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Memory and Politics in the Chronicle Lists of Princes, 12th-15th Centuries

Abstract:

This paper examines the lists of princes that can be found in the East Slavic chronicles compiled from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, including the Primary Chronicle and the Novgorodian chronicles. For the first time in the historiography, this work studies the corpus of princely lists as distinctive texts with specific cultural functions. The lists of princes were not reference tools but rather charters that validated political arrangements and shaped collective identities. On the basis of textual and formal analysis, the article demonstrates that the chronicle lists of princes legitimised kingship and served as a form of recorded collective memory for members of princely families and their Novgorodian allies. In a group of princely lists from the first half of the fifteenth century, the genealogical concepts of the Riurikid and Danilovichi dynasties appeared for the first time in East Slavic literature. These concepts reflected intensified contacts among literati in the East Slavic republic of letters and political changes caused by the expansionism of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the growth of the principalities of Moscow and Tver'.

Key words:

Genealogy, memory, dynasty, chronicle writing, lists of princes, Primary Chronicle, Novgorodian chronicles

Lists of princes are one of the oldest genres of historical narrative. In East Slavic literature, princely lists appeared in the earliest existing chronicle, the Primary Chronicle, which was compiled in Kyiv under Prince Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh in the 1110s. Later chronicles also feature numerous lists of princes. This paper examines major lists of princes

that can be found in the chronicles compiled from the 12th to the 15th century. Scholars usually see the lists of princes as straightforward reference tools for chronicle texts.[1] However, many lists omitted important royal names and were thus poor reference aids. Furthermore, these "incomplete" lists were reproduced in later chronicles, often without any corrections or updates. Such a sustained interest in what looks like deficient princely lists suggests that they were something more than just name indexes. For the first time in the historiography this work will study the corpus of princely lists as distinctive texts with specific cultural functions. I will demonstrate that the lists of princes functioned as charters. Anthropologists see charters as a tool for validating and enhancing religious and moral beliefs, social structures, political arrangements, and practical requirements. Myths and origin legends constituted the mythical and legal charters of a community. Pedigrees were genealogical charters which served as both a validation and mnemonic device.[2]

Princely lists created a connection with historical and mythological past in two ways. A list could contain genealogical information. Such royal genealogies demonstrate kinship ties between prestigious ancestors and living members of royalty of both genders and of different statuses, including those who occupied the throne and those who did not. In this respect, lists of princes functioned as genealogical charters which legitimised kingship.[3] Another way of legitimation was focusing on particular seat of royal power. Occupants of that seat were recorded in regnal lists, which were more selective than royal genealogies. Regnal lists enumerated only the names of reigning monarchs, often connecting them with chronological calculations but without providing any genealogical details. Division into royal genealogies and regnal lists is applicable mainly to early princely lists that have survived in

[1] T. V. Gimon, *Istoriopisanie rannesrednevekovoi Anglii i Drevnei Rusi: Sravnitel'noe issledovanie* (Moscow: Universitet Dmitriia Pozharskogo, 2012), 290. For a similar, albeit more nuanced Western perspective, see David M. Dumville, "Kingship, Genealogies, and Regnal Lists," in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1977), 84, 97, 98, 100.

[2] On charters, see Bronislaw Malinowski, "Myth in Primitive Psychology," in *Malinowski and the Work of Myth*, ed. Ivan Strenski (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 82, 87, 93 (orig. 1926); Laura Bohannan, "A Genealogical Charter," *Africa. Journal of the International African Institute*, 22, no. 4 (1952): 314-315.

[3] See Piotr Michalowski, "History as Charter: Some Observations on the Sumerian King List," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 103, no. 1 (1983): 239, 241, 245; Mary R. Bachvarova, "From 'Kingship in Heaven' to King Lists: Syro-Anatolian Courts and the History of the World," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 12, no. 1 (2012): 106-111; Jordi Vidal, "King Lists and Oral Transmission: From History to Memory," *Ugarit-Forschungen. Intemationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas*, 32, 2000 (2001): 564; Jacob J. Finkelstein, "Early Mesopotamia, 2500-1000 B.C.," in *Propaganda and Communication in World History*, ed. H. D. Lasswell, D. Lerner, and H. Spier, vol. 1: *The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times* (Honolulu : University Press of Hawaii, 1979), 60-63.

the Primary Chronicle; in the fifteenth century both forms of lists merged into complex enumerations which combined genealogical, historical and chronological information.

Genealogies and lists of office holders were powerful tools for structuring historical memory.[4] Princely lists efficiently organised royal names using formalised repetitive records. This work uses a set of abbreviations and symbols for formalising the structure of a list: MN – male name; FN – female name; FP – unnamed female person; different individuals are indicated with different subscript indexes (MN_1, MN_2, etc).[5] A. A. Shakhmatov assumed that changes in the structure of a list testify to earlier lists utilised during the compilation of the extant list. According to Shakhmatov, these earlier lists have been lost, but can be reconstructed by studying changes in the existing list's formula: such changes marks the end of one ancient list and the beginning of another. The reconstruction of early lists is important part of Shakhmatov's general theory of East Slavic chronicle writing. In his view, one could utilise such reconstructed lists for recreating larger chronicle texts, which have also been lost. Leaving aside the heuristic validity of textual reconstruction based on another textual reconstruction, one may note that changes in the structure of an extant list could appear due to various factors, including the ideological or literary purposes of the list's compiler and subsequent editorial interventions.[6]

Chronicle lists usually have no dates, and their chronological calculations are often unreliable. Scholars usually date princely lists on the basis of the latest royal name recorded on the list, assuming that it was compiled during the reign of that monarch. This method of dating was actively practiced by Shakhmatov (see below). Donald Ostrowski accepts the idea that the last name on the list could be evidence for date of composition but prioritizes the date of the list's earliest appearance in manuscripts.[7] Both methods have their own merits, but neither one is ideal. The assumption that a list was created during the reign of the latest monarch mentioned in it is often correct, but not always: the compiler of the list could have finished his list with a past ruler, either deliberately for ideological reasons or unintentionally due to circumstances beyond his control. Similarly, later copyists could have updated the list or could have copied it as it was, without any additions. The date of the list's manuscript naturally provides the most reliable terminus ad quem for the list. However, this method of dating is too crude for determining the date when the original list

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[4] Catherine Cubitt, "Memory and Narrative in the Cult of Early Anglo-Saxon Saints," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen, Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 65.

[5] This system has been adopted from Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 57 note 2.

[6] A. A. Shakhmatov, *Istoriia russkogo letopisaniia,* vol. 1, bk. 1 (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2002), 143–44, 179; Sergei Bogatyrev, "Novgorodian Regnal Lists: A Reconsideration," in *Seeing Muscovy Anew: Politics—Institutions—Culture. Essays in Honor of Nancy Shields Kollmann*, ed. Michael S. Flier and others (Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2017), 31, 33-39.

[7] See, for example, Donald Ostrowski, "Was There a Riurikid Dynasty in Early Rus'?" *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 52, no. 1 (2018): 36.

was compiled because, as mentioned above, earlier lists were often copied by subsequent chroniclers.

I hope to overcome these methodological shortcomings by dating the lists of princes on the basis of both formal and textual analysis. To date a princely list, we need to consider its format, content and textual history, as well as the textual history of the chronicles that contain the list. Ostrowski reminds us that textual analysis should take into account stemmas which represent relationship among various chronicles.[8] At the same time, studies of princely lists tend to treat them separately from the chronicles where the lists can be found, assuming that the lists ended up in the chronicles almost accidently.[9] Contrary to this reductionist approach, this work studies the princely lists in a wider context of chronicle texts and their mutual influence.

Israel on the Dnieper: Lists of Vladimir I's Children in the Primary Chronicle

Enumerations of members of royal families are often built around important ancestors. Prince Vladimir I Sviatoslavich (r. 978 or 980 - 1015) occupies a special place in the history of East Slavic royalty as the baptizer of Rus'. The Primary Chronicle features two genealogical lists of Vladimir I's children. The first list arranges Vladimir's sons and two unnamed daughters by his wives. The first of Vladimir I's wives is called by her name, Rogned, while others are referred to by their ethnicities only. The formula of the list is "by FN_1 he had MN_{1-4} and two daughters, FP_2 bore him MN_5, by FP_3 he had MN_6," etc. (see Quotation 1).

1. **First List of Vladimir's Children**

   By her (Rogned-SB) he (Vladimir-SB) had four sons: Iziaslav, Mstislav, Iaroslav, and Vsevolod, and two daughters. The Greek woman bore him Sviatopolk; by one Czech he had a son Vysheslav; by another, Sviatoslav and Mstislav, and by a Bulgarian woman, Boris and Gleb.[10]

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[8] Donald Ostrowski, *Povest' vremennykh let*, http://hudce7.harvard.edu/~ostrowski/pvl/ (version with the last update from 15 June 2014) (hereafter Ostrowski, *PVL*), xlviii.

[9] For a more detailed review of the historiography, see Bogatyrev, "Novgorodian Regnal Lists," 34.

[10] Samuel Hazzard Cross, Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, eds., *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, [1953]), (hereafter, Cross, *RPC*), 94; Ostrowski, *PVL*, lines 80,2-80,6.

Another list is all-male as it contains the names of Vladimir's twelve sons, arranged in a different order compared with the first list and with a very simple formula: MN_1, MN_2, MN_3, etc. (see Quotation 2).

2. Second List of Vladimir's Children

He (Vladimir-SB) had twelve sons: Vysheslav, Iziaslav, Iaroslav, Sviatopolk, Vsevolod, Sviatoslav, Mstislav, Boris, Gleb, Stanislav, Pozvizd, and Sudislav.[11]

There are substantial differences between these two lists. We may safely assume that they are not exact genealogies, but texts created on the basis of literary models. Shakhmatov believed that the first list of Vladimir's children derives from the second one, whereas the enumeration of his wives in the first list comes from a separate legend about the baptism of Vladimir at Cherson (*Korsun'skaia legenda*). However, D. S. Likhachev rejected this idea because it involved subjective assumptions.[12] I. N. Danilevskii has offered a fresh perspective on the textual history of the lists by assuming that they derive from Genesis pedigrees: the first list follows Jacob's genealogy from Gen. 35:22-26 and the second list is based on Ishmael's genealogy in Gen. 25:12-16. According to Danilevskii, these literary parallels alluded to Vladimir usurping, like Jacob, the power that belonged to his elder brother and to Vladimir's humble background similar to that of Ishmael (both were sons of handmaids). Danilevskii believes that the first list of Vladimir's children is modelled after Jacob's genealogy. However, the compiler of the list utilised Jacob's genealogy not directly from Genesis but from a compendium of Old Testament stories called the Interpretive *Paleia* (*Tolkovaia Paleia*). As for the second list, it imitated Ishmael's genealogy as it is recorded in Genesis. S. M. Mikheev developed Danilevskii's ideas by arguing that the chronicler used Jacob's genealogy not from the *Paleia*, but from a chronograph similar to the Little Chronicle of the Greeks and Romans (*Letopisets Ellinskii i Rimskii*).[13]

The problem of sources of the Primary Chronicle is a major issue which has serious implications for the history of early chronicle writing. Shakhmatov and his followers

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[11] Cross, *RPC*, 119; Ostrowski, *PVL*, lines 121,6-121,9.

[12] Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, vol. 1, bk. 1: 106-109; V. P. Adrianova-Perets, D. S. Likhachev, M. B. Sverdlov, eds., *Povest' vremennykh let*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1996), 451 (hereafter Likhachev, *PVL*).

[13] I. N. Danilevskii, *Povest' vremennykh let: Germenevticheskie osnovy istochnikovedeniia letopisnykh tekstov* (Moscow: Aspekt-Press, 2004), 171-173; Danilevskii's views remained unchanged in the second edition of his book: *Germenevticheskie osnovy izucheniia letopisnykh tekstov: Povest' vremennykh let* (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Olega Abyshko, 2019), 266-272. S. M. Mikheev, *"Sviatopolk" sede v Kieve po otsi:" Usobitsa 1015-1019 godov v drevnerusskikh i skandinavskikh istochnikakh* (Moscow: Institut slavianovedeniia RAN, 2009), 62-71.

believed that a lost chronological compilation, remnants of which can be found in various versions of the chronograph and Paleia, was among the sources of early East Slavic chronicles, including the Primary Chronicle. The assertions about the compiler of Vladimir's pedigrees utilising Jacob's genealogy from the Paleia or the Little Chronicle of the Greeks and Romans obviously echo Shakhmatov's ideas about the impact of their common chronological source on the chronicle.

However, not all scholars share Shakhmatov's views noting the abstract and often unverifiable nature of his theory which posits that a lost hypothetical chronograph (*Khronograf osobogo sostava*, *Khronograf po velikomu izlozheniiu*) affected a lost hypothetical chronicle (*Nachal'nyi svod*), which, in turn, was a source of the Primary Chronicle.[14] A study of genealogies in the Primary Chronicle lends support to this scepticism. It is true that the closest equivalent of Vladimir's first genealogy, which has a relatively complex structure, is the Biblical genealogy of Jacob. However, the assertions about the Paleia or the chronograph serving as sources for that list of Vladimir's children are ill-advised because they overlook some important genealogies and ignore the textual history of Slavic Genesis.

For some reasons, Danilevskii and Mikheev focused exclusively on one part of the Interpretive Paleia, the so-called *Tale of Twelve Stones*, which compares Jacob's sons to various precious stones. At the same time, the Paleia features one more list of Jacob's sons, now with interpretations of every son's name. Both lists of Jacob's sons from the Paleia have the same structure as Jacob's genealogy in the Little Chronicle of the Greeks and Romans: all these pedigrees arrange the names of Jacob's children in the same order with the names of his sons Joseph and Benjamin concluding the list (hereafter the Joseph-Benjamin variant of Jacob's genealogy, see Quotation 3):

3. The Joseph-Benjamin Variant of Jacob's Genealogy

Now the sons of Jacob were twelve.
The sons of Leah: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun.
The sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid: Dan and Naphtali.
The sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid: Gad and Asher.

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[14] For a modern reiteration of Shakhmatov's theory, see O. V. Tvorogov, *Drevnerusskie khronografy* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1975). For a revisionist view, see T. L. Vilkul, *Litopys i khronohraf: Studii z tekstolohii domonhol'skoho kyivs'koho litopysannia* (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2015).

The sons of Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin.[15]

This Joseph-Benjamin variant is based on early Church Slavonic translations of Scripture. In particular, we find this variant in the full Slavic text of Genesis (the abridged version of Genesis in the prophetologium omits Gen 35 which contains Jacob's genealogy).[16] What is important is that the Joseph-Benjamin variant is the brainchild of a Slavic bookman. The Septuagint and Vulgate contain a different version of Jacob's genealogy which ends with the names of his sons Gad and Asher (hereafter the Gad-Asher variant, see Quotation 4). As Robert Wilson notes, this variant presents the names of Jacob's sons in a logical order that places the sons of the two wives before the sons of the maids.[17]

4. The Gad-Asher Version of Jacob's Genealogy

Now the sons of Jacob were twelve.
The sons of Leah: Reuben, and Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun.
The sons of Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin.
The sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid: Dan and Naphtali
The sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid: Gad and Asher

The Septuagint-Vulgate tradition also affected the list of Jacob's sons in the Ostroh Bible (1581) and the Synod Version.[18] Danilevskii does quote the Gad-Asher variant (without

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[15] List of Jacob's sons: Rossiiskaia gos. biblioteka, Nauchno-issledovatel'skii otdel rukopisei (hereafter RGB-NIOR), fond 304.I, no. 38, ff. 83v-84 (Interpretive Paleia, 1406), available at http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/ (accessed 28 April 2019); *Tolkovaia Paleia 1477 goda. Vosproizvedenie sinodal'noi rukopisi no. 210* , 1 (Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis'mennosti, 93, [St. Petersburg], 1892), f. 107v; For various adaptations of the Joseph-Benjamin variant, see RGB-NIOR, fond 304.I, no. 38, ff. 137-139v; E. G. Vodolazkin, "Kratkaia Khronograficheskaia Paleia. Tekst. Vypusk 1," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), 57 (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006), 907. For the chronograph, see O. V. Tvorogov, S. A. Davydova, eds., *Letopisets Ellinskii i Rimskii*, 1 (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 1999), 13.

[16] Full text of Genesis: A. Mikhailov, *Kniga Bytiia Proroka Moiseia v drevne-slavianskom perevode*, 3 (Warsaw: Tipografiia Varshavskogo uchebnogo okruga, 1903), 294-295; RGB-NIOR, fond 304.I, no. 44, f. 37v (late fifteenth century); no. 1, f. 38v (fourteenth – early fifteenth century); no. 45, f. 36v (late sixteenth century). All the three manuscripts are available at http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/ (accessed 28 April 2019). On the prophetologium, see A. V. Mikhailov, *Opyt izucheniia teksta knigi Bytiia proroka Moiseia v drevne-slavianskom perevode*, part 1: *Parimeinyi tekst* (Warsaw: Tipografiia Varshavskogo uchebnogo okruga, 1912), 327-328 (third Arabic pagination).

[17] Wilson, *Genealogy*, 187.

[18] I have no access to the Gennadii Bible through which the Ostroh Bible adopted the Vulgate textual tradition.

indicating from what version of Scripture), but he does not explore its impact on the chronicle, assuming that it was influenced, as mentioned above, by the Joseph-Benjamin variant from the *Tale of Twelve Stones*.[19] However, it is the Gad-Asher variant of Jacob's genealogy that informed the Primary Chronicle. Scholars studying the impact of Jacob's pedigree on the chronicle have overlooked the fact that the chronicler provides a direct quote from that genealogy in the so-called "Philosopher's Speech," which contains a synopsis of Christian dogma. The status of the "Philosopher's Speech" within the Primary Chronicle has been reconsidered in modern scholarship. Students have rejected the old view that the "Philosopher's Speech" was an early work which was included in the Primary Chronicle in toto. In fact, the "Philosopher's Speech" has many links with other parts of the chronicle and was created by the same chronicler who compiled the Primary Chronicle.[20] The "Philosopher's Speech" contains an adaptation of Jacob's genealogy which obviously utilised the Gad-Asher version (see Quotation 5):

5. **Jacob's Genealogy in the "Philosopher's Speech" (Gad-Asher Version)**

   So Jacob served seven more years for Rachel and married the two sisters [Leah and Rachel – SB]. By them he begot eight sons: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar *and* Zebulun (Zabulon); Joseph *and* Benjamin, and by two handmaids Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher (Aser).[21]

This genealogical passage lumps together the sons of Leah and Rachel on the one hand, and the sons of their handmaids on the other. However, the source of this genealogy in the "Philosopher's Speech" arranged Jacob's sons by their mothers. Traces of this original structure can still be seen in the double usage of the conjunction *and* (*i*) in the list of Leah's and Rachel's sons, first before the name of Zebulun, the last son of Leah, and then again before the name of Benjamin, the last son from Rachel.

Taken together, the "Philosopher's Speech" and the first list of Vladimir's sons give us important information about their common genealogical source. This source was rather unusual as it contained the Gad-Asher version of the enumeration of Jacob's sons and featured his children of both sexes. Genealogies of Jacob that meet both these criteria can be found in the Book of Jubilees and the Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolus (see Table 6).

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[19] Danilevskii, *Povest' vremennykh let*, 170.

[20] T. L. Vilkul, "Drevneslavianskii perevod Khroniki Georgiia Amartola v Povesti vremennykh let i Novgorodskoi pervoi letopisi mladshego izvoda," *Drevniaia Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki*, no. 2(56) (2014): 11; Vilkul, *Litopys*, 418.

[21] Ostrowski, *PVL*, lines 93,19-93,24. Translation adopted from Cross, who provides an incomplete list of Jacob's sons. Cf. Cross, *RPC*, 102.

6. **Jacob's Genealogy in the Book of Jubilees and the Chronicle of Hamartolus (Gad-Asher Version)**

The Book of Jubilees[22]	Hamartolus[23]
These are the names of Jacob's sons: Reuben, his first-born, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun were Leah's sons. Rachel's sons were Joseph and Benjamin. Bilhah's sons were Dan and Naphtali. And Zilpah's sons were Gad and Asher. Leah's daughter Dinah was Jacob's only daughter.	Jacob… took Leah and Rachel as wives, having twelve sons and one daughter from his free [wives] and from the handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah: by Leah [he] begot Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun and one daughter; by Rachel [he begot] Joseph and then Benjamin, and by the handmaid Bilhah [Jacob] begot Dan and Naphtali, [*and by Zilpah he begot Gad and Asher*].

Both the Book of Jubilees and Hamartolus were among the sources of the Primary Chronicle.[24] However, textually and structurally, Jacob's genealogy in the "Philosopher's Speech" and the first list of Vladimir's sons are closer to Hamartolus than to the Book of Jubilees. The pedigrees from the Primary Chronicle and Hamartolus have introductory notes that give the total number of Jacob's and Vladimir's sons, while the Book of Jubilees lacks any summative figures in its introductory note to the list of Jacob's children; the chronicle and Hamartolus mention the daughters of Jacob and Vladimir at the beginning of respective lists, whereas the Book of Jubilees relegates Jacob's daughter to the end of the list. The compiler of the Primary Chronicle apparently used the list of Jacob's children from Hamartolus. But why did the Slavic chronicler increase the number of daughters to two in the first list of Vladimir's children? Vladimir had more than two daughters.[25] The mentioning of only two daughters therefore performed literary rather than genealogical or reference

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[22] *The Book of Jubilees*, trans. by James C. VanderKam (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1989), 224

[23] My translation. The existing copies of the East Slavic translation of Hamartolus lack the fragment in italics, but it appears in the Greek text. V. M. Istrin, *Knigy vremen'nyia i obraznyia Georgiia Mnikha. Khronika Georgiia Amartola v drevnem slavianorusskom perevode*, 1 (Petrograd: Rossiiskaia gos. akademicheskaia tipografiia, 1920), 92; 2 (Petrograd: Rossiiskaia gos. akademicheskaia tipografiia, 1922), 130. Cf. V. Matveenko, L. Shchegoleva, *Knigi vremennye i obraznye Georgiia Monakha. V dvukh tomakh*, vol. 1, part 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 2006), 197; vol. 2, part 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 2011), 234.

[24] Tat'iana Vilkul, "O proiskhozhdenii 'Rechi Filosofa'," *Palaeoslavica*, 20, no. 1 (2012): 1–15.

[25] Danilevskii, *Povest' vremennykh let*, 170-171.

functions. According to Danilevskii, by adding two daughters the compiler sought to push the names of Vladimir's sons Boris and Gleb to the very end of the list. The chronicler allegedly wanted to reserve for Boris and Gleb the same place at the end of Vladimir's genealogy as that occupied by Joseph and Benjamin at the end of the Joseph-Benjamin version of Jacob's genealogy in the *Tale of Twelve Stones* (see Quotation 3 above). Danilevskii thinks that the same positions at the end of respective lists created literary parallels between Boris and Gleb, who surpassed Vladimir's other children by becoming the first saints of a Rus' origin, and Joseph and Benjamin, who were superior to Jacob's other sons. Mikheev enthusiastically took these assertions further by making unsubstantiated speculations about the protograph of the first list of Vladimir's children. But he never understood that the chronicler utilised not the Joseph-Benjamin, but the Gad-Asher version of Jacob's genealogy.[26]

The literary strategy of the chronicler was aimed not at creating parallels between certain sons of Vladimir and those of Jacob, but at matching the total number of Vladimir's and Jacob's children (twelve).[27] In the first list of Vladimir's offspring, the chronicler achieved this goal by including two daughters in the list, using as a model Jacob's genealogy from Hamartolus. The number of sons on the second list was adjusted to twelve by leaving out both daughters and one of the sons from the first list (second Mstislav) and adding three new names (Stanislav, Pozvizd, and Sudislav).

After fiddling with enumerations of Vladimir's children, the chronicler ended up with two incompatible lists. Which of the lists of Vladimir's children is historically correct is a difficult question which may never be answered because the compiler hardly cared about discrepancies between his lists.[28] For the chronicler, both lists functioned not as genealogies but as charters. As Wilson notes, Jacob's genealogy "implies that the sons are not related to each other as equals but are on different status levels" depending on the position of their mothers.[29] Similarly, the chronicle lists of Vladimir children convey a vague idea of seniority among some of his sons. There were no strict rules defining the position of every son in the family hierarchy. This is why, for example, Vysheslav occupies the sixth place among Vladimir's sons on the first list but jumps to the first position on the second list (see

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[26] Danilevskii, *Povest' vremennykh let*, 172, 340 note 199; Mikheev, *Sviatopolk"*, 68.

[27] For the cultural importance of number 12, see Danilevskii, *Povest' vremennykh let*, 170.

[28] Scholars usually by default accept the second list: O. M. Rapov, *Kniazheskie vladeniia na Rusi v X-pervoi polovine XIII v.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1977), 239 Table 1; E. A. Mel'nikova, V. Ia. Petrukhin, eds., *Drevniaia Rus' v srednevekovom mire. Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Ladomir, 2014), 929 Table 1. Cf. Likhachev, *PVL*, 451. Christian Raffensperger's genealogy of Vladimir's children is a mixture of both lists and omits Sviatopolk I. Raffensperger, *Ties of Kinship: Genealogy and Dynastic Marriage in Kyivan Rus'* (Cambridge MA.: The Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 2016), 179-189. For a genuine representation of both versions of Vladimir's offspring, see Simon Franklin, Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus, 750-1200* (London, New York: Longman, 1996), 190-191, 416-417 Table 1.

[29] Wilson, *Genealogy*, 185.

Quotations 1 and 2 above). Rather, the chronicler was interested in the hierarchy of the most important political and cultural figures among Vladimir's offspring: Iaroslav, Sviatopolk, Boris and Gleb. In both lists Iaroslav, the ultimate winner in the succession conflict that followed Vladimir's death, appears first among these personages. Sviatopolk, whom Vladimir passed the throne, always precedes Boris and Gleb, who recognised Sviatopolk's seniority and did not challenge him.

In addition to the idea of seniority, the second list of Vladimir's sons echoes the divine blessing of Vladimir's offspring after his acceptance of Christianity. Despite Danilevskii, there is no evidence that the second list utilised the Genesis genealogy of Ishmael. [30] There is no list of Ishmael's sons in the "Philosopher's Speech," which contains Biblical pedigrees that were important for the chronicle narrative. The structure of the second list of Vladimir's offspring also differs from the Old Testament enumeration of Ishmael's sons. The second list starts with an introductory note "he [Vladimir – SB] had twelve sons" (see Quotation 2). But the genealogies of Ishmael in Slavic Genesis and Hamartolus feature no such introduction; rather, they end with a concluding summary about the number of his sons: "These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations." A similar summary note on Ismael's twelve sons (without their names) can be found in the Primary Chronicle, which presents Ishmael as the progenitor of the Torkmens, the Pechenegs, the Torks, and the Cumans.[31]

At the same time, as we have seen, an opening statement akin to that in the second list of Vladimir's sons appears in Hamartolus' version of Jacob's genealogy ("Jacob… had twelve sons and one daughter", see Quotation 6).[32] This is why it is safe to assume that, like the first list of Vladimir's children, the second one is also an adaptation of Jacob's genealogy. The compiler of the Primary Chronicle therefore resorted to the Hamartolus version of Jacob's genealogy in different parts of the chronicle, including the "Philosopher's Speech" and both lists of Vladimir's children. Literary parallels between Jacob and Vladimir do not diminish the latter's image, as Danilevskii thinks, but elevate it. In the chronicle, the second list of Vladimir's children precedes a record about Vladimir distributing towns among his sons. Vladimir therefore appears as the founder of local princely families similar to the Biblical image of Jacob as the progenitor of twelve Israelite tribes. The Biblical genealogy of Jacob was intended to relate the traditional twelve tribes to each other. Jacob's pedigree also symbolised the fulfilment of the divine promise about the continuation of his

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[30] Danilevskii, *Povest' vremennykh let*, 169-173. On the genealogy of Ishmael, see Wilson, *Genealogy*, 170 note 81.

[31] Cross, *RPC*, 119, 184; Ostrowski, *PVL*, lines 121,6; 234,16-234,18. Cf. Slavic Genesis: RGB-NIOR, fond 304.I, no. 1, f. 24v; no. 44, f. 26v; both available at http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/ (accessed 9 May 2019); Hamartolus: Istrin, *Knigy*, 1: 89; Matveenko, *Knigi*, 1, part 1: 192.The *Paleia* and chronograph contain occasional references to Ishmael which are very far from his Genesis genealogy. Cf. RGB-NIOR, fond 304.I, no. 38, ff. 69v-70 at http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/ (accessed 28 April 2019); Tvorogov, *Letopisets,* 1: 12, 402; 2 (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2001), 89.

[32] On the introductory statement in Jacob's genealogy, see Wilson, *Genealogy*, 186.

progeny.[33] Similarly, the chronicle genealogies of Vladimir legitimised his position as the founder of new Christian princely families. Vladimir's numerous offspring "proved" the divine promise that after his conversion his descendants would continue ruling the land of Rus'. The chronicle genealogies validated the political and cultural choices of the rulers of Kyiv. These rulers are enumerated in regnal lists which are discussed below.

List of Kyivan Princes in the Primary Chronicle

In addition to Vladimir's genealogies, the Primary Chronicle features an enumeration of Kyivan princes which is the earliest regnal list in East Slavic literature. The list contains extensive chronological notes, providing the number of years from Adam to the Flood, Old Testament forefathers and kings as well Byzantine emperors, including Michael III (842-867), followed by the names of seven Kyivan princes: Oleg, Igor, Sviatoslav, Iaropolk, Vladimir, Iaroslav and Sviatopolk (see Quotation 7).

7. List of Kyivan princes in the Primary Chronicle[34]

- From Adam to the Flood, 2242 years elapsed;
- Similar chronological calculations for Abraham, the Mosaic Exodus, David, the beginning of the reign of Solomon, the captivity of Jerusalem, Alexander [the Great of Macedon], the birth of Christ, Emperor Constantine, Emperor Michael [III].
- Twenty-nine years passed between the first year of Michael [III]'s reign and the accession of Oleg, Prince of Rus'.
- From the accession of Oleg, when he took up his residence in Kyiv, to the first year of Igor's principate, thirty-one years elapsed.
- Thirty-three years passed between Igor's accession and that of Sviatoslav.
- From the accession of Sviatoslav to that of Iaropolk, twenty-eight years passed.
- Iaropolk ruled eight years,
- Vladimir thirty-seven years,
- and Iaroslav forty years.
- Thus from the death of Sviatoslav to the death of Iaroslav eighty-five years elapsed, while sixty years separate the death of Iaroslav from that of Sviatopolk [II].

The list occupies a prominent place in the chronicle text, opening the main part of the chronicle narrative with yearly records. At the same time, the list would be practically useless as a reference tool because it omits some important princes. Shakhmatov explained the omissions of the list by the corruption of its text. He noted that the conclusion

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[33] Wilson, *Genealogy*, 193.
[34] Cross, *RPC*, 58-59; Ostrowski, *PVL*, lines 18,11-18,21.

(summary statement) of the list mentions Sviatopolk II Iziaslavich, who died in 1113, but ignores his predecessors, including his father Iziaslav and uncles Sviatoslav and Vsevolod. On the basis of his theory that the existing text of the Primary Chronicle stems from an earlier text which ended in 1110, Shakhmatov assumed that the present record about Sviatopolk II is a later substitute for three original records about Sviatopolk II's ancestors and Sviatopolk II himself, all made in 1110 (see Table 8).[35]

8. **Shakhmatov's reconstruction of the end of the regnal list from the Primary Chronicle**

Summary statement of the princely list from the Primary Chronicle	Shakhmatov's reconstruction [*in italics*]
Thus from the death of Sviatoslav to the death of Iaroslav eighty-five years elapsed, while sixty years separate the death of Iaroslav from that of Sviatopolk [II].	Thus from the death of Sviatoslav to the death of Iaroslav eighty-five years elapsed. [*And Iziaslav reigned for twenty-four years.* *And Vsevolod reigned for fifteen years.* *And Sviatopolk reigned for seventeen years*].

Shakhmatov's reconstruction is based on the assumption that the purpose of the original list was to include all Kyivan princes mentioned in the chronicle. In other words, the scholar treated the list as a comprehensive and systematic enumeration of the occupants of the Kyivan throne. However, Shakhmatov overlooked another conspicuous omission: the list does not mention Sviatopolk I, a legitimate successor to Vladimir I Sviatoslavich. The reason for this exclusion is obvious: implicated in the murder of his half-brothers Boris and Gleb, Sviatopolk I became an evil protagonist in Kyivan royal mythology. The absence of Sviatopolk I's name from the list indicates that, contrary to Shakhmatov, the list was never intended to be a full and comprehensive reference aid but was designed as a literary text.

Despite all omissions, the regnal list of Kyivan princes had been copied by generations of chroniclers for centuries. The list appealed to them because it kept the memory of the early princes of Kyiv and legitimised those princes who claimed spiritual and genealogical descent from their Kyivan ancestors. Regnal lists often emphasise connections with religious centres and foundation figures. The list from the Primary Chronicle makes such connections by counting years from personage and events of Biblical and Byzantine history all the way to Oleg and subsequent Kyivan rulers. Such arithmetic calculations are a standard feature of

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[35] Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, vol. 1, bk. 2: 518-519, 545.

regnal lists. [36] Wildly inaccurate (if Biblical chronology can be accurate at all), the chronological calculations in the Primary Chronicle's list legitimised Kyivan princes by making their reigns integral parts of global Christian history. The regional bias of the list becomes apparent from the two historiographical notes accompanying the name of Oleg, who was, according to the list, the first Kyivan ruler. One gives his title, prince of Rus', and another explains that the count of years starts from Oleg's accession to the throne of Kyiv. With this note the compiler excluded from his Kyivocentric list other princely seats, including Novgorod, from where Oleg came to Kyiv.

The structure of the list served its literary purposes (see Table 9). The compiler of the list employed the formula "From the first year of MN_1's accession to the first year of MN_2's accession *x* years elapsed" for counting years from the first year of Michael III's reign to the first year of Oleg's reign and continued the same pattern all the way through Iaropolk. This formula has a parallel with the list's enumeration of Old Testament kings which also gives the number of years from the beginning of Solomon's reign.[37] The formula thus performs a major role of connecting the chronicle's account of Kyivan royalty with historical and mythological past. Starting from Iaropolk, the formula changes. Now it indicates not the beginning of a reign, but the total lengths of the reigns of Iaropolk himself, Vladimir, and Iarolsav: "MN_3 reigned for *y* years, MN_4 reigned for *z* years," etc.

9. Formulas in the list of Kyivan princes in the Primary Chronicle

Text of the list	Formula
 • From the accession of Oleg, when he took up his residence in Kyiv, to the first year of Igor's principate, thirty-one years elapsed. • Thirty-three years passed between Igor's accession and that of Sviatoslav. • From the accession of Sviatoslav to that of Iaropolk, twenty-eight years passed.	**Accession**: From the accession of MN_1 to that of MN_2 *x* years elapsed.

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[36] On the format of regnal lists, see Dumville, "Kingship," 100; Wilson, *Genealogy*, 80, 81, 95, 102; İlker Evrim Binbaş, "Structure and Function of the Genealogical Tree in Islamic Historiography, 1200-1500," in *Horizons of the World. Festschrift for İsenbike Togan*, ed. İlker Evrim Binbaş and Nurten Kılıç-Schubel (Istanbul: İthaki, 2011), 485.

[37] Cross, *RPC*, 58; Ostrowski, *PVL*, lines 18,5-18,6. On chronological calculations in the list of Kyivan princes and their sources, see Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, vol. 1, bk. 2: 16-17; Cross, *RPC*, 30-31; Likhachev, *PVL*, 395-397.

• Iaropolk ruled eight years, • Vladimir thirty-seven years, • and Iaroslav forty years.	**Total length of reign**: MN_3 reigned for (or ruled) y years, MN_4 reigned for z years.
• Thus from the death of Sviatoslav to the death of Iaroslav eighty-five years elapsed, while sixty years separate the death of Iaroslav from that of Sviatopolk [II].	**Summary statement**: From the death of MN_5 to the death of MN_6 *xx* years elapsed.

The summary statement operates with a third formula: "From the death of MN_5 to the death of MN_6 *xx* years elapsed." The conclusion of the list does not try to recap all the information available from the list's records. Rather, the summary gives the total number of years from the death of Sviatoslav to the death of Iaroslav and from the death of Iaroslav to the death of Sviatopolk II, who died in 1113. On the whole, the structure of the list is based on a sequence of formulas, which first count years from the accessions of the earliest Kyivan princes, then provide the total lengths of some reigns, and finally summarise some (but not all) data by counting years from the deaths of certain princes.

In his treatment of the list, Shakhmatov was uncharacteristically insensitive to the format of the text ignoring the logical order of formulas employed in it. His reconstruction compromises the formular integrity of the summary statement by introducing the formula "and MN reigned for *yy* years" (see Table 8), which is alien to this concluding section of the list To explain the sequence of formulas used in the list, we need to remember that the format of regnal lists depended not only on their sources, but also on political changes.[38] It is no coincidence that the first change in the list's formula occurs in connection with the name of Iaropolk. He was assassinated by his half-brother and successor Vladimir I. Iaropolk was therefore the first prince of Kyiv to be murdered by another member of the royal family.[39] Vladimir's son Iaroslav also came to the throne as a result of internecine struggle during which he deposed Vladimir I's successor Sviatopolk I, whose name, as mentioned above, is deliberately ignored in the list. By changing the formula of records, the compiler of the list glossed over the problematic beginnings of Vladimir I's and Iaroslav's reigns. Rather, he preferred to speak about the total lengths of their reigns (see Table 10).

10. List of Kyivan princes and princely politics

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[38] Dumville, "Kingship," 85; Wilson, *Genealogy*, 193-194.

[39] Previous princes of Kyiv Igor and Sviatoslav were killed by hostile neighbors. Sviatoslav's son Oleg perished in battle with his brother Iaropolk. Oleg was thus a victim of inter-familial struggle, but, unlike Iaropolk, he never occupied the Kyivan throne.

Text of the list	Political events
• From the accession of Oleg, when he took up his residence in Kyiv, to the first year of Igor's principate, thirty-one years elapsed. • Thirty-three years passed between Igor's accession and that of Sviatoslav. • From the accession of Sviatoslav to that of Iaropolk, twenty-eight years passed.	972 - Sviatoslav honourably dies in battle; c. 973 – Iaropolk legitimately ascends the throne.
• Iaropolk ruled eight years, • Vladimir thirty-seven years, • and Iaroslav forty years.	978 or 980 - Iaropolk killed by his brother Vladimir; 1019 - Vladimir's son Iaroslav deposes his half-brother Sviatopolk I.
• Thus from the death of Sviatoslav to the death of Iaroslav eighty-five years elapsed, while sixty years separate the death of Iaroslav from that of Sviatopolk [II].	On Sviatoslav's death, see above in this table; 1054 (sic) – Iaroslav, the winner in intrafamily war, dies; 1078 – Iaroslav's son Iziaslav killed by his relatives; 1113 (sic) - Iaroslav's grandson Sviatopolk II dies, Vladimir Monomakh ascends the Kyivan throne.

Political tendentiousness also affected the summary statement with its two records deliberately focusing on the deaths of important royal figures. The first of the records, which deals with Sviatoslav and Iaroslav, brushes out a whole series of rulers (Iaropolk, Vladimir I, Sviatopolk I), whose reigns saw assassinations in the ruling family. Rather, the record links the death of Sviatoslav, the last prince who legitimately ascended the throne and honourably died in battle before the outbreak of familial strife, and the death of Iaroslav, who put an end to the intrafamilial struggle. The second record, which provides the total number of years from the death of Iaroslav to the death of his grandson Sviatopolk II, performs a similar legitimising function. The death of Sviatopolk II was, according to Martin Dimnik, "the most important political death during the first two decades of the twelfth

century."[40] Like the previous record, this note omits problematic royal figures such as Iaroslav's son and Sviatopolk II's father Iziaslav, who was deposed from the throne of Kyiv several times and perished in a battle with other members of the family. The names of two usurpers, Iziaslav's brothers Sviatoslav II and Vsevolod are also missing from the summary note. The latest fact mentioned in the list, the death of Sviatopolk II in 1113, brings the compilation of the list to the reign of his successor, Vladimir Monomakh, under whom the Primary Chronicle was created.[41]

The regnal list in the Primary Chronicle serves several purposes. It extols Kyiv by ignoring all other seats of princely power in Rus'. The rulers of Kyiv are legitimised through chronological calculations that connect them with prestigious historical and mythical personages. Finally, the list silences sensitive issues in the transition of power by manipulating formulas and suppressing embarrassing royal names. Like other regnal lists, the regnal list of Kyivan princes from the Primary Chronicle was an exercise in shaping the collective memory of the ruling princely family.[42] The compiler of the list did not see it as a historical document aimed at recording all princes of Kyiv. Rather, his aim was to create a picture of smooth and uninterrupted succession to the Kyivan throne.

Novgorodian Princely Lists

Pioneered by the compiler of the Primary Chronicle, enumerations of East Slavic rulers reappeared in the Novgorodian chronicles at the end of fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth century. I treated the Novgorodian regnal lists elsewhere in greater detail.[43] This section will summarise and update the results of my previous research. The Novgorodian lists have survived in the Younger Redaction of the First Novgorodian Chronicle (*Mladshaia redaktsiia Novgorodskoi pervoi letopisi*, hereafter N1Y), the Chronicle of Avraamka (*Letopis' Avraamki*, Avr), which contains earlier versions of the lists than N1Y, and some other chronicles. Copies of the lists in the Tverian Collection (*Tverskoi sbornik*) are

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[40] Martin Dimnik, "Dynastic Burials in Kiev before 1240," *Ruthenica*, 7 (2008): 81. In his paper "The Debate over Authorship of the Rus' Primary Chronicle…" Ostrowski argues that the first record of the list's summary statement originally included the number of years from the beginning of Sviatoslav's rule to the death of Iaroslav while the second record is a later addition.

[41] Likhachev, *PVL*, 397 (commentary by D. S. Likhachev), D. S. Likhachev and others, eds. *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi*, 1 (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2000), 493 (commentary by O. V. Tvorogov); A. A. Gippius, "K probleme redaktsii Povesti vremennykh let. I," *Slavianovedenie*, 5 (2007): 23.

[42] On the tendentiousness of regnal lists, see David P. Henige, "Oral Tradition and Chronology," *The Journal of African History*, 12, 3 (1971): 373; Wilson, *Genealogy*, 92-93.

[43] Bogatyrev, "Novgorodian Regnal Lists," 29-48. For the Novgorodian lists, see N1Y: *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter *PSRL*), 3 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), 160–63; 465–71; Avr: *PSRL*, 16 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), cols. 307–15; Tverian collection: *PSRL*, 15 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), cols. 11–16 (second Arabic numeration).

late, but their texts are generally earlier than those preserved in the above-mentioned chronicles.[44] As some of the lists copied for the Tverian collection mention Vasilii I's heir Vasilii Vasil'evich (see below), the copying took place after the latter's birth in 1415. At the same time, the Tverian copies of the regnal lists appeared before the compilation of the protograph of the First Sofian Chronicle (so-called "Compilation of Metropolitan Fotii") in 1418 (see Stemma 11 below).[45]

Like the regnal list from the Primary Chronicle, Novgorodian lists were affected by political events, in particular, the peculiar position of Novgorod between the East Slavic principalities of Moscow and Tver' on the one hand, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, on the other.[46] Traditionally, Novgorod hired Orthodox princes for military service from all these territories. The delicate balance of power in the region was disturbed in the second half of the fourteenth century when Lithuania occupied Kyiv (c. 1362) and Smolensk (1395), causing some Smolensk princes to migrate to Novgorod. Their presence in Novgorod affected local chronicles, which reveal an intensive interest in Smolensk from 1397 to 1413. This period also saw the compilation of a dual list of princes of Kyiv and Novgorod. The list reflected the connections of the Smolensk princes with Kyiv through the founder of the Smolensk ruling house Rostislav Mstislavich, (prince of Smolensk from 1127, Novgorod 1154, 1157-58, Kyiv 1154-1155, 1159-1167) and with their place of refuge, Novgorod, by enumerating princes of Novgorod, including Rostislav Mstislavich and his descendants. The original formulas of the dual list were "after the death of MN_1, MN_2 [sat on the throne] and "then MN_3 [sat on the throne]," later they were contaminated with chronological calculations indicating the lengths of some reigns.

The dual list was accompanied by a chronological list called "Who Reigned for How Long" (*Kto koliko kniazhil"*). The terminus post quem of "Who Reigned for How Long" is the beginning of the reign of Vasilii I of Moscow in 1389 because the list gives the full length of the reign of his father Dmitrii Ivanovich. Terminus ad quem is defined by copying "Who Reigned for How Long," together with the above-mentioned dual list and some other lists, for what is now the Tverian collection prior to 1418. "Who Reigned for How Long" should be thus dated to the period from 1389 to 1418.

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[44] On the importance of the Tverian collection for the study of the Novgorodian regnal lists, see Bogatyrev, "Novgorodian Regnal Lists," 30-39.

[45] A. G. Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi XV veka* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2001), 149–60. On the Smolensk princes in Novgorod, see A. Nakadzava, *Rukopisanie Magnusha. Issledovanie i teksty* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), 106-113.

[46] On Novgorod and its neighbors, see Sergei Bogatyrev, "Novgorod," in *Europe: A Literary History, 1348-1418*, ed. David Wallace, 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 440.

11. **Princely Lists in the Novgorodian and Related Chronicles**[47]
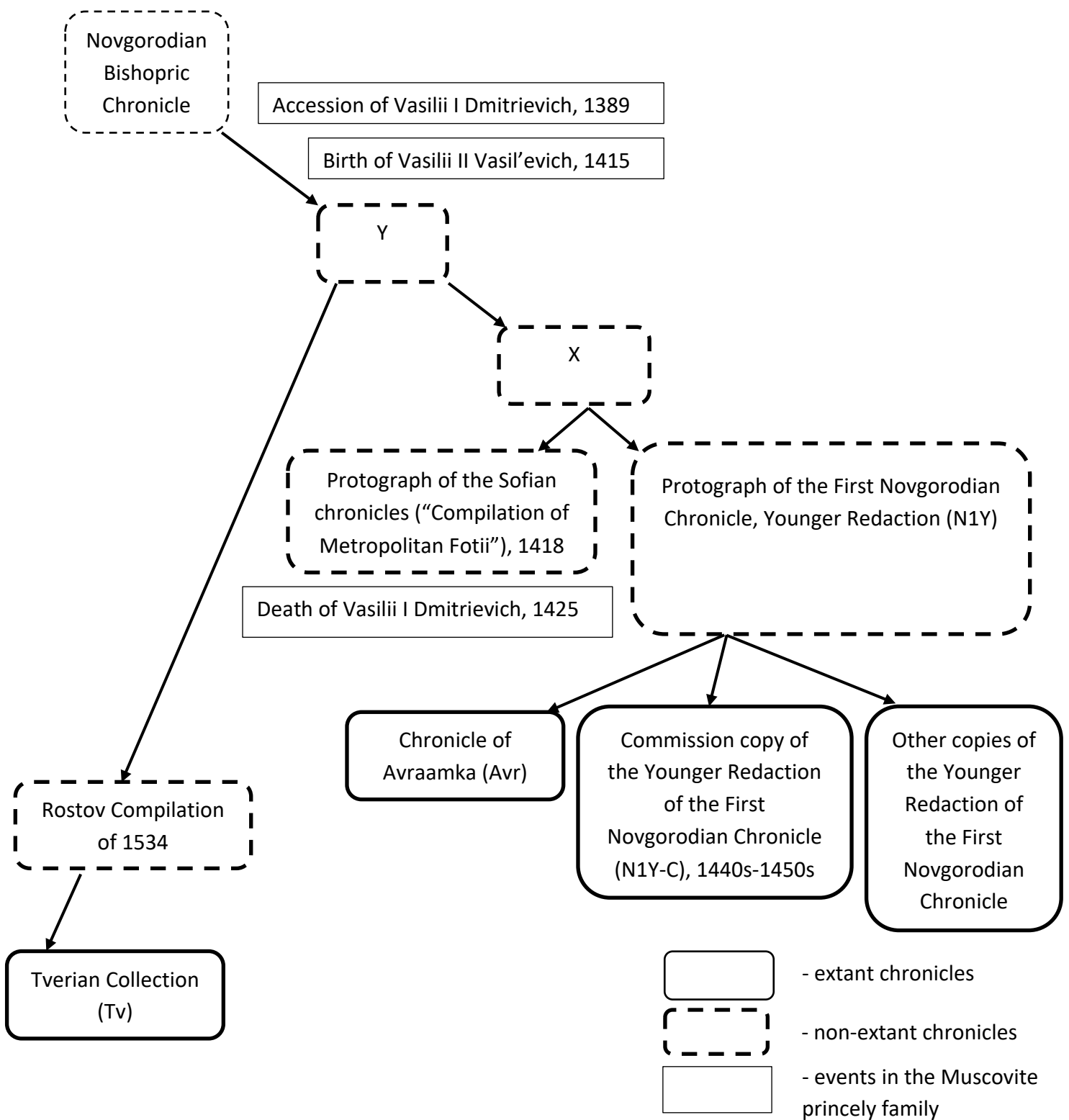
[47] Adopted after T. V. Gimon, "Redaktirovanie letopisei v XIII–XV vv.: Raznochteniia mezhdu spiskami Novgorodskoi I letopisi," *TODRL*, 57 (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006), 119 and Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*.

"Who Reigned for How Long" follows the pattern of the list of Kyivan princes from the Primary Chronicle. Both lists perform the same function of linking East Slavic royalty with important mythical and historical figures, starting from Adam through the Byzantine Emperor Michael III. This legitimising function of "Who Reigned for How Long" is apparent from its position in the Tverian collection where the list follows two texts which derive from the Primary Chronicle, namely the above-mentioned chronological calculations and the list of Kyivan princes.[48] The formula of records in "Who Reigned for How Long" is similar to one of the formulas employed in the Primary Chronicle's list: "MN_1 reigned for x years, MN_2 reigned for y years."

Where "Who Reigned for How Long" differs from the list in the Primary Chronicle is that the former provides a much broader perspective on Rus' royalty. "Who Reigned for How Long" extended the list from the Primary Chronicle by adding the first mythical ruler of Rus' Riurik and the princes of Novgorod and the north-eastern principalities (Rostov, Tver', Suzdaľ, Moscow). The chronology of the list got muddled during textual transmission, especially in N1Y, which created a lot of confusion in the length of the reign of Vladimir I Sviatoslavich (978 or 980 to 1015) and his predecessor Iaropolk Sviatoslavich (c. 973 to 978 or 980).[49] "Who Reigned for How Long" features some genealogical comments, but they are very random, consisting occasional records about who was whose son or brother. Generally, the genealogical horizon of the list is similar to the pedigrees of Vladimir I in the Primary Chronicle, stretching for no more than two generations.

A much deeper genealogical perspective can be seen in two genealogical lists, "This Is How the Great Princes of Rus' Are Related'' (*Sitse rodosloviatsia velitsei kniazi rus'stii*) and "Another Genealogy of the Same Princes" (*Ino rodoslovie tekh̋ zhe kniazei*, this full title has preserved in the Tverian collection), both dating to the period from 1415 (the birth of Vasilii II Vasil'evich, who is mentioned among the sons of Vasilii I Dmitrievich in both lists) to the creation of the Tverian copies of the regnal lists by 1418 (see Stemma 11).[50] "This Is How the Great Princes of Rus' Are Related'' explicitly claims that the first prince in the land of Rus' was Riurik, who came from the West (*iz nemets*).

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[48] *PSRL*, 15: col. 12.

[49] Bogatyrev, "Novgorodian Regnal Lists," 40-44. That work also confuses Iaropolk and Vladimir on p. 42, note 42: "the indicated length of Iaropolk Sviatoslavich's alleged reign after baptism, seventeen years (instead of the correct length of *his* rule, twenty-seven years)." This passage should read: "the indicated length of Iaropolk Sviatoslavich's alleged reign after baptism, seventeen years (instead of the correct length of *Vladimir Sviatoslavich's* rule, twenty-seven years)."

[50] Bogatyrev, "Novgorodian Regnal Lists," 40. In that work, my wording about "This Is How the Great Princes of Rus' Are Related'' on p. 45 is imprecise as it may suggest that the list was created before 1415. According to Shakhmatov, "This Is How the Great Princes of Rus' Are Related'' was originally part of a hypothetical chronicle compilation of Metropolitan Fotii (also known as *Vladimirskii polikhron*) of 1423, but Bobrov dates that compilation to 1418-1419. Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2011), 551; Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 130-131 (see also below in the present work).

In her study of genealogical records M. E. Byschkova argued that the Novgorodian genealogical lists were reference aids, aimed at confirming the traditional liberties of Novgorod, including its right to invite princes. This is why she believed that the earliest genealogies of the Muscovite princes appeared independently from the Novgorodian lists in the chronicle compilations of 1493, 1495 and 1497.[51] More recently, Robert Romanchuk has drawn our attention to an earlier version of Muscovite royal genealogy in a collection of literary texts prepared by the renowned literatus monk Efrosin (relevant section of his collection dates to the early 1470s). Romanchuk has demonstrated that that genealogy is connected with other texts associated with Efrosin, including his Little Chronicle of Rus' (*Ruskoi letopisets*, 1472-1475) and the famous literary work about the battle of Kulikovo, *Zadonshchina*. According to Romanchuk, this genealogy implies a claim of the Moscow grand princes on the "Kyivan succession" in Efrosin's Little Chronicle of Rus', but not in the *Zadonshchina*, where the genealogy is truncated and serves as a historical gloss explaining a passage on the Kyivan princes.[52] Unaware of Romanchuk's work, O. L. Novikova also thinks that Efrosin's collection contains the earliest Muscovite genealogies.[53]

The above-mentioned studies overlook the connection between the Muscovite genealogies and the Novgorodian chronicles, though Romanchuk does quote Shakhmatov's observation that the type of genealogy employed by Efrosin stems from N1Y.[54] Indeed, Efrosin's genealogies are very close to the Novgorodian lists, especially "Another Genealogy of the Same Princes." Both "This Is How the Great Princes of Ruś Are Related'' and "Another Genealogy" are openly pro-Muscovite. "This Is How the Great Princes of Ruś Are Related'' focuses exclusively on the direct ancestors of the Muscovite princely family and ignores other princely families. Using the biblical formula "MN_1 begat MN_2," the list creates, for the first time in East Slavic literature, an image of uninterrupted genealogical succession from Riurik through Vladimir I, who baptized Rus', through Daniil Aleksandrovich, the founder of the Muscovite princely line, to Vasilii I of Moscow and his son Vasilii II Vasil'evich. The list covers as many as 17 generations of princes. The actual number of generations recorded on the list is even higher because various versions of the list contain genealogical errors, including false claims that Vladimir Vsevolodovich had a son called Monomakh (in fact, it was Vladimir Vsevolodovich's nickname) and that Simeon Ivanovich of Moscow had a son

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[51] *PSRL*, 27 (Moscow: Iazyki slavianskikh kul'tur, 2007), viii, 298, 367; 28 (Moscow, Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1963), 141-142; M. E. Bychkova, *Rodoslovnye knigi XVI-XVII vv. kak istoricheskii istochnik* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), 147.

[52] Robert Romanchuk, "Efrosin of Kirillov and an Interpolated Princely Genealogy in the Zadonshchina," *Russian History*, 33, no. 2/4, (2006), 355-357. For dating, see S. N. Kisterev, "Kodikologicheskie nabliudeniia nad Efrosinovskim sbornikom s 'Zadonshchinoi'," *Arkhiv russkoi istorii*, 3 (1993), 212.

[53] O. L. Novikova, "Materialy dlia izucheniia russkogo letopisaniia kontsa XV-pervoi poloviny XVI v.: 1. Letopisnye podborki rukopisi Pogod. 1596," *Ocherki feodal'noi Rossii*, 11 (Moscow, St. Petersburg: Al'ians-Arkheo, 2007), 154 note 65.

[54] Romanchuk, "Efrosin," 355-356; Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, 2: 250-251, 280-283.

called Ivan, who, in his turn, fathered Dmitrii Donskoi (in fact, Simeon and Dmitrii Donskoi's father Ivan were brothers).

 "Another Genealogy of the Same Princes" also deals with the direct ancestors of the Muscovite princes. At the same time, "Another Genealogy" develops the genealogical material of "This Is How the Great Princes of Rusʹ Are Related" further by providing a fuller list of sons for each prince of Moscow and their direct ancestors. On one occasion, the list diverges from this pattern by giving the name of Vladimir, son of Andrei Ivanovich, who was not a direct ancestor of the princes of Moscow. In terms of structure, the compiler of "Another Genealogy" fused the descending genealogy of "This Is How the Great Princes of Rusʹ Are Related" with the formula of the second list of Vladimir I's sons from the Primary Chronicle (see Quotation 2). In fact, "Another Genealogy" fully incorporates the second list of Vladimir's sons but rearranges the order of their names. The resulting formula of "Another Genealogy", "MN_1's sons: MN_2, MN_3, MN_4; MN_2's sons: MN_5, MN_6, etc.", proved to be a powerful tool both for enumerating the princes of Moscow and for incorporating in the list members of other princely lines. "Another Genealogy" mentions the founders of the Rostov, Iur'ev, Pereiaslavl', Gorodets, Kostroma, Moscow princely families. Thanks to its elaborate structure, which combines vertical and horizontal enumeration, "Another Genealogy" presents the non-Muscovite princely lines as collateral branches of the Muscovite dynasty.

Another peculiarity of the list is the grouping of Simeon Ivanovich's sons by their mothers Nastasiia and Maria, very much similar to the first list of Vladimir I's children (see Quotation 1). The compiler of "Another Genealogy" also corrected the errors of "This Is How the Great Princes of Rusʹ Are Related" in the listings of Vladimir Vsevolodovich's and Simeon Ivanovich's children (N1Y's copy of "Another Genealogy" still erroneously maintains a Monomakh among the sons of Vladimir Vsevolodovich).[55]

On the whole, "Another Genealogy of the Same Princes" offers the most sophisticated synthesis of genealogical information. Pedigrees that trace the descent of the Muscovite princes to Riurik were invented not by Efrosin or the compilers of late-fifteenth-century Muscovite chronicles. It was the Novgorodian regnal lists that became models for such genealogies because these lists provided access to the Riurik myth. Riurik and Vsevolod Iur'evich Big Nest, not the princes of Kyiv, are the main focus of Efrosin's pedigrees. This is why he counted the number of generations from Riurik, the mythical progenitor of the princes of Rus', and Vsevolod, the alleged founder of the Muscovite line, to the princes of Moscow, more specifically, to Vasilii II Vasil'evich. Efrosin's and other genealogies of the princes of Moscow usually start with a statement that Riurik was the first prince of Rus', clearly a borrowing from "This Is How the Great Princes of Rusʹ Are Related.'' The Muscovite genealogies sustain connections between Riurik and later princes with the formula from "Another Genealogy," which first mentions the father and then his son(s). The compilers of

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[55] *PSRL*, 3: 465; 16: col. 308; 15: col. 14.

Muscovite genealogies also adapted the formula of "Another Genealogy" when they needed to extend their enumerations to non-Muscovite princely families.[56]

Various versions of "This Is How the Great Princes of Rusʹ Are Related'' and "Another Genealogy of the Same Princes" also reveal a bias towards the Novgorodian diocese, which included Pskov. In particular, Avrʹs and N1Y's versions of "This Is How the Great Princes of Rusʹ Are Related'' note that Iaroslav Vladimirovitch gave the Novgorodians a charter whereas the Tverian version of "Another Genealogy" reports that Daniil Aleksandrovich was prince of both Pskov and Moscow.[57] Such localism was by no means aimed against the princes of Moscow. Both lists combine a pro-Moscow and pro-Novgorodian bias because they originate from a Novgorodian bishopric chronicle. These genealogical lists appeared within the pro-Muscovite circles of the Novgorodian elite. Together with "Who Reigned for How Long," these pedigrees are the earliest literary texts that provide a dynastic perspective on the Rus' princes, including the Muscovite princes, by tracing their descent and succession from a common mythical ancestor, Riurik.[58]

The North-Eastern Perspective: The "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus' " and ''And These Are the Princes of Rus' ''

A pair of regnal lists brings together royal genealogy, extensive historical narrative and elevated religious rhetoric. One of these lists can be found in the Supraśl and Nikiforov chronicles (respectively, 1519 and the second half of the fifteenth century).[59] Entitled the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'" (*Skazanie o vernykh sviatykh kniazei rous'kikh*), this list starts with an account of Vladimir I baptising the land of Rus', establishing the city of Vladimir on the Kliaz'ma and building there the first wooden church dedicated to the Mother of God. The narrative then moves onto church building in the city of Vladimir under

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[56] For various adaptations of "Another Genealogy", see for example, Efrosin's genealogies: M. D. Kagan, N. V. Ponyrko, M. V. Rozhdestvenskaia, "Opisanie sbornikov XV v. knigopistsa Efrosina," *TODRL*, 35 (Leningrad: Nauka, 1980), 11 (contains a count of generations), 141-142; Muscovite chronicle compilations: *PSRL*, 27: viii, 298, 367; 28: 141; Novikova, "Materialy," 218, 257-258; Rostov chronicle: *Materialy po istorii SSSR*, 2 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1955), 320-321 (ms from the 1530s-1540s); Vladimir chronicle (*Vladimirskii letopisets*, ms from the third quarter of the sixteenth century): *PSRL*, 30 (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 4; Simeonovskaia chronicle: *PSRL*, 18 (Moscow: Znak, 2007), [ix], 23-24 (ms from the first half of the 1540s).

[57] *PSRL*, 3: 465; 15: col. 15; 16: col. 307.

[58] Bogatyrev, "Novgorodian Regnal Lists," 45. For a revision of Riurik's role in the chronicles, see also Sergei Bogatyrev, "Dinastiia kak faktor razvitiia Rossiiskogo gosudarstva v XVI veke," in *The Role of the State in the Historical Development of Russia*, ed. G. Szvák (*Ruszisztikai könyvek,* 27, Budapest: Russica Pannonicana, 2011), 68-79; Ostrowski, "Was There a Riurikid Dynasty?" I discuss different functions of the Riurik myth in my forthcoming book on dynastic memory among the East Slavs.

[59] *PSRL*, 17 (Moscow: Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury, 2008), cols. 1-2.

Vladimir Monomakh, his son Iurii Long Arm and grandsons Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii, Vsevolod Iur'evich Big Nest and the latter's wife Maria. The list vaguely refers to the murder of Andrei Bogoluibskii by the boyars Kuchkovichi at the instigation of his Bulgarian wife and then tells us about how Andrei's brothers Mikhail Iur'evich's and Vsevolod Iur'evich's revenged his death. The list features the names of six sons of Vsevolod Iur'evich and ends with the arrival of Vsevolod's grandson Aleksandr Iaroslavich (commonly known as Nevskii but misnamed in the list as Andrei Bogoliubskii) in Vladimir.

Another list, called ''And These Are the Princes of Rus' '' (*A se kniazi rus'stii*), is included in the collection of regnal lists at the beginning of the Commission copy of N1Y (hereafter N1Y-C), Avr, and the Little Chronicle of Bishop Pavel (*Letopisets episkopa Pavla*).[60] This version starts with certain Monomakh, allegedly a son of some Vladimir and a grandson of Vladimir I Sviatoslavich, building the above mentioned town of Vladimir and erecting a church there. The list continues with an account of church building under Monomakh's descendants Iurii Long Arm and Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii (without saying explicitly that Andrei was Iurii's son) as well as miracles associated with the Vladimir Mother of God icon. In its account of Andrei's death, the list blames for his murder the boyars Kuchkovichi but, unlike the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes," not Andrei's wife. The compiler of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" then provides an account of the reign of Andrei's successors with particular focus on the reign of his brother Vsevolod Iur'evich Big Nest.

What is special about "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" is that it includes a detailed genealogy of the descendants of Vsevolod Iur'evich though, unlike the previous list, provides the names of Vsevolod's three rather than six sons. The genealogy, which employs the same combination of vertical and horizontal enumerations as in the above-mentioned list "Another Genealogy of the Same Princes," singles out Aleksander Nevskii as the founder of the Moscow princely line, as well as his relatives and descendants who established the Pereiaslavl', Kostroma, Gorodets, Suzdal', and Tver' ruling families. The names of princes are supplemented with extensive historical and chronological notes. Among them we find an important reference to the great princes of Moscow as the Danilovichi (descendants of Daniil, one of the sons of Aleksandr Nevskii) in the copy of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" in N1Y-C. The list of the Danilovichi includes princes from Daniil to Vasilii I Dmitrievich of Moscow (r. 1389-1425) This is the earliest mentioning of the Danilovichi in princely lists. However, the variant of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" copied in Avr lacks the collective name Danilovichi. A further study of the list, including its unpublished copy in the Little Chronicle of Bishop Pavel, may clarify whether the reference to the Danilovichi is a later addition. In any case, the scribe who copied "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" for

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[60] N1Y-C: *PSRL*, 3: 467-469; Avr: *PSRL*, 16: cols. 309-312; Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 230; Little Chronicle of Bishop Pavel: Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, 2: 507- 508; Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 237. For similar lists, see *PSRL*, 5, issue 1 (Moscow: Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury, 2003): xiii; Novikova, "Materialy," 215-217.

N1Y-C in 1446 (so-called scribe A) already had a concept of the Muscovite dynasty, which he described as the Danilovichi.[61]

The relationship between the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'" and "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" remains a matter of controversy. According to Shakhmatov, both lists originate from the same protograph, a hypothetical compilation of Metropolitan Fotii, which was compiled in 1423 and continued through 1446. At the same time, Shakhmatov conceded that the original list could have been even older, dating it to the reign of Ivan Danilovich Kalita (1331-1341). According to Shakhmatov, the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'" is generally closer to the protograph, though some better readings can be found in "And These Are the Princes of Rus'." A. V. Sirenov develops Shakhmatov's observations by arguing that "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" is the oldest part of the list whose protograph dates to the period soon after 1331.[62]

A. A. Kuzhetsov questions the existence of a common source for these two lists. He sees the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'" as a later tendentious reworking of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'." Kuznetsov posits that the main theme of both lists is the founding of Vladimir on the Kliaz'ma. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, some chronicles presented Vladimir on the Kliaz'ma as an ancient city, drawing parallels between the building of the Tithe Church in Kyiv and the erection of the church of the Mother of God in Vladimir under Vladimir I. In response to this tendency, the Rostov clergy, who saw the city of Vladimir as a rival to their home town of Rostov, prepared the list "And These Are the Princes of Rus'," which rejected the ancient history of Vladimir and its churches by dating its foundation to the reign of Vladimir Monomakh. Nevertheless, the debates about the founding of Vladimir on the Kliaz'ma continued. Part of this controversy was the compilation of the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'" on the basis of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" to reiterate the early origins of the city which was allegedly founded by Vladimir I Sviatoslavich.[63]

Both lists indeed feature records about the founding of Vladimir on the Kliaz'ma. But the main subject of both lists, as their titles clearly indicate, is not the history of the city, but the history of the princes. This is why, for example, "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" accounts not only for church building in Vladimir, but also for Batu's 1237 campaign, during which Prince Iurii Vsevolodovich perished. The themes of the princes' piety and exploits

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[61] On the work of scribe A, see Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 68, 74.

[62] A. A. Shakhmatov, "Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody XIV i XV vekov. V. Istochniki Polikhrona 1423 goda," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, 1901, November: 61; Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, 2: 550-551; A. V. Sirenov, "Skazanie o vernykh sviatykh kniaz'iakh russkikh i vneletopisnaia stat'ia 'A se kniazi russtii'," in *"Vertograd mnogotsvetnyi:" Sbornik k 80-letiiu Borisa Nikolaevicha Flori*, ed. A. A. Turlilov and others (Moscow: Indrik, 2018), 165, 169.

[63] A. A. Kuznetsov, "K izucheniiu letopisnykh dat osnovaniia Vladimira-na-Kliaz'me," *Vestnik Nizhnevartovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, 2011, 1, http://vestnik.nvsu.ru/arhiv/20/ (no pagination, accessed 4 July 2019).

dominate the conclusion of "And These Are the Princes of Rus':" "And this is where the princes of Rus' originate from. Let us celebrate in all of them the one and only God in the Trinity and [let us celebrate] the great Orthodox princes, our defenders of the whole land of Rus'."[64] This rhetorical conclusion makes little sense in the context of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'," which starts, as we remember, with certain Monomakh Vladimirovich, who in fact never existed. The list only mentions in passing Vladimir I Sviatoslavich as Monomakh Vladimirovich's grandfather (in fact, Vladimir I was the great-grandfather of Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh). Neither Monomakh nor Vladimir I are called holy princes or princes of all Rus'. On the whole, the beginning of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" is completely unrelated to the rhetorical conclusion of the list.

At the same time, the themes outlined in the conclusion of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" (the origin of the Orthodox princes of all Rus', the cult of the Trinity) perfectly fit the title and opening records of the other list under investigation, the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'." The list properly opens with a praise to Vladimir I, describing him as the baptizer of Rus', after whose conversion people started believing in the Trinity. According to the "Tale," Vladimir I was the holy and faithful prince of Kyiv and all Rus' and successor to the faithful Emperor (Tsar) Constantine.[65] Contrary to Sirenov, who sees this opening record on Vladimir I as a later edition, this panegyric was an integral part of the protograph which extolled Vladimir I.[66] The glorification of Vladimir I brought together the title of the protograph, the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'" (which has survived in the first list) and the protograph's rhetorical conclusion (now in "And These Are the Princes of Rus'") in a grand narrative of royal holiness (see Table 12).

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[64] *PSRL*, 3: 469.

[65] *PSRL*, 17: col. 1. Cf. Sirenov, "Skazanie," 169.

[66] Sirenov, "Skazanie," 165.

12. The Founding of Vladimir on the Kliaz'ma by Vladimir I in the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes" and Relevant Chronicles

"Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes" (*PSRL*, 17: col. 1)	First Sofian Younger Chronicle (*PSRL*, 5 [St. Petersburg, 1851], 120)	Novgorodian Karamzin Chronicle, Second Set of Records (*PSRL*, 42: 98)	Ermolinskaia Chronicle (*PSRL*, 23: 15)	Tipografskaia Chronicle (*PSRL*, 24: 39)
Первое како крсти Роускоую землю, ст҃ыи правъвѣрныи кн҃зь Владимеръ Києвъски и всеıа Роуси, наслѣдникь бл҃говѣрномоу цр҃ю Костентиноу, иже самь крстисѧ и люди навчи вѣровати во свет҃оую Троицю Ѽц҃а и Сн҃а и Ст҃го Дх҃а, потомь поиде въ Словенскоую землю на реце на Клѧзмѣ постави город именемь Владимеръ во своє имѧ *ветшано горѡд* и постави и зборноую цр҃квъ ст҃оую Бц҃ю дрѣвѧноую *и спомь ѡсыпа* и стави цр҃квъ и крти люди *и посади намѣсники* и иде въ Києвъ.	И пришедъ [Володимеръ] изъ Киева въ Смоленьскую землю, постави градъ въ свое имя Володимерь, *и спомъ осыпа*, и церковь святую Богородицю сборную древяну постави, и вси люди крестивъ Русьскыя *и намѣстницы*.	В лѣто 6496… И пришед [Володимиръ] ис Киева в Словенскую землю, и постави град въ свое имя Володимирь, *и спомь осыпа*, и церковь святую Богородицу съборную древяну постави. И вси люди крести рускыа, *и намѣстници*.	В лѣто [6]498. Князь велікі Владимиръ ходи в землю Суздалскую и тамо заложи градъ Володимерь во свое имя, на рецѣ на Клязмѣ, и церковь постави в немъ древяну, Успеніе святыя Богородица, и ту сущая люди вси крести.	В лѣто 6498 иде Володимеръ в Суздалскоую землю и постави градъ въ свое имя Володимерь *и спомъ осыпа* и церковь святую Богородицю соборноую древяну постави и вси людие крести Роускıа *и намѣстницы* по всей земли. Градъ Володимерь отъ Золотыхъ воротъ до Рожественыхъ воротъ шесть сотъ саженей и сорокъ саженъ, а старой *ветчаной городъ* отъ Рожественыхъ воротъ до конець спа вь длиноу к Зачатію шесть сотъ саженъ и двадесятъ саженъ. И всего отъ Золотыхъ воротъ въ длину тысяща и двѣсте и 60.

The dating of "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" is usually based on various conjectures to the list's muddled chronological calculations. According to recent studies, the list was created in the circle of Metropolitan Fotii during the period from 1417 to 1425.[67] A textual analysis of the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'" permits a more precise dating for both lists under consideration. The beginning of the Tale about the foundation of Vladimir on the Kliaz'ma is similar to corresponding accounts in several chronicles which depend on the above-mentioned Compilation of Metropolitan Fotii (see Table 12). Some parts of the Tale, like Prince Vladimir I placing his vicegerents in the city, explain murky records in the chronicles, which erroneously suggest that Vladimir baptised them. The opposite is also true: the Tale's incomprehensible references to the Old Town (*vetshano gorod*) and Vladimir creating a rampart (*spom*, instrumental from *sop"*) around the wooden church are garbled records of events and facts described in the chronicles, namely the measuring of the Old City and a rampart piled by Vladimir not around the church, but around the whole city. Shakhmatov was therefore correct that the common protograph of both lists and the chronicles mentioned in Table 12 stem from the same source, the Compilation of Metropolitan Fotii. However, Shakhmatov's dating of this compilation (1423) has been challenged by Bobrov, who convincingly argues that the compilation was prepared in 1418 or 1419.[68] We can thus conclude that the protograph of the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'" and "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" was created on the basis of the Compilation of Metropolitan Fotii between 1418 and 1425 (the death of Vasilii I who is mentioned in the latter list). This dating explains why none of the lists made their way to the Tverian collection, which includes princely lists created prior to 1418 (see above).

The compilation of Metropolitan Fotii brought together Novgorodian and North-East Rus' chronicle writing.[69] The protograph of both lists discussed in this section was part of this annalistic synthesis. The main theme of the protograph was the genealogy of the descendants of Vsevolod Iur'evich, including a list of his descendants (now can be found in the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'") with particular focus on Vsevolod's grandson Aleksandr Iaroslavich Nevskii, who appeared as the founder of the houses of Moscow and Suzdal' (most of the protograph's material on Aleksandr now can be seen in "And These Are the Princes of Rus'"). Even the history of the house of Tver' was explained with reference to Aleksandr Iaroslavich though he technically had nothing to do with the establishing of this princely line. "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" tells us that it was Aleksander's father

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[67] V. A. Kuchkin, T. A. Sumnikova, "Drevneishaia redaktsiia Skazaniia ob ikone Vladimirskoi Bogomateri," in *Chudotvornaia ikona v Vizantii i Drevnei Rusi*, ed. A. M. Lidov (Moscow: Martis, 1996), 482-483; A. S. Usachev, "Istochniki Stepennoi knigi po istorii domongol'skoi Rusi," *Srednevekovaia Rus'*, 6 (Moscow: Indrik, 2006), 328 note 472. See also Shakhmatov, "Obshcherusskie letopisnye svody," 61. Other suggested dates include 1423 (V. L. Ianin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, 2nd ed. [Moscow: Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury, 2003], 37; Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 88) and the period from 1406 to 1417 (Sirenov, "Skazanie," 164).

[68] Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 149-160.

[69] Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 128-166.

Iaroslav who gave Tver' to Aleksandr's brother, also called Iaroslav. The protograph extolled the figure of Aleksandr Nevskii because he symbolically united Novgorod and several princely houses of north-eastern Rus'. This is why the protograph emphasised that Aleksandr Nevskii came to Vladimir from Novgorod.[70]

The protograph was divided into two existing lists, "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" and the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes of Rus'," at some point before the compilation of the Chronicle of Avraamka and N1Y-C, whose section with "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" was prepared in 1446 (see above). After the division of the protograph both lists underwent further editing, which showed pro-Novgorodian tendencies. The protograph correctly located the city of Vladimir in the Suzdalian land (this reading can still be seen in "And These Are the Princes of Rus'"). At the same time, the compiler of the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes" erroneously claimed that the city of Vladimir was in the Slovenian land, which was a traditional name for the land of Novgorod (this pro-Novgorodian editing also affected the Novgorodian Karamzin Chronicle, see Table 12). In his turn, the compiler of the other list, "And These Are the Princes of Rus'," was struggling with the beginning of his enumeration because he apparently worked with a deficient copy of the photograph which lacked the original title ("Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes") and the opening section about Vladimir I. This is why the compiler provided a new, rather unimaginative title ("And These Are the Princes of Rus'") and knocked out a new beginning for his list, using earlier Novgorodian lists which mentioned the fictitious Monomakh Vladimirovich (see above).[71] The "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes" and "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" exemplify the expansion of Novgorodian genealogical lists to the princely house of Vladimir on the Kliaz'ma and Moscow and their interaction with texts associated with the cults of the Vladimir Mother of God and Aleksandr Nevskii, which were practiced in North-Eastern Rus'.

Southern Perspective: "These Are the Names of the Princes of Kyiv Who Reigned in Kyiv through the Massacre by the Pagan Batu"

As we already seen, Kyiv was on the radar on the northern compilers of princely lists from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century after the annexation of the city by Algirdas of Lithuania. Regnal lists recalled another dramatic attack against the city, that of Batu in 1240. A peculiar list entitled "These Are the Names of the Princes of Kyiv Who Reigned in Kyiv through the Massacre by the Pagan Batu" (*Se zhe sout' imena kniazem" Kiev'skym, kniazhivshim v Kieve do izbit'ia Batyeva v pogan'stve boudoushchim*) can be found in the

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[70] *PSRL*, 17: col. 2; 3: 468.

[71] In the sixteenth century, both lists were carelessly reunited in one chronicle compilation. Novikova, "Materialy," 215-217.

Hypatian chronicle (*Ipat'evskaia letopis'*).[72] Like the list of Kyivan princes in the Primary Chronicle, "These Are the Names of the Princes of Kyiv" opens the chronicle narrative but employs a different formula, "and after MN_1 was MN_2".

Scholars have offered two approaches to the dating of the list, either on the basis of the last event mentioned in it, the taking of Kyiv by Batu in 1240, or the date of the Hypatian codex, which contains the list. Correspondingly, T. V. Gimon assumes that the list appeared soon after 1240 whereas Ostrowski dates both the list and the Hypatian codex to 1425.[73] Ostrowski's dating is closer to the truth, but it should be adjusted on the basis of textual analysis. The beginning of "These Are the Names of the Princes of Kyiv" is quite peculiar. Unlike other lists of Kyivan princes, it starts with Oleg's predecessors on the Kyivan throne, Dir and Askol'd. Furthermore, the title of the list, "These Are the Names of the Princes of Kyiv," indicates that the compiler of the list treated them as princes. The list's first record confirms this view stating that Askol'd and Dir started reigning as princes (*nachiasta kniazhiti*), jointly ruling in Kyiv (*odino kniazhenie*). What sources did the compiler utilise? The early history of Kyivan rulers is of course covered in the Primary Chronicle. However, the version of the Primary Chronicle that is included in the Hypatian codex emphasises that Askol'd and Dir were not princes and only owned the land of the Poliane, where Kyiv was located (*nachasta vladeti Pol'skoiu zemleiu*); it was Ruirik who was reigning as a prince (*kniazhiashchiu*) in Novgorod.[74] At the same time, the princely status of Askol'd and Dir is mentioned in N1Y, which explicitly reports that Askol'd and Dir assumed the titles of princes and were reigning as princes in Kyiv (*narekostasia kniazema… i besta kniazhashcha v Kieve*).[75]

NY1 obviously contaminated the Hypatian list's reference to Askol'd and Dir. According to Shakhmatov, the Hypatian codex was prepared in northern Rus' or Pskov using a south Rus' protograph.[76] This synthesis of northern and southern chronicle traditions apparently occurred in the late 1410s. Aleksei Tolochko has established that after its compilation in 1418, the protograph of the First Sofian Chronicle (the above-mentioned Compilation of Metropolitan Fotii) influenced the account of the sack of Kyiv by Batu in the Hypatian codex, s.a. 6748.[77] The Compilation of Fotii contains the traditional characteristic of Askol'd and Dir as non-princely usurpers and therefore could not be a source for the Hypatian princely list.

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[72] *PSRL*, 2 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 1998), cols. 1-2.

[73] Gimon, *Istoriopisanie*, 289; Ostrowski, "Was There a Riurikid Dynasty?" 36; B. M. Kloss dates the manuscript of the Hypatian chronicle more broadly to the late 1410s or the early 1420s. Kloss, "Predislovie k izdaniiu 1998 g.," in *PSRL*, 2: F.

[74] *PSRL*, 2: col. 15.

[75] *PSRL*, 3: 106.

[76] On the place of the Hypatian codex's production, see [A. A. Shakhmatov], "Predislovie," in *PSRL*, 2: viii; Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, vol. 1, bk 2: 562. Kloss thinks that the codex could have been compiled in western Rus'. Kloss, "Predislovie k izdaniiu 1998 g.," F.

[77] Aleksei P. Tolochko, "Proiskhozhdenie khronologii Ipat'evskogo spiska Galitsko-Volynskoi letopisi," *Palaeoslavica*, 13, no. 1 (2005): 94, 95.

However, interaction with Novgorodian chronicle writing did not have to be limited to that compilation. The compiler of the list could have also used N1Y-C, which describes Askol'd and Dir as princes.[78] "These Are the Names of the Princes of Kyiv" should be therefore dated to the period from the late 1410s to the creation of the Hypatian codex in the first half of the 1420s. The princely list was intended as a solemn introduction to the Hypatian codex as apparent from the distinctive format of the list's text executed in decorative vermilion ink.[79]

Chronologically, the Hypatian list is close to the list "And These Are the Princes of Rus'," which was also compiled after 1418 (see above). Both lists share the same theme, Batu's campaign against Rus'. However, the perspectives of both lists are very different. Focused on the descendants of Vsevolod Iur'evich Big Nest, "And These Are the Princes of Rus'" is particularly interested in the figure of Vsevolod's son Iurii, noting that he was killed by the pagan Tsar Batu.[80] In his turn, the compiler of "These Are the Names of the Princes of Kyiv" praises Prince Daniil Romanovich of Halych and his contribution to the defence of Kyiv. Apparently, the creator of the list became interested in the figure of Daniil Romanovich under the influence of the Halych-Volhynian chronicle. Part of the Hypatian codex, that chronicle extols Daniil Romanovich.[81]

A Novgorodian dynasty? "The Total Count of Years"

A list called "The Total Count of Years" (*Vkupe zhe se leta sbiraiutsia*) appears in the Novgorodian Sofian group of chronicles, which includes the first set of records of the Novgorodian Karamzin Chronicle (NKar1), the First Sofian Chronicle (Sof1) and the Fourth Novgorodian Chronicle (N4). The list brings together chronological calculations ("from the first year of MN_1's reign to the first year of MN_2's reign x years elapsed," "MN_3 reigned for y years, MN_4 reigned for z years") and genealogical material ("MN_5's sons: MN_6, MN_7,

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[78] On possible influence of N1Y-C on the Hypatian codex, see O. V. Romanova, "O khronologii Galitsko-Volynskoi letopisi XIII v. po Ipat'evskomu spisku," in *Proshloe Novgoroda i Novgorodskoi zemli. Materialy nauchnoi konferentsii 11-13 noiabria 1997 goda*, comp. V. F. Andreev (Novgorod: NovGU im. Iaroslava Mudrogo, 1997), 69.

[79] Written by a scribe whose hand does not appear in other parts of the manuscript, the list is formatted in one column whereas the rest of the chronicle text is written in two columns. See Shakhmatov, "Predislovie," vi; Kloss, "Predislovie k izdaniiu 1998 g.," F.

[80] Focus on Iurii Vsevolodovich is generally typical of the Vladimir-Suzdalian version of the Tale of Batu's Invasion. See G. M. Prokhorov, "Povest' o nashestvii Batyia," in *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, 1 (Leningrad: Nauka, 1987), 364.

[81] See N. F. Kotliar, "Kompozitsiia, istochniki, zhanrovye i ideinye kharakteristiki Galitsko-Volynskoi letopisi," in *Galitsko-Volynskaia letopis': Tekst, kommentarii, issledovanie*, ed. Kotliar (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2005), 43-47.

MN$_8$").[82] The relationship between the chronicles within the Novgorodian Sofian group is a complex issue which is still debated by historians. Without going into the details of the controversy, one may note that both G. M. Prokhorov and Bobrov agree that NKar1 affected N4 and Sof1.[83] In all these chronicles the list opens with a chronological section containing the lengths of reigns starting from Oleg. That section capitalizes on similar calculations in the Primary Chronicle's list of Kyivan princes (see above) and continues them through certain Vladimir Iaroslavich who reigned, according to the list, for four years.[84] The second section of "The Total Count of Years" lists the sons of several princes starting from the same Vladimir Iaroslavich through the sons of Ivan II Ivanovich of Moscow, Dmitrii (would be Donskoi) and Ivan, in NKar1 and N4 and through Great Prince Vasilii II of Moscow in Sof1.

Vladimir Iaroslavich was a very important figure for the compiler of the list who put the prince's name first at the end of the chronological section of his list and again at the beginning of the genealogical part. But who was that Vladimir Iaroslavich? His name follows the name of Iaroslav Vladimirovich (the Wise). Formal genealogical interpretation suggests that Vladimir Iaroslavich must have been Iaroslav's eldest son, who was prince of Novgorod from 1034 or 1036 to his death in 1052. However, Shakhmatov rejected this identification. In his view, that Vladimir Iaroslavich was in fact Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh because the list of alleged sons of Vladimir Iaroslavich contains the names of Vladimir Monomakh's sons. The four-year reign refers, according to Shakhmatov, to the year of 1118 which was the fourth year of Vladimir Monomakh's reign in Kyiv. It was precisely that year when a protograph of the list was allegedly compiled. A later editor for some reasons mistook Vladimir Monomakh for Vladimir Iaroslavich, deliberately left out princes who ruled between Iaroslav Vladimirovich and Vladimir Monomakh and erroneously claimed that the latter's sons were the sons of Vladimir Iaroslavich.[85]

These typical Shakhmatovian speculations fail to explain why the compiler/editor of the list was so preoccupied with Vladimir Iaroslavich. Christian Raffensperger's study of Vladimir Iaroslavich is not helpful either because it concerns with another type of speculations: what could have happened if the prince had lived longer.[86] But the figure of Vladimir Iaroslavich was essential to the collective memory of the Novgorodian cultured elite without any guesswork. The focus of "The Total Count of Years" on Vladimir Iaroslavich becomes clear if we consider the history of NKar1, which contains the list. That chronicle was produced in

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[82] NKar1: *PSRL*, 42 (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2002), 26-27; Sof1: *PSRL*, vol. 6, issue 1 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), cols. 18-19; N4: *PSRL*, vol. 4, issue 1 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), 13-14.

[83] G. M. Prokhorov, "Letopisnye podborki rukopisi GPB, F.IV.603 i problema svodnogo obshcherusskogo letopisaniia," *TODRL*, 32 (Leningrad: Nauka, 1977), 165-198; Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 100-111, 168-217.

[84] On the dependence of the list on the Primary Chronicle, see Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, 2: 224.

[85] Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, 2: 226-267.

[86] Christian Raffensperger, "Volodimer the Bold: A Counter-Factual History of Eleventh-Century Rus'," *Russian History*, 44 (2017): 398-410.

the circle of Archbishop Ioann of Novgorod during his rapprochement with Moscow-based Metropolitan Fotii. According to Bobrov, NKar1 was prepared by monks associated with the Fox Hill (Lisitskii) monastery in Novgorod. However, they worked on the chronicle not in Novgorod, but in the St Sergii-Trinity monastery during Archbishop Ioann's stay in Moscow in 1411-1412.[87]

The list's chronological note on the four-year reign of Vladimir Iaroslavich is derivative from NKar1, as apparent from the chronology of his reign recorded in different chronicles. As Table 13 demonstrates, none of the chronicles from the Novgorodian-Sofian group contains fully correct dates. At the same time, according to NKar1 (and NKar1-dependent N4), four full years passed from the beginning of Vladimir Iaroslavich's reign in Novgorod in 1036 to his campaign against Constantinople in 1041 (in fact, the campaign took place in 1043). It is that four-year period that is mentioned in "The Total Count of Years," whose chronological calculations include both reigns and battles.

13. Chronology of Vladimir Iaroslavich's reign[88]

Event	Primary Chronicle	The Elder Redaction of the First Novgorodian Chronicle	N1Y	Novgorodian-Sofian group		
				NKar1	N4	Sof 1
Installation of Vladimir Iaroslavich in Novgorod	6544 (1036)	na	Na	6544 (1036)	6544 (1036)	6542 (1034)
Vladimir Iaroslavich's campaign against Constantinople	6551 (1043)	6551 (1043)	Na	6549 (1041)	6549 (1041)	6551 (1043)

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[87] Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 122-128.
[88] The Primary Chronicle: Ostrowski, lines 150,15; 150,25-150,26; 154,3-154,4; the Elder Redaction of the First Novgorodian Chronicle: *PSRL*, 3: 16; N1Y: *PSRL*, 3: 180; NKar1: *PSRL*, 42: 63, 64; N4: *PSRL*, vol. 4, issue 1: 114, 115; Sof1: *PSRL*, vol. 6, issue 1: cols. 177, 178.

Prokhorov dated the "The Total Count of Years" to the reign of Ivan II Ivanovich of Moscow (1354-1359) because he is the last prince whose children are mentioned in the list's genealogical section.[89] However, as we saw, the list depends on NKar1, which was compiled in 1411. The copyist of the chronicle manuscript, who worked at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, clearly realised that the list was incomplete, as evidenced by seven blank lines left after the last name on the list with a view of adding more names to it.[90] We can only guess why the compiler of the original list left his work unfinished. As we will see below, he deliberately omitted some royal names in his genealogies to achieve literary goals, so he may have never intended his list to be exhaustive. It is also possible that the list lacks the names of princes of Moscow between 1359 and 1411 for purely technical reasons. NKar1 omits births in the Muscovite ruling family in the second half of the fourteenth century. The compiler thus had to resort to external sources for his genealogy, but something could have prevented him from doing that.

The Novgorodian compilers of NKar1 cherished Vladimir Iaroslavich's memory as the founder of the St. Sophia cathedral in Novgorod. The prince was buried there after his death in 1052. NKar1 also reveals interest in Vladimir Iaroslavich's family by providing two records about the death of his mother Ingigerd. Both records connect her death with St. Sophia noting that Ingigerd passed away in the same year when her son established the cathedral.[91] NKar1 presents Vladimir as a prince whose family had had close connections with Novgorod. "The Total Count of Years" develops NKar1's image of Vladimir Iaroslavich as an important member of royalty. The chronological and genealogical material of the list links Vladimir Iaroslavich with important princely families of Kyiv and North-Eastern principalities (this is why his name appears in the chronological and genealogical sections of the list).

Furthermore, the compiler of the list even turned Vladimir Iaroslavich into the founder of the house of Moscow. This was a challenging task because historically, due to Vladimir Iaroslavich's early death, his descendants became outcasts (izgoi) and had to resort to the Riurik legend to resist pressure from members of senior princely families.[92] However, during the reign of Vasilii I of Moscow, when "The Total Count of Years" was compiled, the Riurik

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[89] G. M. Prokhorov, "Materialy postateinogo analiza obshcherusskikh letopisnykh svodov: Podborki Karamzinskoi rukopisi, Sofiiskaia 1, Novgorodskaia 4 i Novgorodskaia 5 letopisi," *TODRL*, 51 (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 1999): 141.

[90] *PSRL*, 42: 27, note 18. The list contains factual errors, which later chroniclers sought to correct. In particular, the copy "The Total Count of Years" in NKar1 erroneously calls Daniil Aleksandrovich of Moscow Danill Iaroslavich. Sof1 corrects that error. See Bobrov, *Novgorodkie letopisi*, 102-103. Cf. O.V. Romanova, "Ipat'evskaia letopis' i Novgorodsko-Sofiiskii svod," in *Opyty po istochnikovedeniiu: Drevnerusskaia knizhnost'. Sbornik statei v chest' V.K. Ziborova* (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1997), 64-65.

[91] The chronology of NKar1's account of Ingigerd's death is muddled. See Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 105-106.

[92] I discuss this issue at length in my coming book about dynastic memory.

legend was appropriated by pro-Muscovite Novgorodian chroniclers (see above the section about the Novgorodian regnal lists). This is why the compiler of "The Total Count of Years" resorted to a standard method of doctoring genealogies by omitting several generations (so called telescoping).[93] Capitalising on the typical Novgorodian confusion about Vladimir Monomakh's place in the genealogy of Rus' princes, the compiler of the list presented Vladimir Monomakh's sons as sons of Vladimir Iaroslavich. What is important that these sons included Iurii Vladimirovich (Long Arm), to whom "The Total Count of Years" traces the origin of the princes of Moscow. In "The Total Count of Years" Vladimir Iaroslavich therefore performs similar functions to those of Aleksandr Nevskii in the "Tale of the Faithful Holy Princes" and "And These Are the Princes of Rus':" both princes chronologically and genealogically connect Novgorod with the prestigious ancient principality of Kyiv and the powerful princely house of Moscow. Created simultaneously with NKar1, "The Total Count of Years" sought to construct an alternative genealogy for the princes of Rus' during the period when other lists embraced the Riurik legend. Aware of Vladimir Iaroslavich's connections with Novgorod, the compiler of the list tried to create an image of Vladimir Iaroslavich as a Novgorodian dynast, the founder of other powerful princely houses. But, like NKar1, "The Total Count of Years" remained incomplete work in progress.

Conclusion

The genre of princely lists evolved from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Early lists included in the Primary Chronicle were very basic. Modelled after Biblical patterns, short royal genealogies focused on the proliferation of Vladimir I's children after his conversion. The history of the Kyivan throne was treated in chronological rather than genealogical terms, a clear sign that the compiler of the regnal list of Kyivan princes in the Primary Chronicle did not have the concept of a dynasty. Rather, he saw his list as a charter which justified princely politics.

A new wave of interest in enumerating members of princely families started during the reign of Vasilii I. A number of political and cultural factors contributed to the proliferation of princely lists in the chronicles produced by Novgorodian literati. In terms of politics, the Novgorodian cultured elite, which had always had close contacts with various princely families, had to accommodate a new power configuration in the region after the military aggression of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the growth of the principalities of Moscow and Tver'. Culturally, the princely lists reflected intensive contacts within the East Slavic republic of letters when different local traditions of chronicle writing merged and affected one another. Contacts between the archbishopric see of Novgorod and the metropolitan see in Moscow also contributed to the increasing complexity of regnal lists which were now intertwined with historical and religious narrative encompassing different regional

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[93] On telescoped genealogies, see Dumville, "Kingship," 87.

traditions. Depending of their affiliations with one or another princely family, different groups of the Novgorodian elite produced competing genealogical narratives, which embraced the memories of Kyivan, Novgorodian, Smolensk and North-Eastern princes. It was in this cultural context that the genealogical concepts of the Riurikid and Danilovichi dynasties emerged for the first time in East Slavic literature.

The chronicle lists of East Slavic princes legitimised kingship, validated existing social structures and served as a form of recorded collective memory for members of princely families and their Novgorodian allies. Clear formalised structure and relatively short length (in comparison with chronicles) made the princely lists a convenient and flexible tool for shaping political narrative. The compilers of princely lists often reinterpreted, glossed over and even ignored details of princely politics that could be found in the chronicles. The relationship between a princely list and a full chronicle was similar to that between a label and a small print. Princely lists, like labels, advertised such big issues as conversion, piety, military exploits, uninterrupted succession. Similar to a small print, a full chronicle text qualified and sometimes even contradicted the narrative of a princely list. Princely lists and chronicles were apparently intended for different types of readers: a person in position of authority, possibly with very basic reading skills, inpatient and unable to focus on anything for a long time, would glance through a list of his ancestors; a nerdy monk would spend long nights crouching over a chronicle, collating and comparing different variants. The chroniclers kept in mind both readers when they supplied their chronicles with lists of princes.