbol of democratic decision-making and popular rule, if not as an all-out democratic institution representing all strata of the city's population. In contrast, Soviet scholarship, especially of recent years, has often claimed that nothing could be farther from the truth. It has been conceded, though, that the Republic of St. Sophia was not ruled autocratically by its prince as the other Russian principalities were. During the early centuries of Russian history, the princes of those other territories usually acted as the representatives of their overlord (and blood relative), the grand prince of Kiev; subsequently, they would perform as executors of the imposed will of the Tatar occupant. Only after the gradual withdrawal of the Mongols could the local princes be their own masters — at least for some time. In the century prior to their defeat, the Novgorodians watched with increasing alarm the assertive, indeed aggressive, policies of their southeastern neighbor, the grand prince of Moscow. But it has been argued by Soviet historians that the Novgorod Republic, too, had a highly oppressive system despite any early popular tendencies or trappings. For political power and privileges became virtually the exclusive preserve of the ruling class, the landed boyars, who supposedly controlled — if not actually comprised — the *veche*. Added to this powerful social group, it was claimed, were some of those wealthy merchants who did not belong to the ranks of the

feudal aristocracy but who were members of the only slightly less prosperous segment of the Novgorod citizenry subsequently known as *zhít'i lyudi*.

Among nineteenth-century thinkers, the political philosopher A. I. Herzen, an outspoken and radical "Westernizer," was a representative of the view that medieval Novgorod had carried the potential of popular rule within its form of government and had developed the general framework for the political institutions necessary to implement democracy. Given the ideological bias prevailing in Soviet scholarship particularly when it comes to viewing the Russian past, there is something genuinely refreshing in Herzen's open-minded, if somewhat dated, conception of the history of his own country. Specifically, his notion of Novgorod, engaged in the final struggle with the Muscovite autocrat, deserves to be remembered — and considered. It is for this reason that the quotation rendering the essence of Herzen's opinion was chosen as a motto for the present collection of essays. The other statement placed at the head of this volume is from the writing of a latter-day "Westernizer," A. V. Issatschenko, a Slavist and cultural historian. His speculation as to what might have happened "if, at the end of the fifteenth century, Novgorod had carried the day over Moscow" created a furor at the 1973 international congress of Slavists in Warsaw.³ True, Issatschenko's relevant assessment (further elaborated in his forthcoming posthumous history of the Russian language⁴) was perhaps carried too far, even though this was done primarily for the purpose of exposing the untenable position of the ideologically entrenched conception of a number of Soviet scholars. Nonetheless, with the notable exception of his all too vaguely qualified claim concerning a "peculiarly democratic . . . form of government" in Novgorod, Issatschenko's succinct delineation of the city-state's unique character in comparison to the rest of appanage Russia is surely, in all its brevity, among the most incisive statements of its kind.

It should be noted, however, that the assessment of Novgorod's political institutions, their social composition and governmental-administrative functions, did not always differ widely in Soviet and Western scholarship. Thus, for example, while the American-Russian historian G. Vernadsky would characterize Novgorod, with considerable exaggeration, as a democratic republic not unlike the Greek *polis*, the Soviet scholar M. N. Tikhomirov viewed Novgorod's struggle for its municipal freedoms as comparable to that of the urban communes of medieval Western Europe. And, in his discussion of "Novgorod: Institutions and Way of Life," N. V. Riasanovsky, while pointing out the "truly outstanding . . . power of the Novgorodian *veche* . . . composed . . . of all free householders" nonetheless comes to the conclusion that "apparently in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Novgorod became increasingly an oligarchy, with a few powerful families virtually controlling high offices."⁵

At the other end of the spectrum one finds, as could be expected, the impressive contribution of contemporary Soviet historiography. Its most knowledgeable and original representative today is V. L. Yanin,

presently head of the permanent Novgorod Archeological Expedition (cosponsored by Moscow University and the Soviet Academy of Sciences). Yanin's overall conception of how the Republic of Novgorod was ruled at various stages of its history is sufficiently important to be recounted here in some detail. It will subsequently serve as a point of departure for further discussion.

Perhaps the best way to convey the essence of Yanin's ideas about the distribution of political power is to summarize and comment upon his views on the subject as stated in the concluding section of his recent volume of essays on medieval Novgorod as the object of a complex inquiry into the source material.⁶

According to the Soviet scholar, beginning with the early tenth century the prince of Novgorod, for all practical purposes, functioned as the lieutenant (*namestnik*) of the Kievan ruler. Thus the establishment of the pagan sanctuary at Peryn' just south of Novgorod and the introduction of Christianity less than a decade later must be seen as measures initiated by the local prince, and ultimately by the grand prince of Kiev. They were opposed by the Novgorod townspeople, who at that time had only recently merged into one single urban community. After some resistance and reversals the citizens of Novgorod, by accepting Christianity as a unifying factor in political terms as well, managed to ensure that the main church — the wooden Sophia Cathedral in the *Detinets* — became the town church of the bishop and the *veche*, not subject to the prince whose residence remained outside the citadel. In return for the staunch support given by the people of Novgorod to Yaroslav in his struggle to ascend and keep the Kievan throne, important privileges were granted the North Russian city. Foremost among them was the clearly articulated division of political functions between the prince and the ruling class. The Novgorod boyars were now specifically recognized as outside the prince's jurisdiction and were, moreover, given control over the major administrative districts of town, the *kontsy*. The prince retained jurisdiction over the rest of the free citizens of Novgorod who were organized in the *sotnya* system. The erection of the stone Cathedral of St. Sophia in the mid-eleventh century symbolized the agreement reached between the prince and the boyars. However, this peaceful relationship was not to last for long. The prince, remaining the instrument of the Kievan overlord, did not get too deeply involved in the affairs of the Volkhov city, as it was usually he who succeeded to the grand-princely throne of Kiev. By the same token, the internal differentiation and segregation of Novgorod society continued to develop. As a result, the aristocracy, the boyars with their clan-tribal roots, grew ever more prosperous and influential. Soon, the boyars were prepared to alone decide the affairs of the city and the state. These new tensions led to a further restriction of the sovereign's power toward the end of the eleventh century, and to the establishment of a new institution of state (and city) government — the office of the *posadnik* (approximately equivalent to lord mayor). In order to counter this concentration of power in the hands of the feudal lords, the prince strengthened his influence over the city's commerce by assuming full control of all ship movements on the Volkhov River. On the Market Side of town, opposite

the boyar-dominated Sophia Side, a number of fortified churches, most notably the Cathedral of St. Nicholas, were built near the prince's town residence at Yaroslav's Court. This was done at the behest of the ruler, who also established a new residence for himself south of town, at Gorodishche, with yet another stone church on the right bank of the uppermost reaches of the Volkhov. On the other side of the river a new large, defensible construction emerged — the princely Yur'yev Monastery with its great stone Cathedral of St. George.

The Novgorod uprising of 1136 brought about a further redistribution in the respective responsibilities of the prince and the boyars. The latter were now, for the first time, recognized as having the upper hand in the affairs of state by being given the right to invite or expel the prince of Novgorod. After this event, the prince or his lieutenant, though retaining his judicial power, had to share this function with the *posadnik*. Subsequently, the political role of the prince was further curtailed and the retention of the princely throne in Novgorod was largely dictated by external policy considerations. Internally, the power of the prince did not go much beyond his own out-of-town residence at Gorodishche where, at the close of the twelfth century, the last major princely church was constructed — the Church of Our Savior on Nereditsa. In the last days of the twelfth century, the prince of Novgorod thus lost control over the *sotnyas* with their predominantly merchant and artisan population. A new office, whose incumbent was to be elected by the *veche*, was established. This was the *tysyatskiy*, whose title was previously used for a military commander subordinated to the prince only. Henceforth, he was to represent all the free townspeople of Novgorod other than the boyars and those immediately dependent upon them. While the *posadnik* remained the chief spokesman of the landed nobility, the *tysyatskiy's* office, too, was soon appropriated by the boyars. By this time the city-state had irreversibly turned into a full-fledged boyar republic. Added to the original three "ends" were a fourth one (*Plotnitskiy konets*) in the twelfth century, and a fifth and last one (*Zagorodskiy konets*) in the thirteenth century. Various boyar groupings, representing these *kontsy*, were engaged in bitter internal feuds for the key positions in the state. In the thirteenth century, in an attempt to resolve these conflicts and to consolidate the political power of the boyar class, the Council of Lords (*Sovet gospod*), with each "end" equally represented, was formed as a delegated and executive organ of the *veche*. It has occasionally been referred to as the *de facto* government or senate of the city-republic. By the fourteenth century, the office of the *posadnik* — or rather, the collective *posadnichestvo* — had six members, one district (*konchanskiy*) *posadnik* from each borough, in addition to the chief lord mayor (*stepennyi posadnik*). A century later the same office already numbered dozens of simultaneous office-holders, again proportionately distributed in accordance with the various *kontsy*. Consequently, virtually each of the mighty boyar families was at the same time represented in the city government, thus establishing a clear-cut class-determined oligarchic rule of the city-state. The other segments of the free but less well-to-do citizenry, the so-called *chernye lyudi*, grew increasingly disenchant-

and frustrated. The gradual and systematic consolidation of the power position of the boyar class must, to a large extent, be seen as a measure taken to counter and render ineffectual these sentiments and socio-political aspirations of the large "middle" class.

Yanin contends that one of the main instruments used by the boyars in their attempts at persuasion and demagogic influence of the masses was the Church. The construction of parish churches, promoted and financed by the boyar class from the twelfth century onward, bears testimony to this policy. The boyars' town estates (*usad'by*) became increasingly studded with clusters of churches whereas the residents of the *sotnyas* could less afford to sustain comparable building activities. For example, the perimeter of the combined estates of the powerful Ontsiforovich clan, which were excavated in 1951-62, was marked by four church constructions in stone — and this particular family was by no means unique in this respect. There was, however, an inherent danger in such a policy for the boyars themselves. For by transferring ever more wealth to the clergy, political power, too, could shift hands. As a token of this shift, the spiritual head of the Novgorod archdiocese, the *vладыка*, by presiding over the Council of Lords, also came to occupy first place in the secular hierarchy of the republic. To avert far-reaching consequences which could threaten their own political influence, the landed nobility supported yet another clerical hierarchy, the monasteries, with their so-called black clergy (*chernoye dukhovenstvo*) in contrast to the "white clergy" (*beloye dukhovenstvo*) of the ecclesiastic establishment. The monastic organization in Novgorod was not integrated into the structure of the church hierarchy. As early as the thirteenth century, the small monastic communities founded by the boyars of a *konets* were subordinated to the main, or mother, monastery of that particular borough, headed by a district hegumen (*konchanskiy igumen*). The activities of the district hegumens were, in turn, coordinated by and subject to the office of the archimandrite of Novgorod, an official who, characteristically, was not appointed by the bishop (later, archbishop) but elected by the *veche* and thus, in effect, hand-picked by the boyars. The power base which the feudal lords had created for themselves in the system of monasteries, within the city as well as in the outskirts, by making them major repositories of wealth, ultimately turned out to be of even greater significance for the boyars than the power and wealth of the Church. The treasures and the strength of the Novgorod monastic community served as a reservoir to be utilized in times of war or social unrest. The instances where such was indeed the case are fairly numerous in the history of Novgorod. Not unexpectedly, among the first measures of Grand Prince Ivan III of Moscow, when incorporating the Republic of St. Sophia into his own state in 1478, was to confiscate all property belonging to the Novgorod monasteries.

During the fourteenth and particularly in the fifteenth century, the boyar republic of Novgorod increasingly assumed an oligarchic character of government; at the same time it was drifting toward political disaster. The usurpation of the *sotnya* system by the boyars, their massive participation in government and administration, their consis-

tent intrusions into the ecclesiastic and monastic hierarchies were manifestations of a general trend — the virtual liquidation of the earlier *veche* system. The latter, especially at the district level, had initially given at least the semblance of representative participation of additional strata of the city population in the political life of the state. The boyar oligarchy resulted from a deepening of class antagonisms in Novgorod society. The ultimate defeat in 1478 by Muscovy signaled, in the view of V. L. Yanin, the destruction not of any democratic *veche* system, but of the absolute rule of the boyars.

Much in this thoroughly researched and thoughtfully considered interpretation of Novgorod's internal political evolution by the Soviet historian makes perfectly good sense and is thus readily acceptable. Yet there are also some debatable points in this line of reasoning and in the underlying conception. Not only does Yanin display a certain Marxist bias, but his argument is virtually devoid of any attempt to take into account comparative evidence on a broader European scale. To begin with, it should be noted in this context that his general view of Old Novgorod's presumed origins and socio-political evolution has been known to experts for some time, both in the East and the West. In other words, while summarized in his essay collection of 1977, the main tenets of Yanin's relevant conception were formulated and had been discussed earlier. Of his Western commentators, two will be singled out here — L. N. Langer (who is also the author of an informative, fairly recent survey on the medieval Russian town), and K. Rasmussen (who has advanced a new theory concerning the status of the controversial three-hundred golden-girdled men of Novgorod).⁷ Both these scholars are fairly appreciative of Yanin's ideas; yet they also express reservations regarding some aspects of his novel approach and interpretation.

As Langer points out, in 1961 V. N. Bernadsky published a thorough investigation of fifteenth-century Novgorodian society in which he "underscored the political and economic power exercised by the boyars over the republic's political institutions."⁸

Yanin's insistence on the decisive political role played by the boyars, first elaborated in great detail in his fundamental work on the Novgorod *posadniks*, published one year after Bernadsky's study,⁹ is therefore not entirely original. But it was Yanin who fundamentally reinterpreted the very nature of the Novgorod city-state as essentially a boyar republic throughout its entire history, thus refuting the notion of a more broadly democratic body politic. It is further Yanin's merit to have convincingly demonstrated that the uprising of 1136 (usually considered to have signaled the end of Novgorod's dependence on Kiev) did not, in fact, mark quite as decisive a change in the authority of the Novgorodian prince as has usually been claimed. According to him, on the one hand, the political-administrative competence of the prince had been fairly well circumscribed also before the events of that year; on the other hand, as particularly attested by the use of the princely seal, along with other seals, the prince continued even after 1136 to act not only as the military leader, but also to some extent as the executor of the policies adopted by the *veche* and the *posadnik*. In addition, he was an important

authority in matters of jurisdiction and property transactions. Here, again, Yanin can claim expertise, as he is the author of the definitive study on medieval Russian seals.¹⁰ The 1136 uprising thus merely marked a step — not the first and certainly not the last — in the gradually increasing restriction of the Novgorodian prince's power vis-à-vis the boyars. Langer accepts Yanin's notion of the internal struggles of the *vyatshiye* and *men'shiye muzhi* (roughly the 'greater' and 'lesser free men') in Novgorod in the 1250s over the Mongol tribute as essentially having taken place within the upper stratum of the Novgorod citizenry. If not strictly within the ranks of the landed boyars, these feuds were probably between the feudal patricians and the other, virtually equally prosperous — merchant — class. Previously, these clashes, reported in the town chronicle, were usually considered struggles involving the common people of Novgorod as well. Many of the boyars themselves, notably those having their town estates along Prussian Street, sided in those days with the charismatic Alexander Nevsky without, however, letting him recapture any of the earlier princely powers in Novgorod. While acknowledging the merits of Yanin's analysis of the *posadnichestvo*, Langer notes that the Soviet historian's study has basically left unanswered the problem of the composition and functions of the Novgorod *veche*. Yanin rejects the earlier, commonly held view that the "three-hundred golden-girdled men" are to be identified with the Council of Lords (*Sovet gospod*) since, beginning in the fifteenth century, this body met in the Archbishop's Palace, or rather its annex, the Palace of Facets (*Granovitaya palata*), which could only accommodate fifty to sixty people. Langer mentions Yanin's reasons for suggesting that these three-hundred distinguished men made up the entire membership, or at any rate the core, of the *veche*. Yet he does not comment on the justification for Yanin's interpretation.

In summing up his assessment, Langer submits that the Russian scholar has generally underestimated the role of trade and its relation to the boyar economy. In his opinion, it is precisely the economic relationship between the Novgorodian boyars, merchants, and craftsmen that remains unclear in Yanin's work. Yet, concluding with a few sketchy remarks contrasting the medieval Russian town with its Western European counterpart, Langer's appraisal of Yanin's research on Old Novgorod ends on a positive note, emphasizing the significance of his contribution to a better — and radically different — perception of the evolution of the North Russian city-state.

Rasmussen, too, finds Yanin's reassessment of the history of Novgorod the Great novel and largely plausible. He sums it up in four points: (1) Novgorod was not a city of free merchants and craftsmen but one of boyars; (2) the *veche* was not a general, people's assembly but a gathering of boyars; (3) the prince was not expelled in 1136; he never played more than merely a secondary role; and, (4) Novgorod's origin is explicable in terms of a federation of three tribes, two Slavic and one Finno-Ugric. Rasmussen further points out that Yanin — contrary to previous Soviet scholarship — has cast doubt on what had otherwise been considered proof of fierce class struggle in Novgorod. Without actually taking a

stand regarding such a class struggle, Yanin merely indicated that those manifestations that had previously been regarded as proof of wide-ranging social conflicts were merely feuds between contending factions of boyars. Rasmussen also asserts that in terms of the very model of a medieval city, Novgorod's beginnings and its socio-economic structure, in Yanin's conception, are in stark contrast to the standard view in Soviet historiography. The fact that Yanin's reinterpretation of medieval Novgorod has not prompted any heated debate among Soviet historians leads Rasmussen to believe that he is either alone in his views or that they have already gained wide acceptance. The Danish historian is — rightly — inclined to assume the latter. He does not attempt a systematic critique of Yanin's views but raises a couple of crucial questions. One concerns the issue of whether it is possible to corroborate Yanin's notion of the residential pattern in Old Novgorod. While he has assumed that craftsmen and shopkeepers had been living, to a large extent, on the premises of the feudal estates, this was shown to have been true only of the *Nerevskiy konets* (where they have been excavated). But does it also apply to other parts of the city, notably to the highly commercial district of Slavno on the opposite, Market Side of the river? Though this question may still be considered open, it should be pointed out that Yanin's archeological team has been excavating primarily in Slavno in recent years, looking, in fact, for the answer to this very question. It is reasonable to expect that the heavily boyar-dominated medieval cityscape of Nerev and Lyudin (as well as probably that of Zagorod'ye) was not necessarily fully duplicated, in terms of residential quarters, on the right bank of the Volkhov, with its predominantly merchant and artisan population.

The other point raised by Rasmussen is the question of what the designation *den dren hundred guldenen gordelen* ('the three-hundred golden belts') may refer to. While Yanin's rejection of the identification of this term with the — numerically much smaller — Council of Lords makes good sense (cf. above), his own suggestion, not challenged by Langer, that this designation is merely a synonym for the *veche* was rejected by Rasmussen on good grounds. He pointed out that the same Middle Low German document refers to the town assembly as *eyn dinc* (cf. the Scandinavian institution of *thing*, denoting a general assembly or parliament). Instead, in a subsequent study the Danish scholar persuasively argued that this term is used for a certain, significant portion of the administrative *sotnya* system and three of its elders (*starosty*).¹¹

It can be said that Yanin's opinions are, indeed, fairly widespread in the Soviet scholarly community today. In fact, the Moscow archeologist and historian now has a following of associates working with him. However, there are also some exceptions; not all Soviet experts on Old Novgorod fully adhere to Yanin's opinions. Among those who have advanced views different from his (and as far as is known, have not fundamentally revised their thinking in light of Yanin's and his co-workers' latest research) is the Novgorod historian S. N. Orlov, author of several studies on the city's medieval topography.¹² Orlov does not share Yanin's three-center hypothesis of Novgorod's beginnings with its

implications for Novgorod's subsequent growth. Instead, he considers the division along the river into the boyar-dominated Sophia Side and the commercial (and initially, princely) Market Side to be crucial. Relatively recently, Yu. I. Smirnov and V. G. Smolitsky cautioned against Yanin's one-sided insistence on the decisive role of the Novgorod boyars. Writing about Novgorod and the Russian epic tradition, they offered some pertinent remarks about the validity of Yanin's inquiry into the political institutions of the Volkhov city and their social basis.¹³ Considering that their criticism pertains especially to the methodology of Yanin's findings, it may be of interest to indicate here the main points of their argument.

Smirnov and Smolitsky point out that the results of the archeological digs conducted during the last decades have led a number of scholars — specifically V. L. Yanin, M. Kh. Aleshkhovsky, and P. I. Zasurtsev — to radically reassess the problem of the popular *veche* rule and the nature of the social conditions in Novgorod. Lately, they suggest, one has begun to speak of the predominant, if not exclusive, political role of the boyars on the assumption that it was the families with boyar names that constituted the very nucleus of Novgorod's social structure. However, such categorical extrapolation is based mainly on the results derived from relatively limited excavations or, to be exact, basically from one particular site, the one in the *Nerevskiy konets*. With all due respect for the concrete results yielded by the archeological work carried out over a number of years, the two Soviet scholars argue that one must not arrive at any absolute conclusions; for any such conclusion based on findings which are applicable only to a limited area serves to block rather than promote the establishment of historical truth. A traceable trend toward an exclusively boyar oligarchy or, for that matter, a few brief episodes of genuine boyar rule at earlier times must, obviously, not be confused with the indisputable ultimate establishment of a boyar oligarchy during the final period of the republic. It was precisely the triumph of that boyar oligarchy which made the other social classes turn away from the nobility and thus hasten the city-state's capitulation to Muscovy, as has repeatedly been pointed out by Yanin.¹⁴ There is no need, Smirnov and Smolitsky submit, to view the role of the boyars as almost or altogether static or to extend any conclusions about their role to all the territory of the city or to the entire history of Novgorod. The particular interests of the upper strata and those of various groupings within the boyar class usually did not quite coincide. The concrete and specific political alignment in Novgorod society and the various interest groups within the centers of power (institutions) were probably never fully unequivocal. It shifted continuously, Smirnov and Smolitsky maintain, and its changing qualities remain to be explored further and traced throughout the course of Novgorod's history.

Alongside the boyars' town estates there were plots of land occupied by merchants, non-boyar landowners, free craftsmen, and others — the *zhit'i* and *chernye lyudi* of the Old Russian documents and chronicles. Formally they were divided into ten *sotnyas*, each under the supervision of an elected *sotskiy*. Heading up the ten *sotskiys* was the *tysyatskiy*, an

elected official, who shared power with the *posadnik* of the boyars. The system of the *sotnya* administration, as yet insufficiently investigated, coexisted with the parallel system of the *konets* administration during all of the city-republic's history. It was reinforced, so Smirnov and Smolitsky claim, by guilds of craftsmen and by merchant associations (corporations). Among the latter, the first was the so-called *Ivanskoye sto*, an association of wax merchants formed in the twelfth century at the Church of St. John the Baptist in Opoki, which is still extant within the perimeter of the old Market Square.

The free people of Novgorod participated — in forms not always readily discernible, such as the assemblies of the street, the “end,” and the town — in the establishment of the organs of self-government at all levels. The citizens enjoying equal rights, primarily the boyars and other well-to-do people, were referred to as the free men of Novgorod (*Novgorodskiyе muzhi*).

As can be seen from this brief account, Smirnov's and Smolitsky's view of Old Novgorod's social organization and political system differs in some important respects from the conception of Yanin and his school. To be sure, the two scholars' notion is presented sketchily and does not claim to give a complete picture of all the pertinent data. Thus, for example, they have nothing at all to say about the Novgorodian prince and his diminishing political role. It is therefore safe to assume that when it comes to this particular figure in the political interplay of the city-state, they may well be in basic agreement with Yanin's interpretation. It should further be noted that when suggesting that the specific interests of the upper strata of Novgorod society (and even within the ranks of the boyars themselves) were not always identical, this, too, is essentially in accordance with Yanin's thinking. The relationship between the prosperous, the less well-situated and the outright poor was characterized by class alienation and antagonism rather than by any open class struggle. A point where Smirnov and Smolitsky are at obvious variance with Yanin's (and N. L. Podvigina's) current conception but where they are in line with the views of earlier Soviet scholarship (M. N. Tikhomirov, B. A. Rybakov, and others) has to do with the question of the possible existence of professional organizations of merchants and artisans in Old Novgorod. As was indicated in my previous essay (“Topography and Demography,” with nn. 18 and 19), there is little evidence to support any assumption that medieval Novgorod would have known full-fledged artisan guilds or merchant corporations comparable to those of Western and Central European towns. At most there may have been a rudimentary form of professional organization developing in the Volkhov city, probably patterned on the merchant corporations among the foreign traders stationed in Novgorod, notably in the Hansa's German compound, St. Peter's Court. The genuinely Russian *Ivanskoye sto* (“St. John's hundred”), consisting of wealthy boyars and/or *zhit'i lyudi* engaged in international commerce, was here the exception rather than the rule.

What deserves particular attention in Smirnov's and Smolitsky's conception is their cautioning against generalized conclusions based on spatially or chronologically limited evidence. This applies in particular

to Yanin's claim about the predominant role of the boyars throughout the whole of Old Novgorod's history. Certainly the two Soviet scholars acknowledge the highly significant role played by the landed nobility. They also recognize that toward the end of the city-state's existence its form of government had turned into that of a boyar-dominated oligarchy. This had, incidentally, been demonstrated in 1961 by V. N. Bernadsky in his monograph on fifteenth-century Novgorod (cf. above). But what they oppose on methodological grounds is the unqualified generalization regarding the alleged predominant role of the boyars in *all* of the city and throughout *all* of its history. Instead, they suggest that the *veche*, although at times dominated by the boyars, was nonetheless a forum where voices other than those of the aristocracy could also be heard. And, contrary to Yanin, the two Soviet scholars claim that the *sotnya* organization, which they recognize to be in need of further study, maintained an independent position vis-à-vis the boyar authority. K. Rasmussen's identification of the three-hundred golden-girdled men with an influential portion of that secondary administrative system supports such a hypothesis.

Determining whether the boyars, once they had won the upper hand over the Novgorodian prince, were the single controlling force in the political life of the Novgorod Republic or whether they constituted merely one, admittedly highly significant, faction will ultimately depend on the possibility of establishing the composition and political competence of the *veche*. The main shortcomings of Yanin's analysis of Old Novgorod's political system lies in his failure to bring this question closer to a solution.

The best of the currently available research on the Novgorod *veche* and its legal history is not by Soviet but by West European scholars. Foremost among these studies is K. Zernack's monograph on the *veche* with its detailed analysis of the situation in Novgorod. Likewise, C. Goehrke's recent treatment of constitution and administration — in the section on Novgorod and Pskov — in the new German reference work on Russian history is also thorough and unbiased. Furthermore, part two (discussing "The Rulers") of N. J. Dejevsky's unpublished dissertation on early medieval Novgorod should also be mentioned here. Of recent general surveys of the political system in Novgorod by Soviet scholars, that by N. L. Podvigina deserves mention.¹⁵

Reassessing the status of the Novgorod *veche* will at the same time provide an opportunity to more closely identify the specific role of the city-state's temporal and spiritual rulers — the prince, the *posadnik*, the *tysyatskiy*, and the *vladyka* — all of whom found themselves in a legally defined relationship to the town assembly from which they derived their political power. In addition, a few remarks will be made concerning a political institution which at first may have acted as a delegated body of the *veche* but which soon turned out to be an independent decision-making authority, indeed the *de facto* government of the republic — the *Sovet gospod* or Council of Lords.

The general framework for Novgorod's political life was undoubtedly provided by the *veche* which up to the twelfth century, when representatives of Novgorod's two oldest and most important "satellite towns,"

Pskov and Ladoga, would also participate in deliberation and voting, most probably had the character of a general town meeting. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the *veche*, which did not meet regularly, became increasingly an organ articulating the particular interests of certain political groups within Novgorod only. In principle, anyone among the free citizens (that is, boyars, *zhit'i lyudi*, or *chernye lyudi*) was entitled to call a meeting of the *veche* simply by sounding the *veche* bell, the very symbol of Novgorod's liberty. A gathering of people who considered themselves sufficient in number could also simply declare themselves to act as the town assembly. The distinction between a spontaneously gathered *veche* and one summoned by the proper official (usually the *posadnik*) was probably not quite as sharp as has been suggested by previous and recent investigators (K. Zernack). The usual gathering place was Yaroslav's Court on the Market Side, but occasionally such meetings would also be held in front of the Cathedral inside the *Detinets* on the Sophia Side. Decisions were approved by simple majority vote, cast orally. This would occasionally, and especially in controversial cases or when the vote was close, result in open brawls or even regular street battles. The formal responsibilities of the *veche* were wide-ranging indeed. It was the town assembly that would institute or depose the prince; it elected the *vladyka*, the archimandrite (the head of all the monasteries of Novgorod and its vicinity), and the *posadnik*; and it was also the *veche* that could dismiss these secular and spiritual leaders. As for the *tysyatskiy*, it has been suggested that he was elected by the common people or perhaps by one particularly influential segment of the *chernye lyudi*, namely, the guild of the *Ivanskoye sto*. However, in view of the fact that in the town chronicle the identical phrase is used for the election and dismissal of the *posadnik* and *tysyatskiy* — and the fact that dismissal and election of *posadnik* and *tysyatskiy* are mentioned in one and the same sentence twice in the First Novgorod Chronicle under the years 1219 and 1286¹⁶ — it seems more likely that the *tysyatskiy* was also an appointee of the *veche*. Even more important, the *veche* had the final say when it came to declaring war and concluding peace. The legal term "all of Novgorod" (*ves' Novgorod*) and, in the fifteenth century, even "all of Lord Novgorod the Great" (*ves' gospodin Velikiy Novgorod*) refers to the entire membership of the *veche* and in this meaning can be found on official state treaties (*dogovornye gramoty*) entered after the various dignitaries.

This clearly democratic foundation of Novgorod's form of government was overshadowed, if not entirely superseded, by an oligarchic element, since the right to hold public office soon became a privilege limited to the small social group of landed boyars. It was also these feudal lords who controlled another organ which, though it had initially functioned as an executive committee for the *veche*, was in fact independent of it. This was the previously mentioned Council of Lords or *Sovet gospod*, recorded for the first time in 1291 in a Low German-Livonian document as *den heren rad*. Its members were not specially elected but consisted of the highest town officials, current and past, as well as the elders of the

five boroughs (*kontsy*). The Council was chaired by the archbishop (*vладыка*) who therefore, for all intents and purposes, assumed the ceremonial functions of head of state. Although amounting in fact to the government of the city-republic, the Council's functions were never clearly stated so that its legal status remained vague throughout the nearly two centuries of its existence. In this respect it differed from comparable councils in the cities of Western and Central Europe, particularly the governing bodies of the independent Italian communes and those of the Republic of Dubrovnik (with its well-defined three councils — the *Concilium majus*, the *Concilium minus*, and the *Concilium rogatorum*). Though actually determining the political course of the Novgorod Republic, the boyars in the *veche* as well as in the Council of Lords had to remain, at least initially, sensitive and receptive to the political opinions of the other segments of the urban population.

As was previously pointed out, V. L. Yanin holds a different view of the composition and role of the *veche* during the later period of the autonomous city-state. According to him, it was three to four hundred boyar families, plus a few wealthy merchant households not originally part of the feudal aristocracy, who not only dominated but in effect made up its total membership. Craftsmen, shopkeepers, and petty traders were, in the Soviet historian's opinion, economically dependent on this upper class and lacked all political influence of their own.¹⁷ Among the arguments against such a rather extreme point of view can be mentioned the fact that, while in Pskov the political and legal institutions generally corresponded to those of Novgorod (from which the former "satellite town" had seceded), the Pskov *veche* retained its genuinely democratic character throughout the fifteenth century.

Even though the archbishop, presiding over the Council of Lords, may be considered the republic's formal head of state, it was the *posadnik* and the *tysyatskiy* who, in effect, were the two most influential officials in Novgorod the Great. The *posadnik* (Low German *borchgreve*), whose title echoes his original dependence on the prince, was now the community's highest representative. One of his main functions was, in fact, to exercise control over the prince, sharing with him jurisdiction over the city (with the exception of the boyars). The *posadnik* was also in charge of the republic's general policy vis-à-vis its neighbors and foreign partners. Beginning with the end of the thirteenth century, he was elected only from among the heads of the major households, the large-size town estates (*usad'by*) of the various *kontsy*, that is, from among the ranking boyar families. From 1354 on, his term of office was limited to one year. The constitutional reform of 1416/17 was aimed at giving all distinguished boyar families access to the highest office of the state. This was achieved by cutting the term of office down even further, to only six months, and by increasing the number of simultaneous *posadniks* first to eighteen and soon thereafter (by 1423) to twenty-four. Thus, the office of *posadnik*, or rather of the collective *posadnichestvo*, had grown from originally one, first to six (with one *posadnik* from each of the five boroughs plus one chief mayor — the *stepennyi posadnik*, with

two *posadniks* usually coming from Prussian Street, representing the *Lyudin* and *Zagordskiy kontsy*), then to eighteen, and finally to twenty-four.¹⁸

Next in political power to the *posadnik* was the *tсыyatskiy* (Low German *hertog*). His title, translatable as “chiliarch” and referring to his charge of one thousand men, points to his original — and for some time continued — function as commander of the city’s levy, consisting of one hundred armed men from each of the ten urban *sotnyas*. In addition, the *tсыyatskiy* chaired the Commercial Court in the Church of St. John in Opoki in Market Square. At first serving the interests of the common people (*chernye lyudi*), the office of *tсыyatskiy* was taken over by the boyars in the fourteenth century at the latest, and thereafter became merely a stepping stone toward the higher office of *posadnik*. Details of the changing functions of the *tсыyatskiy* as well as of the personages holding this office have so far been less thoroughly investigated than those concerning the post of *posadnik*. In connection with the usurpation of the office of *tсыyatskiy* by the boyars, the Commercial Court, which had previously been outside the jurisdiction of the *posadnik* (and the prince), lost its significance as an independent institution of Old Novgorod’s legal administration. Not only was this court henceforth dominated by the boyars, but the visible token of its downgrading was that the seals of the merchants’ elders, attached to documents issued by the court, were replaced by that of the *tсыyatskiy*, now coming from the ranks of the boyars.

There can be little doubt that it was the constitutional reform of 1416/17 and the appropriation of the office of *tсыyatskiy*, along with that of the Commercial Court at St. John’s, by some forty powerful boyar families, that brought about the definitive switch from a quasi-democratic form of government based on the *veche* to a purely oligarchic rule determined exclusively by the feudal lords. While the ever-expanding office of *posadnik* and the Council of Lords were the centers of political power and the decision-making bodies, the *veche* with its membership from all strata of Novgorod society was from then on relegated to the role of an empty forum deprived of any real political influence. Already somewhat earlier, roughly by the end of the thirteenth century, the townspeople’s levy supplied by the free citizenry according to its administrative *sotnya* division had increasingly been substituted by professional mercenaries. These were mostly mounted troops in the service of the Novgorodian prince, the *vladyka*, and even individual wealthy boyar families.

Only formally did the prince (Low German *koning*) hold a position higher than those of *posadnik* and *tсыyatskiy*. His rights and obligations were spelled out in a legal document (the so-called *ryad*) which each new prince had to reaffirm by oath. Among the prince’s public functions was to serve as judge over the common people of Novgorod. However, after the uprising of 1136, the sovereign had to share this judicial function with the *posadnik*; also exempt from his overall jurisdiction were the lawsuits brought before the Commercial Court chaired by the *tсыyatskiy*. Still, the prince retained the right to distribute land and to

issue legal documents to that effect. Up to the end of the thirteenth century he served as commander-in-chief of the Novgorod army, the core of which was made up of his own retinue (*druzhina*). As a compensation for these services the prince was entitled to levy a special tax, the so-called *chernyi bor*; he also enjoyed hunting privileges and income from certain villages. After the death of their militarily and politically successful prince, Alexander Nevsky, in 1263 (who at the time was also grand prince of Vladimir), the Novgorodians stopped electing a prince of their own and merely recognized the formal suzerainty of the respective grand prince. His lieutenant (*namestnik*) — usually not of princely blood — would be confined to the prince's quarters at Gorodishche outside of Novgorod. Other local princes would occasionally be hired by the Novgorodians as military commanders. However, they usually lacked all political influence, something that changed only in the fifteenth century when their role assumed an added, symbolic significance aimed at marking the republic's opposition to the increasingly menacing posture of the Muscovite ruler.

After the prince's expulsion from the city (in 1136), Yaroslav's Court on the Market Side of town, although serving as the most frequent meeting place of the town assembly, lost much of its political significance while retaining its role as the city's commercial center. By the same token, the heart of the *Detinets*, the Cathedral of St. Sophia and the Archbishop's Palace (generally known as the House of St. Sophia, and specifically the adjoining Palace of Facets, built in 1433), became increasingly the focal point of the Volkhov city's political life. The state treasure was deposited inside St. Sophia; the Council of Lords met regularly in the Archbishop's Palace and, after its construction, in the Palace of Facets; and the *veche* would also gather outside the Cathedral at least occasionally. All of the city and land of Novgorod were — symbolically — considered the patrimony of St. Sophia and, consequently, Novgorod and St. Sophia came to be perceived as synonymous notions in the minds of the people. It is in view of this that one must understand both the term "Realm of St. Sophia" as tantamount to Novgorod Republic as well as the popular saying "Where St. Sophia is, there, too, is Novgorod" (*gdě svyataya Sofěya i tu i Novgorod*).¹⁹

This unique relationship of church and state in Old Rus', combined with the equally unusual political vacuum created by the absence of a strong prince, or any prince at all, made it easy for the highest spiritual leader of the city, the Novgorod *vладыка* (until 1165 bishop; thereafter, archbishop), to wield considerable secular authority in addition to his purely ecclesiastic powers. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Novgorod Church had become the single most prosperous landowner of the republic. The head of this major religious and financial establishment was also in charge of a large number of secular employees, including soldiers hired in the service of St. Sophia. Since he presided at the meetings of the Council of Lords, the archbishop's signature, name, or title would frequently appear on official documents negotiated with princes of other Russian territories or with foreign, mostly Western, dignitaries and trade partners.²⁰ On occasion, the archbishop as chief diplomatic negotiator would be the only one to speak on behalf of the



St. Sophia Cathedral. West front.

entire city-state. Given the many instances of political unrest and clashes during the Middle Ages, it was often the community's spiritual head who acted as mediator between conflicting factions; he thus provided for a measure of continuity in the affairs of the entire republic. At times, this role would bring with it the temptation to go beyond the authority of the office and aim at absolute power. Such was the case, for example, in the precarious period of the mid-fifteenth century when Archbishop Yevfimiy II (holding office 1429-58) attempted to assume total leadership in order to avert the danger threatening the Novgorod Republic from Muscovy.²¹

As was indicated above, in addition to the archbishop, another prelate commanded considerable influence in Novgorod, also outside the clerical domain. This was the archimandrite who resided in Yur'yev Monastery on the left bank of the Volkhov River just south of the city and who was the formal head of the entire monastic community which spread over the five town boroughs and the city's environs. Appointed directly by the *veche* (and not by the archbishop), the archimandrite was used by the ruling boyar cliques to offset the political power held by the *vladyka*. It has been estimated that the cumulative wealth of all the Novgorod monasteries was not significantly smaller than that of the Church.

In summing up, it can be said that earlier attempts to view the social tensions and differences in Novgorod as topographically coinciding with the natural division along the banks of the Volkhov — an aristocratically dominated Sophia Side facing a democratically administered Market Side — or more recent claims about a “black” working class opposing a feudal-capitalist urban aristocracy oversimplify a situation never quite that static and inflexible. The boyars themselves were probably less class-conscious than has been suggested by Soviet scholarship, at least in the sense that they never formed one monolithic power bloc. While they had undoubtedly already appropriated most political power toward the end of the thirteenth century, and all of it by the beginning of the fifteenth, the boyars soon broke up into several feuding factions seeking outside support with various potentates. This maneuvering between opposing power blocs took on risky proportions after 1385/87, the time of Dmitriy Donskoy's punitive military expedition against Novgorod, and became outright disastrous by 1416/17 when, in an attempt to consolidate boyar power in the city-state, political decision-making was concentrated in the hands of the members of a few — perhaps no more than forty — feudal clans. When even these ranking boyars sided with either the Muscovite ruler or the grand duke of Lithuania, thus preventing a consistent foreign policy, the independent statehood of the Novgorod Republic could no longer be salvaged. Meanwhile, the broad masses of the Novgorod townspeople, having been virtually excluded from the political process, were unable to undertake anything for the safety and security of the republic.²²

In all fairness, it should be said that the split among the ruling boyars of Novgorod in the second half of the fifteenth century occurred not only for purely selfish reasons but had some deeper, underlying ideological

causes as well. Muscovy represented at that time what was genuinely Russian and Orthodox, that is, in the final analysis, the post-Byzantine political and ideological alternative. By way of contrast, Lithuania, with its considerable East Slavic — Ruthenian — population, represented the Western and potentially Catholic option.²³ It was the contention of A. V. Issatschenko, vehemently disputed by Soviet scholars as well as by some Russian students of history in the West, that had Novgorod been given a true and fair opportunity to choose the Western option, Russia's catching up with modern Europe would have occurred not in the eighteenth but already in the sixteenth century.

It must be conceded that it was ultimately the power-hungry boyar class that brought about the downfall of the Novgorod Republic. Yet the city-state succumbed to a state machinery which was not more, but decidedly less democratic than Novgorod itself, and therefore more ruthlessly efficient in its autocratic form of government and administration. To be sure, Novgorod was not a full-fledged democracy, and even in its earlier phases the democratic rule, whose primary instrument was the *veche*, had never been fully developed or legally defined. Yet, it can be said that nowhere else in medieval Russia or, for that matter, in Russia at any time — with the possible exception of Pskov whose short-lived political institutions were patterned on those of the Volkhov city — had a community approached political self-expression and self-determination as closely as it had in Novgorod. And even if, in the end, the democratic beginnings of the North Russian city-state were swept away and replaced by a genuinely oligarchic form of government, this was an oligarchy motivated and supported by a feudal-capitalist economy. But was not the same true of the Italian communes of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance? Temporary setbacks notwithstanding, should they not all be considered prefigurations of modern, democratic societies? And, not less important, were they not the breeding ground for some of the most creative and artistic minds that Europe ever brought forth? Novgorod, too, belongs among these urban communities, even though its practitioners of statecraft were ultimately less impressive than those among their fellow citizens who instead used their imagination and skill in religious pondering and learning, as well as in the verbal and visual arts. It is to the achievements of those Novgorodians who shaped this specific, regional brand of Old Russian culture that the sequels to this volume will be devoted.

NOTES

Novgorod's Legendary Beginnings

1. Cf. V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki kompleksnogo istochnikovedeniya. Srednevekovyi Novgorod* (henceforth *Ocherki*), 3 and 237-9. Generally on the origin and early development of towns in Old Rus', see, e.g., H. Rüss, "Stadtentstehung und Stadtentwicklung," in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 371-9, esp. 374-5. On the potentials and limitations of the techniques used in medieval archeology, see, e.g., *Scientific Methods in Medieval Archaeology* (R. Berger, ed.).

2. For the Old Russian text, see *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'* (henceforth *NPL*), 106. The English translation is mine; for a rendition closer to the original, see H. Birnbaum, *Viator* 8 (1977), 221-2.

3. *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (henceforth *RPC*), 53 and 59-60. Although not entirely satisfactory, the English version of the Laurentian text of the Nestor Chronicle is quoted here and throughout from this standard translation. For a more accurate modern Russian rendition, see *Povest' vremennykh let* (henceforth *PVL*), I, 207 and 214-15; *Pamyatniki literatury Drevnej Rusi. Nachalo russkoy literatury. XI — nachalo XII veka* (henceforth *PLDR*), 25, 27, 35, 37.

4. See *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey* (henceforth *PSRL*), 9/10, 3 and 8; the English translation is supplied by me. Yanin and Aleshkovsky are thus not entirely correct when they claim that Novgorod is first mentioned in the chronicles under the year 859; cf. *Istoriya SSSR* 2/1971, 34 with n. 3. To be sure, 859 has traditionally — but on insufficient grounds — been considered the date of the city's foundation.

5. Cf. *PSRL* 1 (= *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik* I), 20: 5-6 and 13, with variants 38 and 49 and note *k*; see further also L. Scheffler, *Textkritischer Apparat zur Nestorchronik* (= *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik* II), 56-7 (20, 5; 20, 9; 20, 13 for variant readings) and i-iv (by L. Müller, on the manuscript tradition of the Nestor Chronicle and, more specifically, the relationship of extant or otherwise known copies). Cf. also *PVL* I, 18; II, 184 (n. 53), 236-8 (by D. S. Likhachev, on the legendary, folkloric nature of the account of the alleged calling-in of three brothers — Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor — from beyond the sea and the possibility of its originating in a learned interpretation of a Novgorodian political practice, the hiring of Varangian mercenaries and assassins), and 244-5 (on the reasons for substituting Ladoga for Novgorod in some variants of the Nestor Chronicle). See further *PLDR*, 37. On the Varangians in Novgorod and in the service of the Russian princes and grand princes, Yaroslav in particular, see H. Birnbaum, "Yaroslav's Varangian Connection," *Scando-Slavica* 24 (1978), 5-25. The town of Staraya Ladoga is today situated a few miles away from the entry of the Volkhov into Lake Ladoga while the modern community of Novaya Ladoga is directly on

the lakeshore. However, in the early Middle Ages the town of Ladoga was in all probability located near the estuary of the Volkhov into Lake Ladoga since the water level has dropped considerably in the intervening centuries. Note also in this connection the statement of the Nestor Chronicle, quoted above, that "the mouth of this lake (viz., Nevo, i.e., Ladoga) opens into the Varangian (i.e., Baltic) Sea." What is today a river — the Neva — may therefore have been a strait, an extension of the Gulf of Finland, in the early Middle Ages; cf. N. J. Dejevsky, "Novgorod: the Origins of a Russian Town," 392 (for fuller bibliographic data, see n. 22, below); *id.*, *Novgorod in the Early Middle Ages*, 3-4; V. B. Vilibakhov, *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* (henceforth SA) 3/1963, 130; *id.*, *Slavia Occidentalis* 22 (1962), 274.

6. See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 56-7 (for the Greek text with English translation). On the general background of this remarkable work, see *ibid.*, 7-14; further, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* II: *Commentary*, 108. On the *monoxyla*, cf. *ibid.*, 23-5, and on the identification of Teliutza with Lyubech *ibid.*, 30.

7. On the reading *Nemogardàs* emended to *Nevogardàs*, as conjectured by J. B. Bury and D. Obolensky, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* II: *Commentary*, 26-7, with some general remarks (and bibliography) also on the significance of Novgorod at that time as due to its controlling position on the northern stretch of the Baltic-Black Sea waterway and offering some more specific suggestions as to the plausibility of Novgorod's (and the adjoining region's) supplying dugouts. Here, however, a note of caution is perhaps called for. I am indebted to Dr. N. J. Dejevsky, Oxford, for having drawn my attention to the following considerations: While the place-name *Nemogardàs/Nevogardàs* in the Byzantine emperor's work has always been identified with Novgorod on the Volkhov, it is, in fact, not entirely certain that this identification is correct. For several other Novgorods, closer to Kiev (and hence also Byzantium), are known to have been in existence at an early date and, at any rate, during the period of Kievan Rus'. This applies specifically to Novgorod Severskiy, c. 160 miles northeast of Kiev on the river Desna (above Chernigov), a left tributary of the Dnieper (entering that river at Kiev), and to Novograd Volynskiy, c. 130 miles west of Kiev on the river Sluch', merging its waters with the Goryn' (Horyn'), a tributary of the Pripyat', which in turn flows into the Dnieper c. 50 miles north of Kiev. Moreover, a Novgorod Malyi (also known as Novgorodok, excavated in the 1960s), a fortress-township, existed in the 10th century just south of Kiev. It is therefore at least conceivable that Constantine's reference is to one of these Novgorods, all connected by riverway with the Dnieper or situated quite close to it. In contrast, the more distant northern Novgorod had no direct water link with the south so that ships had to be carried or pulled across land to establish the famed "road from the Varangians to the Greeks." Also, in the mid-10th century Novgorod on the Volkhov was probably not yet so large as to clearly outshine any other town bearing that name. Any mention of it cannot, therefore, be considered entirely unequivocal. And, precisely the reference in this connection to the primitive dugouts or canoes (*monoxyla*) makes it, if anything, even more doubtful that it was indeed the northern Novgorod that the Byzantine writer had in mind. For since Novgorod on the Volkhov was a major Varangian base, it could surely be expected to be renowned for producing ships more sophisticated, including perhaps much larger longboats of the Viking type, than simple dugouts. And why, Dejevsky rightly asks, in the whole forested expanse of 10th-century Russia should the town farthest away, on the edge of the northern taiga, have been noted for supplying dugouts to be used on the Black Sea? Incidentally,

as Professor Speros Vryonis Jr., Los Angeles, kindly informs me, a large dugout was discovered some time ago in Yugoslavia. Another, also fairly large one-trunk canoe, found in the Lower Volga region, is on permanent display at the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. Despite their impressive size, though, experts find it hard to imagine how any such light vessel could have traveled on the open sea, from the estuary of the Dnieper to Constantinople. Given that Emperor Constantine makes precisely this claim, however, it is not altogether certain that he refers to Novgorod on the Volkhov. Possibly, the hitherto unquestioned identification was originally made by some Byzantinist who was unaware of other, less renowned Novgorods in Old Rus', and it was subsequently simply taken for granted. Not even the qualification of Novgorod as being the seat of the Russian prince Svyatoslav is particularly helpful in this regard, since we know that Syatoslav's capital was Kiev, not Novgorod. If anything, this localization might therefore point to Novgorod Malyi, near Kiev, which possibly served as Svyatoslav's place of residence. Rather, the specific reference to "outer Russia" may be taken as an indication that Constantine might actually have had the northern Novgorod in mind; cf. also the mention of Smolensk on the Upper Dnieper. At any rate, the issue regarding which Russian town Constantine's *Nemogardàs/Nevogardás* refers to is as yet far from settled. — For an explanation of Old Norse *Hólmgarðr* as meaning 'island region' (*insularum regio*) rather than 'island town, town on the island', see B. Kleiber, "Zu einigen Ortsnamen aus Gardaríke. I. Holmgarðr," *Scando-Slavica* 3 (1957), 215-18, also offering a reasonable interpretation of the Slavic name Novgorod 'new town'. Cf. also I. I. Kushnir, "K topografii drevnego Novgoroda," SA 3/1975, 176-9, corroborating the view that the territory of Old Novgorod originally consisted of a number of hills, at time probably partly submerged. The suggestion that the name *Hólmgarðr* as a whole is an adaptation of Russian *Kholmgorod*, proposed by P. N. Tret'yakov (*Vostochno-slavyanskiye plemena*, 123-4), seems unfounded. For further discussion, see below, with n. 47.

8. See *Novgorod the Great*, 12. In the present quotation, closely following the Russian original of Artsikhovskiy's text (appearing in *Trudy Novgorodskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii* — henceforth *TNAE* — I, 42-3), the word "center" was retained, replacing "capital" of the English rendition, with reference to the transfer of settlement from the Lower to the Upper Volkhov; in addition, American, rather than British spelling has been adopted here. For some doubts as to the presumed function of the nine sacrificial vessels unearthed just beneath the deepest cultural stratum, see N. J. Dejevsky, "Novgorod: the Origins of a Russian Town," 398 (cf. n. 22 below). On the origins of Pskov and their archeological examination, see of recent work esp. S. V. Beletsky, "Kul'turnaya stratografiya Pskova (arkheologicheskiye dannye k probleme proiskhozhdeniya goroda)," *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii AN SSSR* (henceforth, *KSIA*) 160 (1979 [1980]), 3-18, with ample references; see further also S. V. Beletsky, A. B. Varenov, V. P. Frolov, "Issledovaniya Pskovskogo gorodishcha," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1978 goda*, 4.

9. Cf. *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, esp. 5-56 ("Itogi i perspektivy novgorodskoy arkheologii" by V. L. Yanin and B. A. Kolchin). Puzzling in this presentation is the apparent contradiction on p. 15 (where it is stated that 28 layers of wooden roadways have been identified at the Troitskiy site) and p. 21 (where in the chart only 26 "chronological horizons" are shown for Chernitsyna Street, another name for the same site). The 1977 report of the Novgorod Archeological Expedition makes it clear, however, that Chernitsyna Street did in fact consist of 28 superimposed roadways; cf. *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1977 goda*, 42. For some recent finds of the Novgorod Archeological Expedition, cf. also V. L. Yanin, B. A. Kolchin, B. D. Yershevsky, E. K. Kublo, V. G. Mirovona, Ye. A. Rybina, A. S. Khoroshev, "Novgorodskaya ekspeditsiya," *Arkheologicheskiye*

otkrytiya 1978 goda, 45-7. See further A. V. Artsikhovskiy, V. L. Yanin, *Novgorodskkiye gramoty na bereste (iz raskopok 1962-1976 gg.)*, 5-9. It should be noted that the precise datings for the 28 layers unearthed in Nerev End are based on the dendrochronological findings of B. A. Kolchin; cf. his "Dendrokronologiya Novgoroda," in: *Novye metody v arkhologii*, TNAE III, 5-103, esp. 90; *id.*, "Dendrokronologiya postroyek Nerevskogo raskopa," in: *Zhilishcha drevnego Novgoroda*. TNAE IV, 166-227. Earlier, prior to Kolchin's definitive tree-ring datings, the estimates, which were based mostly on stratigraphic chronology (where archaeological objects included jewelry and numismatic finds), ranged from the mid-10th through the mid-16th centuries for these 28 strata; cf. B. A. Kolchin, "Topografiya, stratografiya i khronologiya Nerevskogo raskopa," in TNAE I, 44-137, esp. 131 and 137; see further TNAE II, 506. The new, more exact datings were duly taken into account in the popularizing work by P. I. Zasurtsev, *Novgorod, otkrytyi arkhelogami*, esp. 29-79. For a revealing account of the impressive, variegated yield of the 1951-62 excavations in Novgorod, see also B. Widera, "Novgorod vom 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert im Lichte archäologischer Ausgrabungen. Aus der zwölfjährigen Arbeit der Novgoroder archäologischen Expedition," in: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte der UdSSR und der volksdemokratischen Länder Europas* 9 (1966), 327-47. For a preliminary progress report and a program for future research (now in the process of being implemented), see V. L. Yanin, "Vozmozhnosti arkhologii v izuchenii drevnego Novgoroda," *Vestnik AN SSSR* 8 (1973), 65-75. Among more recent accounts, see G. P. Smirnova's in *Drevnyaya Rus' i slavyane*, 165-71 (cf. n. 21, below), and the aforementioned brief report ("Novgorodskaya ekspeditsiya") by V. L. Yanin, B. A. Kolchin *et al.* in *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1977 goda*, 42-5. For a summary statement on Novgorod's dendrochronology, see B. A. Kolchin, N. B. Chernykh, *Dendrokronologiya Vostochnoy Yevropy (Absolyutnye dendrokronologicheskiye shkaly s 788 po 1970 g.)*, esp. 105-7.

10. See in particular N. J. Dejevsky, "The Varangians in Soviet archaeology today," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 10 (1976), 7-34, esp. 8-25; A. N. Kirpichnikov *et al.*, "Russko-skandinavskiy svyazi v epokhu obrazovaniya Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva (IX-XI vv.)," *Scando-Slavica* 24 (1978), 63-89, esp. 67-76. On the Varangians in their relationship to the "tribal reigns" of the Old Russian chronicles, see V. T. Pashuto, "Letopisnaya traditsiya o 'plemennykh knyazheniyakh' i varyazhskiy vopros," in: *Letopisi i khroniki*, 103-10.

11. Cf. *NPL*, 109; see also *ibid.*, 435. By contrast, according to the tradition represented by the Nestor Chronicle, Oleg died in 913 in Kiev and was buried there at a place called Shchekovitsa; cf. *RPC*, 69 and 236 (n. 40); *PVLI*, 30; II, 280-1; *PLDR*, 55.

12. Cf. *RPC*, 81; *PVLI*, 43; *PLDR*, 75; *NPL*, 113.

13. See, e.g., N. V. Riasanovskiy, *A History of Russia*, 29-30. A conceivable explanation for the chronological discrepancy regarding Oleg's death year could be that Igor, his foster son, became a major in 913, at which point Oleg could have turned over his princely powers to him but did not die that same year. In the First Novgorod Chronicle Oleg, along with Igor, is mentioned in the entry for 921 (= 6429) as readying their troops for a campaign against Byzantium. Under 922 (= 6430), his accomplishments in that campaign (before returning to Igor in Kiev and subsequently going on to Novgorod and Ladoga) are described in some detail; cf. *NPL*, 108-9. Possibly, therefore, the Nestor Chronicle's tale of Oleg's death by his horse, entered under the year 912 (just before the inserted story about Apollonius of Tyana, lifted verbatim from the chronicle of George Hamartolus) and pointing to Scandinavian and ultimately perhaps Byzantine origin, may well have been interpolated here as well. This could therefore explain the technically correct statement found under the subsequent year, 913:

(although with a slightly inaccurate translation — “After Oleg’s death . . .”). The snag in the First Novgorod Chronicle’s account, however, is that Byzantine historiography knows nothing about any Russian expedition against Byzantium in 921/2. Here, the record merely shows Oleg’s appearance before Constantinople in 907 (resulting in the treaty of 911) and a renewed Russian attack in 941 (followed by Igor’s campaign on the Lower Danube in the fall of 943, leading to a second Byzantine-Russian treaty, concluded in 944; the Russian Church Slavic versions of both treaty texts are inserted in the Nestor Chronicle); cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 259 (with n. 2) and 277 (with n. 2). In the Nestor Chronicle, the treaty texts are found in the entries following the year of the actual conclusion of the Russian-Byzantine agreement, thus *sub annis* 912 and 945; cf. *RPC*, 65-8 and 73-7; *PVL I*, 25-9 and 34-9; *II*, 272 and 289; *PLDR*, 47, 49, 51, 53 and 61, 63, 65, 67. On the 10th-century Russian-Byzantine treaties and particularly on the controversial agreement of 911, see also A. N. Sakharov, “Stranitsy russkoy diplomatii nachala X v.,” *Vostochnaya Yevropa v drevnosti i srednevekov’ye*, 267-81.

14. See *RPC*, 61, cf. further *PVL I*, 20; *II*, 253-4, with D. S. Likhachev’s commentary both regarding the textual tradition of this passage and the conceivable reasons for the discrepancy with reference to the statement of the continuation or non-continuation of the payment of this tribute by the Novgorodians, adducing also the presumably most archaic variant reading — “which they pay also until now.” For a modern Russian rendition, see, in addition, *PDLR*, 39.

15. Cf. *NPL*, 107; the English translation is mine.

16. Cf. M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, “Novgorodskiy detinets 1044-1430 gg. (po materialam novykh issledovaniy),” *Arkhitekturmoye nasledstvo* 14 (1962), 3-26, esp. 3-12.

17. Cf. *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, 18.

18. Cf. *NPL*, 181.

19. Cf. M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, *op. cit.*, 3-6. For a somewhat different view, see A. L. Mongayt, “Oboronitel’nye sooruzheniya Novgoroda Velikogo,” in: *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii drevnerusskikh gorodov II*, 7-132, esp. 26 and 56-94 (“Detinets”). Usually, the common noun *detinets* is believed to be derived from the Russian word for children, *deti*, suggesting that it may at first have designated a place where children and other minors were kept for their safe protection; see M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (henceforth *REW*) I, 347. Conceivably, though, *detinets* here would be derived from the special meaning ‘military men’ (cf. *deti boyarskiye = sluzhilye lyudi*). Another, perhaps more attractive etymology for Old Russian *detinets* was suggested by Zh. Zh. Varbot. According to her, the Old Russian noun is derived directly from the verb *deti* (modern Russian *det’*) which as one of its several connotations had the meaning ‘to found, construct (a town)’; see Zh. Zh. Varbot, “Detinets,” *Russkaya rech’* 1/1977, 80-5. The semantic equivalence of *detinets* and *gorod* in the Middle Ages can also be inferred from the name of the borough in Old Novgorod established last, namely, the *Zagorodskiy konets*, which may be translated as the Suburban End but is probably more accurately rendered as ‘the end beyond the *gorod*’ (i.e., on the other side of the citadel or *detinets*, as indicated by its location in relation to the Volkhov). For the older meaning of Russian *gorod*, cf. also the synonymous Old Norse *garðr* and the Old Scandinavian name for Russia, *Garðaríki* or *Garðar*; see Ye. A. Rydzevskaya, *Drevnyaya Rus’ i Skandinaviya v IX-XIV vv.*, 143-51 (“O nazvanii Rusi Garðariki”). The Old Russian noun is not considered a borrowing from early Germanic but a cognate of Gothic *garþs*, Old Norse *garðr*; see M. Vasmer, *REW* I, 297. Note also, incidentally, the explicit translation (by S. H. Cross) ‘stockaded towns’ for Old Russian *gorody* in the passage quoted above from the Nestor Chronicle. N. D. Rusinov’s recent attempt to identify Old Norse

Gardariki with one particular town only, to wit, with Novgorod, is unconvincing and adds little to our understanding; cf. his popularizing, uneven essay “Gardarik i Gospodin Velikiy Novgorod,” *Russkaya rech'* 5/1976, 108-13. For a recent, more persuasive reasoning (by Ye. A. Mel'nikova), suggesting that *Gardar* and, subsequently, *Gardariki* were used as a designation for all of Old Rus', see the discussion and reference in n. 47, below. The other common Old Norse designation for Russia, *Sviþjóð hinn mikla*, literally, ‘Sweden the Great’, finds its natural explanation in the fact that it was primarily in Sweden (including Gotland) that the travel to and colonization of the vast expanses in the east originated.

20. Cf., e.g., P. A. Rappoport, *Ocherki po istorii voyennogo zodchestva severo-vostochnoy i severo-zapadnoy Rusi X-XV vv.*, 9-43, esp. 41-3 (on the Novgorod *Detinets*); *id.*, *Voyennoye zodchestvo zapadnorusskikh zemel' X-XIV vv., passim* (generally on early medieval military constructions in western Russia). See further A. N. Kirpichnikov, “Raboty v Ladozhskoy kreposti,” *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1974 goda*, 17-18; *id.*, “Arkhitekturno-arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya v Staroy Ladoge,” *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1975 goda*, 18-19, and esp. *id.*, “Ladoga i Pereyaslavl' Yuzhnyy — drevneyshiy kamennyye kreposti na Rusi,” in: *Pamyatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiya. Ezhegodnik 1977*, 416-34, with additional references.

21. Cf. Ye. A. Rybina, *Arkheologicheskiye ocherki istorii novgorodskoy trgovli*, esp. 157-9. See further *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, 135-73, esp. 141-2; G. P. Smirnova, “K voprosu o datirovke drevneyshogo sloya Nerevskogo raskopa Novgoroda,” in: *Drevnyaya Rus' i slavyane*, 165-71. However, some circumspection seems to be called for here. Not all finds unearthed beneath the deepest layer of street pavement in the *Nerevskiy konets* (or elsewhere) necessarily testify to the existence of another, still deeper cultural stratum. Oftentimes, cultural deposit was used as earth fill in the course of medieval construction work — to level plots for buildings or to even roadways before their being paved as streets. Also, from a strictly archeological point of view, it is virtually impossible to draw a sharp line between finds in Novgorod dating from the 9th as opposed to the first half of the 10th century. Artsikhovskiy's claim to the contrary notwithstanding (cf. above), the pottery wheel appears to have been introduced in the Russian North only by the mid-10th century, up to which time vessels were hand-shaped — a craft showing little variation and evolution in the preceding two centuries. G. P. Smirnova's attempt to distinguish among several evolutionary phases, with various subtypes, is therefore perhaps overly labored for this time space. (I am obliged to Dr. N. J. Dejevsky for sharing these insights with me.) Yet, for a slightly later period (10th — early 11th centuries), cf. the same author's better substantiated analysis, “O trekh gruppakh novgorodskoy keramiki X — nachala XI v.,” *KSIA* 139 (1974), 17-22. See further n. 25, below.

22. With only minor qualifications, such a conception is in general agreement with the findings of recent research as outlined or reported in V. L. Yanin, M. Kh. Aleshkovskiy, “Proiskhozhdeniye Novgoroda (k postanovke problemy),” *Istoriya SSSR* 2/1971, 32-61; V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki*, 230-1, 233-4; N. J. Dejevsky, “Novgorod: the Origins of a Russian Town,” in *European Towns: Their Archaeology and Early History* (1977), 391-403; *id.*, *Novgorod in the Early Middle Ages: The Rise and Growth of an Urban Community* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oxford, 1977), 31-89 (“The Shaping of the Town”). Dejevsky stresses, in particular, the role of the Church, which evenly spread its houses of worship throughout the *kontsy*, thus unifying the cluster of the once semi-rural settlements adjoining the *Detinets* — with St. Sophia Cathedral as its focal point — into one single town and promoting an integrated urban community while concentrating on Novgorod's

sentiments. According to Yanin, the predominant factor in the growth of the urban community was its aristocracy — the landed boyars — of whom the Church and the monasteries were but important instruments of power.

23. See D. K. Zelenin, "O proiskhozhdenii severnovelikorusov Velikogo Novgoroda," *Doklady i soobshcheniya Instituta yazykoznaniya AN SSSR* 6/1954, 49-95, published in the 1950s but written earlier and taking Shakhmatov's relevant research as a point of departure; V. B. Vilinbakhov, "Baltiyskiye slavyane i Rus'," *Slavia Occidentalis* 22 (1962), 253-77 (German version: "Die Ostseeslaven im Nordwesten der Rus'," *Letopis*, B, 20: 2, Bautzen, 1973, 212-27); H. G. Lunt, "On the Language of Old Rus: Some Questions and Suggestions," *Russian Linguistics* 2 (1975), 269-81, esp. 270 and 277 (n. 7). Of earlier work, cf. in particular A. A. Shakhmatov, *Drevenyshiya sud'by russkago plemeni*, and, occasioned by this study, N. M. Petrovsky, "O novgorodskikh 'Slovenach'," *Izvestiya Otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti* (henceforth IORYaS) 25 (1922), 356-85. See further also the reference to another of Shakhmatov's works in n. 28, below. It should be pointed out that in his study Vilinbakhov repeats and amplifies on Petrovsky's data and ideas.

24. Lunt's argument here obviously echoes, but only up to a point, a view set forth by Likhachev. The latter, too, thinks that Slovene here specifically refers to the Novgorod Slovene, not to the Slavs in general (as contrasted with the Varangians); cf. *PVL* II, 270. However, even if this interpretation were acceptable, it should be noted that Likhachev remarks how the chronicler repeatedly emphasizes the advantages of a simple and severe life style during military expeditions and war. There would therefore be no reason for any aristocratic "amusement," scorn, or irony on the part of the narrator. A different interpretation is, of course, quite conceivable. Slovene in this passage (as elsewhere in the chronicle) may well refer to the indigenous Slavs in general, whether from Novgorod or from some other place, while Russians — or, to mark the different, Rusians or Russes — could be used as a designation for Prince Oleg's more immediate fellow countrymen, the seafaring Varangian Northmen. The relevant section reads in S. H. Cross' rendition:

Oleg gave orders that sails of brocade should be made for the Russes (= Rusians) and silken ones for the Slavs, and his demand was satisfied . . . The Russes unfurled their sails of brocade and the Slavs their sails of silk, but the wind tore them. Then the Slavs said: "Let us keep our canvas ones; silken sails are not made for the Slavs."

Cf. *RPC*, 65 and 236 (n. 36); see further *PVL* I, 25 and 221-2; II, 185 (for variant readings and emendations 51-55); *PLDR*, 47.

25. On early medieval trade connections across the Baltic between Pomeranians and Polabians, on the one hand, and Eastern Slavs, on the other, see, e.g., also J. Herrmann (I. Kherrman), "Polabskiye i Il'menskiye slavyane v ranne-srednevekovoy baltiyskoy trgovle," in: *Drevnyaya Rus' i slavyane*, 191-6. For relevant evidence based on pottery finds, see in particular G. P. Smirnova, "O trekh gruppakh novgorodskoy keramiki X – nachala XI v.," *KSIA* 139 (1974), 17-22. Her study indicates that fragments of West Slavic (Pomeranian) pottery form a very small, albeit distinct, portion of early Novgorod ceramics. If anything, this might suggest that the Volkhov city's Pomeranian trade was of relatively small volume in the late 10th – early 11th centuries at least in comparison with the size of Ladoga's commercial contacts with the same West Slavic area during the 9th and 10th centuries. Cf. also n. 33, below.

26. Cf. D. K. Zelenin, "O proiskhozhdenii severnovelikorusov Velikogo Novgoroda," esp. 55-60 ("Etnograficheskaya gruppa, obrazovavshayasya putem smesheniya drevnikh novgorodtsev s baltiyskimi slavyanami") and 75-95 ("Cherty skhodstva v yazyke i byte novgorodskikh i zapadnykh baltiyskikh slavyan," "Baltiyskiye slavyane v drevney Livonii," "Letopisnye svidel'stva o russikh plemenakh 'ot Lyakhov'"). In addition to the probable arrival of a sizable number of Western Slavs, mainly from the South Baltic littoral, to Novgorod in the 12th century, it appears likely that some group of pagan Balts, primarily Prussians, with their homeland between the Lower Vistula and the Neman/Nemunas, also settled on the banks of the Volkhov, presumably in the late 12th or early 13th century. The designation Prussian Street (*Prusskaya ulitsa*) may thus echo the presence and specific location of such a Prussian ethnic component in Novgorod; but cf. also n. 35, below. Some scholars further maintain — though there seems to be little concrete evidence to support such an assumption — that another early designation for *Lyudin* or *Goncharskiy konets* may in fact have been *Prus(s)y*, literally 'Prussians'. Note that this toponym and its derivatives are known to occur not only in the Baltic lands of Prussia proper, Lithuania, and Latvia, but also throughout a wide Slavic-settled area of northern Poland and northwestern Russia (including Byelorussia). Particularly noteworthy is a cluster of these names found in a district between Lakes Pskov-Peipus and Il'men'. These place-names, to the extent that they appear outside Prussia, are considered evidence of a Prussian emigration, beginning in the 12th century, owing to political and economic factors. For details, see esp. J. Antoniewicz, "The problems of 'Prussian street' in Novgorod the Great," *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 2 (1965), 7-25, with further references.

27. Cf. V. V. Mavrodin, *Proiskhozhdeniye russkogo naroda*, 81-3. For the Krivichi, Mavrodin enumerates some alleged linguistic characteristics: the sound shift *dl*, *tl* to *gl*, *kl*; so-called *dzekan'ye*, i.e., the development of *d*, *t* to *dz*, *ts* before front vowels; retention of nasal vowels as in Lekhitic, represented by Polish. While in fact none of these features necessarily suggest any Lekhitic origin of the Krivichi — e.g., *gl*, *kl* reflecting earlier *dl*, *tl* is found also in Baltic, whereas West Slavic here simply retains the original cluster of dental (not velar!) + *l* — it is interesting to note that Mavrodin has not even mentioned, but at most implied, that so-called *tsokan'ye* (i.e., the coalescence or nondistinction of hissing and hushing consonants), a peculiarity of Novgorodian speech frequently reflected in medieval texts and resembling a phenomenon of some Polish dialects (so-called *mazurzenie*), could point to some particular linguistic links of the Slovene with the Western Slavs. But cf. also D. K. Zelenin, *op. cit.*, 49-75. As for the significance of the shape and size of barrows, by some scholars, notably V. V. Sedov, held to be indicative of certain East Slavic tribes (cf. the round *sopki* of the Slovene, the elongated *kurgany* of the Krivichi), Mavrodin notes the continued difference of opinion among archeologists. See, however, in particular, V. V. Sedov, *Novgorodskiye sopki*, esp. 29-33 ("Sopki — pamyatniki sloven novgorodskikh") and *id.*, *Dlinnye kurgany krivichey* (with an instructive map sketch of the claimed widespread area of settlement of the Krivichi). See further *id.*, *Slavyane Verkhnego Podneprov'ya i Podvin'ya*, esp. 91-124 ("Krivichi"). It has also been argued, especially by some Leningrad archeologists, that the *sopki* originally were peculiar to Finnic tribes (and only subsequently were adopted by the Slovene) whereas the *kurgany* could have been grave mounds of Baltic groups (passed on to the Krivichi). The Slavs themselves, penetrating into these northeastern regions, seem at first to have used smaller, unassuming mounds (of which there are some specimens extant) which they would have later abandoned in favor of the larger, more impressive Finnic-type *sopki* or Baltic-type *kurgany* of

Drevney Rusi IX-XI vekov, esp. 18-100 ("Verkhneye Podneprov'ye i Podvin'ye," "Severo-zapad"). For a general assessment of the diagnostic value of barrows for identifying Slavic and other ethnic groups settling in the Novgorod region, and on the attendant difficulties, see also Ye. N. Nosov, "Istochniki po slavyanskoj kolonizatsii Novgorodskoy zemli," in: *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskiye distsipliny* 6 (1974), 212-41. It ought to be mentioned, moreover, that the arguments adduced for a West Slavic origin of the Krivichi are by and large slightly stronger than those invoked for the Slovene. This applies less to strictly archeological evidence than to some linguistic data (certain reservations notwithstanding; cf. above), as well as to inferences which can be deduced from some peculiarities of the Old Russian chronicle texts (e.g., the lack of any clear reference as to the origin of the Krivichi); see further V. L. Yanin, M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, "Proiskhozhdeniye Novgoroda (k postanovke problemy)," *Istoriya SSSR* 2/1971, 32-61, esp. 49-51; and V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki*, 230. Another issue, long considered controversial but now apparently resolved, is whether a separate tribal subgroup of the Polochane (whose name is derived from the town of Polotsk on the Upper Dvina), presumably forming part of the Krivichi, can in fact be ascertained; cf. also Mavrodin's reference to the Polochanian branch of the Krivichi, noted above. It seems that in the instances where a separate tribe of the Polochane is mentioned in the Nestor Chronicle we are dealing with later interpolations, prompted by the particular interest in Polotsk — long a stronghold of Varangian power — shown by the sons of Grand Prince Yaroslav in the second half of the 11th century. Cf., e.g., P. N. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskiye plemena*, 120-2; A. G. Kuz'min, "K voprosu o 'polochanakh' Nachal'noy letopisi," in: *Drevniye slavyane i ikh sosedi*, 125-7. For a slightly different view (though still not considering the Polochane a tribal group of its own), cf. now also G. A. Khaburgayev, *Etnonimiya Polochane vremennykh let* v svyazi s zadachami rekonstruktsii vostochnoslavjanskogo glottogeneza, 176-9. See further also G. V. Shtykhov, *Drevniy Polotsk*, esp. 9-21. For the present discussion of the earliest ethnic composition of Novgorod, the question of a possible special status of the Polochane is of little consequence since no Polochane have ever been said to have been permanent inhabitants of the city on the Volkhov. For a recent account of Soviet scholarship concerning the origin of the Eastern Slavs (and their various tribes), see further A. V. Gadlo, "Etnogenez vostochnykh slavyan," in: *Sovetskaya istoriografiya Kiev-skoj Rusi*, 13-35.

28. Cf. A. A. Shakhmatov, *Ocherk drevneyshago perioda istorii russkago yazyka*, xviii-xix and xxi-xxii. For further references to relevant previous work by Shakhmatov, see D. K. Zelenin, *op. cit.*, 49 (fn. 3-5).

29. For an appraisal of Shakhmatov's relevant views, see also G. A. Khaburgayev, *op. cit.*, esp. 3-13 ("A. A. Shakhmatov i problemy vostochnoslavjanskogo glottogeneza") and 108-19 ("Krivichi' i 'slovene' [novgorodtsy]").

30. See P. N. Tret'yakov, *U istokov drevnerusskoy narodnosti*, 67-71; cf. also the same author's earlier works *Vostochnoslavjanskiye plemena*, esp. 116-31 (where the Slovene and Krivichi are still considered long-established, virtually indigenous ethnic groups of the area), and *Finno-ugry, balty i slavyane na Dnepre i Volge*, esp. 19-300 ("Slavyanskiye plemena v Podneprov'ye na rubezhe i v nachale nashey ery," "Plemena Podneprov'ya i Verkhnego Povolozh'ya nakanune obrazovaniya drevnerusskoy narodnosti"). For Sedov's overall view of these intricate prehistoric problems, see in particular his monograph *Slavyane Verkhnego Podneprov'ya i Podvin'ya* (for additional references, cf. n. 27, above). I. I. Lyapushkin, *Slavyane vostochnoy Yevropy nakanune obrazovaniya Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, esp. 89-97, is highly skeptical concerning the possibility of ethnic

attribution based on size and shape of grave mounds. Cf. also the work by V. A. Bulkin *et al.* cited in n. 27. On the hydronymy of the Upper Dnieper region, see primarily V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubachev, *Lingvističeskij analiz gidronimov Verkhnego Podneprov'ya*.

31. See A. Baecklund, *Personal Names in Medieval Velikij Novgorod*, I. *Common Names*. For a different opinion, cf., however, esp. N. M. Petrovsky, "O novgorodskikh 'Slovenakh'," *IORYaS* 25 (1922), 356-85, and, more recently, V. B. Vilinbakhov, "Baltiyskiye slavyane i Rus'," *Slavia Occidentalis* 22 (1962), 253-77. Some of the phonological features adduced by Petrovsky and elaborated on by Zelenin and Vilinbakhov in support of a presumed West Slavic component in the speech of the Novgorod Slovene allow for different interpretations (see above, n. 27) or, at most, point to some links with West Slavic in general (including, notably, Sorbian and Czech), but not with Pomeranian West Slavic (Lekhitic) in particular. Yet, many of the onomastic arguments claimed to underpin the same hypothesis are, upon closer examination, inconclusive; for discussion, see Baecklund, *op. cit.*, *passim* (regarding such name forms as *Yan*, along with *Ivan* and derivatives, *Matey*, along with *Matvey*, *Matfey*, or those ending in *-ata*, *-yata*). But even if some of these personal names should in fact be interpreted as exhibiting West Slavic characteristics (or preferences), they may well reflect the presumed influx of a Lekhitic (Pomeranian) population in the 12th century referred to above (with n. 26). How loose the ground is on which Vilinbakhov's reasoning rests can be exemplified with his explanation of the name of Lake *Il'men'* which he compares (*op. cit.*, 256 and 276) with the river name *Ilmenau*, attested in Pomerania, rather than, following M. Vasmer (*REW* I, 479), deriving it from a Finnic form cognate with Finnish *Ilmajarvi*, Estonian *Ilmjarv* (cf. also the Old Russian variant *Il'mer'*).

32. The reference, in this context, to Vineta and some of what follows echoes in part my previous discussion of these matters in *Viator* 8 (1977), 239-40. There, however, in addition to mentioning Vineta, I also discussed the name of the Latvian (Curonian) town of Ventspils (German, Windau) as allegedly displaying a Slavic association. Thus, I proposed that *Vents-pils* literally meant 'town of the Vends' (Latvian *pils* = Greek *polis* 'town'). Yet, this etymology probably cannot withstand closer scrutiny. Rather, *Vents-* is related to the name of the river *Venta* near the mouth of which Ventspils is situated. The river name in turn seems to be derived from a root **vent-* 'large, big', suggesting an original meaning 'Big River'. See M. Vasmer, *REW* I, 201 (s.v. *Vindava*); cf. further, e.g., the river *Velikaya* (*scil. reka*) on which Pskov is situated, or, from another part of the world, *Rio Grande*. Therefore, the town Ventspils, founded only in 1343, and its name, or even its first component, in all likelihood must not be considered when discussing toponymic evidence (or lack thereof) concerning a possible Wendish (Pomeranian) connection of Novgorod or a claimed Baltic-Slavic origin of its earliest population. For a possible etymological association between *Vent-* (in *Venta*, *Ventspils*), *Ven(e)ti/Vend-*, etc. (cf. also the East Slavic tribe of the *Vyatichi*, by many believed to be of West Slavic origin), and the Indo-European root **vent-* 'big, great', see however D. K. Zelenin, *op. cit.*, 89, and M. Gimbutas, *The Slavs*, 61. On Vineta-Jumne-Wolin, cf., for example, J. Herrman, *Zwischen Hradschin und Vineta. Frühe Kulturen der Westslaven*, 158-9; further, *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* 2, 339 (s.v. *Jóm* and *Jómswikingowie*). Regarding the possibility of identifying Vineta-Jumne with the site of Jómsborg of the Old Icelandic *Jómsvíkinga Saga*, see the relevant section in N. F. Blake's introduction to *the Saga of the Jomsvíkings*, vii-xv. For additional literature on the Vineta problem, cf. in particular J. Filip *et al.*, *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- and Frühgeschichte Europas* 2, 1591 (s.v. *Vineta*) and 1645 (s.v. *Wolin*), with further references: and discussing its legendary

33. Cf. Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, 66-7. The comment by the translator-editor, F. J. Tschan, that Ostrogard (in the extant Latin manuscripts also written *Ostragard*, *Ostrogord*) is "identified either as Novgorod on the Volkhov River or as Ostrov" (fn. 74) is uncalled for inasmuch as no major medieval town Ostrov is known in North Russia (the small town with that name today, located in the Pskov region, cannot be shown to have existed in the early Middle Ages; cf. also below). The German editor of Adam's *Gesta*, S. Steinberg, does not hesitate to identify Ostrogard with Novgorod only; cf. Adam von Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 74 (fn. 4). For reasons not readily clear, D. K. Zelenin, *op. cit.*, 91, identifies Ostrograd (sic) with Ladoga; but cf. also n. 25, above, where reference is made to some evidence of Ladoga's more voluminous trade with Pomerania as compared to Novgorod's. Admittedly, though, the place-name Ostrogard is not entirely transparent as to its etymology. At least two interpretations are conceivable. On the one hand, the Latinized form could be an adaptation of an otherwise unattested Norse *Austrgarðr*, in the sense of 'eastern town' (i. e., Russian town or town of Rus'; cf. the Icelandic skald Sighvatr's poem *Austrfararvisur*, translatable as 'Stanzas about a Journey East', and the frequent references on Scandinavian runestones to somebody having traveled or died east — *austr* — meaning to or in Russia). Eastern = Russian town would then be tantamount to Novgorod (or Russia in general, in the same way as *Hólmgarðr* often stands for Russia). Cf. also the statement by the 12th-century chronicler Helmold: "By the Danes, Russia is also called Ostrogard because, situated in the east, it abounds in all good things." See Helmold, Priest of Bosau, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, 46, with fn. 4, where, again, an alternative identification of Ostrogard with either Novgorod or Ostrov "above Pskov" is contemplated by the same translator-editor, F. J. Tschan. On the other hand, it is also possible, if less likely, that Ostrogard is the Latin adaptation of Russian *Ostrov-gorod*, i. e., island town, which in turn could be a translation of Norse *Hólmgarðr* with roughly the same meaning (cf. also n. 7, above, and the discussion below, with n. 47). Jumne-Jumneta-Vineta is also described by Helmold, drawing heavily on Adam; cf. Helmold, Priest of Bosau, *op. cit.*, 48-9, with footnotes. See further R. Kiersnowski, *Legenda Winety. Studium historyczne*, 41-2 (and 133, nn. 196 and 198), pointing out, among other things, that Helmold was the first to use the name form *Vin(n)eta*.

34. Cf. M. Gimbutas, *The Slavs*, 58-62 ("Slavic Tribal Names in Historic Records of the First Centuries AD"). On the abundant occurrence of the ethnonym *Vend-/Vend-* (*Wend-*) in the toponymy and hydronymy of Livonia and Curonia (i. e., in modern Latvia), see esp. D. K. Zelenin, *op. cit.*, 79-94. See further also B. A. Rybakov, "Istoricheskiye sud'by praslavyan," in: *Istoriya, kul'tura, etnografiya i fol'klor slavyanskikh narodov*, 182-96, esp. 186-7, suggesting, it would seem, a rather outlandish etymology for *Slovene*: an original compound *slo-Vene*, alleged to mean something like 'emissaries, emigrants from the (land of the) *Vene(-ti/-di)*'. Compare, moreover, a similar interchangeable use, for example, in modern German: *Lausitz-Wenden*, synonymous with *Sorben*, for the Slavs of Lusatia in present-day East Germany, or the somewhat derogatory but still frequent usage of *Wenden/Winden* for *Slovenen*, i. e., the Slovenes, notably the Slavic minority in the South Austrian province of Carinthia; the latter instance, in particular, provides a perfect parallel.

35. See V. L. Yanin, M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, "Proiskhozhdeniye Novgoroda (k postanovke problemy)," *Istoriya SSSR* 2/1971, 32-61, esp. 47-51. Here, the linguistic (including onomastic) reasoning which in particular echoes Petrovsky's analogous arguments — suggesting a Baltic-Slavic, Pomeranian origin of the Slovene,

not of the Krivichi — is by and large less convincing, and the archeological evidence is tenuous. Instead, the purely historical argument is more persuasive, especially the interpretation of the role of Prince Vseslav of Polotsk (1044-1101) as attempting to restore and reunite a North Russian federation under Krivichian rule with Pskov, Smolensk, and Novgorod forming part of it. Of linguistic — toponymic-ethnonymic — support adduced, the reference to Prussian Street (*Prusskaya ulitsa*), the old thoroughfare on the northwestern edge of *Lyudin konets*, is at least worth noting. Cf. further *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, 45; and H. Birnbaum, *Viator* 8 (1977), 228. However, it is actually less likely that the name of Prussian Street points to the origin of the earliest *Slavic* population of this district of Old Novgorod. Rather, it could indicate the direction of the continuing highway, linking Novgorod with the land of the Prussians, an important trade partner providing, in particular, much demanded amber; see K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod. Aufstieg und Niedergang einer russischen Stadtrepublik* (henceforth *Gross-Novgorod*), 64. For a different view, associating Prussian Street with a presumed Prussian immigrant population of Novgorod (as of the late 12th – early 13th centuries) and arguing insistently, though not all too persuasively, against the notion that street names with an ethnic designation in medieval Novgorod could have something to do with the direction of the highways into which they ran, see the study by J. Antoniewicz quoted in n. 26, above. On the far-flung distribution of the Krivichi, see in particular the relevant studies, with map sketch, by V. V. Sedov, listed in n. 27, above. Concerning the possibility of an original Finnic population of Lyudin (prior to the arrival of the Krivich), see below, n. 41.

36. See V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki*, 230; cf. also n. 27, above. Only recently, after having acquainted himself with the study by G. A. Khaburgayev, *Etnonimiya "Povesti vremennykh let"* ... (cf. n. 27, above), has Professor Yanin become inclined to seriously consider the possibility of a western origin of the Slovene as well (oral communication, August 1979).

37. This, in any event, is the view expressed by Yanin and Aleshkovsky in *Istoriya SSSR* 2/1971, 42. But cf. also Yanin's more recent thinking referred to in nn. 39 and 41, and his earlier reference to the designation *Narovskiy* for *Nerevskiy konets*, in *Novgorodskiyе posadniki*, 374.

38. Cf. M. Vasmer, *REW* II, 198-9; see further also *PSRL* 1 (= *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik* I), 11, with variants 25; L. Scheffler, *Textkritischer Apparat zur Nestorchronik* (= *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik* II), 31 (11, 11); and *PVL* I, 13 and 210; II, 109, 183 (67), and esp. 223.

39. On (Old) Russian Merya, Chud', Ves', and Vod', see M. Vasmer, *REW* II, 123; III, 352; I, 193 and 213. For a survey of their modern descendants, with a few brief comments on their history and earlier range, see, e.g., B. Collinder, *An Introduction to the Uralic Languages*, 11-13 and 18. The view that the name of the *Nerevskiy konets* echoes the ancient Norova/Nereva tribe is now also accepted by V. L. Yanin (and B. A. Kolchin) in *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, 45. On the Ves' (modern Veps) and their possible presence in Old Novgorod, see further n. 41, below.

40. Cf. V. L. Yanin, M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, *op. cit.*, 42-3; see further K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod*, 64. Cf., however, also nn. 26 and 35, above, with the reference to the essay by J. Antoniewicz.

41. Note also Yanin's recent view that the Meryans had, in fact, nothing to do with the history of Novgorod; cf. *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniyeye Novgoroda*, 45. For a further discussion of the original Finnic component of Old Novgorod and on the Finnic population of northern Old Rus' in general, see, for example, V. L. Yanin, M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, *op. cit.*, 42-3 and 51 (with references); V. V. Mavrodin, *op. cit.*, 102-9. Specifically on the Veps and their earliest contacts with the Il'men' Slavs, see V. V. Pimenov, *Vepsy. Ocherk etnicheskoy istorii i genezisa kul'tury*, esp. 18-116 ("Drevnynya Ves'," "Etnicheskaya istoriya i kul'tura Vesi v svete arkheologicheskikh dannykh"), and L. A. Golubeva, *Ves' i slavyane na Belom ozere. X-XIII vv.* There is some indication that part of the Veps also made up the earliest population of the second left-bank district of Old Novgorod, Lyudin. One of the self-designations of the Veps is *l'üdinkad* (sing. *l'üdink*) and their vernacular tongue is also referred to as *lüüdin-kieli*. It is therefore quite conceivable that the Finnic root *l'üdin-lüüdin-* is reflected in the name *Lyudin* the Russian interpretation of which as meaning 'people's' (from Slavic *lyud-*) could easily be explained as a folk-etymological adaptation. What we know of the Veps' prehistory and earliest history — suggesting a previously more western area of settlement and contacts with the Slovene, Krivichi, and Vyatichi — would certainly not contradict such a hypothesis. For further discussion, see V. V. Pimenov, *op. cit.*, 7 and 22-5; and esp. G. (= H) Ditten, *Vizantiyskiy vremennik* 21 (1962), 71-2, fn. 154, proposing precisely this identification and citing ample additional literature. Today's Lude, spoken by a small number of people living among Russian speakers on the western shores of Lake Onega, is considered a separate Baltic-Finnic language closely related to Veps and Carelian. On the various Finnic ethnic elements of the Novgorod Republic, see I. P. Shaskol'sky, "Etnicheskaya struktura Novgorodskogo gosudarstva," *Vostochnaya Yevropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'ye*, 32-9.

42. For further details and references, cf., in particular, V. T. Pashuto, "Letopisnaya traditsiya o plemennykh knyazheniyakh i varyazhskiy vopros," in: *Letopisi i khroniki*, 103-10; D. A. Avdusin, "Ob izuchenii arkheologicheskikh istochnikov po varyazhskomu voprosu," *Skandinavskiy sbornik* 20 (1975) 147-57; N. J. Dejevsky, "The Varangians in Soviet archaeology today," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 10 (1976), 7-34, specifically on Novgorod, 22-4; A. N. Kirpichnikov *et al.*, "Russko-skandinavskie svyazi v epokhu obrazovaniya Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva (IX-XI vv.)." *Scando-Slavica* 24 (1978), 63-89, with ample references; I. P. Shaskol'sky, "Normanskaya problema v sovetskoy istoriografii," in: *Sovetskaya istoriografiya Kievskoy Rusi*, 152-65; and H. Rüß, "Die Warägerfrage," in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 267-82. In a perceptive article discussing grave mounds in the region southeast of Lake Ladoga and the share of Varangian finds, S. I. Kochkurina points out that Varangian burial sites and artifacts found there are at present difficult to separate from the Finnic and Slavic (and elsewhere, Baltic) ones in North Russia. She draws a revealing parallel with Western Europe where relatively few burials have been identified for the Viking Age. See S. I. Kochkurina, "Kurgannye gruppy yugo-vostochnogo Priladozh'ya," *KSIA* 120 (1969), 20-7, esp. 22. Commenting on this insightful paper, Dr. N. J. Dejevsky, in a private communication, elaborated on this parallel by stating: "This is certainly true, for example, of the British Isles where the Viking antiquities have been found mostly in isolated and peripheral areas. Were it not for the written record, one could never have guessed the extent of the Danelaw on the basis of available archeological evidence. My own feeling is that the Varangian antiquities found in Russia, few as they are in relative terms, provide only a faint hint of a much wider and stronger Scandinavian influence throughout Russia from the 9th to the 11th century." Personally, I would be inclined to subscribe to this view, well aware, though, that it may be labeled neo-Normanist by Soviet archeologists. On Ladoga and the Ladoga district in the early Middle

Ages, cf. further A. N. Kirpichnikov, "Ladoga i ladozhskaya volost' v period rannego srednevekov'ya" and V. A. Nazarenko, "Istoricheskiye sud'by Priladozh'ya i ikh svyaz' s Ladogoy," in: *Slavyane i Rus'*, 92-115.

43. See further H. Birnbaum, "Yaroslav's Varangian Connection," *Scando-Slavica* 24 (1978), 5-25, for more information and additional references. For earlier work, cf., e.g., Ye. A. Rydzevskaya, *Drevnyaya Rus' i Skandinaviya v IX-XIV vv.*, 128-42, ("O roli varyagov v Drevney Rusi," written in 1939 and, while having some merit, displaying a clear anti-Normanist bias). On the Varangians in Novgorod and their role in the emergence of the city, see further also H. Birnbaum, *Viator* 8 (1977), 222-4; V. L. Yanin, M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, *Istoriya SSSR* 2/1971, 43; *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, 43-5. For some highly learned, though in part unusual and controversial opinions on the subject, cf. also I. Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs: Eastern Europe in the Ninth Century*, esp. 11-38 and 102-32; see further the volume *Varangian Problems* (= *Scando-Slavica*. Supplementum I [1970]), primarily the contributions by K. Rahbek Schmidt, I. P. Shaskol'sky, A. N. Kirpichnikov, O. I. Davidan, D. A. Avdusin, D. M. Wilson, A. Liestol, H. C. Sørensen, D. Obolensky, and D. S. Likhachev). For more on the Varangians, fugitive rulers as well as warriors in the service of the Varangian-Russian princes, and the pertinent sources, see also T. N. Jackson (Dzhakson), "Skandinavskiy konung na Rusi (o metodike analiza svedeniy islandskikh korolevskikh sag)" and Ye. A. Mel'nikova, "'Saga ob Eymunde' o sluzhbe skandinavov v družhine Yaroslava Mudrogo," in: *Vostochnaya Yevropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'ye*, 282-95. The recent study by S. Söderlind, *Rusernas rike. Till frågan om det östslaviska rikets uppkomst* (with a German résumé: *Das Reich der Rus'. Zur Frage nach der Entstehung des ostslavischen Reiches*) is a bit bizarre, claiming as it does, that Old Rus' essentially spelled the restoration of a Gothic (!) empire in Eastern Europe. On the Varangians in Byzantium (with some side glances at their role in Kievan Russia), see the learned, if qualitatively uneven, monograph by S. Blöndal and B. S. Benediktz, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, esp. 1-14 ("Varangians and their origins"), 32-102 ("Norse and Russian forces in the Byzantine army to the death of Romanos III," "Haraldr Sigurðarson and his period as a Varangian in Constantinople, 1034-1043"), and 223-33 ("Runic inscriptions concerning Varangians").

44. Cf. M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, "Sotsial'nye osnovy formirovaniya territorii Novgoroda IX-XV vekov," *SA* 3/1974, 100-11, esp. 102. See also nn. 26 and 35, with the reference to the study by J. Antoniewicz.

45. Cf. V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki* 230: "The residence of the prince comes into being on the opposite bank of the Volkhov — beyond the confines of the original township, outside Novgorod, as it were." (English translation supplied by me.)

46. Old Russian *khūlmū* > *kholm*, meaning 'hill', is considered a loan from Germanic **hulmaz*, Old Norse *holmr* 'small island, islet' rather than an inherited Slavic lexical item, merely cognate with its Germanic counterpart; cf. M. Vasmer, *REW* III, 255.

47. Cf. n. 7, above, among other things referring to B. Kleiber's interpretation of *Hólmgarðr* as signifying 'island region' rather than 'island town'; cf. further *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, 43. For an earlier treatment, see also Ye. A. Rydzevskaya, "Kholm v Novgorode i drevnesevernyi Holmgardr," *Isvestiya Rossiyskoy akademii istorii material'noy kul'tury* 2 (1922), 107-12. More recently, in a thoughtful study, Ye. A. Mel'nikova has analyzed the complex problem of East

writing. Among her conclusions, in part acknowledged to be tentative, are some highly pertinent to our discussion. They are as follows: (a) The current interpretation of the toponym *Gardariki* as meaning 'land of towns' is erroneous. (b) *Hólmgarðr* is the earliest Norse toponym with reference to Eastern Europe coined by Northmen and originally designating the core ("nest") of the rural settlements which subsequently gave rise to Novgorod. (c) With the emergence of the city referred to by the Scandinavians as *Hólmgarðr* the second component of the name was desemanticized, turning it into a mere suffix; this allowed for new, analogous toponymic formations patterned on the model *X-garðr*. (d) As a result, and influenced also by the corresponding productive place-name models in Scandinavia itself, *Gardar* (*Garðr*) assumed the new meaning of Old Rus'. (e) Subsequently, in connection with the Scandinavian formation type *X-riki* to denote states, *Gardar* was partly replaced by *Gardariki* as a designation for the Kievan state. (f) The evolution of toponyms in *-garðr-* was in accordance with specific historical processes at the time both in Scandinavia and Russia, namely, the rise of towns and the emergence of statehood. In this tightly argued line of reasoning only one point might be in need of further clarification, as conceded, incidentally, also by the author: Where exactly was the earliest *Hólmgarðr* situated? At Slavno-Kholm, where — or, rather in whose vicinity — the Varangians first settled or were stationed? Or, in the central section of the emerging community, around which the three original settlements were clustered, that is, on the territory of the *Detinets* or *gorod* proper? For additional details, see Ye. A. Mel'nikova, "Vostochnoyevropeyskiye toponimy s kornem *garð-* v drevneskandinavskoy pis'mennosti," *Skandinavskiy sbornik* 22 (1977), 199-209.

48. See Ye. N. Nosov, "Raskopki Ryurikova gorodishcha," *Arkheologicheskkiye otkrytiya 1975 goda*, 31-2; Ye. N. Nosov, N. P. Pakhomov, "Novye dannye o Novgorodskom (Ryurikovom) gorodishche," *Arkheologicheskkiye otkrytiya 1978 goda*, 25-6. Cf. also above, A. V. Artsikhovskiy's assessment of M. K. Karger's findings. See further N. J. Dejevsky, "Novgorod: the Origins of a Russian Town," 399-400 (cf. n. 22, above), and H. Birnbaum, *Viator* 8 (1977), 222, considering the possibility that the first fortified settlement of the Slovene was located at the site of this old hill-fort.

49. Cf. A. F. Medvedev, "Raskopki v Staroy Russe," *Arkheologicheskkiye otkrytiya 1972 goda*, 25-6; A. F. Medvedev, G. P. Smirnova, "Raskopki v Staroy Russe," *Arkheologicheskkiye otkrytiya 1974 goda*, 24-6; and A. F. Medvedev, "Usad'by rostovshchika i yuvelira v Staroy Russe," *Arkheologicheskkiye otkrytiya 1977 goda*, 23-4. A case for considering Rusa the immediate precursor of — Varangian! — Novgorod was made early in this century by the Russian historian S. F. Platonov; see his article, prompted by A. A. Shakhmatov's relevant research, "*Rusa*," *Dela i Dni* I (Petrograd, 1920), 1-5.

50. For some further discussion of possible sites of a conceivable predecessor of Novgorod at a different location, cf. H. Birnbaum, *Viator* 8 (1977), 221; N. J. Dejevsky, "Novgorod: the Origins of a Russian Town" 399-400 (cf. n. 22, above). On the prehistory and early history of Ladoga, see also A. N. Kirpichnikov in: *Pamyatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiya. Ezhegodnik 1977*, 417-19 (for full bibliographic reference, cf. n. 20, above). Ladoga has probably been the most frequently contemplated candidate as Novgorod's direct precursor. No specific reference need therefore be adduced here; but cf. also the qualified statement by A. V. Artsikhovskiy quoted above, with n. 8. Among others, the historian B. D. Grekov and the archeologist V. I. Ravdonikas (W. I. Raudonikas), who conducted excavations at Ladoga in 1935-47, were inclined to see Ladoga as the predecessor

of Novgorod even though their respective general view regarding the level of cultural achievement among the local Slavs differed widely. Generally on Ladoga in the early Middle Ages, see A. N. Kirpichnikov, "Ladoga i Ladozhskaya volost' v period rannego srednevekov'ya," in: *Slavyane i Rus'*, 92-106.

51. See *Scando-Slavica* 3 (1957), 218.

52. Cf. V. L. Yanin, M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, "Proiskhozhdeniye Novgoroda (k postanovke problemy)," *Istoriya SSSR* 2/1971, 32-61; *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, 45 (in a section coauthored by V. L. Yanin and B. A. Kolchin); V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki*, 230: "The political unification of the settlements entails the formation of the common administrative center of the *Detinets* — it was also the one that became the New Town in relation to the township-ends which had formed it. Each of these townships was the center of the adjoining area belonging to it while the *Detinets* became the capital of a huge multiethnic federation of the entire Russian Northwest." (English translation supplied by me.) See further *ibid.*, 232; and N. J. Dejevsky, "Novgorod: the Origins of a Russian Town," (cf. n. 22, above): "Rural communities consisting of small settlements clustering together are known in the Russian north . . . Novgorod seems to have begun as such a cluster . . . considerations suggest that the town of Novgorod developed directly from a rural pattern of settlement." Cf. *ibid.*, 395 and 397-9, raising some new questions prompted by the "three center" hypothesis, e.g., concerning the relative age of the original settlements. For additional points of view, see the entry "Nowogród Wielki 1" (authored by A. Poppe) in *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* I: 2, 423. Among more recent conceptions, taking into account several, in part conflicting views and trying to reconcile them with each other, cf. further, in particular, V. A. Bulkin *et al.*, *Arkheologicheskiye pamyatniki Drevney Rusi IX-XI vekov*, 90-4 ("Novgorod"). Here also *Ryurikovo gorodishche* is again considered one — not the only — possible precursor of the Volhov city. The overall conception of Novgorod's origin and evolution sketched in N. G. Porfiridov, *Drevniy Novgorod*, 11-51 ("Gorod"), although retaining some merit, must now be considered somewhat dated, particularly in view of recent extensive archeological finds and newly gained historical insights associated with the work of V. L. Yanin and his research team. On the original function and subsequent role of the town assembly, the *veche*, in Old Rus' and especially in Novgorod, see also K. Zernack, *Die burgstädtischen Volksversammlungen bei den Ost- und Westslaven. Studien zur verfassungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung des Veče*, esp. 29-82 and 126-97. For a recent, synthetic view of the origin of Novgorod, see further C. Goehrke in *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 438-41.

Dependence and Independence

1. See *RPC*, 87. In commenting on this passage of the chronicle text, the translator and editor, S. H. Cross, noted (*ibid.*, 241, n. 71): “This is the first indication of the dominance of Kievan influence in Novgorod, apart from Olga’s excursions to that vicinity. . . .” Incidentally, the English rendition of this episode is not overly precise. For the original Old Russian wording (as found in the Laurentian copy), see *PVL I*, 49-50; for an accurate modern Russian translation, cf. *ibid.*, 247; *PLDR*, 83.

2. Cf. *NPL*, 121. In the English translation I have retained the original’s diversity in the spelling of proper names, not even standardizing the form Vladimir.

3. Cf. *RPC*, 91; *PVL I*, 53-4 and 251; *PLDR*, 91.

4. Cf. *NPL*, 125.

5. For a recounting of these events in the Old Russian chronicles, see *RPC*, 91-4; *PVL I*, 54-6 and 251-4; *PLDR*, 91, 93, 95; *NPL*, 125-8. It should be noted, in passing, that the date 978 (rather than 980) given as the last year of Vladimir’s rule in Novgorod in the “Table of Princes” of the English edition of the Nestor Chronicle (*RPC*, 297) is in error, probably owing to the translator-editor’s own rearrangement of the entry dates in the text where the heading 6486-6488 (= 978-980) is mistakenly given for what should have been the 6488 (= 980) entry only (*ibid.*, 91). On the earliest history of the town of Polotsk (and the territory its ruler controlled), see G. V. Shtykhov, *Drevniy Polotsk*, esp. 9-27 and 104-10.

6. Cf. *RPC*, 119; *PVL I*, 83 and 282; *PLDR*, 137; *NPL*, 159. The information that Vysheslav died in 1010 is found in the early-18th-century historian and polymath V. N. Tatishchev’s major historical work; cf. his *Istoriya Rossiyskaya II*, 70. However, elsewhere in his work, Tatishchev indicates 1012 as the year of Vysheslav’s death; see *Istoriya Rossiyskaya I*, 373. Cf. further also, e.g., O. M. Rapov, *Knjazheskiye vladeniya na Rusi v X - pervoy polovine XIII v.*, 35 (with fn. 18), 36 (with fn. 25), and 38. Yaroslav, the son of Rogneda (whom Vladimir supposedly took by force as his wife in 980), seems to have been born around 982; cf. H. Birnbaum, *Scando-Slavica* 24 (1978), 5, fn. 2. If we are to believe Tatishchev’s chronology, however, Yaroslav was born already in 978 (and Vysheslav in 976). This might suggest that Vladimir undertook his expedition against Polotsk and its ruler Rogvolod prior to his escape to Sweden, namely, during his first rule in Novgorod (970-77). Should this chronology be correct, Yaroslav, conceived in Russia, could have been born either in Sweden (if Vladimir took his reluctant wife Rogneda along on his journey across the Baltic) or in Russia (if the pregnant

Rogneda somehow stayed behind during her husband's absence). While the former seems inherently unlikely, the latter, too, is questionable given the fact that Yaropolk had temporarily gained the upper hand and Rogneda had initially wished to marry Yaropolk rather than Vladimir. Of course, it is far from certain that Tatishchev's time calculations are accurate, as, incidentally, also suggested by his own discrepancy regarding the date of Vysheslav's death; cf. *Istoriya Rossiyskaya* I, 373; II, 226. See also *Addendum* on p. 170.

7. The passage in question reads in the Nestor Chronicle: "When Dobrynya came to Novgorod, he set up an idol beside the river Volkhov, and the people of Novgorod offered sacrifice to it as if to God himself" (*RPC*, 94; cf. further *PVLI*, 56 and 254; *PLDR*, 95). The First Novgorod Chronicle is more explicit on this point, identifying the idol as that of Perun; see *NPL*, 128. It is not quite clear whether this particular Perun statue was set up by Dobrynya within the city itself (near the bridge or, overlooking the Volkhov, within the perimeter of the *Detinets*) or, as tradition — echoed, for example, in the Third Novgorod Chronicle — has it, at the ancient sanctuary Peryn' (present-day Skit), a few miles south of Novgorod, where Lake Il'men' narrows to form the outflow of the Volkhov; cf. *PSRL* 3, 207. On the archeology of the Peryn' site, see esp. V. V. Sedov, "Drevnerusskoye yazycheskoye svyatilishche v Peryni," *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta istorii material'noy kul'tury* (= *KSIIMK*) 50 (1953), 92-130; *id.*, "Novye dannye o yazycheskom svyatilishche Peruna (Po raskopkam Novgorodskoy ekspeditsii 1952 g.)," *KSIIMK* 53 (1954), 105-8. As indicated in the latter study (p. 107), the construction of the sanctuary dates back to at least the 9th century, that is, to a time much earlier than Dobrynya's erecting the Perun statue mentioned in the chronicle. On this, and on Perun in general, see also M. Gimbutas, *The Slavs*, 156 and 165-7. On the presumed special significance of introducing the originally alien cult of Perun, centered in Peryn', to the people of Novgorod as an act of the — Varangian — princes, see V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki*, 230-1. As for the Great Bridge in Novgorod, it should be noted that it was quite low so that the larger foreign-trade ships as well as some vessels used for local freight transport could not sail on the Volkhov all the way to the piers on the Market Side but had to circumvent the city by entering it from the south through one of the connecting streams; cf. *ibid.*, 117-20.

8. See *NPL*, 159-60.

9. Cf. K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod*, 17-20 ("Die offizielle Einführung des byzantinischen Christentums in Nowgorod"). Generally on the Christianization of Kievan Rus', its political background, and some controversial details (esp. regarding chronology), see A. Poppe, *The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus'. Byzantine-Russian Relations between 986-89*. The absorbing tale of how the reluctant Novgorodians were baptized by force is found in V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiyskaya* I, 112-13. As for Tatishchev's own view about a supposedly lost or otherwise unknown "History by Joachim, bishop of Novgorod," see *ibid.*, 107; on the real sources of the so-called Joachim Chronicle, cf. *ibid.*, 50-2, and, especially, S. K. Shambinago, "Ioakimovskaya letopis'," *Istoricheskiye zapiski* 21 (1947), 254-70. Yefrem's name is missing from the list of Novgorod (arch) bishops found toward the end of the entry for 989 where Akim of Cherson is followed directly by Luka (known as Zhidyata); see *NPL*, 163. On the other hand, Yefrem is mentioned after Akim and before Luka in rather vague terms in one of the listings contained in the Commission copy which precede the text of the chronicle itself. There we read: "And in his stead was his disciple Yefrem who taught us" (*ibid.*, 473). It is specifically this last phrase that has been interpreted by some researchers as implying a new evangelization of the townspeople of

Novgorod on the part of Yefrem. For details and moot points regarding the earliest bishops of Novgorod, and on some of the reasons for the tendentious presentation of the town chronicle, see in particular A. Poppe, *Państwo i kościół na Rusi w XI wieku*, 160-4, and N. J. Dejevsky, *Novgorod in the Early Middle Ages: The Rise and Growth of an Urban Community*, 113-16. On the persistence of paganism in Novgorod, see also M. N. Tikhomirov, *Drevnyaya Rus'*, 270. The meagerness of factual information on Novgorod's conversion to Christianity, combined with the relatively numerous traces of Glagolitic writing in Novgorod (as compared to Kiev), has led some scholars to consider the possibility that Church Slavic writing and, in fact, Christianity may at first have reached the Volkhov city not in its Orthodox, Byzantine variant through Bulgaria, Byzantine Cherson, and Kiev but in its western, Roman variety from Moravia and/or Bohemia. Thus, A. V. Issatschenko in his recent *Geschichte der russischen Sprache* (section 2.1.7.) has ventured the guess, following earlier speculations by N. K. Nikol'sky (*Povest' vremennykh let, kak istochnik dlya istorii nachal'nogo perioda russkoy pis'mennosti i kul'tury, passim*) and G. Y. Shevelov (in: A. Šachmatov - G. Y. Shevelov, *Die kirchenslavischen Elemente der modernen russischen Literatursprache*, 74-5), that Novgorod may have been Christianized independently of Kiev; likewise, also *id.*, *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1973), 51, fn. 3. Though such a bold hypothesis might at first seem appealing, it is upon closer scrutiny not overly persuasive, particularly as there could have been other reasons — for example, a brief return to paganism in Novgorod, hinted at above — for the embarrassed silence or near-silence in the local historical sources about the introduction of the new religion, no doubt in its Greek form. Notice also that the Glagolitic short graffiti on the walls of St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod, numbering ten, all seem to date from the second half of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, merely suggesting that local scribes, in addition to pilgrims and artisans, were also familiar with that script at the time; cf. A. A. Medyntseva, *Drevnerusskiye nadpisi Novgorodskogo Sofijskogo sobora XI-XIV veka*, 25-32 (“Glagolicheskiye nadpisi”). In addition to the Glagolitic inscriptions on the church walls, some Cyrillic manuscripts with a few inserted and/or marginal Glagolitic glosses (where the older Slavic writing may have had a cryptic function, Russian *taynopis'*), or with erased, underlying Glagolitic text (so-called palimpsests, partly rendered legible by the application of advanced X-ray techniques) have been shown to originate in Novgorod.

10. Cf. *RPC*, 124; *PVL* I, 88-9 and 288; *PLDR*, 145; *NPL*, 168. Cf. also H. Birnbaum, *Scando-Slavica* 24 (1978), 18-19, pointing out, among other things, that Yaroslav probably first turned for support to Sweden (and possibly Norway) and only then dared openly defy the authority of his father against whom he may well have harbored a grudge ever since Vladimir repudiated Yaroslav's mother, the Varangian princess Rogneda of Polotsk, in favor of his new spouse, the Byzantine princess Anne. Vladimir married Anne in connection with his and his country's official conversion to Christianity in 988/9. The sequence of events as reported in the Old Russian chronicles — Yaroslav's refusal to pay tribute, Vladimir's intention to march against him, and only then Yaroslav's effort to secure military aid from across the sea — does not therefore necessarily correspond to the actual order of occurrence. Concerning the Novgorod *veche* and the controversial question as to who was actually represented by the town assembly, see in particular K. Zernack, *Die burgstädtischen Volksversammlungen bei den Ost- und Westslaven. Studien zur verfassungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung des Veče*, 29-82 and 126-97. On the acquisition and extent of the Novgorod land (i.e., the vast northern and eastern territories controlled by the Volkhov city), see, for example, A. V. Kuza, “Novgorodskaya zemlya,” in: *Drevnerusskiye knyazhestva*

X-XII vv., 144-201, with ample additional references. Cf. also J. L. Wieczynski, *The Russian Frontier: The Impact of Borderlands upon the Course of Early Russian History*, 27-34 ("The Decline of Kiev and the Survival of the Frontier Lands of Novgorod"), to be sure, somewhat naively linking the frontier spirit of the immense North Russian expanses with the rise and development of Novgorod's allegedly democratic institutions. For a recent, comprehensive view of the political evolution and territorial growth of the Novgorod city-state, see, in particular, C. Goehrke, in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 443-57.

11. Cf. D. S. Likhachev, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" i kul'tura yego vremeni, 84-5.

12. Generally on the political and socio-economic evolution of Novgorod in the 12th-13th centuries, see N. V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 86-7 and 89-93; K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod*, 23-31 and 76-102; H. Birnbaum, *Viator* 8 (1977), 219-20. Among specialized studies, cf. in particular N. L. Podvigina, *Ocherki sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoy i politicheskoy istorii Novgoroda Velikogo v XII-XIII vv.* (henceforth *Ocherki*), and N. J. Dejevsky, *Novgorod in the Early Middle Ages: The Rise and Growth of an Urban Community*, 90-160 ("The Rulers: The Princes and the Town Assembly; The Rise of the Bishopric"), stressing, more than does Soviet scholarship, the leading role of the Church in the affairs of city government. As for the relationship between the metropolitan see of Kiev and the archbishopric of Novgorod (after 1165), it should be noted that while the Novgorod Church in actual fact achieved a large measure of political independence, it nonetheless remained formally subordinate to Kiev; cf. A. Poppe, *Państwo i kościół na Rusi w XI wieku*, 158. For some specific aspects, particularly regarding the original balance of power between prince and boyars and the gradual shift in influence favoring the local nobility, see also V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki*, 232-6. For an overall assessment and a great many details concerning the office of the Novgorod *posadnik*, sometimes compared with that of the *podestà* of some Italian city-states, and its history, cf. the same scholar's thorough monograph *Novgorodskiiye posadniki*; and on the sharing of judicial power between prince and *posadnik* after the 1136 uprising and ensuing reform, *id.*, *Aktovyie pechati Drevney Rusi X-XV vv.* I, 159.

13. It ought to be noted here that individual Mongols, charged with tax assessment and tribute collection, did on occasion enter not only Novgorod territory but also the Volkhov city itself. Thus, for example, during the rule of Prince Alexander, the town chronicle tells of an episode, in 1259, when "the accursed raw-eating Tartars, Berkal and Kasachik, came with their wives, and many others, and there was great tumult in Novgorod, and they did much evil in the province, taking contribution for the accursed Tartars." Only after having requested and received protection from the prince, and in cooperation with the privileged boyars, did the Mongol assessors and collectors manage to complete their assignment, "and having numbered them for tribute and taken it, the accursed ones went away, and Knyaz Olexander followed them, having set his son Dmitri on the throne." Cf. *NPL*, 82-3 (Synodal copy of the older version) and 310-11 (Commission copy of the younger version); see further *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471*, 96-7, for the English translation of the older version. Cf. also M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, *SA* 3/1974, 108 (in his article "Sotsial'nye osnovy formirovaniya territorii Novgoroda IX-XV vekov").

14. For a comprehensive if somewhat colored treatment of the Swedish-Russian conflict in the 12th-13th centuries, see I. P. Shaskol'sky, *Bor'ba Rusi protiv krestonosnoy agressii na beregakh Baltiki v XII-XIII vv.* (with ample refer-

ences), repudiating, among other things, the view that Earl Birger had commanded the Swedish troops already in the 1240 battle on the banks of the Neva. It should further be noted in this connection that as early as 1187 a detachment of the Finnic tribe of the Carelians, at that time recognizing Novgorod as their overlord, raided and burned down the Swedish merchant town of Sigtuna on the northern shores of Lake Mälär. It is rather doubtful that among the Carelian pirates there were also some Russian troops from Novgorod; yet the possibility that such was indeed the case cannot be entirely ruled out. This would be quite remarkable, though, if only in view of the fact that the thriving town of Sigtuna in the 12th century — not unlike Visby in the early 13th century — had its own Russian merchant colony with its separate yard and Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas (Nikolay). According to one of the semi-legendary traditions, it was on this occasion that the famed so-called Magdeburg or Sigtuna Gates, now in the western entry of Novgorod's St. Sophia Cathedral, were brought to the Volkhov city as a war trophy. In fact, however, there is virtually no concrete evidence to support such a claim. For further discussion, see I. P. Shaskol'sky, *op. cit.*, 72-105, in some respects undoubtedly presenting a very one-sided view.

15. While the basic facts briefly accounted for here can, of course, be found in a number of standard textbooks and reference works on the subject, the details of the "Baltic crusade" by the German orders can also be conveniently studied in the generally reliable book by W. Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*. A more thorough treatment of the entire phenomenon of "crusading" against pagans and "schismatics" (i.e., Orthodox) in Northern Europe in its proper historical perspective can now be found in E. Christiansen's study *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100-1525*.

16. Cf. H. Birnbaum, *Scando-Slavica* 24 (1978), 19-20. For the reason why St. Olaf (the Norwegian king also known as Olaf the Stout) was venerated as the patron saint of Gotland and why the church of the Gotland Yard in Novgorod was dedicated to him, see *ibid.*, 13-15. For a different interpretation of Old Russian *poromonĭ dvorĭ*, suggesting the meaning 'ferry house, ferry station' (cf. Russian *parom* 'ferry'), see B. Kleiber, "Dva drevnerusskikh mestnykh nazvaniya. I. Poromyan'," *Scando-Slavica* 5 (1959), 132-42.

17. Digs at the presumed site of the German Yard had not yet begun as of the late summer of 1979. It is believed to have been located between Elijah and Slavno Streets at some distance from the river bank. In addition to the Church of St. Peter not yet ascertained but presumed to have been within the perimeter of the German yard, another church, that of John the Baptist, situated across Slavno Street, southeast of the German compound, is also considered to have been associated with the Hansa establishment. I am indebted to Professor V. L. Yanin for this particular information.

18. Cf. W. Falck, "Ryska kyrkan i kv. Munken," *Gotländskt arkiv* 43 (1971), 85-93.

19. For further readings (with additional references) in the extensively researched field of Novgorod's foreign trade relations, see among recent publications, in particular, Ye. A. Rybina, *Arkheologicheskoye ocherki istorii novgorodskoy torgovlii X-XIV vv.*, esp. 53-60 and 121-30; the same author's "Raskopki Gotskogo dvora v Novgorode," *SA* 3/1973, 100-7; and *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniyeye Novgoroda, 197-226* (Ye. A. Rybina, "Gotskiy raskop"). To balance Rybina's rather one-sided treatment, which neglects comparative viewpoints and makes few broad inferences, see, for example, N. L. Podvigina, *Ocherki*, 64-9 ("Vneshnyaya torgovlya"); A. L. Khoroshkevich, *Torgovlya Velikogo Novgoroda s Pribaltikoy i*

Zapadnoy Yevropoy v XIV-XV vekakh; N. A. Kazakova, *Russko-livonskiye i russko-ganzeyskiye otnosheniya. Konets XIV - nachalo XVI v.*; H. Birnbaum, "Die Hanse in Novgorod (Neuumriss einer Problematik)," in: *Korrespondenzen* (Festschrift D. Gerhardt), 28-35; and K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod*, 71-4. For specialized studies on the foreign trade establishments in Novgorod, see further G. Svahnström, "Gutagård och Peterhof. Två handelsgårdar i det medeltida Novgorod," *Gotländskt arkiv* 32 (1960), 35-40, and O. R. Halaga, "Typy kupeckých domov a novgorodský Peterhof," *Slovanský přehled* 61 (1975), 467-81.

20. In this context it may be useful to point out that the significance of individual victories, even important ones such as Alexander Nevsky's over the Swedes and the Teutonic Knights, or that of the Muscovite grand prince Dmitriy Ivanovich Donskoy over the Mongols at Kulikovo, has frequently been exaggerated by students of Russian medieval history. Thus, it is worth noting that according to calculations made by Soviet specialists Novgorod in the three centuries between 1142 and 1446 engaged in combat with the Swedes 26 times, the Norwegians 5 times, the Teutonic Knights (and their predecessors) 11 times, and the Lithuanians 14 times; cf. N. V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 88. As was mentioned above, it was only in 1323 that Novgorod and Sweden settled their disagreements by a more durable peace. It should further be recalled that barely two years after Dmitriy's victory over the Mongols, led by Mamay, the Tatars, now under the command of Khan Tokhtamysh, besieged and captured Moscow, sacking and burning the city (1382).

21. Cf. K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod*, 55-6. See also the description of these events in the town chronicle, *NPL*, 380. As for the chronicler's bitter feelings concerning Vytautas' shift from Orthodoxy to Catholicism as well as his scheme against Novgorod and Pskov, see *ibid.*, 395 (in the entry for 6907 = 1399).

22. Cf. K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod*, 57-62; N. V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 8, 114-15, 137-8, and 166. On Novgorod during the last phase of its semi-independent existence, see further, for example, V. N. Bernadsky, *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya v XV veke* (with some introductory comments on Novgorod's earlier history). Cf. also J. Raba, "Novgorod in the Fifteenth Century: a Reexamination," *Canadian Slavic Studies* 1 (1967), 348-64; *id.*, "The Fate of the Novgorodian Republic," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 45 (1967), 307-23. Yet another measure taken by Muscovy in order to erase all traces of Novgorod's erstwhile independence was to seize the Novgorod state archives, containing, in particular, the original texts of the treaties concluded between the republic and various Russian and other rulers. In addition to bringing the bulk of these documents directly to Moscow, a considerable portion was first included in the grand-princely archives of Tver' and transferred to Moscow only after the annexation of Tver' by Muscovy in 1485. Opinions differ slightly as to whether all official Novgorod documents were brought to Moscow during the rule of Ivan III or whether some of them reached the Russian capital only in the reign of Ivan IV as a result of the final blow dealt Novgorod by him. Many of these official texts have not been preserved in the original but are known only from copies found in a Muscovite manuscript collection dating from 1471-6. For details, see L. V. Cherepnin, *Russkiye feodal'nye arkhivy XIV-XV vekov* I, 224-407, esp. 224-6 ("Vopros o novgorodskom gosudarstvennom arkhive perioda nezavisimosti Velikogo Novgoroda"). For additional details regarding the historical sources accounting for the events connected with Novgorod's loss of independence and their colored, pro-Muscovite views, see Ya. S. Lur'ye, "K istorii prisoyedineniya Novgoroda v 1477-1479 gg."

Topography and Demography

1. For a discussion of this, now in part superseded by more recent findings and conclusions, see V. L. Yanin, *Novgorodskiye posadniki*, 372-4. It should be noted, further, that not all contemporary scholars are convinced that the term Slovene of the Old Russian chronicles is actually a designation for a specific East Slavic tribe; rather, some hold that this appellation was used to contrast the local Slavs with other, non-Slavic ethnic groups in the area.

2. Cf. SA 3/1974, 105.

3. Cf. M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, *op. cit.*, 108; see further V. L. Yanin in *Istoriya SSSR* 1/1970, 49-51; and, in particular, K. Rasmussen, " '300 zolotykh poyasov' drevnego Novgoroda," *Scando-Slavica* 25 (1979), 93-103, and, in a more succinct form, *id.*, *Svantevit* 2: 2 (1977), 67 and 69 (in his research report, "Velikij Novgorod i moderne sovjetisk historiografi"). Rasmussen also suggests, among other things, that the division into *sotnyas* did not necessarily reflect a strictly regional distribution but may well correspond to a social-professional stratification of Novgorod's population. See further L. N. Langer, *Slavic Review* 33 (1974), 117.

4. See NPL, 33; *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471*, 26. Cf. also M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, SA 3/1974, 105. Parenthetically it may be noted that there seems to be some disagreement regarding what the expression "beyond Volok" (*za Volokū*) refers to. Thus, according to the editors of the English version (to which A. A. Shakhmatov also contributed), "beyond [the] Volok" points to "the country of the Northern Dvina" (see *op. cit.*, 26, fn. 3), while in the view of the standard Old Russian text edition the chronicler here had in mind the area of Volok Lamskiy (subsequently Volokolamsk, west-northwest of Moscow); see *op. cit.*, 598, *s.v.* This latter opinion is also shared, for example, by the translator-editor of the new German edition of the chronicle; see *Die Erste Novgoroder Chronik*, 67 (*sub anno* 6677 = 1169). For the point discussed here this issue is, however, irrelevant.

5. The term Suburban End was used, for example, by me in *Viator* 8 (1977), 226-7. A better brief rendition would be Trans-Citadel End.

6. Cf. M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, SA 3/1974, 103 (setting the date at no later than 1264); V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki*, 91-122 ("Ustav knyazya Yaroslava o mostekh"), esp. 114-16. In this connection it is surprising to note that N. L. Podvigina, otherwise agreeing with Yanin's general conception, seems to assume that the *Plotnitskiy konets* was the fifth and last "end" added to Old Novgorod's administrative structure only in the 14th-15th centuries; cf. *Ocherki*, 103; see further N. G. Porfiridov, *Drevnii Novgorod*, 29.

7. See M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, L. Ye. Krasnorech'ev, "O datirovke vala i rva Novgorodskogo Ostroga (v svyazi s voprosom o formirovanii gorodskoy territorii)," SA 4/1970, 54-73, and the same authors' rebuttal, "K datirovke vala i rva Novgorodskogo Ostroga (Otvét S. N. Orlovu)," SA 3/1972, 392-5, to a scholar claiming that the ramparts of Old Novgorod date back to as early as the mid-12th century. In this context it should be noted, however, that the authors' far-reaching inference to the effect that the republican form of government was introduced in the Volkhov city earlier than the 12th century appears unfounded even if one accepts, as seems plausible, their dating of the regular town wall and moat.

8. Cf. M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, SA 3/1974, 109, also citing relevant chronicle accounts.

9. See N. J. Dejevsky, "Novgorod: the Origins of a Russian Town," 401. The author discusses this phenomenon at greater length in his unpublished Oxford dissertation, *Novgorod in the Early Middle Ages: the Rise and Growth of an Urban Community*, *passim*; cf. in particular also Appendix 2: "The Churches and Monasteries of Novgorod in the Twelfth Century," with maps 1 and 2 captioned "The Churches of Novgorod in the Twelfth Century" and "The Monasteries of Novgorod in the Twelfth Century," pp. 304-17. For a discussion of the parish churches of Novgorod, their location and economic base, both within the city and in outlying areas, see, in particular, A. S. Khoroshev, "Ekonomicheskoye polozheniye prikhodskikh tserkvey v Novgorode Velikom," in: *Russkiy gorod 2* (1979), 218-36.

10. Estimates regarding the size of medieval Novgorod's population vary greatly. However, a figure somewhere between 25,000 and 30,000 inhabitants at the peak of the city's evolution (14th-early 15th centuries), computed by Goehrke, seems reasonably realistic. While this figure would place Novgorod below contemporaneous Constantinople (estimated population of 40 - 70,000, if not more), Paris (est. 80,000), London (est. 35 - 40,000), Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, Ghent, Bruges (all est. at over 50,000), and Cologne (est. 30 - 40,000), it would put the North Russian metropolis on an approximate par with Lübeck, Prague, Valencia, Saragossa (Zaragoza), and Lisbon, and above, for example, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Vienna, Strasbourg, or Toulouse (all with a population of c. 20,000 in the 15th century). Cf. further C. Goehrke, "Einwohnerzahl und Bevölkerungsdichte altrussischer Städte. Methodische Möglichkeiten und vorläufige Ergebnisse," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 18 (1973), 25-53, esp. 29-46, and specifically 44-5; *id.*, in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 442. See further also H. Rüss, in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 374-5.

11. Cf. V. L. Yanin, "Iz istorii rannikh popytok pereplanirovki Novgoroda v XVIII v.," in: *Russkiy gorod 2* (1979), 237-54.

12. Cf. M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, SA 3/1974, 100-2. In the view of V. L. Yanin and his adherents (including, incidentally, M. Kh. Aleshkovsky), the urban estates of the propertied boyars housed not only the noble families with their domestics and other immediate servants but provided living quarters and working space for a number of craftsmen and small shopkeepers as well. Each such palisaded estate — *usad'ba* — was thus in fact a veritable fortress, largely self-sufficient, within the city limits. In a way, therefore, these estates were the nuclei of the communal street organization. It should be further noted that, with the passage of time, one and the same boyar family (or clan), as a result of intermarriage and accumulated wealth, would frequently own more than one single estate.

13. Cf., for example, N. L. Podvigina, *Ocherki*, esp. chapters II, IV, and V (“*Ekonomicheskoye razvitiye Novgoroda v XII-XIII vv.*,” 31-72, with a map of the “Novgorod feudal republic,” indicating the provincial *sotnyas* and *pyatinas*; “*Politicheskii stroy Novgoroda Velikogo*,” 101-22; and “*Vnutrifeodal'naya i klassovaya bor'ba v Novgorode v XII-XIII vv.*,” 123-50); K. Onasch, *Gross-Nowgorod*, 76-80 (“*Die Verwaltung Gross-Nowgorods*”). On the *sotnya* organization of the Novgorod land, see also B. A. Rybakov, “*Deleniye Novgorodskoy zemli na sotni v XIII veke*,” *Istoricheskiye zapiski* 2 (1938), 132-52. For a discussion of the agricultural development of the various regions of the Novgorod territory in the medieval period, cf. V. S. Zhekulin, “*Sel'skokhozyaystvennaya osvoyennost' landshaftov Novgorodskogo kraya v XII-XVI vv.*,” *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* 104 (1972), 21-9. Generally on the topography of Novgorod (and the political geography of the Novgorod land), see also *Zhilishcha drevnego Novgoroda* (A. V. Artsikhovskiy and B. A. Kolchin, eds., *TNAE* IV), esp., 5-165: P. I. Zasantsev, “*Usad'by i postroyki drevnego Novgoroda*”; *id.*, *Novgorod, otkrytyi arkhologami*; S. N. Orlov, “*K topografii drevnego Novgoroda*,” *id.*, “*K topografii Novgoroda X-XVI vv.*,”; *id.*, “*K topografii novgorodskikh gorodskikh kontsov*”; I. I. Kushnir, “*K topografii drevnego Novgoroda*,” *SA* 3/1975, 176-9; K. Onasch, *Gross-Nowgorod*, 63-76 (“*Die Topographie Gross-Nowgorods*,” “*Die Handelsseite*”); C. Goehrke, in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 439-42 and 476 (with reference also to further specialized literature concerning the wooden subterranean drainage system of Novgorod in existence since the 12th century at the latest). See further also the instructive bilingual section “*Das mittelalterliche Novgorod/Medieval Novgorod*” in the introduction to the German edition of the First Novgorod Chronicle, *Die Erste Novgoroder Chronik*, by J. Dietze, 7-28, containing much general background information.

14. On the social structure of medieval Novgorod generally, see C. Goehrke, “*Die Sozialstruktur des mittelalterlichen Novgorod*,” in: *Untersuchungen zur gesellschaftlichen Struktur der mittelalterlichen Städte in Europa*, 357-78; *id.*, in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 457-60; V. L. Yanin, “*Problemy sotsial'noy organizatsii Novgorodskoy respubliki*,” *Istoriya SSSR* 1/1970, 44-54 (also available in an Italian version). Goehrke, in particular, while recognizing the role and significance of the boyar class, assumes that it was fully consolidated only by the 13th century. Prior to that, its heterogeneous origin (landowners, members of the princely retinue, large-scale merchants, etc.) is readily discernible; cf. *op. cit.*, 361-2. Generally on the origin of the Russian boyar class, cf. also H. Łowmiański (Kh. Lovmyanskiy), “*O proiskhozhdenii russkogo boyarstva*,” in *Vostochnaya Yevropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'ye*, 93-100. See further H. Rüss, *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 374-88; and N. G. Porfiridov, *Drevniy Novgorod*, 52-95 (“*Material'naya kul'tura*”), citing also earlier relevant research.

15. Cf. K. Onasch, *Gross-Nowgorod*, 78.

16. Cf. V. L. Yanin, *Istoriya SSSR* 1/1970, 44-48 (“*Novgorod i knyaz'*”); *id.*, *Ocherki*, 230-33. The statements found here merely summarize Yanin's previous inquiry into this particular problem. On the decisive role of the landed boyars in Novgorod's history, see also A. V. Artsikhovskiy, “*K istorii Novgoroda*,” *Istoricheskiye zapiski* 2 (1938), 108-31.

17. It is worth noting that a case can be (and has been) made for considering Old Russian and generally East Slavic *bo(ly)are* ‘boyars’, which usually has been thought to be a loan from a Turkic language (e.g., Proto-Bulgarian), a lexical

calque from Byzantine Greek *megistānes* (cf. *mégistos* 'greatest, biggest'; *meizōn* = Slavic *bol'ii* 'greater, bigger, superior'; Lat. *magnates* 'nobles, magnates' from *magnus* 'great, big'). For further discussion, see D. Fehling, "Eine verkannte Lehnübersetzung aus dem Griechischen: slav. *boljare/bojare*," *Die Welt der Slaven* XXIV, 2 (N. F. III, 2, 1979), 430-3.

18. Cf. N. L. Podvigina, *Ocherki*, 82-2 ("Dukhovenstvo"); V. L. Yanin, *Ocherki*, 235-6, specifically on the slightly different political goals and interests of the Church proper as opposed to the monasteries. On the economic base of Novgorod's 'white' clergy, see also A. S. Khoroshev, *op. cit.* (for full bibliographic data, cf. n. 9, above).

19. Cf. N. L. Podvigina, *Ocherki*, 95-100 ("Kupecheskiye obyedineniya"); V. L. Yanin, *Istoriya SSSR* 1/1970, 53-4; *Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda*, 34; K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod*, 72-4. On the partial identity of local merchants (*kuptsy*) and craftsmen (*remeslenniki*), see further also M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, *SA* 3/1974, 104-5; and V. N. Bernadsky, *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya v XV veke*, 148-77 ("Boyare, zhi'ti lyudi i kuptsy"). C. Goehrke, *op. cit.*, 365, fn. 40, considers the possibility of a second guild-like fraternity in Novgorod, that of the overseas tradesmen (*gosti*) who, in 1156, built the church of St. Parasceve (Pyatnitsa-Paraskeva). See also *Addendum* on p. 170.

20. See N. L. Podvigina, *Ocherki*, 86-93, with further references. Cf. also L. N. Langer, *Slavic Review* 33 (1974), 117-18, echoing Yanin: "The craftsmen were economically dependent on the boyars for their homes and shops. They lacked — as did the merchants, despite their organization called *Ivanskoe sto* — protective guilds and were effectively barred from the government." Generally on the crafts and craftsmen of Old Rus', see in particular B. A. Rybakov's monumental (if by now somewhat outdated) monograph *Remeslo Drevney Rusi*. For an incisive linguistic study of Old Russian and other Early Slavic craft terminology, cf. O. N. Trubachev, *Remeslennaya terminologiya v slavyanskikh yazykakh*. For a discussion of the social makeup of Novgorod's armed forces, see M. G. Rabinovich, "O sotsial'nom sostave novgorodskogo voyska X-XV vv.," *Nauchnyye doklady vysshey shkoly, Istoricheskiye nauki* 3/1960, 87-96. To be sure, this discussion suffers from a certain pro-Muscovite, centralist bias. Cf. further N. G. Porfiridov, *Drevniy Novgorod*, 96-147 ("Voyennoye delo").

21. Cf., e.g., L. V. Cherepnin, *Novgorodskiy berestyanye gramoty kak istoricheskiy istochnik*, 197-202 ("Kholopy"). See also A. A. Zimin, *Kholopy na Rusi*, esp. 258-65 ("Chelyad' v Velikom Novgorode"). *Chelyad'* is a synonym for *kholopy* 'serfs'.

22. Generally on the peasantry of Old Rus', see the comprehensive treatment by B. D. Grekov, *Krest'yane na Rusi s drevneyshikh vremen do XVII veka*, esp. 85-245 and 404-28 ("Novgorodskoye krest'yanstvo XIII-XIV vv."). For a thorough examination of the social terminology encountered in Russian texts of the pre-Mongol period, see K. Raĥbek Schmidt, *Soziale Terminologie in russischen Texten des frühen Mittelalters (bis zum Jahre 1240)*, undeservedly ignored by Soviet scholarship. Of particular interest for the purpose of our discussion is chapter XX, 469-516 ("Der Bedeutungsgehalt der einzelnen sozialen Termini"), analyzing much Novgorodian material. It should be noted, in closing this essay, that the comprehensive view regarding Novgorod's origin, social stratification, and specific modalities of government which currently prevails in Soviet historical scholarship is not universally accepted even in the Soviet Union today. Thus, for

a sketch of an interesting overall conception of relevant facts and problems in part at variance with the more generally held opinions of V. L. Yanin and his associates, see the first two sections of the essay by Yu. I. Smirnov and V. G. Smolitsky, "Novgorod i russkaya epicheskaya traditsiya," in: *Novgorodskiye byliny*, 314-35, esp. 314-23. The Novgorod historian S. N. Orlov has also expressed disagreement with some of the chief tenets of Yanin's overall view of medieval Novgorod, notably concerning the "three center" hypothesis (tracing Novgorod's origin to the three pre-urban settlements of Slavno, Nerev, and Lyudin) as well as certain details regarding Old Novgorod's topography. Not all of Orlov's pertinent views, however, have been published. But see also *Addendum* on p. 170.

23. On some Western influences and pro-Catholic leanings in 14th- through early-16th-century Novgorod, mostly after the annexation by Muscovy and connected with the activities of Archbishop Gennadiy, see Ya. S. Lur'ye, "K voprosu o 'latinstve' Gennadievsogo literaturnogo kruzhka," *Issled. i mat. po drevnerusskoy lit.*, 1961, 68-77; *id.*, *Ideologicheskaya bor'ba v russkoy publitsistike kontsa XV – nachala XVI veka*, 276-82; E. Hösch, *Orthodoxie und Häresie im alten Russland*, 43-50; K. Onasch, *Gross-Novgorod*, 177-9; H. Birnbaum, *Viator* 8 (1977), 252-3; D. B. Miller, "The Lübeckers Bartholomäus Ghotan and Nicolaus Bülow in Novgorod and Moscow and the Problem of Early Western Influences on Russian Culture," *Viator* 9 (1978), 395-412 (with ample references); J. L. Wieczynski, "Archbishop Gennadius and the West: The Impact of Catholic Ideas upon the Church of Novgorod," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 6 (1972), 374-89 (the latter to be used with caution, as the author greatly exaggerates the magnitude and significance of the Catholic impact). Of earlier studies, A. D. Sedel'nikov, "Ocherki katolicheskogo vliyaniya v Novgorode v kontse XV – nachale XVI veka," *Doklady AN SSSR*, ser. V, 1929:1, 16-19, retains some of its relevance. — Cf. further also D. A. Drboglav, "Latinskaya berestyanaya gramota iz Novgorodskikh raskopok," *SA* 3/1973, 108-17, reporting on the first Latin birchbark text (no. 488) unearthed on 19 August 1970 at the archeological site of the Gotland Yard in Slavno End. It has since been tentatively dated as having originated in either 1353, 1364, or 1448; it contains the first lines of Psalm 94 and some liturgical fragments according to the Western rite. For further details, see A. V. Artsikhovskiy, V. L. Yanin, *Novgorodskkiye gramoty na bereste (Iz raskopok 1962-1976 gg.)*, 80-3 and 167-91 (the second section authored by D. A. Drboglav). In all likelihood, this birchbark text was written in the Gotland Yard, at that time part of the German (Hansa) trade establishment, and must not be connected with the indigenous population of Novgorod. It is therefore probably not genuine proof of any Western or Catholic influence in Novgorod outside the perimeter of the foreign trade compound.

Chronology of Events

Affecting Life in Novgorod the Great, Ninth through Fifteenth Centuries

(as recorded in the First Novgorod Chronicle and other historical sources*)

Year

- 859 First mention of Novgorod in some later chronicles as a town built by the Slovene, headed by their elder Gostomysl; however, this year must not be considered the established foundation date of Novgorod.
- 862 The Varangian ruler Rurik arrives and settles in Novgorod.
- 912 Beginning of the Novgorod prince Igor's rule in Kiev. Igor' imposes a 300 *grivna* tribute on Novgorod to be paid to the Varangians "for the sake of peace" (i.e., to protect the city from Varangian attacks); according to the Primary (Nestor) Chronicle, this tribute is imposed by Igor's predecessor, Oleg, rather than by Igor'.
- 947 Princess Olga establishes the manner of collecting taxes in the Novgorod land.
- 970 Beginning of Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich's rule in Novgorod.
- 978 Prince Vladimir escapes to the Varangians (i.e., the Swedes) across the sea (i.e., the Baltic).
- 980 Prince Vladimir returns with Varangian mercenaries to Novgorod. First mention of the lieutenants (*posadniki*) dispatched by Yaropolk Svyatoslavich to Novgorod. Vladimir appoints his uncle Dobrynya *posadnik* in Novgorod. Dobrynya erects a statue of the pagan deity Perun on the bank of the Volkhov.

*This account is in part based on the survey in: *Novgorod. K 1100-letiyu goroda. Sbornik statey* (M. N. Tikhomirov, ed.), Moscow: Nauka, 1964, pp. 264-85.

- 989 Baptism of Novgorod and arrival to the city of Bishop Akim (= Joachim) of Korsun' (i.e., Cherson, a Greek town in the Crimea); pulling down of the Perun statue and throwing it into the Volkhov. Bishop Joachim has the wooden Church of St. Sophia built as well as — according to tradition — a stone church (named after Joachim and Anne) in which mass is celebrated prior to the construction of the stone St. Sophia Cathedral. Vladimir appoints his oldest son Vysheslav prince of Novgorod, and after his death (probably in 1010) another son, Yaroslav (the Wise).
- 1014 Prince Yaroslav refuses to pay tribute to Kiev, previously collected from the Novgorodian princes. His father, Grand Prince Vladimir (St. Vladimir) of Kiev prepares to march against Novgorod.
- 1015 Threatened by his father, Prince Yaroslav calls in Varangian mercenaries from across the sea (i.e., from Scandinavia). Vladimir dies near Kiev. Uprising of the Novgorodians against the Varangian garrison established by Yaroslav; ambiguous attitude of Yaroslav toward Novgorod's townspeople and Varangians. First mention of town assembly (*veche*).
- 1016 Prince Yaroslav's struggle with his half brother Svyatopolk. Yaroslav's victory at Lyubech; recognition of his claim to the grand-princely throne in Kiev. First mention of elders (*starosty*) and peasants (*smerdy*) in Novgorod annals.
- 1018 The oldest section of the *Russkaya Pravda* ('Law of Rus'') issued by Yaroslav to the people of Novgorod.
- 1019 Yaroslav consolidates his unchallenged position as grand prince of Kiev.
- 1020 Yaroslav's son Vladimir is born.
- 1030 The bishop of Novgorod, Joachim, dies; he is succeeded by his disciple Yefrem, about whom only is known that "he taught us."
- 1036 Yaroslav appoints his son Vladimir prince of Novgorod. Yaroslav's younger brother, Prince Mstislav of Chernigov, in control of the area east of the Dnieper since 1025, dies; Yaroslav sole ruler.

- 1044 In the spring, Prince Vladimir has ramparts constructed around the city. The Third Novgorod Chronicle mentions that stone buildings were erected on the Sophia Side of Novgorod.
- 1045 According to one account (older version of First Novgorod Chronicle), the wooden Church of St. Sophia burned down that year, on a Saturday, March 15, after the early morning service. Prince Vladimir laid the foundation to the stone Cathedral of St. Sophia.
- 1049 According to another account (younger version of First Novgorod Chronicle), the wooden Church of St. Sophia burned down only that year. It was well built and richly decorated, and was located in Bishop's Street (*Piskuplya ulitsa*), inside the *Detinets* toward the Volkhov, at the place where Sotko (Sadko) later (cf. s. a. 1167) laid the foundation of the stone Church of SS. Boris and Gleb.
- 1052 Vladimir Yaroslavich dies in Novgorod on October 4; he is buried in St. Sophia Cathedral which had been consecrated on September 14.
- 1057 Deacon Grigoriy completes his copy of the gospel readings commissioned by *Posadnik* Ostromir (this codex is known as the Ostromir Gospel-Book or *Ostromirovo yevangeliye*, the oldest dated Russian Church Slavic manuscript, housed in the Public Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad).
- 1063 The Volkhov flooded Novgorod, "going against the stream."
- 1066 A portion of Novgorod is captured by Prince Vseslav Bryachislavich of Polotsk; ransacking of St. Sophia Cathedral.
- 1069 New attack by Prince Vseslav of Polotsk on Novgorod. The Novgorodians under the command of Prince Gleb defeat the assailants.
- 1071 Uprising of pagan priests (*volkhvy*) in Novgorod. The populace supports the priest heading the uprising; he is killed by Prince Gleb.
- 1097 A major fire breaks out in Novgorod, lasting for three days. The *Detinets* and "the other side" (*on pol*), i.e., the Market Side, burn to the ground.
- 1103 Prince Mstislav lays the foundation of the Church of the Annunciation at Gorodishche.

- 1108 St. Sophia Cathedral is decorated with frescoes.
- 1111 Another fire in Novgorod.
- 1113 Yet another big fire in Novgorod. Both sides of the city burn to the ground. At the instigation of Prince Mstislav Vladimirovich construction begins on a large stone church in Yaroslav's Court, St. Nicholas Cathedral (*Nikolo-Dvorishchenskiy sobor*).
- 1116 Prince Mstislav "founded Novgorod bigger than the first," i.e., he laid the foundation of a new citadel, larger in size than the previous. At the prince's behest, Aleksa, son of the cleric Lazar', copies, between 1113 and 1117, a gospel text in a luxurious binding, specially ordered by Mstislav from Constantinople. (The *Mstislavovo yevangeliye* is now housed in the Historical Museum in Moscow.)
- 1117 Hegumen Anton (Antoniy Rimlyanin) lays the foundation of the stone church of the Mother of God in his monastery (subsequently known as the Anton'yev Monastery). *Posadnik* Dobrynya dies on December 6. From this time on, the chronicles frequently mention the election by the *veche*, or death, of a *posadnik*; the Novgorod *posadniks* become the elected *de facto* heads of the city-state. On May 14, during service, St. Sophia Cathedral is struck by lightning; a deacon is killed. Beginning of rule of Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich.
- 1118 Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh and his son, Prince Mstislav of Novgorod, summon a number of Novgorod boyars to Kiev to swear an oath of loyalty to the grand prince. Among the boyars who evoke Vladimir's wrath is the *sotskiy* Stavr (presumably the model for Stavr Godinovich of the *bylina*).
- 1119 Hegumen Kiriak and Prince Vsevolod found the stone Church of St. George (Yuriy) and the Yur'yev Monastery. Completion of the construction of the Church of the Mother of God in the Anton'yev Monastery.
- 1122 Prince Mstislav marries the daughter of the Novgorod boyar Dimitr Zavidovich.

- 1124 On August 11, a solar eclipse is observed in Novgorod (“*i zvezdy byli, i mesyats*”).
- 1125 A major storm hits Novgorod. Buildings are damaged or destroyed, cattle is drowned in the Volkhov. The Church of the Mother of God in the Anton’ev Monastery is decorated with frescoes. The Novgorodians appoint for a second time Vsevolod Mstislavich their prince. From now on, the prince of Novgorod is elected by the people (i.e., the *veche*) of Novgorod.
- 1127 Prince Vsevolod founds the stone Church of John the Forerunner (i.e., the Baptist) in Petryata’s Yard (= the Church of John in Opoki in Market Square). Flooding of the Volkhov; late spring and early autumn frosts damage the crop and cause a famine.
- 1128 A year of famine in Novgorod. People eat leaves and bark, and other surrogate food; corpses lie around in the streets and in Market Square, causing stench and contagion. The high waters of the Volkhov carry away constructions, destroy the harvest, and kill people.
- 1130 Mention of foreign vessels, from Gotland and Denmark, coming to Novgorod. Completion of the Church of John (the Forerunner) in Opoki. Presumed date of drafting first charter of trade corporation (*Ivanskoye sto*) in Novgorod; this charter, issued for the wax merchants, is known as *Rukopisaniye knyazya Vsevoloda* but is extant only in later copies. Also, presumed date for Prince Mstislav’s issuing a charter for the Yur’ev Monastery.
- 1132 People from Pskov and Ladoga, Novgorod’s two foremost “satellite towns” (*prigorody*), arrive in Novgorod and manage to have the prince expelled from the city; subsequently he returns.
- 1133 The bridge over the Volkhov, which had collapsed, is restored. One of the first mentions of the Great Bridge.
- 1134 A major fire. A good portion of Slavno End burns to the ground; ten churches are destroyed by fire.
- 1135 Prince Vsevolod and Bishop Nifont lay the foundation of a stone church in Market Square (*Torg*).

- 1136 Uprising in Novgorod against Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich who takes refuge in Pskov. Lasting strife in the city; feud between 'greater' and 'lesser free men' (*vyatshiyе* vs. *men'shiye lyudi*, i.e., probably boyars vs. nonaristocratic propertied citizenry). Svyatoslav Ol'govich is named prince of Novgorod; he issues a law establishing taxes to be collected from Novgorod's outlying territories (*volosti*).
- 1137 Vsevolod, secretly called back by some Novgorodians with the support of the people of Pskov, attempts to regain the princely throne of Novgorod. A "great revolt" breaks out in the city with the result that Vsevolod is not readmitted to Novgorod. He dies soon thereafter in Pskov.
- 1143 A mild and rainy autumn is followed by flooding of the Volkhov causing some damage (hay and timber is carried away; four bankseats of the Great Bridge collapse).
- 1144 A new bridge, running parallel with the old one, is constructed. At the request of Bishop Nifont the vestibules of St. Sophia Cathedral are decorated with frescoes.
- 1151 Bishop Nifont orders St. Sophia Cathedral to be covered by a lead roof and its walls to be stuccoed.
- 1152 Fire damages all of the Market Side. Merchant yards between the Brook and Slavno as well as eight churches are destroyed.
- 1153 Hegumen Arkadiy has the wooden Church of the Assumption (Dormition) of the Mother of God built and founds a monastery (Arkazh).
- 1156 The Novgorodians remove *Posadnik* Sudilo Ivankovich from office; he dies five days later. The people of Novgorod nominate Arkadiy as bishop. The overseas merchants erect the Church of St. Parasceve-Pyatnitsa in Market Square.
- 1157 Uprising of the Novgorodians against Prince Mstislav Yur'yevich and internecine strife between the Sophia and Market Sides of town. The bridge over the Volkhov is pulled down. Hail, reaching apple size, causes considerable damage.

- 1158 The plague ravages Novgorod. People, horses, and cattle die in great numbers.
- 1161 A year of bad crop: summer drought ruins the grain, in the fall the rest of the harvest is damaged by early frost. The winter brings warm and stormy weather. The result is a severe food shortage.
- 1163 Bishop Arkadiy, the founder of the Arkazh Monastery, dies.
- 1165 Il'ya is named bishop of Novgorod. From 1169 on, the Novgorod *vладыка* is referred to as archbishop; usually, however, 1165 is considered the date of Novgorod's elevation to archbishopric. Prince Svyatoslav builds the Church of St. Nicholas at Gorodishche.
- 1167 Sotko Sytinich lays the foundation of the stone Church of SS. Boris and Gleb; the foundations of this church have been unearthed inside the *Detinets* near the wall overlooking the Volkhov. Sotko is considered the prototype of Sadko, the rich merchant ("guest"), of the *bylina* cycle.
- 1168 A peace agreement is reached with Prince Andrey Yur'yevich Bogolyubsky. Novgorod remains without a prince for several months (from early September through Easter).
- 1169 An army from Suzdal', dispatched by Andrey Bogolyubsky, besieges Novgorod but is defeated in open battle on February 25. This event is recounted in an Old Russian tale and depicted in a 15th-century icon (housed in the Novgorod Museum). The Novgorodians attribute their victory to the intervention of the Icon of the Sign. To commemorate this event the Monastery of the Sign is later established in Elijah (Il'ina) Street.
- 1170 Food shortage in Novgorod. The Novgorodians conclude a peace treaty with Andrey Bogolyubsky who has previously blocked grain supplies to Novgorod (coming through Suzdal' territory).
- 1172 One of the first explicit mentions of Nerev End.
- 1176 The Volkhov flows for five days against the current.
- 1177 Nerev End damaged by fire; five churches are destroyed.

- 1181 The Varangian Church (on the Market Side) is struck by lightning and burns down; fire in Slavno End destroys two further churches and several merchant yards on the bank of the Volkhov up to the Brook.
- 1186 Novgorod is visited by the Byzantine emperor Aleksa Manuilovich (i.e., Alexius II Comnenus). This assertion of the First Novgorod Chronicle (in both of its versions) cannot be accurate, however, as Alexius II was assassinated, at the instigation of his relative and successor, Andronicus I Comnenus, in 1183.
- 1188 A new bridge over the Volkhov is constructed, running parallel with the old one. A stone church (of the Assumption or Dormition) is built in the Arkhazh Monastery.
- 1192 The monk Varlaam (the former boyar Aleksa Mikhaylovich) has the Church of Our Savior of the Transfiguration built in the Khutyn Monastery which he has founded.
- 1194 A major fire destroys ten churches in Novgorod. Also Gorodishche is damaged by fire. The fires continue to flare up for unknown reasons; as a consequence, people are afraid of living in houses and spend many nights outdoors.
- 1198 Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich has the Church of Our Savior of the Transfiguration built on Nereditza Hill. The next year the church is decorated by a sequence of frescoes, including a portrait of Prince Yaroslav. (During World War II the church is razed to the ground; restored after the war, the church's murals are lost forever.)
- 1199 A peace treaty (extant in the original) is concluded with some German towns (and with Gotland).
- 1201 Incessant rainstorms over Novgorod throughout the summer.
- 1206 *Posadnik* Tverdislav Mikhaylovich has a church (of Symeon the Stylite) built over the gates of the Arkazh Monastery.
- 1207 The overseas merchants complete the construction of the Church of St. Parasceve-Pyatnitsa.
- 1209 *Posadnik* Dmitr Miroshkinich dies while away from Novgorod; his body is brought back and buried, together with the remains of his father, in the Yur'yev Monastery. Their grave sites have been preserved (and were excavated in recent times).

- 1211 A major fire devastates Novgorod. As many as 4300 estates and fifteen churches are said to have burned to the ground. Dobrynya Yadreykovich returns from Constantinople and enters the Khutyn Monastery, taking the monastic name Antony. He is subsequently elected archbishop of Novgorod. He is the author of a description of Constantinople prior to its destruction by the Crusaders in 1204.
- 1215 Poor harvest and food shortage in Novgorod. Corpses are stacked in Market Square and in many streets.
- 1217 A fire in Novgorod destroys fifteen wooden churches and damages four stone churches. Goods stored in the stone churches are lost.
- 1218 Internecine feud between two factions of Novgorodians. Each party convenes its own *veche*. On the Market Side the *veche* gathers in front of St. Nicholas Cathedral in Yaroslav's Court, on the Sophia Side outside the Church of the Forty Saints in Nerev End. The bridge across the Volkhov is pulled down, but the people of the Market Side cross the river by boat and attack the Sophia Side. The *veche* meetings last for a whole week on both sides.
- 1219 Archbishop Antony resigns from his office.
- 1220 Renewed strife in Novgorod.
- 1225 The Novgorodians expel Archbishop Arseniy and "almost kill him."
- 1228 Continued feud in Novgorod. Final overthrow of Archbishop Arseniy and return of Antony to the archbishop's throne. Two Novgorodians — one of them a craftsman (Nikifor Shehitnik) — are assigned to assist him in running his administration. Flooding of the Volkhov; a southern storm lifts the ice cover of Lake Il'men' and carries it up the Volkhov. The Great Bridge is severely damaged.
- 1229 Prince Mikhail arrives in Novgorod from Chernigov, exempting escaped peasants from paying taxes for five years. From the supporters of Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich the Novgorodians secure a considerable amount of money for the reconstruction of the Great Bridge. The new Great Bridge is built above the old one.

- 1230 On May 3, an earthquake hits Novgorod. Frost, setting in on September 14, ruins the crop. Famine and plague ravage the city. The dead are carried away by horse; in one pit as many as 3300 people are buried. The famine among the common people leads to cannibalism and arson.
- 1233 On June 10, on the eve of his wedding, Prince Fedor Yaroslavich dies; he is buried in the Yur'yev Monastery.
- 1236 The Novgorod Chronicle notes the advent of the Mongols and their conquest of the land of the Volga Bulgars.
- 1238 The Mongols invade Russia proper. They capture the town of Torzhok and continue their march against Novgorod from Lake Seliger but stop and turn back at a distance of 100 versts (appr. 66 miles) from Novgorod. Prince Alexander (Aleksandr) Yaroslavich succeeds to the throne of Novgorod.
- 1239 The Novgorodians under Prince Alexander establish defense settlements along the river 'Shelon' against attacks from the Livonian Knights.
- 1240 The Battle on the Neva. The Novgorodians under Prince Alexander (henceforth called Nevsky) defeat a Swedish army and attack a Swedish fleet in the mouth of the river Izhora. The Teutonic Knights invade Novgorodian territory, advancing as close as 30 versts (c. 20 miles) from the city.
- 1241 Prince Alexander captures the town of Kopor'ye in Ingermanland (founded by Germans on the Gulf of Finland) and brings German prisoners back to Novgorod.
- 1242 The Battle on the Ice. Prince Alexander Nevsky recaptures Pskov and defeats, on April 5, the Teutonic Knights (and their Estonian auxiliaries) on the ice of Lake Peipus (*Chudskoye ozero*).
- 1244 Alexander's mother dies and is buried next to her son Fedor Yaroslavich in the Yur'yev Monastery.
- 1251 Several natural disasters hit Novgorod. Rainstorms and early frost ruin the crop. Flooding damages the Great Bridge.
- 1252 Slavno End burns down from the Church of St. Elijah to Nutnaya Street.

- 1255 A conflict arises between the Novgorodians and Prince Alexander. The Novgorodians expel their prince, Vasiliy, Alexander's son, and make Yaroslav Yaroslavich their new prince. A class struggle erupts: the feudal lords (*vyatshiye lyudi*, boyars) are for reaching an agreement with Prince Alexander while the bulk of the population (*men'shiye* and *chernye lyudi*, i.e., merchants and craftsmen) opposes such an agreement. The conflict is resolved by Alexander's reoccupying the Novgorod throne.
- 1257 Mongol emissaries request tribute from Novgorod. The Novgorodians refuse and merely send gifts to the khan.
- 1259 Mongol emissaries, with wives and entourage, arrive in Novgorod. They request money and subsistence, and intend to conduct a census of the Novgorod population. The boyars (*vyatshiye lyudi*) urge the merchants (*men'shiye lyudi*) to accept the Mongol census and tribute. The Novgorodians, fearing a Mongol attack, start transferring their belongings to the *Detinets* and to St. Sophia Cathedral. The chronicle mentions that, by finally agreeing to the census, the boyars served their own interest while putting the other classes at a disadvantage. Alexander Nevsky leaves Novgorod after the count is taken, his son Dmitriy occupies the Novgorod throne.
- 1261 On November 8, a fire breaks out. Thirty estates burn to the ground. The next day a fire in Solovkova (Slavkova) Street destroys fifty estates and the Church of St. Demetrius. Archbishop Dalmat orders a leaden roof to be put on St. Sophia Cathedral.
- 1262 The Novgorodians construct a new fortress — *gorod* (i.e., citadel = *Detinets*). The wording in the chronicle account suggests that it was built of wood.
- 1263 On November 14, Alexander Yaroslavich Nevsky, grand prince of Vladimir, dies in Gorodets on the Volga.
- 1267 On May 23, another fire ravages Novgorod. Large parts of Nerev End are destroyed; the fire even spreads to some of the boats on the Volkhov.
- 1268 The Novgorodians defeat the Teutonic Knights at Rakovor (Wesenberg) in northern Livonia (now Estonia).

- 1270 Internal strife in Novgorod. The *veche* meets in Yaroslav's Court, voting against Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich. Negotiations take place with emissaries from the prince. Threatened by Mongol intervention, the parties reach an agreement: Yaroslav is represented in Novgorod by his lieutenant (*namestnik*).
- 1271 A solar eclipse is observed in Novgorod.
- 1275 A fire destroys the area of Market Square and the German Yard (*St. Petershof*). Seven wooden churches burn to the ground, and five stone churches (among them the German Church) are damaged by fire.
- 1276 The northern wall of St. Sophia Cathedral collapses.
- 1280 Prince Dmitriy Aleksandrovich founds a new, stone-built town at Kopor'ye. At the behest of Prince Dmitriy and with the support of Archbishop Kliment, a *Kormchaya kniga* or Guide Book (containing a collection of canonical and civil laws) is compiled. It contains, among other texts, the oldest extant copy of the expanded version of the *Russkaya Pravda* ('Law of Rus', now kept in the Historical Museum in Moscow).
- 1282 A conflict arises between the Novgorodians and Prince Dmitriy Aleksandrovich. The Novgorodians march against him on Lake Il'men' and do not let him pass through to Kopor'ye. Together with Prince Andrey Aleksandrovich, the Novgorodians turn to Vladimir. The boyar Semen Mikhaylovich supplies Novgorod by boat from Torzhok. Food shortage in Novgorod.
- 1287 Internecine feud in Novgorod. Armed men from all boroughs of Novgorod turn against Semen Mikhaylovich. He escapes to the archbishop and is granted asylum by him in St. Sophia Cathedral.
- 1290 Continued strife in Novgorod. The boyar Samuil Ratshinich is killed in the Archbishop's Palace. *Veche* meetings are convened both at St. Sophia Cathedral and St. Nicholas Cathedral (in Yaroslav's Court). After having united, the Novgorodians attack and burn down Prussian Street, the stronghold of the boyars.
- 1291 Spring waters flood the Volkhov. Frost ruins the crops in all of the Novgorod land. Rioters loot Market Square. The Novgorodians convene the *veche* and have two rioters thrown from the bridge.
- 1292 Archbishop Kliment lays the foundation of the stone church at Lipno. The same year restoration work begins on the Church of St. Theodore (Fedor) which had previously been in ruins.

- 1297 The Novgorodians construct a new, stone citadel at Kopor'ye. Hegumen Kirill has a stone church (of the Transfiguration) built over the gates of the Yur'yev Monastery facing Lyudin End.
- 1299 A fire breaks out during a storm. The fire spreads from the German Yard (in the northern part of Slavno) across the river to Nerev End. The Great Bridge is damaged, twenty-two churches burn to the ground.
- 1300 The Swedes establish a town, 'Crown of the Land' (Landskrona), at the point where the Okhta River enters the Neva.
- 1301 The Novgorodians under Prince Andrey Aleksandrovich capture and destroy Landskrona.
- 1302 A stone citadel (the *Detinets*) is constructed in Novgorod.
- 1305 A new bridge over the Volkhov is built.
- 1308 An epidemic breaks out in Novgorod. People and horses die in large numbers. Rats eat the grain supplies, which results in a shortage.
- 1311 Several fires ravage Novgorod: on May 19, forty estates are destroyed; June 28, a major portion of Nerev End burns to the ground, including fourteen churches; July 16, a fire damages Elijah Street and Market Square, ruining seven churches of stone. Widespread looting follows the fires.
- 1316 Prince Mikhail Yaroslavich of Tver' besieges Novgorod. Aided by auxiliary troops from their satellite towns and outlying territories (*volosti*), the Novgorodians manage to break the siege. At a meeting of the *veche* they have a traitor first beaten and then thrown off the bridge into the Volkhov.
- 1317 Germans appear on the shores of Lake Ladoga and kill many tradesmen from the area around Lake Onega.
- 1321 On June 26, a solar eclipse lasts for an hour.
- 1323 The treaty of Orekhovets (subsequently known as Shlissel'burg) between Grand Prince Yuriy Danilovich of Moscow, Novgorod the Great, and Sweden fixing, among other things, the Russian-Swedish border.
- 1327 Grand Prince Ivan Danilovich Kalita of Moscow places his lieutenants in Novgorod.

- 1329 On March 26, Grand Prince Ivan Kalita, accompanied by the princes of Tver', Suzdal, and other Russian principalities, as well as Metropolitan Feognost, visit Novgorod. Fires erupt in *Plotnitskiy konets* and in Elijah (Il'ina) Street.
- 1337 The common people (*prostaya chad'*) rise against Archimandrite Iosif of the Yur'yev Monastery. They convene a *veche* and lock him up in St. Nicholas Cathedral (in Yaroslav's Court).
- 1340 A major fire in Novgorod. All of Nerev End up to Chudintseva Street burns to the ground. The fire spreads to the *Detinets* ruining the Archbishop's Palace and damaging churches and estates. Another fire destroys Lyudin End up to Prussian Street. The fire extends across the river causing major destruction in Slavno End. Among churches destroyed are those of the Mother of God in Market Square, St. Parasceve-Pyatnitsa, and SS. Boris and Gleb. The Great Bridge burns down to the water level but is restored the same year.
- 1341 Archbishop Vasiliy orders a new leaden roof to be installed on St. Sophia Cathedral; he also has icons painted and an icon-case made. That fall the archbishop has a large palace (*velikiy terem*) built for himself. Grain is available in large quantity, but the cattle die that year.
- 1342 Archbishop Vasiliy founds the Church of the Annunciation at Gorodishche. He also orders a large bell to be cast for St. Sophia Cathedral; for that purpose he brings Master Boris from Moscow to Novgorod. The same year the lower class (*chernye lyudi*) rises against the *posadniks* Fedor and Andrey. Two *veches* are convened, one in front of St. Sophia Cathedral, the other in Yaroslav's Court. As a result of Archbishop Vasiliy's mediation the two parties, Sophia and Market Side, come to an agreement.
- 1343 Work on the construction of the Church of the Annunciation at Gorodishche is completed.
- 1345 St. George Cathedral in the Yur'yev Monastery is restored and covered by a new lead roof. A new stone Church of St. Parasceve-Pyatnitsa is erected replacing the one burned down in 1340. A southern wind brings snow and ice from Lake Il'men' to the Volkhov severely damaging the Great Bridge.
- 1346 Grand Duke Ol'gerd (Algirdas) of Lithuania invades the Novgorod land, camping on the river Shelon'.
- 1347 Fire destroys Slavno End up to Nutnaya Street.

- 1348 The Swedes under King Magnus Eriksson capture Orekhovets. A fire destroys Volosova, Dobrynina, and Prusskaya (Prussian) Streets on the Sophia Side of Novgorod. The Novgorodians recapture Orekhovets.
- 1350 A storm damages several buildings in Novgorod. The Church of Flor and Lavr (Florus and Laurus) is destroyed but rebuilt. Also, the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb, erected by Sotko Sytinich, is restored.
- 1354 Archbishop Moisey builds a stone church at Volotovo Pole (razed to the ground during World War II). The Black Death (plague), spreading from Pskov, reaches Novgorod; many people succumb to the disease.
- 1356 The stone Church of the Sign is built in Eijah (Il'ina) Street.
- 1359 Archbishop Moisey has the Church of St. Procopius built in Yaroslav's Court. Internecine strife in Novgorod erupts between Sophia and Market Side. The Great Bridge is pulled down. The parties make up after the intervention of Archbishop Moisey.
- 1360 A fire destroys Podol, a suburb, and Lyudin (or Potters') End. Seven wooden churches burn down. The boyar Simeon Andreyevich and his mother found a stone Church of St. Theodore in Theodore (Feodorova) Street; it is completed the following year.
- 1363 At the behest of Archbishop Aleksey, the Church of the Mother of God at Volotovo Pole (in the Moiseyev Monastery) is decorated with murals.
- 1368 A fire devastates Novgorod. The *Detinets* is damaged (Archbishop's Palace and Sophia Cathedral); the fire spreads to Nerev End and, across the river, to Carpenters' End (*Plotnitskiy konets*). The Novgorodians route the Teutonic Knights at Izborsk.
- 1369 Another fire in Novgorod. Damage in Slavno End between Nutnaya Street and the Church of Elijah.
- 1371 Yet another major fire, which started in Elijah (Il'ina) Street, destroys all of Podol and virtually the entire *Plotnitskiy konets*.
- 1373 For seven days the Volkhov flows against the current.
- 1374 The stone Church of Our Savior of the Transfiguration is erected in Elijah (Il'ina) Street.

- 1376 Metropolitan Marcus (Mark) from Mount Sinai visits Novgorod to collect donations. That same year three heretics (*strigol'niki*) are thrown from the bridge into the Volkhov.
- 1377 Fire breaks out in Lyudogoshcha Street, spreading to Yakovleva Street. Seven wooden churches burn to the ground, and three stone churches are damaged.
- 1378 The Anton'yev Monastery is damaged by fire. Theophanes the Greek (Feofan Grek) paints the frescoes in the Church of Our Savior of the Transfiguration in Elijah (Il'ina) Street.
- 1380 The Battle of Kulikovo (Dmitriy Donskoy's victory over the Mongols). One of the earliest, though brief accounts of the battle is found in the First Novgorod Chronicle.
- 1383 The Great Bridge is restored. The Sophia Side is surrounded by a broad moat.
- 1384 Internecine strife erupts once more in Novgorod. Two *veche* assemblies are gathered, in Yaroslav's Court and outside St. Sophia Cathedral, respectively. Both are said to have "armed themselves, as if for war." The Great Bridge is taken down. However, no open hostilities ensue and the two sides reach an agreement. The Novgorodians set up stone towns on the rivers Luga and Yama. A "darkness" is said to have occurred for several days and nights.
- 1385 A major fire destroys almost all of the Market Side. Seventy people are killed.
- 1386 Grand Prince Dmitriy Ivanovich Donskoy marches against Novgorod. At the advice of Archbishop Aleksey, the Novgorodians burn their own settlements as well as twenty-four monasteries. In the final peace agreement, the Novgorodians have to pay Grand Prince Dmitriy a penalty of 8000 rubles in silver and accept in their city the lieutenants of the grand prince.
- 1387 The Novgorodians erect the stone-built town of Porkhov; they also construct ramparts around the Market Side.
- 1388 A southern wind brings ice from the lake to the Volkhov; the Great Bridge is damaged. Another internal conflict takes place. All three "ends" of the Sophia side rise against *Posadnik* Iosif Zakhar'inich who flees to Carpenters' End where he is defended by both "ends" of the Market Side. The conflict lasts for two weeks whereupon a new *posadnik* is elected. A major fire ravages the Market Side that same year. Several churches, among them St. Nicholas in Yaroslav's Court, St. Parasceve-Pyatnitsa, and Our Savior in Elijah Street, are damaged. Seventy-five people perish.

- 1390 Conflict between Novgorod and Pskov. The Pskovians give in and the Novgorodians withdraw their troops dispatched against Pskov. A plague epidemic breaks out in Novgorod.
- 1391 Several major fires in Novgorod. In both sides of the city, several wooden churches are destroyed by fire while stone churches are damaged. A number of people perish.
- 1392 Continued work on the ramparts around the Market Side. *Posadnik* Bogdan Abakunovich “with his brethren” and “street folk” found the stone Church of St. Symeon the Stylite in Chudintseva Street.
- 1394 Fire in Novgorod. The Archbishop’s Palace and an adjacent area are damaged, so is the main dome of St. Sophia Cathedral. Two wooden churches burn to the ground and eight stone churches are burned. Several streets within the *Detinets* suffer damage.
- 1395 Boyar Isak Onkifov founds the stone Church of Archangel Michael in the Arkazh Monastery.
- 1396 Archbishop Ioann has the dome of St. Sophia Cathedral, which was damaged by fire, covered with lead. The Anton’ev Monastery burns to the ground. The Church of the Mother of God, covered by lead, is damaged by fire. Tension between Grand Prince Vasiliy Dmitrievich and Novgorod the Great.
- 1398 Novgorodian troops recapture the Dvina land, occupied by a Muscovite force.
- 1399 A fire in Novgorod. Carpenters’ End burns down up to the Brook, and all of Slavno End is destroyed by fire. Twenty-two stone churches are damaged.
- 1400 New stone fortifications are constructed in the *Detinets* overlooking the river. A solar eclipse occurs: a sickle appears in the sky and then the sun emits bloody rays covered by smoke.
- 1402 A comet appears in the west (“a star with a tail”); it can be seen through all of March. The Volkhov is covered by ice from November to March.
- 1403 A fire in Novgorod. Lyudin and Zagorodskiy Ends are damaged, as is the *Detinets*. Five wooden churches burn to the ground, twelve stone churches are damaged. The Church of SS. Boris and Gleb inside the *Detinets* burns out completely. Thirty people perish.

- 1405 On April 11, ice movement damages the Great Bridge. A fire breaks out in Yaroslav's Court stretching from the Gotland Yard to the Pskov Yard. Six people perish.
- 1407 Bishop Theodulus of Trapezunt arrives in Novgorod from Constantinople to collect donations. On June 6, a fire ravages Nerev End; inside the *Detinets*, the Archbishop's Palace and St. Sophia Cathedral are damaged by fire. Six wooden churches are destroyed, and twelve stone churches are damaged. The stone Church St. Blaise is erected in Lyudin End. *Posadnik* Yuriy Dmitrievich and his brother Yakov build the stone Church of the Archistrategus Michael in the Arkazh Monastery.
- 1408 Archbishop Ioann has St. Sophia Cathedral covered by lead and the main dome gilded.
- 1409 Archbishop Ioann has a stone tower built for a monthly supply of holy water, in addition to a bake-house of stone.
- 1412 A wooden church is erected in the Klopskiy Monastery.
- 1414 A fire in Novgorod's Nerev End. Five wooden churches burn down, and eight stone churches are damaged by fire.
- 1415 Construction is completed on two stone churches in Lyudin End: the Churches of the Holy Cross and of St. Luke.
- 1416/17 Constitutional reform, further strengthening the hand of the boyars.
- 1417 Novgorod and other North Russian towns are struck by the plague. Many people die.
- 1418 Internecine strife in Novgorod is triggered by a fight between a common man Stepanko and a boyar Bozhin, who is thrown from the bridge into the Volkhov but saved by a fisherman. After a *veche* has gathered in Yaroslav's Court, the armed people loot the estate of Bozhin (who meanwhile has Stepanko tortured) as well as the estates of other boyars. The tension between the Sophia and the Market Sides is brought to an end by the intervention of Archbishop Simeon.

- 1419 On April 9, a violent rain- and thunderstorm causes much damage; several people are struck by lightning. On May 1, a major fire on the Market Side breaks out. Twenty-four churches are destroyed or severely damaged; much private property is lost, people drown in the Volkhov or are killed by the fire. The stone Church of the Holy Trinity is built in the Klopskiy Monastery.
- 1420 The Novgorodians begin to mint their own silver coins. The “artugi” (minted in Tartu/Dorpat), circulated for nine years, are sold to the local Germans (Hanseatic merchants). Early snowfall (in September) ruins the crop.
- 1421 High water destroys the Great Bridge and other bridges over the Volkhov and nearby streams. Low-lying districts in Novgorod and its environs are flooded. Several churches are damaged by water. Heavy rains and hail storms. Severe famine and diseases in Novgorod.
- 1424 Coins are being minted in Pskov “and one began trading with money all over Russia.” The plague kills many people in Novgorod.
- 1430 The stone Church of the Holy Fathers in Yaroslav’s Court replaces a wooden church pulled down the previous year. Every fifth peasant is recruited to Novgorod to build the city ramparts. A drought, lasting for two years, causes major damage: forest and field fires; fish and fowl choke from smoke; people cannot see each other because of smoke.
- 1433 Fire ravages Zagorodskiy and Lyudin Ends. Archbishop Yevfimiy builds himself a palace with thirty doors (i.e., the Palace of Facets). It is constructed by overseas (viz., German) masters, aided by Novgorod master builders.
- 1435 Archbishop Yevfimiy has a stone church built on top of the John Chrysostom Gates. As soon as the masters leave the church it collapses.
- 1436 A frost in the fall ruins the grains all over the Novgorod land. High water on the Volkhov; later ice damages the Great Bridge and destroys another bridge.
- 1437 In the spring the water reaches the walls of the *Detinets*. The stone wall on the water side and a belfry collapse.

- 1439 Archbishop Yevfimiĭ has Prince Vladimir Yaroslavich's tomb gilded and inscribed; he also places an inscription on the tomb of the prince's mother and decides to have them commemorated annually on October 4.
- 1441 Metropolitan Isidor visits Novgorod on his way back from the Council of Florence (proclaiming the reunification of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches). Styling himself as a papal legate, he mentions the pope during church service; he urges Russian clerics to serve in Catholic churches and Catholic priests to do the same in Russian churches.
- 1442 Archbishop Yevfimiĭ has a stone kitchen and chamber built at the Archbishop's Palace. A fire, which starts in *Plotnitskiĭ konets*, spreads to the Anton'yev Monastery. Another fire breaks out at Podol. Twelve stone churches are damaged. Soon, yet another fire starts. Some people are suspected for arson; they are either burned at the stake or thrown off the bridge. The chronicler adds: "God knows whether one spoke justly against them."
- 1443 Archbishop Yevfimiĭ adds further stone buildings to his palace.
- 1445 From that year on and for ten years a shortage of grain prevails in Novgorod. Many die from starvation, others flee to Lithuania and other countries; some have themselves sold for food to Muslim and Jewish merchants. Common people complain about the rich and the city's rulers. Archbishop Yevfimiĭ builds himself a "warm" stone church which is decorated with frescoes and icons.
- 1446 The Novgorodians riot, finding fault with the silver coinage. The *posadnik* and *tysyatskiĭ* as well as the *veche* appoint five minters who remould the old coins and mint new coins of the same size. The people in the city and the countryside suffer a great deal. Interrogated at the *veche* by the *posadnik*, one of the mint masters, being intoxicated, accuses eighteen citizens of having taken advantage of the new mint system; these men are either thrown from the bridge or their property is confiscated. Later the mint master revokes his indictment, whereupon he is executed and his property taken. A rainstorm destroys wheat, rye, and corn.
- 1448 Horses and people die from pestilence.
- 1449 Archbishop Yevfimiĭ has a belfry built.
- 1453 On July 17, Grand Prince Dmitriĭ Yur'yevich Shemyaka dies in Novgorod and is buried in the Cathedral of St. George in the Yur'yev Monastery.

- 1456 Novgorod the Great concludes a peace treaty with Grand Prince Vasilii II Vasil'yevich (the Blind), paying him 9500 rubles.
- 1458 The stone Church of the Mother of God is built in Market Square on the foundations of a demolished earlier church.
- 1460 A violent storm damages the forests and several buildings in the city.
- 1461 Grand Prince Vasilii Vasil'yevich (the Blind) comes to Novgorod with his sons Yuriy and Andrey ostensibly to pay his respect to St. Sophia.
- 1463 The stone Church of St. Demetrius is erected in Slavkova Street.
- 1467 The plague ravages Novgorod.
- 1471 Grand Prince Ivan III Vasil'yevich marches against Novgorod; the battle on the river Shelon'. Ivan Vasil'yevich and his army enter Rusa (Staraya Russa). Internal strife in Novgorod: some side with the Muscovite grand prince, others with Lithuania. Novgorod the Great is forced to conclude a peace treaty with the grand prince, paying him 15,500 rubles. The same year a storm sinks ninety big and sixty small craft in Lake Il'men' at the mouth of the river Lovat'. The boats carried war refugees from Rusa. During a drought the Lovat' dries out, at which time 120 corpses of people perished during the storm are found. Several fires break out in Novgorod that year.
- 1472 The Church of John the Forerunner in Opoki is covered with a lime coating. On September 9, a fire destroys several estates and churches and damages the city wall.
- 1476 On November 21, Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'yevich comes "peacefully" to Novgorod. He takes possession of all monasteries in and around Novgorod, including the Yur'yev Monastery, as well as Gorodishche. He has six Novgorod boyars seized. The grand prince stays at Gorodishche for nine weeks. A fire on the Sophia side destroys many estates.
- 1477 On September 25, a fire destroys, among other things, the estate of Marfa Posadnitsa.
- 1478 Novgorod the Great succumbs in January as an independent city-state. Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'yevich enters the city with an army and subjugates it. Novgorod agrees to abolish the *veche* and replace the *posadniks* by two lieutenants of the grand prince. The *veche* bell is taken to Moscow where it is placed in a bell tower of the Kremlin. Some privileges are retained by the Novgorodians: the local administration of the five "ends" is left to the district

elders, jurisdiction is to follow Novgorod law, Novgorod soldiers are, as previously, not to be used outside the former Novgorod land, no one is to be sentenced in Moscow. Most of these “liberties” remain in effect until the beginning of the 17th century (when the Swedes briefly occupy Novgorod). Major changes, all favoring the Muscovite state, are introduced in the Novgorod land.

- 1484 Gennadiy, the former archimandrite of the Muscovite Chudovskiy Monastery, replaces the insane Sergiy as archbishop of Novgorod.
- 1490 A Council condemning the Judaizers is held in Moscow; some of the heretics are executed in Novgorod at the instigation of Archbishop Gennadiy.
- 1491 The Croatian Dominican Benjamin joins Archbishop Gennadiy’s learned court.
- 1494 Grand Prince Ivan Vasil’yevich closes the Hansa establishment (*Nemetskiy dvor, St. Petershof*) in Novgorod and has the German merchants expelled. This event is reported in the chronicle entry for 1495.
- 1499 The Gennadiy Bible, the first Russian Church Slavic bible translation (primarily based on the Vulgate and mostly the work of Benjamin), is completed.

Bibliography

- Adam of Bremen. *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*. (F. J. Tschan, transl. and ed.). New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Adam von Bremen. *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*. Nach der Ausgabe der *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* in dritter Auflage unter Mitarbeit von B. Schmeidler neubearbeitet von S. Steinberg. Leipzig: Dyksche Buchhandlung, 1926. (= *Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* 44)
- Aleshkovsky, M. Kh. "Novgorodskiy detinets 1044-1430 gg. (po materialam novykh issledovaniy)," *Arkhitekturnoye nasledstvo* 14 (1962), 3-26.
- Aleshkovsky, M. Kh. "Sotsial'nye osnovy formirovaniya territorii Novgoroda IX - XV vekov," *SA* 3/1974, 100-11.
- Aleshkovsky, M. Kh., L. Ye. Krasnorech'yev. "O datirovke vala i rva Novgorodskogo Ostroga (v svyazi s voprosom o formirovanii gorodskoy territorii)," *SA* 4/1970, 54-73.
- Aleshkovsky, M. Kh., L. Ye. Krasnorech'yev. "K datirovke vala i rva Novgorodskogo Ostroga (Otvét S. N. Orlovu)," *SA* 3/1972, 392-5.
- Antoniewicz, J. "The problem of the 'Prussian street' in Novgorod the Great," *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 2 (Białystok, 1965), 7-25.
- Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1972 goda*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1973.
- Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1974 goda*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1975.
- Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1975 goda*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1976.
- Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1977 goda*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1978.
- Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1978 goda*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1979.
- Arkheologicheskoye izucheniye Novgoroda* (B. A. Kolchin & V. L. Yanin, eds.). Moscow: "Nauka," 1978.

- Artsikhovskiy, A. V. "K istorii Novgoroda," *Istoricheskiye zapiski* 2 (1938), 108-131.
- Artsikhovskiy, A. V., V. L. Yanin. *Novgorodskiy gramoty na bereste (Iz raskopok 1962-1976 gg.)*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1978.
- Avdusin, D. A. "Ob izuchenii arkheologicheskikh istochnikov po varyazhskomu voprosu," *Skandinavskiy sbornik* 20 (Tallinn: "Eesti Raamat," 1975), 147-57 (with Estonian and Swedish résumés).
- Baecklund, A. *Personal Names in Medieval Velikij Novgorod. I. Common Names*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1959. (= *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Études de philologie slave* 9)
- Beletsky, S. V. "Kul'turnaya stratigrafiya Pskova (arkheologicheskiye dannye k probleme proiskhozhdeniya goroda)," *KSIA* 160 (1979 [1980]), 3-18.
- Beletsky, S. V., A. B. Varenov, V. P. Frolov. "Issledovaniya Pskovskogo gorodishcha," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1978 goda*, 4.
- Bernadsky, V. N. *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya v XV veke*. Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1961.
- Birnbaum, H. "Die Hanse in Novgorod (Neumriss einer Problematik)," *Korrespondenzen. Festschrift für Dietrich Gerhardt* (= *Marburger Abhandlungen zur Geschichte und Kultur Osteuropas* 14), 28-35.
- Birnbaum, H. "Lord Novgorod the Great: Its Place in Medieval Culture," *Viator* 8 (1977), 215-54.
- Birnbaum, H. "Yaroslav's Varangian Connection." *Scando-Slavica* 24 (1978), 5-25.
- Blöndal, S. [& B. S. Benedikz]. *The Varangians of Byzantium: An aspect of Byzantine military history translated, revised and rewritten by B. S. Benedikz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Boba, I. *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs: Eastern Europe in the Ninth Century*. The Hague: Mouton/Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967. (= *Slavo-Orientalia* 2)
- Bulkin, V. A., I. V. Dubov, G. S. Lebedev. *Arkheologicheskiye pamyatniki Drevney Rusi IX-XI vekov* (V. V. Mavrodin, ed.). Leningrad: Izd-vo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1978.

- Burckhardt, J. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (S. G. C. Middlemore, transl.). Vienna: Phaidon, [1937].
- Cherepnin, L. V. *Novgorodskiyе berestyanye gramoty kak istoricheskiy istochnik*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1969.
- Cherepnin, L. V. *Russkiye feodal'nye arkhivy XIV-XV vekov. Chast' pervaya*. Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1948.
- Christiansen, E. *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100-1525*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press & London: Macmillan, 1980.
- Collinder, B. *An Introduction to the Uralic Languages*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965.
- Constantine Porphyrogenitus. *De Administrando Imperio*. Greek text ed. by Gy. Moravcsik; English transl. by R. J. H. Jenkins. New, rev. ed. Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967. (= *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 1)
- Constantine Porphyrogenitus. *De Administrando Imperio*. Volume II: Commentary by F. Dvornik. R. J. H. Jenkins, B. Lewis, Gy. Moravcsik, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman (R. J. H. Jenkins, ed.). London: The Athlone Press, 1962.
- Dejevsky, N. J. *Novgorod in the Early Middle Ages: The Rise and Growth of an Urban Community*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 1977.
- Dejevsky, N. J. "Novgorod: the Origins of a Russian Town," *European Towns: Their Archaeology and Early History* (M. W. Barley, ed.), London, New York, and San Francisco: Academic Press, 1977, 391-403 (= ch. 22).
- Dejevsky, N. J. "The Varangians in Soviet archaeology today," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 10 (1976), 7-34.
- Die Erste Novgoroder Chronik nach ihrer ältesten Redaktion (Synodalhandschrift), 1016-1333/1352*. Edition des altrussischen Textes und Faksimile der Handschrift im Nachdruck (J. Dietze, transl. and ed., title also in English). Munich: Sagner, 1971.
- Ditten, H. (= G.). "Izvestiya Laonika Khalkokondila o Rossii (I, 122.5 - 126.9)," *Vizantiyskiy vremennik* 21 (1962), 51-94.
- Drboglav, D. A. "Gramota No 488," in: A. V. Artsikhovskiy, V. L. Yanin, *Novgorodskiyе gramoty na bereste*, 167-91.

- Drboglav, D. A. "Latinskaya berestyanyaya gramota iz Novgorodskikh raskopok," *SA* 3/1973, 108-17.
- Drevnerusskiye knyazhestva X-XIII vv.* (L. G. Beskrovnyi et al., eds.) Moscow: "Nauka," 1975.
- Drevniye slavyane i ikh sosedi.* Moscow: "Nauka," 1970. (= *MIA SSSR* 176)
- Drevnyaya Rus' i slavyane* (T. V. Nikolayeva, ed.). Moscow: "Nauka," 1978.
- Falck, W. "Ryska kyrkan i kv. Munken," *Gotländskt arkiv* (Visby) 43 (1971), 85-93.
- Fehling, D. "Eine verkannte Lehnübersetzung aus dem Griechischen: slav. *boljare/bojare*," *Die Welt der Slaven* 24 (1979), 430-3.
- Filip, J., et al. *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer/Prague: Academia, 1966.
- Gadlo, A. V. "Etnogenez vostochnykh slavyan," *Sovetskaya istoriografiya Kievskoy Rusi*, 13-35.
- Gertsen (= Herzen), A. I. *Sobranie sochineniy v tridsati tomakh. Tom sed'moy: O razvitií revolyutsionnykh idey v Rossii. Proizvedeniya 1851-1852 godov.* Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1956.
- Gimbutas, M. *The Slavs*. New York and Washington: Praeger, 1971. (= *Ancient Peoples and Places* 74).
- Goehrke, C. "Die Sozialstruktur des mittelalterlichen Novgorod," *Untersuchungen zur gesellschaftlichen Struktur der mittelalterlichen Städte in Europa. Reichenau-Vorträge 1963-1964*. Constance and Stuttgart: Thorbecke 1966 (= *Vorträge und Forschungen* 11), 357-78.
- Goehrke, C. "Einwohnerzahl und Bevölkerungsdichte altrussischer Städte. Methodische Möglichkeiten und vorläufige Ergebnisse," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 18 (= Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin. Historische Veröffentlichungen) Berlin: in Kommission bei Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1973, 25-53.
- Goehrke, C. "Gross-Novgorod und Pskov/Pleskau," in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 431-83.

- Goehrke, C. "Zum Problem des Regionalismus in der russischen Geschichte. Vorüberlegungen für eine künftige Untersuchung," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 25 (= Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin. Historische Veröffentlichungen, J.-J. Torke, ed.) Berlin: in Kommission bei Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1978, 75-107.
- Golubeva, L. A. *Ves' i slavyane na Belom ozere. X-XIII vv.* Moscow: "Nauka," 1973.
- Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova.* (S. N. Valk, et al., eds.) Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1949.
- Grekov, B. D. *Krest'yane na Rusi s drevneyshikh vremen do XVII veka.* Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1946.
- Halaga, O. R. "Typy kupeckých domov a novgorodský Peterhof," *Slovan-ský přehled* (Prague) 61 (1975), 467-81.
- Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* (M. Hellman, K. Zernack, G. Schramm, eds.) 1: *Von der Kiewer Reichsbildung bis zum Moskauer Zartum* (M. Hellmann, ed.). Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1976 -.
- Helmold, Priest of Bosau. *The Chronicle of the Slavs.* (F. J. Tschan, transl. and ed.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.
- Hermann, J. (= Kherrman, I.) "Polabskiye i il'menskiye slavyane v ranne-srednevekovoy baltiyskoy torgovle," *Drevnyaya Rus' i slavyane*, 191-6.
- Hermann, J. *Zwischen Hradschin und Vineta. Frühe Kulturen der Westslawen.* Munich: Sagner, 1971.
- Hösch, E. *Orthodoxie und Häresie im alten Russland.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975.
- Isachenko, A. V. "Yesli by v kontse XV veka Novgorod oderzhal pobedu nad Moskvoy (Ob odnom nesostoyavshemysya variante istorii russkogo yazyka)," *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1973), 48-55.
- Issatschenko, A. V. *Geschichte der russischen Sprache.* 2 vols. Heidelberg: Winter (in press).
- Istoricheskiye zapiski.* Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR.
- Istoriya SSSR = Istoriya SSSR.* AN SSSR, Institut istorii SSSR. Moscow: "Nauka."
- Jackson (= Dzhakson), T. N. "Skandinavskiy konung na Rusi (o metodike analiza svedeniy islandskikh korolevskikh sag)," *Vostochnaya Yevropa.* 282-8.

- Kazakova, N. A. *Russko-livonskiye i russko-ganzeyskiye otnosheniya. Konets XIV - nachalo XVI v. Leningrad: "Nauka," 1975.*
- Khaburgaev, G. A. *Etnonimiya "Povesti vremennykh let" v svyazi s zadachami rekonstruktsii vostochnoslavyanskogo glottogeneza. Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1979.*
- Khoroshev, A. S. "Boyarskoye stroitel'stvo v novgorodskom Arkazhe monastyre," *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta 9: Istoriya 2/1966, 77-82.*
- Khoroshev, A. S. "Ekonomicheskoye polozheniye prikhodskikh tserkvey v Novgorode Velikom," *Russkiy gorod 2, 218-36.*
- Khoroshkevich, A. L. *Torgovlya Velikogo Novgoroda s Pribaltikoy i Zapadnoy Yevropoy v XIV-XV vekakh. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963.*
- Kiersnowski, R. *Legenda Winety. Studium historyczne. Cracow: Wyd-wo Studium Słowiańskiego U.J., 1950 (= Biblioteka Studium Słowiańskiego UJ A: 6)*
- Kirpichnikov, A. N. "Arkhiturno-arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya v Staroy Ladoge," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1975 goda, 18-19.*
- Kirpichnikov, A. N. "Ladoga i ladozhskaya volost' v period rannego srednevekov'ya," *Slavyane i Rus', 92-106.*
- Kirpichnikov, A. N. "Ladoga i Pereyasavl' Yuzhnyi — drevneyshiye kamennye kreposti na Rusi," *Pamyatniki kul'tury, 416-34.*
- Kirpichnikov, A. N. "Raboty v Ladozhskoy kreposti," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1974 goda, 17-18.*
- Kirpichnikov, A. N., G. S. Lebedev, V. A. Bulkin, I. V. Dubov, V. A. Nazareno, "Russko-skandinavskiy svyazi v epokhu obrazovaniya Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva (IX-XI vv.)," *Scando-Slavica 24 (1978), 63-89.*
- Kleiber (= Kleyber), B. "Dva drevnerusskikh mestnykh nazvaniya," *Scando-Slavica 5 (1959), 132-47.*
- Kleiber, B. "Zu einigen Ortsnamen aus Gardarike," *Scando-Slavica 3 (1957), 215-23.*
- Kocha, L. A. "Khristianstvo i tserkov'," *Sovetskaya istoriografiya Kievskoy Rusi, 172-6.*
- Kocha, L. A. "Yazychestvo v Drevney Rusi," *Sovetskaya istoriografiya Kievskoy Rusi, 166-71.*

- Kochkurkina, S. I. "Kurgannye gruppy yugo-vostochnogo Priladozh'ya," *KSIA* 120 (1969), 20-27.
- Kolchin, B. A. "Dendrokronologiya Novgoroda" in: *Novye metody v arkhologii* (= *Trudy Novgorodskoy arkhologicheskoy ekspeditsii* III = *MIA SSSR* 117), 5-103. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963.
- Kolchin, B. A. "Dendrokronologiya postroek Nerevskogo raskopa," in: *Zhilishcha drevnego Novgoroda* (= *Trudy Novgorodskoy arkhologicheskoy ekspeditsii* IV = *MIA SSSR* 123), 166-227. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963.
- Kolchin, B. A., N. B. Chernykh. *Dendrokronologiya Vostochnoy Yevropy (Absolyutnye dendrokronologicheskiye shkaly s 788 po 1970 g.)*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1977."
- KSIA* = *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta arkhologii Akademii nauk SSSR*. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR.
- KSIMK* = *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta istorii material'noy kul'tury*. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR.
- Kushnir, I. I. "K topografii drevnego Novgoroda," *SA* 3/1975, 176-9.
- Kuza, A. V. "Novgorodskaya zemlya" in: *Drevnerusskiye knyazhestva X-XIII vv.*, 144-201.
- Kuz'min, A. G. "K voprosu o 'polochanakh' Nachal'noy letopisi," *Drevniye slavyane i ikh sosedi*, 125-7.
- Langer, L. N. "The Medieval Russian Town" in: *The City in Russian History* (M. F. Hamm, ed.). Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976, 11-33.
- Langer, L. N. "V. L. Ianin and the History of Novgorod," *Slavic Review* 33 (1974), 114-19.
- Lavrent'yevskaya letopis'* 1: *Povest' vremennykh let*. 2nd ed. (= PSRL 1). Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1926. (Reprinted in: *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, L. Müller, ed., I: *Die Nestorchronik. Der altrussische Text der Nestorchronik in der Redaktion des Abtes Sil'vestr aus dem Jahre 1116 und ihrer Fortsetzung bis zum Jahre 1305 in der Handschrift des Mönches Lavrentij aus dem Jahre 1377 sowie die Fortsetzung der Suzdaler Chronik bis zum Jahre 1419 nach der Akademiehandschrift*. Munich: Fink, 1977.)

- Letopisi i khroniki. Sbornik statey 1973 g. posvyashchen pamyati A. N. Nasonova.* (B. A. Rybakov et al., eds.). Moscow: "Nauka," 1974.
- Likhachev, D. S. "Slovo o polku Igoreve" i kul'tura yego vremeni. Leningrad: "Khudozhestvennaya literatura," 1978.
- Lunt, H. G. "On the Language of Old Rus: Some Questions and Suggestions," *Russian Linguistics* 2 (1975), 269-81.
- Lur'ye, Ya. S. *Ideologicheskaya bor'ba v russkoy publitsistike kontsa XV - nachala XVI veka.* Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1960.
- Lur'ye, Ya. S. "K istorii prisoyedineniya Novgoroda v 1477-1479 gg.," *Issledovaniya po sotsial'no-politicheskoy istorii Rossii. Sbornik statey pamyati B. A. Romanova.* Leningrad: "Nauka," 1971, 89-95.
- Lur'ye, Ya. S. "K voprosu o 'latinстве' Gennadievskogo literaturnogo kruzhka," *Issledovaniya i materialy po drevnerusskoy literature, AN SSSR, Institut mirovoy literatury im. Gor'kogo* (V. D. Kuz'min, ed.). Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1961, 68-77.
- Lyapushkin, I. I. *Slavyane vostochnoy Yevropy nakanune obrazovaniya Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva (VIII - pervaya polovina IX v.). Istoriko-arkheologicheskiye ocherki.* Leningrad: "Nauka," 1968. (= MIA SSSR, 152)
- Lowmiański, H. (= Lovmyansky, Kh.) "O proiskhozhdenii russkogo boyarstva," *Vostochnaya Yevropa*, 93-100.
- Martines, L. *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy.* New York: Knopf, 1979.
- Mavrodin, V. V. *Proiskhozhdeniye russkogo naroda.* Leningrad: Izd-vo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1978.
- Medvedev, A. F. "Raskopki v Staroy Russe," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1972 goda*, 25-6.
- Medvedev, A. F. "Usad'by rostovshchika i yuvelira v Staroy Russe," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1977 goda*, 23-4.
- Medvedev, A. F., G. P. Smirnova. "Raskopki v Staroy Russe," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1974 goda*, 24-6.
- Medyntseva, A. A. *Drevnerusskiye nadpisi Novgorodskogo Sofiyskogo sobora. XI-XIV veka.* Moscow: "Nauka," 1978.

- Mel'nikova, Ye. A. "‘Saga ob Eymunde’ o sluzhbe skandinavov v družine Yaroslava Mudrogo," *Vostochnaya Yevropa*, 289-95.
- Mel'nikova, Ye. A. "Vostochnoyevropeyskiye toponimy s kornem *garð* v drevneskandinavskoy pis'mennosti," *Skandinavskiy sbornik* 22 (1977), 199-209.
- MIA SSSR = *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR.
- Miller, D. B. "The Lübeckers Bartholomäus Ghotan and Nicolaus Bülow in Novgorod and Moscow and the Problem of Early Western Influences on Russian Culture," *Viator* 9 (1978), 395-412.
- Mongayt, A. L. "Oboronitel'nye sooruzheniya Novgoroda Velikogo," in: *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii drevnerusskikh gorodov II: Krepostnye sooruzheniya drevney Rusi* (N. N. Voronin, ed. = MIA SSSR, 31), 7-132. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1952.
- Nazarenko, V. A. "Istoricheskiye sud'by Priladozh'ya i ikh svyaz' s Ladogoy," *Slavyane i Rus'*, 106-15.
- Nazarov, V. D. "‘Dvor’ i ‘dvoryane’ po dannym Novgorodskogo i severo-vostochnogo letopisaniya (XII-XIV vv.)," *Vostochnaya Yevropa*, 104-23.
- Nikol'sky, N. K. *Povest' vremennykh let, kak istochnik dlya istorii nachal'nogo perioda russkoy pis'mennosti i kul'tury. K voprosu o drevneyshem russkom letopisanii*. Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1930. (= AN SSSR. *Sbornik po russkomu yazyku i slovesnosti*, II: 1)
- Nitsche, P. (transl. and ed.). *Der Aufstieg Moskaus. Auszüge aus einer russischen Chronik. II. Vom Beginn des 15. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Graz-Vienna-Cologne: Styria, 1967. (= *Slavische Geschichtsschreiber*, hrsg. v. G. Stökl, 5)
- Nosov, Ye. N. "Istochniki po slavyanskoy kolonizatsii Novgorodskoy zemli," *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskiye distsipliny* 6, 212-41. Leningrad: "Nauka," 1974.
- Nosov, Ye. N. "Raskopki Ryurikova gorodishcha," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1975 goda*, 31-2.
- Nosov, Ye. N., N. P. Pakhomov. "Novye dannye o Novgorodskom (Ryurikovom) gorodishche," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1978 goda*, 25-6.

- Novgorod the Great*. Excavations at the medieval city directed by A. V. Artsikhovskiy and B. A. Kolchin (M. W. Thompson, ed.). New York and Washington: Praeger, 1967.
- NPL = *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov* (A. N. Nasonov, ed.). Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1950.
- Novye metody v arkhologii. Trudy Novgorodskoy arkhologicheskoy ekspeditsii*, III (A. V. Artsikhovskiy and B. A. Kolchin, eds.). Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963. (= MIA SSSR 117)
- Onasch, K. *Gross-Novgorod. Aufstieg und Niedergang einer russischen Stadtrepublik*. Vienna and Munich: Schroll, 1969.
- Orlov, S. N. "K topografii drevnego Novgoroda," SA 4/1961, 212-17.
- Orlov, S. N. "K topografii novgorodskikh gorodskikh kontsov," SA 2/1965, 92-103.
- Orlov, S. N. "K topografii Novgoroda X-XVI vv.," *Novgorod. K 1100-letiyu goroda. Sbornik statey* (M. N. Tikhomirov, ed.). Moscow: "Nauka," 1964, 264-85.
- Ostrogorsky, G. *History of the Byzantine State*. Rev. ed., New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969.
- Pamyatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiya. Pis'mennost', Iskusstvo, Arkheologiya. Ezhegodnik 1977*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1977.
- Pashuto, V. T. "Letopisnaya traditsiya o 'plemennykh knyazheniyakh' i varyazhskiy vopros," *Letopisi i khroniki*, 103-10.
- Patriarshaya ili Nikonovskaya letopis'* (= PSRL 9/10). Moscow: "Nauka," 1965. (Reprint of: *Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi Patriarsheyu ili Nikonovskoyu letopis'yu*, St. Petersburg: Arkheograficheskaya kommissiya, 1862/85)
- Petrovskiy, N. M. "O novgorodskikh 'Slovenakh'." *Izvestiya Otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti* 25 (1922), 356-85.
- Pimenov, V. V. *Vepsy. Ocherk etnicheskoy istorii i genezisa kul'tury*. Moscow-Leningrad: "Nauka," 1965.
- Platonov, S. [F.] "Rusa," *Dela i dni* (Petrograd) 1920: 1, 1-5.
- PLDR = *Pamyatniki literatury Drevney Rusi. Nachalo russkoy literatury. XI - nachalo XII veka*. Moscow: "Khudozhestvennaya literatura," 1978.

- Podvigina, N. L. *Ocherki sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoy i politicheskoy istorii Novgoroda Velikogo v XII-XIII vv.* (V. L. Yanin, ed.). Moscow: "Vysshaya shkola," 1976.
- Poppe, A. *Państwo i kościół na Rusi w XI wieku.* Warsaw: PWN, 1968. (= *Dissertationes Universitatis Varsoviensis* 26)
- Poppe, A. *The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus'. Byzantine-Russian Relations Between 986-89.* Washington, D. C.: The Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1976. (= *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 30, 195-244)
- Porfiridov, N. G. *Drevniy Novgorod. Ocherki iz istorii russkoy kul'tury XI-XV vv.* Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1947.
- PSRL = *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey.* St. Petersburg/Leningrad, Moscow.
- PSRL 3 = *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey, izdannoye po vysochayshemu poveleniyu Arkheograficheskoy kommissiyeyu 3: IV: Novgorodskiya letopisi.* St. Petersburg: Tipogr. E. Pratsa, 1841.
- PVL = *Povest' vremennykh let 1: Tekst i perevod; 2: Prilozheniya* (V. P. Adrianova-Peretts & D. S. Likhachev, eds.). Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1950.
- Raba, J. "Evfimij II., Erzbischof von Gross-Novgorod und Pskov. Ein Kirchenfürst als Leiter einer weltlichen Republik," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. N. F., 25 (1977), 161-73.
- Raba, J. "Novgorod in the Fifteenth Century: a Re-examination," *Canadian Slavic Studies* 1 (1967), 348-64.
- Raba, J. "The Fate of the Novgorodian Republic," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 45 (1967), 307-23.
- Rabinovich, M. G. "O sotsial'nom sostave novgorodskogo voyska X-XV vv.," *Nauchnye doklady vysshey shkoly. Istoricheskiye nauki* 3/1960, 87-96. Moscow: "Vysshaya shkola," 1960.
- Rahbek Schmidt, K. *Soziale Terminologie in russischen Texten des frühen Mittelalters (bis zum Jahre 1240).* Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964.
- Rapov, O. M. *Knyazheskiye vladeniya na Rusi v X - pervoy polovine XIII v.* Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1977.

- Rappoport, P. A. *Ocherki po istorii voyennogo zodchestva severo-vostochnoy i severo-zapadnoy Rusi X-XV vv.* Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1961. (= MIA SSSR 105)
- Rappoport, P. A. *Voyennoye zodchestvo zapadnorusskikh zemel' X-XIV vv.* Leningrad: "Nauka," 1967. (= MIA SSSR 140)
- Rasmussen, K. "300 zolotykh poyasov' drevnego Novgoroda," *Scando-Slavica* 25 (1979), 93-103.
- Rasmussen, K. "Velikij Novgorod i moderne sovjetisk historiografi," *Svantevit* (Arhus and Copenhagen) 2: 2 (1977), 65-70.
- Riasanovsky, N. S. *A History of Russia.* 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Rusinov, N. D. "Gardarik i Gospodin Velikij Novgorod," *Russkaya rech'* 5/1976, 108-13.
- Russkiy gorod 2 = Russkiy gorod (Issledovaniya i materialy) 2.* Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1979.
- Rüss, H. "Die Warägerfrage," in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 267-82.
- Rüss, H. "Stadtentstehung und Stadtentwicklung," in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* 1, 371-9.
- Rybakov, B. A. "Deleniye Novgorodskoy zemli na sotni v XIII veke," *Istoricheskiye zapiski* 2 (1938), 132-52.
- Rybakov, B. A. "Istoricheskiye sud'by praslavyan," *Istoriya, kul'tura, etnografiya i fol'klor slavyanskikh narodov. VIII Mezhdunarodnyi s'yezd slavistov, Zagreb-Ljublyana, sentyabr' 1978 g. Doklady sovetskoy delegatsii.* Moscow: "Nauka," 1978, 182-96.
- Rybakov, B. A. *Remeslo Drevney Rusi.* Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1948.
- Rybina, Ye. A. *Arkheologicheskie ocherki istorii novgorodskoy trgovli X-XIV vv.* Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1978.
- Rybina, Ye. A. "Raskopki Gotskogo dvora v Novgorode," *SA* 3/1973, 100-7.
- Rydzevskaya, Ye. A. *Drevnyaya Rus' i Skandinaviya v IX-XIV vv. (Materialy i issledovaniya).* Moscow: "Nauka," 1978.
- Rydzevskaya, Ye. A. "Kholm v Novgorode i drevnesevernyi Holmgårdr," *Izvestiya Rossiyskoy akademii material'noy kul'tury* 2 (Petrograd, 1922), 107-12.
- SA = *Sovetskaya arkheologiya.* Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR.

- Sakharov, A. N. "Stranitsy russkoy diplomatii nachala X v.," *Vostochnaya Yevropa*, 267-81.
- Scheffler, L. *Textkritischer Apparat zur Nestorchronik*, mit einem Vorwort von L. Müller. Munich: Fink, 1977. (= *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, L. Müller, ed., II)
- Scientific Methods in Medieval Archaeology* (R. Berger, ed.). Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1970 (UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. *Contributions* 4)
- Sedel'nikov, A. D. "Ocherki katolicheskogo vliyaniya v Novgorode v kontse XV - nachale XVI veka," *Doklady AN SSSR B*, 1/1929, 16-19. Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1929.
- Sedov, V. V. *Dlinnye kurgany Krivichyey*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1974. (= *Arkheologiya SSSR. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov E 1 - 8*)
- Sedov, V. V. "Drevnerusskoye yazycheskoye svyatilishche v Peryni," *KSIIMK* 50 (1953), 92-103.
- Sedov, V. V. *Novgorodskiy sopki*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1970. (= *Arkheologiya SSSR. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov E 1 - 8*)
- Sedov, V. V. "Novye dannye o yazycheskom svyatilishche Peruna" (Po raskopkam Novgorodskoy ekspeditsii 1952 g.), *KSIIMK*, 53 (1954), 105-8.
- Sedov, V. V. *Slavyane Verkhnego Podneprov'ya i Podvin'ya*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1970. (= *MIA SSSR* 163)
- Shakhmatov, A. A. *Drevneyshiy sud'by russkago plemeni*. Petrograd: Izd-ye Russkago Istoricheskago Zhurnala, 1919.
- Shakhmatov, A. A. *Ocherk drevneyshago perioda istorii russkago yazyka*. The Hague: Mouton, 1967. (= *Russian Reprint Series* 61; reprint of Petrograd 1915 ed.)
- Shambinago, S. K. "Ioakimovskaya letopis'," *Istoricheskiye zapiski* 21 (1947), 254-70.
- Shaskol'sky, I. P. *Bor'ba Rusi protiv krestonosnoy agressii na beregakh Baltiki v XII-XIII vv.* (A. G. Man'kov, ed.). Leningrad: "Nauka," 1978.
- Shaskol'sky, I. P. "Etnicheskaya struktura Novgorodskogo gosudarstva," *Vostochnaya Yevropa*, 32-9.
- Shaskol'sky, I. P. "Normanskaya problema v sovetskoj istoriografii," *Sovetskaya istoriografiya Kievskoy Rusi*, 152-65.

Shtykhov, G. V. *Drevniy Polotsk (IX-XIII vv.)*. Minsk: "Nauka i tekhnika," 1975.

Skandinavskiy sbornik. Tallinn: "Eesti Raamat."

Slavyane i Rus' (Na materialakh vostochnoslavjanskikh plemen i Drevney Rusi). *Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*. Kiev: "Naukova Dumka," 1979.

Słownik starożytności słowiańskich. Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych (do schyłku wieku XII). (W. Kowalenko, G. Labuda and T. Lehr-Spławiński / G. Labuda and Z. Stieber, eds.) 1. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1961.

Smirnov, Yu. I., V. G. Smolitsky (eds.). *Novgorodskije byliny*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1978.

Smirnova, G. P. "K voprosu o datirovke drevneyshego sloya Nerevskogo raskopa Novgoroda," *Drevnyaya Rus' i slavyane*, 165-71.

Smirnova, G. P. "O trekh gruppakh novgorodskoy keramiki X - nachala XI v.," *KSIA* 139 (1974), 17-22.

Sovetskaya istoriografiya Kievskoy Rusi. (V. V. Mavrodin et al., eds.). Leningrad: "Nauka," 1978.

Söderlind, S. *Rusernas rike. Till frågan om det östslaviska rikets uppkomst. (Das Reich der Rus'. Zur Frage der Entstehung des ostslawischen Reiches.)*. Stockholm: PP Print, 1978.

Svahnström, G. "Gutagård och Peterhof. Två handelsgårdar i det medeltia Novgorod," *Gotländskt arkiv* (Visby) 32 (1960), 35-50.

Šachmatov, A., G. Y. Shevelov. *Die kirchenslavischen Elemente in der modernen russischen Literatursprache*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960.

Tatishchev, V. N. *Istoriya Rossiyskaya v semi tomakh*. Vols. 1 and 2. Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1962/3.

The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471 (R. Michell and N. Forbes, transl.; C. R. Beazley and A. A. Shakhmatov, eds.). London: Offices of the Society. 1914. (= *Camden Third Series* XXV)

The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text (S. H. Cross & O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, transl. and eds.). Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1973 (3rd printing). (= RPC)

- The Saga of the Jomsvikings.* (N. F. Blake, transl. and ed.). London: Nelson and Sons, 1962.
- Thompson, M. W. (ed.), *Novgorod the Great*, see *Novgorod the Great*.
- Tikhomirov, M. N. *Drevnerusskiye goroda*. 2nd, exp. and rev. ed. Moscow: Gos. izd-vo politicheskoy literatury, 1956.
- Tikhomirov, M. N. *Drevnyaya Rus'*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1975.
- Toporov, V. N. and O. N. Trubachev. *Lingvisticheskiy analiz gidronimov Verkhnego Podneprov'ya*. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1962.
- Tret'yakov, P. N. *Finno-ugry, balty i slavyane na Dnepre i Volge*. Moscow and Leningrad: "Nauka," 1966.
- Tret'yakov, P. N. *U istokov drevnerusskoy narodnosti*. Leningrad: "Nauka," 1970. (= MIA SSSR 179)
- Tret'yakov, P. N. *Vostochnoslavjanskiye plemena*. Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1948.
- Trubachev, O. N. *Remeslennaya terminologiya v slavyanskikh yazykakh (etimologiya i opyt gruppovoy rekonstruktsii)*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1966.
- Trudy Novgorodskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii I* (A. V. Artsikhovskiy & B. A. Kolchin, eds.). Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1956. (= MIA SSSR 55)
- Trudy Novgorodskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii II* (A. V. Artsikhovskiy & B. A. Kolchin, eds.). Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1959. (= MIA SSSR 65)
- Trudy Novgorodskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii III*, see *Novye metody v arkheologii*.
- Trudy Novgorodskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii IV*, see *Zhilishcha drevnego Novgoroda*.
- Urban, W. *The Baltic Crusade*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1975.
- Varangian Problems. Scando-Slavica. Supplementum I: Report on the first international symposium on the theme "The Eastern Connection of the Nordic Peoples in the Viking Period and Early Middle Ages,"* Moesgaard - University of Aarhus, 7th - 11th October 1968. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1970.

- Varbot, Zh. Zh. "Detinets," *Russkaya rech'* 1/1977, 80-5.
- Vasmer, M. *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter, 1953-58.
- Vernadsky, G. *Kievan Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948.
- Viator* = *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Vilinbakhov, V. B. "Baltiysko-Volzhskiy put'," *SA* 3/1963, 126-35.
- Vilinbakhov, V. B. "Baltiyskiye slavyane i Rus'," *Slavia Occidentalis* 22 (1962), 253-77.
- Vilinbachov (Vilinbakhov), V. B. "Die Ostseeslaven im Nordwesten der Rus'," *Lëtopis. Jahresschrift des Instituts für sorbische Volkskunde*, B: 20, 2 (Bautzen, 1973), 212-27.
- Vostochnaya Yevropa* = *Vostochnaya Yevropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'ye. Sbornik statey*. (M. A. Korostovtsev et al., eds.). Moscow: "Nauka," 1978.
- Widera, B. "Novgorod vom 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert im Lichte archäologischer Ausgrabungen. Aus der zwölfjährigen Arbeit der Novgoroder archäologischen Expedition," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte der UdSSR und der volksdemokratischen Länder Europas* 9 (1966), 327-47. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1966.
- Wieczynski, J. L. "Archbishop Gennadius and the West: The Impact of Catholic Ideas upon the Church of Novgorod," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 6 (1972), 374-89.
- Wieczynski, J. L. *The Russian Frontier: The Impact of Borderlands upon the Course of Early Russian History*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976.
- Yanin, V. L. *Aktovye pechaty Drevney Rusi X-XV vv. I: Pechati X - nachalo XIII v., II: Novgorodskkiye pechaty XIII-XV vv.* Moscow: "Nauka," 1970.
- Yanin, V. L. *Berestyanyaya pochta stoletiy*. Moscow: "Pedagogika," 1979.
- Yanin, V. L. "Iz istorii rannikh popytok pereplanirovki Novgoroda v XVII v.," *Russkiy gorod* 2, 237-54.

- Yanin, V. L. *Novgorodskiyе posadniki*. Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1962.
- Yanin, V. L. *Ocherki kompleksnogo istochnikovedeniya. Srednevekovyi Novgorod*. Moscow: "Vysshaya shkola," 1977.
- Yanin, V. L. "Problemy sotsial'noy organizatsii Novgorodskoy respubliki," *Istoriya SSSR* 1/1970, 44-54.
- Yanin, V. L. "Vozmozhnosti arkheologii v izuchenii drevnego Novgoroda," *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* 8 (1973), 65-75.
- Yanin, V. L., M. Kh. Aleshkovsky. "Proiskhozhdenie Novgoroda (k postanovke problemy)," *Istoriya SSSR* 2/1971, 32-61.
- Yanin, V. L., B. A. Kolchin, B. D. Yershevsky, E. K. Kublo, V. G. Mironova, Ye. A. Rybina, A. S. Khoroshev. "Novgorodskaya ekspeditsiya," *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya 1978 goda*, 45-7.
- Zasurtsev, P. I. "Usad'by i postroyki drevnego Novgoroda," in: *Zhilishcha drevnego Novgoroda* (A. V. Artsikhovskiy and B. A. Kolchin, eds.) (= *MIA SSSR* 123), 5-165.
- Zasurtsev, P. I. *Novgorod, otkrytyi arkheologami*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1967.
- Zavadskaya, S. V. "O 'startsakh gradskikh' i 'startsakh lyudskikh' v Drevney Rusi," *Vostochnaya Yevropa*, 101-3.
- Zelenin, D. K. "O proiskhozhdenii severnovelikorusov Velikogo Novgoroda," *Doklady i soobshcheniya Instituta yazykoznaviya* 6 (1954), 49-95. Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1954.
- Zernack, K. *Die burgstädtischen Volksversammlungen bei den Ost- und Westslaven. Studien zur verfassungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung des Veče*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967. (= *Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens* 33)
- Zernack, K. "Fürst und Volk in der ostslavischen Frühzeit," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 18 (Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin. Historische Veröffentlichungen). Berlin: in Kommission bei Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1973, 9-23.
- Zhekulin, V. S. "Sel'skokhozyaystvennaya osvoyennost' landshaftov Novgorodskogo kraya v XII-XVI vv.," *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* 104 (1972), 21-9. Leningrad: "Nauka," 1972.

Zhilishcha drevnego Novgoroda. Trudy Novgorodskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii IV (A. V. Artsikhovskiy and B. A. Kolchin, eds.). Moscow: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1963. (= MIA SSSR 123)

Zimin, A. A. *Kholopy na Rusi (s drevneyshikh vremen do kontsa XV v.)*. Moscow: "Nauka," 1973.

Addendum:

To page 118, n. 6

On the exact birth date of Yaroslav the Wise, see now also A. Sjöberg, "What Year Was Yaroslav the Wise Born In? A Text Parallel to that of the Nestor Chronicle for 1037 in a Russian Prologue from the 13th Century," *Russian Linguistics* 5 (1980), 113-19. The author concludes that Yaroslav died at the age of sixty-six and must therefore have been born in 987.

To page 126, n. 19

With regard to medieval Novgorod's merchant organizations, one should perhaps distinguish between an earlier, loosely grouped type of corporations and, subsequently, some first beginnings of a more firmly administered form of regular guilds. Among the former were the overseas merchants (*gosti, zamorskiye kuptsy*). Possibly only a special subgroup of them formed the merchants engaged in trade with the Pomeranian town of Szczecin (Stettin) — the *sh(ch)etinitisy* — who, in 1165, commissioned a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity on the bank of the Volkhov in Lyudin End; on the Szczecin merchants of Novgorod, see esp. S. Alexandrowicz, "Stosunki handlowe polsko-ruskie do roku 1240," *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu A. Mickiewicza* 14, *Historia* 3, 62-3, Poznan, 1958. Of earlier work on the most studied and, it seems, sole example of what might have been a more or less regular merchant guild, the *Ivanskoye sto*, with its patronal house of worship and headquarters in the Church of St. John the Baptist in Opoki (within Market Square), see, in particular, A. I. Nikitsky, *Istoriya ekonomicheskago byta Velikago Novgoroda*, St. Petersburg, 1893, 17-20.

To pages 127, n. 22, and 128, n. 12

Additional published work by S. N. Orlov on Old Novgorod's topography include his study "K topografii istoricheskikh kamennykh zdaniy drevnego Novgoroda," *Uchenyye zapiski Novgorodskogo pedagogicheskogo instituta* 1: 1, Novgorod, 1965, 53-71, and his contribution to the testimonial volume for M. I. Artamonov, "Topografiya Novgoroda X-XII vekov," *Problemy arkheologii* II, Leningrad, 1978, 194-200.