ANNEX

~~Photograph~~

M. O'C. Walshe
6 August 1940.

THE HEROIC BALLADS OF RUSSIA

THE HEROIC BALLADS OF RUSSIA

BY

L. A. MAGNUS, LL.B.

Author of *Roumania's Cause and Ideals*, *Russian Folk-Tales*, *The Tale of the Armament of Igor*, *etc.*

LONDON:
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & Co., LTD.
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & Co.
1921

LEGEND AND HISTORY

This book is a compilation of the earlier balladry of Russia. It does not profess to explain origins, or to put forward exhaustive theories, or to refute other writers. It is an attempt to set forth legends, as they are.

After all, what is the real barrier between history and legend? History consists of the annals of such accomplished facts as can be vouched by accepted evidence. In modern credence, history therefore excludes the miraculous or superhuman. But mankind lives not only on the indigestible crusts of hard fact; his abiding sustenance is his faith and his aspirations. These latter essentials are portrayed in legendry, and therefore both legendry and history, taken apart and in isolation, are fallacious. It is only in happier ages, when the dream can become the deed, and fact has been compelled to conform with imagination, that the two elements combine and the tale of each can approximate to a whole and sincere truth.

The earlier ballads of Russia depict an incessant warfare against infidels of three confessions, the Romans, (who in the eyes of the Orthodox, are schismatics), the Moslems, and also against some fragments of the Judaized Khazars. So far, then, the Ballads are a sublimate or crystallization of the entirety of the course and tragedy of Russia, hemmed in, as she has always been, by alien folks who barred her access to the open seas. These ballads furnish us with phantasms of a deeper reality: they preclude capricious imagination, and synchronize and emblematize the constant factors of early Russian history. This high function cannot be predicated in the same sense for the balladry of any other country. The French epic of Charlemagne, the German of Walther von der Vogelweide, could be products of pure fiction, which, once created, was written down and arrested; for the Western nations had their Froissarts and Ekkehardts and lay writers to express their national ideals: these nations had the luck to

be better educated and freer and more happily circumstanced, and had no need of such an indirect form of self-expression. But, on the other hand, the artistic products of the Western writers did not spring, albeit in so crude a way, from the people, and their work could not have been so innately popular as the Russian ballads, where popular romance grew and developed in oral tradition.

These early Russian ballads tell us of the life of the Courts and the nobles. There reigned despots whose authority was unlimited, whilst their power and tenure were precarious, so that law (the conception of which implies the availability at all times of a sufficiency of force, balanced and regulated by some established code, more or less ethical) was almost non-existent. This factor, one of the consistent retarding elements in Russian history, is very well portrayed in the ballads, with a deadly exactitude.

Again, in Russia, just as there has never been any law (at any rate in the Middle Ages), so, correlatively, there has never been any freedom. Consequently, criticism and free speech have nearly always had to take tortuous and concealed ways. Where all is darkness, and the few torchbearers are selfish, everyone must grope. Discontent has always had to take the form of cautious satire: and in this respect there is a gruesome continuity between the unknown minstrels of these early ballads and the great writers, such as Krylóv or Gógol. The Kievite ballads are tales of the semi-barbarous byzantinism of a feeble principality; the later Moscovite ballads breathe a more modern spirit: and, between the lines, the attentive reader may detect some bitter criticism of the prevailing tyranny. Thus, there are many shrewd hits at the unpatriotic, polonizing nobles of the period of the *smúta*, at the unjust judges, and the fatuity of the Tsars (*e.g.*, when the name of the legendary emblem of monarchy, Vladímir is contorted into *Malodúmor*). In this regard, again, the ballads enshrine and synchronize the essence of Russian history.

Or, again, from another point of view, Russia (*i.e.*, pre-Petrine) had only stray and occasional ambassadors, who journeyed abroad, and few and casual visitors from abroad. In the descriptions of these foreign visitors to the Court of

Prince Vladímir (to be found in these ballads), the reader can observe how such strangers impressed the Russians: they were much wealthier, much more ingenious, and yet so conceited and boastful.

Some few Russians were sent abroad to collect or to pay tribute: the prototype for such emissaries became Dobrýnya Nikítich. Somehow or other, for the purpose of impressing the mind of the nation and so forming history, it would seem as though this legendary figure were of more historical importance than a Sazónov, or even a Chichérin.

These haphazard goings and comings were of all sorts: some distinguished strangers from the Baltic came to rob, and others to trade—in the ballads we have Solovéy the Robber and Solovéy Budímirovich, the merchant. In such a figure as the legendary Etmanuil, King of Lithuania, it is an irrelevant circumstance for the true history of Russia that he may not have existed.

The readers will find that the description always turns on the Russian Court, which, however feeble externally, has always been the only reality and source of unity in Russian history.

This Court has always displayed the pettiest as well as the grossest vices of folly and corruption. Hints of criticism, which in other countries might have been more vocal, will be found in the ballads; and, as a test of realism, the demeanour of the low-born Ilyá Múromets at the Court of Vladímir and the factual behaviour of Potiómkin at the Court of Catherine II. would be quite fairly comparable. Again, is it not, from the point of view of essential truth in history, almost superfluous which of these incidents did in fact occur?

Alyósha Popóvich "the mocker of women," Churílo the "coxcomb" and profligate, are as real from this point of view as many historical courtiers, and, from a national aspect, have been much more educative. Vladímir's consort, Opráksa, is a dignified and typical queen of Russia, and Vladímir himself, shows in his character the lassitude and capriciousness of most of the Russian Tsars.

There is very little of the popular element in these ballads, save in those of Nóvgorod, where the homely touch is upper-

most, and there students of Russian revolution may have something to learn from the pranks of Vasíli Buslávich.

So we may sum up where we began. This compilation of the earlier ballads of Russia may be regarded as a contribution towards Russian history. It aims merely at translating the narratives. Most of the stories have been abstracted and retold : an occasional attempt has been made to reproduce, as nearly as possible, the original accentual metre.

The Russian ballads deserve a much more serious and detailed study; for, in the concept of the higher unity of history, in which the actual happenings are inextricably blent with the unfulfilled longings and perpetual dreads of a people, these ballads can take an equal place with the documentary records of the Russian State. L. A. M.

TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION

All vowels to be sounded as in Italian.

a as in *Alms*; *e* as in *été*; *i* as in *pIque*; *o* always as in *pOlka*; *u* as in *fUll*. *y* consonantally as in *Yet*; as a vowel, rather deeper than *i* in *swIm*.

CONSONANTS.

ch or *c* as *ch* in *CHurCH*; in Polish written *cz*.

dy or *d'* as in "*How D'Yer do?*"

g always hard as in *Give*.

j as in *JuDGe*.

kh as German *ch*.

l guttural, as in *huLL*, except before *i*, *e*, *ya*, *yo*, when it is sounded *mouillé* e.g. *briLLIance*.

s always hard as in *So*.

ty as in "*WhaT'Yer think?*"

sh as in *EngliSH* also represented *š*.

shch as in *freSH-CHeese*.

v at the end of words almost as *F*.

z always soft as in *Zebra*.

Zh or *ž* soft as in *leiSure*.

CONTENTS.

PART IV.: MOSCOW.

PART V.: NOVGOROD

PART VI.: THE EXOTIC ORIENTAL BALLADS

PART VII.: SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY

PART VIII.: APPENDICES

BALLADRY

THIS book has the ambitious object of introducing to the British public some of the wealth of Russian folk-lore. In Russian the sources are authoritative and full, and those drawn upon for this volume are the great compilations of Rýbnikov, Kiréyevski, Sákharov, Bezsónov and the *skázki* of Afanásyev.

The enormous extent of the Russian folk-lore, the meticulous care with which it has been collected, rendered the limitation of the scope of this volume inevitable, partly because Russian folk-tales more than any others are so intimately linked up with the mythology, the history and the social antecedents of the country, largely because of the extensiveness of the material. In these circumstances it is better to limit the book to a more or less detailed account of the principal and original sources of balladry, that of the Kíev and Nóvgorod cycles. The later Moscovite examples at the least are imitative, and would be incomprehensible in themselves, as they follow the earlier models so closely in style and manner.

The ballads of Great-Russia, properly speaking, begin in the XIIIth. century and go on uninterruptedly in addition almost up to the Turco-Russian war. Nearly all the Slav races also have their cycles of legends; Nóvgorod, in the Great-Russian dialect, developed another mass of popular poetry utterly independent and incognisant of the tales founded on Kíev. Thus apart from ballads in Russian proper, in Little-Russian (which is a distinct language from Russian) in every other Slav nation (with the possible exception of the Poles) similar stores of popular verse remain to be explored.

The Russians were converted in the year 980 by Vladímir I., and must have had some pagan religion of their own, previous

to this date, that survived or influenced the form of Christianity which the nation adopted. It has been observed by more than one commentator that when pagans are converted, the great gods, the gods of the firmament, suffer an eclipse, but the petty objects of superstitious worship, cobolds and ghouls, spirits of the rivers and the holy wells—those, in brief, who have to be propitiated locally, and by the "common people" (*prostonaród'e*) survived the overwhelming powers that ruled the world. To a large extent this is true of Russian folk-lore, but these minor deities live on, in the main, only in the magical formulæ (of which a large volume could be collected) in incantations, and in the narratives of the *skazki* or folk-tales. These lesser beliefs do not influence the ballads to any extent.

In general it may be remarked that the Russian genius is uncouth and inartistic, and has not made anything as fascinating or picturesque as the Lorelei out of the Rusálka (or river-fairy), the Vila and other fairies, and only attains something like ghastliness in the presentation of the ghouls in the church-yard, and some kind of vividness in the *domovóy* (the household sprite), the relic of the old ancestry worship of the *dêd*, or *shchur*, as also in the *lêshi* (or wood sprite), the mysterious cloven-footed Pan who inhabits the deeps of the primeval forests.

As to the great gods, of whom little is known, premature attempts have been made collect a pantheon, or Olympus.

The great compilers of the ballads lived in the fifties and sixties of the last century when mythologers were formalists, and could not be satisfied except with one rational and distinct origin for myths, and proceeded, either on the lines of the Euhemerists of old and attempted to make the popular skalds the more or less faithful recorders of the real facts of history, or invested them with a monotonous but prolific imagination, making all sorts of stories out of the one theme of the sun that rose in the East and is slain every day in the West by the powers of darkness. The theorizers of this time were also, perhaps, too much under the influence of comparative religion-cum-etymology which Max Müller was soon to popularize in England, and were filled with derivations and analogies of the gods of Greece and India, and seem rather

to have disregarded the one salient fact in Russian history, namely, that she was pent geographically and religiously out of contact with other Aryan influences, cut off from the West by their diversity of faith, and influenced ethnically and probably religiously by the masses of Turanian barbarians whom they fought and demolished and conquered during all the decades from the tenth to the sixteenth century, from the first invasion of the Pechenegs to the triumphant storming of Kazán by Ivan IV. It seems that to construct a pantheon for the Russian people is impossible.

The great Russian scholar, Sákharov, after summing up all the theories of his predecessors on the Russian gods, says : " This is how our mythologers have described the gods of the Russian Slavs : They, like inventors, do not put forth a single well-founded idea. It is all boast and guess and presumption ; many of them have even invented priests for their gods. . . . . Secondly, out of all the gods of the various Slav nations our mythologers have imported all they could discover without any consideration whether facts justified or not ; we often see in their etymologies gaps of historical criticism so great as to increase our doubt."

But Sákharov perhaps overstates his case, and certainly only preaches a negative.

Rambaud in his brilliant book, *La Russie Épique*, states a much clearer case, pointing out that the amorphism of the Slav gods is essential and positive : " Les Grecs se sont bien plus vite dégagés de la matière ; ils sont allés aussitôt au polythéisme ; . . . le panthéisme chez eux était dissimulé, enfoui sous les magnificences idolâtriques de la religion et de l'art helléniques ; chez les Slaves, il est partout à fleur de terre ; cette matière cosmique, les Slaves l'ont aimée comme elle était, l'ont chérie, sans éprouver le besoin de lui donner forme humaine. . . . C'est ce qui explique comment tant de peuples slaves ne peuvent aujourd'hui affirmer s'ils ont eu un panthéon."

On the other hand, the austere philosophy of Nature which evidently inspires the grand and titanic Valhalla of the North was a poetic concept too deep, too abstractly definite for the Slavs. The Slav worship of Mother Earth (*Sêraia Mátushka*) was always impersonal, but also inchoate.

Russian Slav gods, such as they were, consisted certainly of the following : the Thunder-God, Perun (called in Lithuanian Perkunas,) a God of cattle, Veles or Volos ; a God of Prosperity, Dazhbog ; and a God of the Winds, Stribog ; and perhaps some others, possibly a God of the clear sky, Svarog. Besides these, other ideas of power may have been given names and worshipped. But, in the main, these beings never even attained the shadowy substantiality of the Vedic deities, certainly not the philosophic fulness of India. But whatever may be thought on this subject, these deities may be dismissed from any considerations of the heroic ballads of Russia, for they were forgotten long before these songs came into existence.

Of the soul of the Russian ballads, there is more stated in the Introduction proper. If by epic be understood a standard of poetry in which individual authorship is effaced in a school or cycle of conventional epithet and turned phrases, where definition of character is faint and rather incidental, then certainly these ballads may be distinctly called epic[1] : *e.g.*, the lips are always red, and the hands always white, and the rings always gold, and the youth always valorous, the sea always blue, and the lakes always deep, and the hawks always clear-eyed, and the wine always green. The poems may be said to belong to the class of shorter songs from which some Homerizers have imagined that one supreme genius, Homer, compiled or re-adapted the Iliad and Odyssey. No such genius ever arose in Russia. The same tricks of conventional epithet are found as in Homer, but to a wearisome extent. Rambaud says on this subject : " Mais que ces chansons se rapportent à Vladimir prince de Kief, ou à l'empereur Nicolas, elles reproduisement également ces procedés particuliers de style qu'on appelle homériques, bien qu'ils soient communs à toutes les poésies primitives. D'abord les répétitions textuelles dans la même chanson de développements entiers. Le poète, après avoir exposé l'action pour son propre compte, le fera raconter plus loin dans les termes identiques par quelqu'un des acteurs. Si la même action se répète trois fois—et le nombre trois est presque sacrementel, trois fois de suite le poète l'exposera dans les mêmes termes. . . . . La peinture des passions

n'est jamais bien développée ; un certain nombre d'expressions convenues servent à exprimer la joie, la douleur, la surprise, l'empressement, l'épouvante. Les passions se manifestent moins par des discours que par les actions violentes qu'elles inspirent."

Rambaud's generalization that passion is imperfectly depicted is perhaps too broad.

The metre is a syllabic accentual development of primitive Aryan verse. Subject, style, and language have undoubtedly been influenced very much by the Finns and other non-Aryan peoples amongst whom the Slavs mixed ; and, as one very notable instance of this, Rambaud quotes from the Kalevala an invocation to an arrow before it is sped on its flight, which is almost identical in spirit with that in which Ilyá Múromets addresses his bow before he dispatches the fatal barb :

> Do thou strike, oh birthwood arrow,
> Strike thou in the back, oh pinewood !
> Twang thy best, oh hempen bowstring !
> If my hand is leaning downwards
> Let the arrow then strike higher ;
> If my hand is bending upwards,
> Let the arrow then strike downward !

Norse borrowings are also frequent ; thus when Ilyá Múromets fights the Polyánitsa (Amazon), or the earth-giant Svyatogór, he rains blows on them with his club which are unfelt. The incident with Svyatogór was the original, and the bare story resembles that of Thor on his expedition against Skrimir in Utgard, where the Titan is so huge that the gods can lodge in his glove, and a barrier of thick rock is interposed between Thor's hammer and the hostile head. But in this case the spirit and the tale are Russian to the core, especially in the characteristic failure to make any grandeur or poetry out of the material.

Russia, as has been stated, was isolated for perhaps a longer period than any other European nation. She conserved the old village community (*mir*) into modern times. Thus, too, the ancient trochaic metre with its conventional forms was used by the popular bards to describe in their fashion the historical events as they occurred and struck the imagination of the people down to 1878. The freshness did go out of the

form in the course of a long history, but as Rambaud remarks: " La Russie a dans ces Cantilènes ce que nulle autre nation ne possède peut-être aussi complètement, l'histoire d'un peuple écrite par lui-même."

Only the limitation of space and the desire to deal adequately with one aspect of the Russian ballad in a single book makes it essential and inevitable to exclude all the spirited ballads of Ivan the Terrible and the false Demetrius (Lzhedimítri) as well as ballads touching on Dimítri Donskóy, Peter the Great, and the unique victory of Kulikovo field over the Tatars: the tales of the *smútnoye vrémya* (the epoch of confusion), of the birth of Peter the Great, the Swedish campaigns and the Napoleonic.

The question has been very much debated by all the writers of these ballads, mainly Russians, what is the real meaning of the court of Vladímir the Great and of the grotesquely perverted social pictures contained in them? There are obvious signs of Oriental loans, and Stasov has tried to derive the whole of the Russian balladry from the East, denying it any native reality.

On the other hand some writers have been captivated by the sun myth and have turned Vladímir into a picture of the sun, especially as he is always called Krásnoe Sólnyshko, red sunlet, and applied all those facile arguments which are so familiar from the *Chips from a German Workshop*.

It cannot be denied that the picture of the Thunder Cloud and of the inexplicable lightning flash, of the sun setting in anger and rising to the subdued music of the earth must have aroused the wonderment of the Russian peasant as much as it does the most æsthetic lyrist of modern England: whether the expression followed the feeling might be doubtful; but to state that the whole of their imaginative bent was one monotony of restating the daily re-creation of the sun in various terms, and then misunderstanding and misapplying their words so as to form the most varied mass of legend the world has ever seen, is perhaps to ascribe at once too much and too little to men in this early stage of development. Too much because such a morbid admiration implies a rather inconceivable lyric power; too little because primitive man must have had other objects to attract his interest.

Others again have endeavoured to interpret all these tales merely as nature myths, to turn Ilyá Múromets into the Thunder-God, merely because the speed of his arrow is compared with the lightning flash, and so on.

A third school, re-acting from this surfeiting of phantasy, makes primitive man an inaccurate recorder of the prosaic facts of his history and endeavours to interpret his legends as being mere geography and history.

It would seem that all these theories are true in part, and all untrue apart. If one imagines the lacks and the yearnings of the Russian nomad hunter who was just learning agriculture either in the black soil of Southern Russia, in the impenetrable forests of Central Russia, or where the cold wind swept over the steppes of the North ; evidently faced with hardships like every other man, he must make up for himself in his fears and his difficulties some higher Power to whom he can pray for help, whom he can supplicate for gentleness ; and he must build up for himself some effective hero to regard as his ideal for his own action. He has no method of writing, and if these tales of incitement, or songs of enchantment are to be preserved, they must be in some metre that may be memorized. At some time or other, again, a great warrior will accomplish a mighty feat ; he will subdue the more barbarous invader and what more apt comparison would there be of such a hero than with the impersonal powers of nature, whose havoc the primitive Slav has to beg off, whose clemency and might he must invoke ?

In this stage of society, fiction (which consists of creating for ourselves types which we wish to follow, or imagine, ideals we wish to fashion, dangers we wish to avoid), poetry (that should conjure up the terror and reality that lies behind the perils or joys of every-day life), and the instinct of religion, of some superior force manifested in the unknown and the incomprehensible, that every day intervenes and deflects the ordinary course of life ; these three things, fiction, poetry and religion' would all be blended and as yet undistinguished, and the result would be the folk-lore which is handed down from generation to generation, a medley of tales of gods, of heroes, and substantiations of nature phenomena. Therefore, to seek for any single origin for folk-lore would seem rather

fatuous. It may be convenient in the course of some experiment of thought to departmentalize, just as, in all scientific research, one aspect, one feature must be separated and a law stated for its growth and decay. But it remains a truism that none of the conclusions arrived at will be absolutely true in reality, since they will inevitably be complicated by other factors which cannot conveniently be dealt with in that particular treatise.

In this introduction some regard has, as far as possible, been paid to the theory of the essentially multiple origin of folk-lore; that a number of circumstances flow together from all sources and make a character up. Thus a comparison of some hero with a natural feature, with the rays of the red sun, would be the natural glorification of him, but not a proof that he was a mere metaphor of the sun.

Many of the etymologies of the names are in the same way multiple, a number of different words and concepts having constantly confluesced.

At the bottom of all these stories of giants and heroes there must certainly be some element of nature fear and nature worship, as also the apprehension and longing for the divine, but involved in it must be some attempt to keep a record of past history, illustrated by the aptest comparisons possible with the dread facts of surrounding nature.

Lastly, in this preface some mention should be made of the other early forms of Russian balladry which have been excluded from this treatise. An account of them will be found in Rambaud's *La Russie Épique*, as also in Ralston's books. The whole of the cycle of the *Kalêki perekhózhiye*, the wandering beggars, the whole of the cycle of Akur the Wise, and the cosmogonic riddles that he answers, and almost all the Tales of David, the son of Jesse, the All-wise King, and Solomon and his unfaithful queen, and his strange adventures as a hired shepherd have been omitted. On the other hand, these betray a distinctly Oriental origin, may be partly Moslem, partly even Buddhistic, with garbled lore from the Old Testament. They seem to be alien to the lore of Russia and to read unconvincingly and untruthfully.

They were taken up by the Church and converted into moral apologues, and became almost as dull as the propagandist novel of modern times, and are not in any sense national enough to be included in a book which aims at presenting the first outcome of the true popular self-record and self-glorification of the Russian people.

THE HEROIC BALLADS OF RUSSIA.

I.—MEDIEVAL HISTORY WITH SPECIAL RELATION TO KÍEV

§ 1 : THE CHARACTER OF EARLY RUSSIAN HISTORY

THE Middle Ages in Russia show some features in common with Western Europe, a period of turbulence, of warring princelets, partitioned kingdoms, yet withal great commercial prosperity of certain privilegd towns along defined trade-routes. In Russia, as elsewhere, two or three great princes of peace rise either in merit or adventitious fame above the common ruck, and round them, when legendarized, folk-song and folk-lore congregate, the doughty champions of the rough aristocratic ideals of the time. And, above all, the leaven which made the rude tribes with their disputed shares of Roman territory into something of chivalrous nationhood, was in Russia the same as in Europe, that marvellous Northern race that founded thrones from France down to Sicily and the Black Sea.

To make the very broadest of summaries, at the risk of being fallacious, it may be said that medieval Russian history is divided into three great territorial, literary, and political parts. There is, first of all, first in date and civilization, the South, the Kíev dynasty, invigorated into the IXth and Xth centuries from the North, and deriving religion and culture from Constantinople. This epoch is one of utter disorganization, the proprietorship of land being spasmodic and arbitary,[1] the vague frontier faced on all sides by savage or Roman Catholic foes, and there was little regularity in the dynastic succession. The South is the "Black Soil"

of great fertility, and well-watered, but the southern frontier never extended down to the sea, always following a line continuous more or less from that of the Danube where it parts Hungary from the Kingdom of the Bolgars, until the first conquest of the Tatars, when all the territories became Russian.

Secondly, as the Slavs permeated Northwards into the Finnish countries, the realm of forests and greater cold, they founded States which were less exposed to Mongol irruption, and developed slowly to a commercial civilization founded on the Hanseatic trade down the great waterways of the Lakes of Ónega, Ládoga, the rivers Vólkhov and the Dnêpr. The republic of Great Nóvgorod arose under these conditions in turbulent independence too uncontrolled to survive against more autocratic principalities. This Northern Russia was confronted on the East with the Lithuanian State, Catholic in religion and German in civilization, consisting of what might be termed the *hinterland* of the great trade-routes of the Western Dviná and the Dnéstr.

Lastly, to the East there were the military frontier-colonizations of Súzdal and Vladímir (*i.e.*, the city and principality so-called), where the chieftains were ever on the guard, and had, to subsist, even to become independent of the family broils of Kíev. Here the need of defence led to the spirit of autocracy, which reigned in Moscow from the first. Moscow had been a mere hunting-lodge of the Princes of Vladímir; as its situation on the Moskvá near the Easterly trade-routes of the rivers Óka and Vólga[2] lent the "stone-built city" prosperity, it continued still a domain without any self-government. These conditions induced a stronger state, with fewer fraternal internecine wars, with comparatively greater powers of withstanding the barbarians; but also produced a scheme of servility and slavery, which the conquering armies of the princes of Vladímir and Moscow were to make general over the territories of Nóvgorod, Lithuania and South Russia.

The Tatar subjugation clearly exemplifies this division of the country. They held the South, both the lands below the line of the Danube, which the Kíev princes never could subdue, and the centre of former civilization up the Dnêpr,

such as Pereyáslavl'; they merely terrorized and exacted tribute from the coarse and craven military despots of Eastern Russia, never to any extent held the boggy Nóvgorod domain in subjection, and were not tempted by the drear and cold stretches of Livonia, Esthland and Lithuania (with whom they were mostly in alliance, as the Catholic foes of Orthodox Russia).

Every one of these huge districts developed its own balladry. The art originated in Kíev and Little-Russia, was carried to its perfection in the dialects of the provinces of free Nóvgorod, and had fainter echoes in the military despotism of Súzdal' and Moscow, all of these in order of date: Lithuania and Livonia were ethnically and socially outside Russia.

The ballads cannot be understood without some gallop across the centuries of history of these different countries, now still held under different titles by the Tsar of all the Russias ; and the greatest particularization will be essential for the Kíev cycle and the Kíev dynasty, for this was the beginning, and, from a literary and mythological point of view, the richest land to exploit.

This preface to the historical section may be fittingly concluded with a note of the titles of royalties. The rulers of Christian or Pagan tribes and nations to the West and North (such as the Poles, Magyars, Lithuanians) were called Kings (*Koról'*). The sovereigns of the savage Mongol and other barbarians are called *Tsar*. The Russian dynasties were Princes (*Knyaz'*, itself an early loan-word from the Norse *Konung*, King); the head of the house who reigned at Kíev (after 1240 when the Mongols laid Kíev waste[3] and established their " Golden Horde " near by at Sarai, the seat of the Great Prince was transferred to Súzdal' Vladímir and then Moscow) was styled the Great Prince (*veliki knyaz'*) : it was a rule of peers, of princes equal in power with an elective head.

There is no positive term of adulation of royal dignity for the sovereign of Kíev; he is always Vladímir, the great Prince, the bright little-Sun, enthroned at Kíev. The Moscow house with its greater pretensions first took the title of *gosudár*. Hospód' Lord is applied only to God : *gospodín* is modern Russian for Monsieur, and originally meant Master ;

gosudár, another derivative means *ruler* (we can only translate all three forms " lord ") was applied only to the deity or a great monarch, and its implication is that of ruler or monarch. The Moscow house first assumed this title, which is to the present day the word denoting the majesty of the Tsar. Nóvgorod, when cowed by Moscow, declined to call Vasíli the Blind *gosudár* and preferred *gospodín* as less slavish.

When Pskov was arbitrarily and violently robbed of its freedom in 1549, the citizens addressed a last sarcastic appeal to Vasíli III., calling him Tsar, like the Tatar overlord of Russia.

The country in the earlier style is always *Rus*, *Svyatáia Rus*, Holy Russia, an ethnic, not a territorial, term (just as in the Tale of Igor, Russians are called *Rúsích* with the patronymic) : *Rossía*, with the vocalization borrowed from the Greek Ῥῶς, the modern name occurs only in the later Moscovite tale, and applies not to the land undelimited, which Russian stock inhabits, but to the state under the sway of the Russian Tsar.

This progress in Byzantinism (from *knyaz* to *tsar* and *gosudár*) also illustrates the relations and conditions of the three broad divisions of medieval Russia.

§ 2 : RUSSIAN HISTORY UP TO VLADÍMIR II.

Round the figure of Vladímir, enthroned in Kíev, the little-sun, a whole cycle of Russian ballads has grown up. Remote and unrelated as they are with historic fact (though Vladímir is nearer reality than the Charlemagne of French literature), no description of the content of these songs can dispense with a brief historic setting.

About the middle of the ninth century, the Russians, a Pagan Slav population (with a very inchoate cosmogony of gods) occupied the great inland plateau from beyond Nóvgorod bounded on the East by the Khazars (a Turkish race) ; on the South the Pechenegs (another Turkish tribe) cut them from the Black Sea, while on the West, Hungary Croatia, Poland, Prussia (i.e., the Slavonic tribe held in subjection by the Teutonic Order) and the Esths, opposed their national holdings. To the North the Lithuanians and the

Finns were still independent. Legend has it that the Slav princes invited Hrörekr and Thorvardr in 862 to king it over the lawless tribes, but, whether the Northmen came as allies or as invaders, they soon established a Scandinavian monarchy; Rurik survived his brothers, and died in 879; in 882 Olég (Helgi) the regent for Ígor (Ingvar) conquered Kíev from the Khazars. The Northmen had evidently advanced down the great trade-route from Lake Ládoga, Nóvgorod, Smolénsk, and thence down the Dnêpr, by the cities of Chernígov and Kíev. The inevitable enemies of the new state would be the Khazars on the East, and the barbarous Pechenegs and Bolgars (the Turkish tribe later converted to Slav speech) who barred access to the Eastern Empire. The source of civilization might be from the West through Catholic Moravia and Bohemia, or the South from Constantinople, whose sphere of rule was by this time confined to Greece, Macedonia and Asia Minor.

For a long time these princes kept their Scandinavian character pure. The very word *Rus'* (Russia) is said to be Finnish for a Swede, and the domain of Kíev and Russia itself was thus named after her energetic foreign rulers. The same race of henchmen (Vaering), the Varangian guard at Constantinople, saved the State as the Varangian body-guards.

Olég (the name of one of the legendary knights of the Kíev cycle) besieged Constantinople and in 911 concluded an inconclusive treaty of peace establishing commercial relations between Kíev and Constantinople; and warfare went on, until 945, when Igor, who succeeded to his father's throne at the age of thirty-five after Olég's death in 912, was defeated at sea by the Greek fire—the great early instance of civilized armaments against savagery.

From father to son, the same ruthless warlike efficiency appears in the Northern princes. Incessantly engaged in the defence of their domains, and aspiring to extend their frontiers into the barbarous Turanian peoples that surrounded them, they show the same strong character as elsewhere in Europe. It was only as they deliquesced into the conquering nation, which then as afterwards showed a marked incapacity for joint action, that they lost their attributes of energy and resourcefulness.

The reign of Svyatosláv (the son of Igor) is marked by the conversion of his mother Ól'ga to Christianity (995) at her solemn visit to Constantinople. Svyatosláv might well have been a national hero, a restless and far-seeing warrior, ever on the march, of Spartan endurance. "Wrapt in a bear-skin, Swatoslaus usually slept on the ground, his head reclining on the saddle; his diet was coarse and frugal," says Gibbon. Whilst Ól'ga ruled at Kíev, he aimed at establishing Russian authority in the Kingdom of the Bolgars (a richer country), and was defeated at Dristra, and died a hero's death against the savage Pechenegs. But all of these earlier Kings were alien in manners and speech, and pagans; the Russian ballads centre round a contamination of Vladímir I. and II.

After some years of fighting, in 980 St. Vladímir, an illegitimate son by a Russian concubine,[4] became the ruler at Kíev. It is worth noting that the historic names of Dobrýnya and Blud are found as the tutors of Svyatosláv's legitimate sons.

Vladímir I. was a ruler of individual and different stamp. He was a great consolidator, and a man of many wives and children. He only once crossed the frontiers, and his wars were all campaigns of subjugation. His strenuousness in religion was most marked: on his accession to the monarchy (after the death of the two legitimate sons of Svyatosláv) he was a fiery Julian without the pretext of apostasy; he reinstated the worship of Perun, Dazhbog, Stríbog and other rather nebulous Slavonic gods, instituted human sacrifices; generally seems to have endeavoured to build nationality on a proselytizing Paganism.

Then, in 988, came his campaign against Khérson, his ambition to win the hand of Anna, the daughter of Romanos II. He evidently thought her well worth a mass, and the conversion of Russia to Christianity was as elemental and as savage as its restoration to paganism. He dragged Perun along the street at a horse's tail. His brothers had died too soon to share in this wholesale baptism, so their bones were exhumed and buried with sacred rites. There is the picturesque legend of his summoning the Mohammedans, the Latins and the Greeks to testify (no mention is made of the Khazars

who were converted to Judaism in the eighth century) to the obvious superior efficiency of the Greek form. In return, he was granted the title of *βασιλεύς*, and henceforth Kíev and Constantinople were on friendly terms, and the Russian cities prospered amain.

He kept a knightly court, with henchmen and warriors and ambassadors, something not unlike the legendary tales where Vladímir despatches Ilyá Múromets to fight the Tatars, Dobrýnya to go collecting tributes, and Churílo to be his ambassador, and there is a certain medieval romantic grandeur that can be read between the lines of the compilers of the facts. A tale is told of his time that the Russians and Pechenegs were engaged in battle and one Pecheneg offered to decide the issue by single combat. A Russian youth came forward and won. *Pereshlá sláva*, the glory is departed (from the Pechenegs), said the King, and to this day Pereyáslavl records the fact in its name. The tale does not bear too minute scrutiny, but it illustrates and exemplifies the atmosphere of the ballads when Túgarin, Ídolishche, and other fabulous monsters challenge the prowess of the *bogatyri* of Kíev.

The Vladímir of the *bylíny* is always bewailing he has no wife, but when he wins Opráksa (? *Εὐπραξία*, the Greek name is significant) he is faithful. The real Vladímir I. was very uxorious and with sinister results left seven sons.

The period of expansion had gone by, and Vladímir I. fortified the line of the Dnêpr, minted silver coins with his effigy, and laid the foundation of a civil state.

But as the Northman influence declined, Slav disunion grew up. All his sons had to be granted lands (in the *bylíny*: this is the usual reward offered by Vladímir), but no feudal scheme of any sort evolved. This is one of the differentiations of Russian medieval history.[5]

In the year 1015 Vladímir I. died, and the following years only tell of broils between the territorial pretenders. The sons Borís and Glêb (the sons of Anna) were murdered by Svyatopólk, and afterwards canonized. In 1019 Yaroslávl (another son by a Russian mother) won Kíev, leaving Mstíslav to reign at Chernígov. The latter died in 1034.

The principal campaigns of Yarosláv's reign (1019—1054) were to repel frontier attacks, though there was a general line of advance North against the Esths and Finns. In 1042 there was a disastrous attack on Constantinople, when once again the Greek fire repelled the barbarians.

Yarosláv had a very warlike Queen, Ingegerd, and attempted to revive Scandinavian influence. It was the last essay. Russia henceforward is purely Slav.

Fate or folly always impelled these rulers to the fatuity of sub-division : it always must have seemed easier to secure fidelity with a gift of land. Yarosláv tried to start a system. He provided there should be five principalities (he had five sons), Kíev, Chernígov, Pereyáslavl', Smolénsk, Vladímir-Volýnsk—to be accounted in this precedence ; as one holder died, the next in succession had to be promoted, but the right was not heritable, and any sons of a brother who might pre-decease were called *izgói* and had no part nor parcel in their father's lands. Such children became outcasts. Even in Yarosláv's lifetime this scheme did not work, for one Rostíslav, a son of Vladímir, the brother of Yarosláv, was too powerful, and had to be granted a sixth principality, that of Rostóv. Sudislav, another brother and son of Vladímir I, was still alive.

After Yarosláv's death, anarchy grew from these seeds of easy discord, and an additional danger threatened the realm. The Pólovtsy, a race allied to the Torks and Pechenegs (they called themselves Igi, and seem to be closely connected with the Cumanians), nomads and barbarous, were making incursions. Another descendant of the house, Vséslav of Pólotsk (who died in 1101), fought them successfully. Vséslav[6] in the ballads became converted into a sorcerer, possibly a tradition of his rapid raids. He was an *izgói*, and popular with the citizens of Kíev, who hated Isyasláv I., the eldest son and successor of Yarosláv at Kíev. This quarrel is worth noting, because Isyasláv was reinstated by the Poles, who governed Kíev for one year and made themselves as hated as, some centuries later, they did at Moscow, as the supporter of the pretender Dimítri ; and, because Isyasláv favoured the claims of Pope Gregory VII., who was then involved in the disputes that separated the Eastern

and Western churches in 1054. In 1055 Vsévolod of Pereyáslavl bought the Pólovtsy off.

In 1078 Vsévolod, the third son of Yaroslav, survived all his four brothers, and ruled up to 1093. He left two sons, Vladímir called Μονόμαχος, and Rostíslav, the latter of whom was drowned in battle.

Vladímir II. was one of the few great rulers of Russia. He resigned his title to Kíev to Svyatopólk, the son of Yaroslav's eldest son Isyaslav, and Svyatopólk reigned in Kíev up to 1114. He served his cousin faithfully, lost his own brother, Rostíslav, in a battle against the Pólovtsy on the river Stúgna (in which the Russians were defeated owing to divided leadership), and was henceforth engaged in ceaseless warfare with these nomads.

Svyatopólk was unworthy of such service. He treacherously slew the ambassadors (Har and Kitan) of the Pólovtsy in 1094, and provoked reprisals. There were also constant affrays with Olég, the son of Yaroslav's second son, Svyatoslav who declined to join in measures of defence.

In 1097 all these princes gathered together at Lyúbech (on the Dnêpr) and patched up a peace, and the campaigns against the Pólovtsy were more successful. A new division was made. In the meantime, as an instance of the virulence of these cousinly relations, Vasílko (a great-grandson of Vladímir I., and son of Rostíslav Vladímirovich) was brutally blinded by Svyatopólk at Kíev. He had shown some energy and some generalship.

By this time inter-marriage with the Pagan Pólovtsy was becoming general (as is also evidenced in the *bylíny*).[7] In 1100 Vladímir II. gained a decisive victory over the Pólovtsy on the river Sulá.

When in 1114 Svyatopólk died, Vladímir Monomachos still required two invitations from Kíev before he would accept the sovereignty, and supplant Ólég, the son of Svyatopólk.

Justice and gentleness seem to characterize Vladímir II. He was a great legislator, reduced interest on debts, promulgated laws to free the *Zakúpy* (poor land-owners who had had their holdings devastated and had hired themselves out with larger owners to reduce their debt) ; for twelve years he ruled

firmly and peacefully (1114—25), and, at his court, the arts were able to recuperate. The National Chronicles were started in his time. He was universally bewailed; the chronicle says of him: "He lit up the Russian land, and light came from him, as from the sun", a phrase that reminds of the legendary epithet in the ballads *Sólnyshko*. In his last will, in which he gives direction to his children, he remarks he had concluded nineteen treaties with the Pólovtsy, taken prisoner over one hundred of their best chiefs, and then set them free, executed and drowned over two hundred. He was never tardy; he would leave Chernígov[8] early in the morning and arrive in Kíev in time for vespers.

The two princes who gave Russia peace were both called Vladímir. Little of the gentleness and justness of Vladímir appears in the legendary king, but the atmosphere of their turbulent courts, with its eternal alarms of war, the rich town around, and the turmoil of the unorganized territorial nobles is reflected in these tales. For Kíev was also a city for travellings from the far North, from beyond the Black Sea, and from the Mediterranean. Its culture was mainly Greek in origin, and cut off from Rome after the great schism. The situation of Russia, at the death of Vladímir II. was one of isolation, hordes pouring in from the Steppes, the Catholic Slavs to the West, and, to the South, the moribund Eastern Empire. There was no ally to help them bear the brunt of a crusade against their Saracens.

After Vladímir II.'s death in 1125 came chaos. He left Russia parcelled out amongst his six sons, but Polótsk was independent by now, and the principality of Chernígov had fallen to the Ól'govichi, the descendants of Olég, the son of Yaroslávs second son Svyatoslav. As the surviving elder branch, the Ól'govichi disputed the throne.[9] In twenty-four years there were eighteen rulers at Kíev. The South had been ravaged by civil broils and barbarian invasion, and the Slav stock had been too deeply impregnated and corrupted with these foreign elements. One of Vladímir II.'s sons, Yúri (George), called Dolgoruki (Long-hands), had been granted Súzdal' and Rostóv, and his son Andréy founded a strong principality which soon usurped the primacy

of Kíev at the town Vladímir near Moscow [not to be confused with Vladímir Volynsk in Volhynia].

The land of forests offered great contrast to the rich black soil of the South and the race was already very different: further the North had been comparatively immune both from the covetous rivalry at home and the irruptions of the Turanians, and the power of Kíev steadily declined.

In 1147 Andréy built himself a pleasure resort in a little village on the river Moscow on a Kurgan settlement.[10] There is also an interesting prose ballad (Pobyválshchina) telling of the foundation of the new capital, and later ballad-cycles centre round Moscow as well as Nóvgorod, which still enjoyed some of the benefits of the Baltic trade.

But the greater peril was sweeping over Russia. The Tatars literally came like an avalanche, sparing nothing, burning every city to ashes, under chiefs who boasted they were the scourge of God. The Russian ballads which chronicle the centuries of war against pagans of all sorts, Lithuanians, Catholic Poles, Pechenegs, Pólovtsy, confuse them all and specify mostly the Tatars, their greatest and overwhelming enemy. The Tatar Pagan assumes gigantic proportions, swoops like a hawk over cities, and moves with incalculable speed. These expressions are intelligible. And there was no organized state to meet them, save the little principality of Vladímir (the city) which fell after heroic resistance. In 1222 the Mongols appeared. In 1240 Kíev was captured by Batú (who appears in some ballads as Batyga and Batyr'). In the same year the Golden Horde was founded. Until in 1480 the Golden Horde after its defeat in 1475 by the Turks had dissipated like soft sandstone rock, the principality of Vladímir or Moscow subsisted unde-Tatar sovereignty, and for two hundred years Russia conr tinued degradingly and enervatingly subjugated. Kíev and the South never again emerged into importance and were soon afterwards included in a great Lithuanian state, and thus for over a century merged into Poland.

The Russian ballads naturally confuse all these barbarians, are a medley of primitive mythology, legends of heroes, and historic fact. They delight in referring to the great Vladímir who kept their foes at bay.

One piece of historical poetry, the wonderful miniature epic of Ígor Svyatoslávich, is extant : it contains accurate historical reference to an expedition in 1185 against the Pólovtsy.[11]

In this atmosphere of internecine warfare and imminent danger or annihilation, the Russian ballads originated, and the heroes they create or depict are the men who were ever on guard against the incalculable hosts of elusive foes. The legendary Prince Vladímir is very unlike the real rulers of that name, but is founded on a kind of synchronization of medieval Russian history.

II.—THE *BYLÍNY*

§ 1: THE DISTRIBUTION

THE *byliny* and *skázki* (ballads and folk-tales) of Russia have been adequately collected and compiled. The ballads consist in the main of versions slightly variant of the Kíev cycle, a smaller number of the Nóvgorod cycle, a few later ones relating to Moscow and to Iván the Terrible; and there are also some late adaptations of the style to glorify Peter the Great, and the series continues intermittently up to modern times. Besides these, there are a few innominate poems of other chieftains and towns, and a few lyrical pieces, *e.g.*, those addressed to Sorrow. But the stock of Russian folk-literature is hardly exhausted by this immense stock of ballads; folk-tales, marriage-songs, magic spells, ancient lullabies and poems also exist in great number. This leaves out of account the great collection of Little-Russian, White-Russian, and other dialectical poetry.

The *byliny* are taken from the Northerly provinces—Olónets, Nóvgorod,[1] Pskov, Moscow, Tver, Túla, and some further East. In Olónets it is stated that the peasants were not enserfed, and there, as among the free Cossacks of the river Don, a literature arose more freely than in any other province.

Their origin has been much theorized on: whether the tales migrated North with the tellers from Kíev and Southern Russia, or grew up where they most abounded; whether the impulse came from Greece or the Oriental East; whether each tribe carried its own songs northward or garnered them from a common source. Probably there is truth in all these possibilities: native folk-lore and mythology, adaptations from the Shah-Nameh and Byzantine Greece, Finnish legends, are all moulded together.

But they are all thoroughly Russian: the loans have

been amalgamated with the national capital. The picture is always of Russia on her more or less impotent guard against her foes : there is none of the aggressive vigour of the sovereigns prior to Vladímir I. They are stupidly and doggedly Christian with the national spirit of an unending crusade. In language they show the breakdown of the old Slav verbal terminations and are thus definitively Russian in grammar, and may be assigned linguistically and politically to the fourteenth century. Some few are patently older.

§ 2 : THE VERSE

The first scheme of metre is peculiar and Russian. At first sight, it consists of lines of three syllables with two or three principal beats, trochaic in tone and terminating in a dactyl. There is no rhyme, no assonance, and scarcely any alliteration : continuity is maintained by the repetition of what may be termed conventional phrases from the end of one line, to the beginning of the next : reiteration in *oratio directa* of the speeches when reported, and a recurrence of similar formal greetings, stock verses and mournful refrains.

The number of syllables is free, and the lines appear to assume an irregular character. The scheme of metre starts with a simple trochaic line (*No.* 1), –∪|–∪|–∪|–∪∪[2] the number of beats in the phrase being either three or four. To this may be prefaced (*No.* 2), an auxiliary syllable, ∪|–∪|–∪|–∪|–∪∪ which still does not effect the essential trochaic scansion ; but, as these ballads were sung to a monotonous melody accompanied on the *gusli*, the number of syllables might therefore be free, just as a musical rhythm is not disturbed by the breaking up of the longer notes into shorter ones ; and then something like iambs may come in and the scheme of the metre may be altered, through a syncopation of the metre (*No.* 2), into

No. 3, ∪–|∪–|∪–|∪–|∪, an iambic pentameter out of a trochaic trimeter. From the metre in stage No. 2 may be developed tribrachs, anapæsts, and the last syllable of the concluding dactyl being *in arsi* may lengthen. Two results may happen ; either as in No. 3 it may be a plain iambic line, the last two syllables of the terminating dactyl

forming the last iambic, or it may retain its original character but admit an infinite variation of which an example is put under scheme 4 :

$$\text{UU} \mid -\text{UU} \mid - \mid -\text{UU} \mid -\text{UUU}$$

still retaining regularity as metre because the words are sung to notes in regular rhythm.

It is, in fact, as a song rather than as a poem that these ballads must be read. From the fourth stage the metre may develop still further into choriambs, etc., and after this no rule can be given. These more complex metres of five or even six beats containing choriambs occur mostly in the tales of Churílo Plénkovich, and seem especially associated with the stories of Shark Velikán, but the process, again, is a kind of free development from the primitive troche just as in the stricter English version of modern times, the *Christabel* version (which Coleridge introduced), the substitution of troches for iambs in iambic verse, are all devices which will of themselves occur to any poet who has any ear, and wishes to avoid monotony.

Hence these greater variations cannot be classified. One possible development from the scheme in 4 would be to turn it into a series of choriambs with other more complex metres, anapæsts, etc., and as an illustration of a real metre very regularly carried out under head 6-7, in which a strongly marked cæsura appears.

6— $-\text{U}-\mid\text{U}-\mid\text{U}-\parallel-\mid-\text{UU}\mid\text{U}\_$

7— $-\text{U}-\text{U}\mid\text{U}-\text{U}\parallel-\text{UU}-\mid-\mid-\text{UUU}$

6 and 7 are instances of the two most complex metres that can be found, and in this latter a strong cæsura is found ; the metre is as beautiful and difficult as the Greek chorus. Generally speaking, however, the most common form might consist of three trochaics with a prefatory syllable, and in late style the same number of syllables turned into ambic time.

Some of them have stock prologues more or less connected with the subject, variable by the narrator, and most of them have conventional couplets exhortive or culminatory.

Section 5 of Part VI. of this Introduction also illustrates some of these conventional forms.

This ballad style has been disastrously imitated by some modern Russian writers and is not adapted to the verse of more cultivated times in which the music of language is independent of the accompaniment of any instrument or of the voice.

In the later Moscovite style, when these poems were intended for speech rather than for song, regular iambic metres came in; a scheme of three lyrics with constant syllabization almost like modern Russian except for the absence of rhyme.

In some slighter songs a typical Little-Russian metre is used, of very short lines; the result of breaking up a longer metre, and of later date.

–∪ | ∪ –
∪ – | ∪∪ –
–∪∪ | –
∪ – ∪ | – ∪
∪∪ – ∪ | ∪ – ∪

a scheme of | – ∪∪ – |

varying into ∪ | – ∪∪ – |

∪∪ | – ∪∪ – |

and ∪∪ | – ∪∪ | – ∪

the essence being the double beat.

Altogether the form of metre is crude and tends to become tedious, when the only means of maintaining a musical continuity is this simple but long-winded method of repetition of identities.

There is also very little lyrical genius. Where a Celt would have made a heart-rending horror of Ilyá Múromets' death (he was turned to stone—like some Breton heroes) the Russian states the bare fact. It would be almost ludicrous to contrast the scene of Cuchúlain's death (in Lady Gregory's account)[3] and this is a fair comparison, for the Irish verse is distinctly barbaric in tone. The great epics of Greece are on an infinitely higher level of compact true poetical compression.

Epic genius is rather scant. Someone has said Homer was so delightful in the zest with which he could describe battles and make the reader enjoy the fight. But, for the most part, the Russian narrator simply lets his hero meet the foe and face the obstacle, and despatch him summarily; thus, in one poem, where Dyúk Stepánovich has to surmount a Russian version of the Συμπληγάδες, to slay the harpies and overcome a dragon, possibly the artist's imagination failed him; anyhow, the hero simply leaps them on his wondrous steed. Mostly, there is something sketchy, a feeling that we have a rough cartoon before us, it the *bogatyr's* (knight) powers are Titanically and unconvincingly limitless, like the feats of the Erse heroes, the Russian, undisciplined like the Celt, seems to lack the latter's power of presentation.

But, withal, there is a refreshing simplicity and naturalness in these tales, and, as monuments of the disturbed semi-civilization of the realm which had to bear the brunt of the Tatar invasion and be the victim that stayed their appetite from the West, they will never lack interest or reality. It is better to criticize the faults and leave the excellences to speak for themselves.

§ 3: THE ACTOR'S STAGE

The *bylíny* are poems varying from thirty to nine hundred lines in length, dealing with single episodes in a hero's life, or at best, linking several up without much organic connection.

The centre of the Kíev cycle is Prince Vladímir, throned in Kíev. The kindly prince is always celebrating a great festival to his throngs of princes, *boyárs* (earls)[4] and mighty *bogatyri*.[4] All are feasting hard, eating till they are gorging, drinking till they are drunk, and each *bogatyr* sets out to brag of his prowess, the one of his good horse, the other of his mighty strength, a third of his countless treasure, the wise man of the mother who bore him, and the fool of his youthful wife. It is a dangerous game, this boasting, for the allegations may be cavilled at, at least one knight, Sukhmánti Dikhmánt'evich, has been disbelieved and clapped into the ever-ready dungeon; Sukhmánti, when his tale was verified,

committed suicide, rather than face his arbitary lord. Even Ilyá Múromets, the greatest hero of Vladímir's court (we are dealing entirely with the legendary presentation), finds the atmosphere unpleasant, and only his Herculean strength saves him from the prison when he tells his tale. Other knights, such as Stávr Godínovich, have to weather his whims. The adventurers who seek this Court are warned not to boast and have to pay a severe penalty in trials of strength and combats, for Alyósha Popóvich, the mocker of women, is ever ready to jibe, Churílo Plénkovich, the Court favourite, is there to gird, and Dobrýnya Nikítich, the ambassador, has often to show his diplomatic abilities.

In the Kirêyevski ballads, which are later in style, the Prince is narrowly characterized. The picture is not altogether flattering. He is very sober, but this seems no virtue in him, as in Ilyá Múromets, but the outcome of weakness, for he is a coward in the face of the foe, weeps and demeans himself, and is capricious. He listens to false counsellors, and when the advice has turned out ill has them boiled alive in pitch. He is fond of pleasure, of hunting and constant entertainments. He is also superstitious and summons wizards.

In his private life he is often faulty. Thus, he deals by Danílo Lóvchanin, as David by Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, receives the courtesan Marína, and suffers Opráksa, his queen, to misbehave with Túgarin, only intervening hastily to save her from the charms of Churílo Plénkovich.

He takes a prominent part in the endeavour to wed Dobrýnya Nikítich's wife to the rake Alyósha Popóvich, and is greatly interested in the marriages of Iván Godínovich and Khotyón Blúdovich.

His cowardice may be illustrated by his defencelessness when Vasíli the Drunkard and Ilyá Múromets save Kíev from the attacks of Tsar Kalín ; and, again, when he has to garb himself as a cook, cover himself with soot and act as his own ambassador to the Tatars. By his marriage with Opráksa, Etmanuil Etmanuilovich, the King of Lithuania, is his father-in-law. Vladímir is also the uncle of Dobrýnya Nikítich, *i.e.*, in the ballads, according to the Chronicles, Vladímir I. was the son of Malúsha, the housekeeper of Olég,

Vladímir's elder brother, and she—Malúsha—was the sister of Dobrýnya who would thus be his maternal uncle.

In the ballads, Zapáva Putyátichna is Vladímir's niece; her adventures are described in the chapters dealing with Dobrýnya and with Solovéy Budímirovich.

The episode most frequently told is that of Vladímir's courtship. Champions from his Court set out to the terrible King of Lithuania (who is nowhere given a name in the Rybnikov ballads) to woo him a worthy bride. Neither in stature nor in intellect must she be mean. She must be learned in writing; her face white as wintry snow, her eyes keen as a hawk's, her brows like sable, her gait stately as a swan's, and the gleam of her eyes like the brightness of day. In some of the later and more elaborate tales, she is secluded like a fairy princess, beyond thirteen castles, scathless from wind or sun, and she is discovered sitting in her lofty turret. She takes a great part in the councils of heroic Kíev, and receives abuse for the good advice she gives Vladímir, to trust Ilyá Múromets, that Vasilísa Mikúlichna (*v.*p. 100) is a woman, not a man, and on other occasions.

Vladímir sits on his throne, and serves like the hub of the wheel, or the stomach in Æsop's fable, the inactive supporter of the frame. He is the defender of the Church which stands for independence and nationhood, to arm Russia against the savages who beset her on all sides. This Christianity is strongly, mainly militant, a cause even more than a belief. Vladímir is more real than Arthur, for, as a lover of peace, his historic origin has been traced; nearer the truth than the French Charlemagne. He despatches his knights to collect the tribute twelve years overdue, or to woo him a wife, but himself is inactive, indolent, kindly and arbitrary. There is no law at the Court.

Strangers sail up from the sea of Khvalýnsk,[15] and are asked whence they come, from what *horde* they come, from what *land*, a formula different to the question to this day asked by a Russian of a Russian, his name and his father. Such are Dyúk Stepánovich and Solovéy Budímirovich (the Nightingale who awakens the world, literally), a great prince of the North.

The enemy is always on the alert, and monstrous beings

who typify the Tatar Terror assail the walls of Chernígov and Kíev, and have to be uniformly conquered in single combat, one Russian slaying his thousand, but the touch of exaggeration seldom has a Celtic charm to lend it probability. Then foes often come in enchanted forms, as ravenous dragons or birds of prey. The Poles and the Lithuanians are the principal hostile folks specifically named ; the rest are merely Tatars. The relations with Constantinople are friendly (as they were, in fact, in the epoch legendarized).

A few women enter into the scheme of these tales, besides Dubáva Putyátichna, the niece of Vladímir, and Opráksa, his wife ; such as Márya the Swan-Maid, the magical and unfaithful wife, Nastásya Mikúlichna, the true consort of Dobrýnya, and a few Amazons, such as the Polyánitsa, whom only Ilyá Múromets with his great strength can subdue. They are only faintly characterized, and infidelity is invariably punished with mutilation. There is no romantic glamour cast round them, as in the Western tales ; they are roughly wooed, very often taken by force. Dubáva alone of them has the initiative to propose to hei suitor, and is rejected for her audacity.

In this tumultuous scene are cast the lives of the Kíev heroes. The next section will particularize on them and attempt to amplify the conception of the Russian medieval knight, the *bogatyr*.

III.—THE *BOGATYRÍ*

PART I: INTRODUCTORY.

THE Russian *bogatyr* is very unlike the Romance knight. The word *bogatyr* is only found in Russian (the Polish form *bohater* being borrowed) and is certainly of barbaric derivation, occurring comparatively late in the Chronicles. The *bogatyr* are men of great strength and endurance, markedly individualized, as will be seen in the following section, of heroic powers, but not magical. The monstrous or fabulous beings such as Ídolishche, Túgarin, Solovéy Razbóynik (The Nightingale Robber) are excluded from this category, as is also Prince Vladímir. Characters like Bevis of Hampton represent the idea, in so far as it can be translated, men of heroic proportions, who fight the foe real or supernatural, animated with a devouring patriotic and religious zeal.

They have been variously sub-divided into cross-types, chronologically as pre-Tataric, Tataric, and post-Tataric, characteristically as the Elder and the Younger, incidentally by the cycles in which their deeds are sung, by their origin as native or foreign (*zaêzzhi*).

The Elder Knights antedate Ilyá Múromets. They are more elemental and Titanic, born of earth and almost semi-divine or superhuman, such as Svyatogór, the giant, whose weight is more than earth can bear, Mikúla Selyáninovich, the giant ploughman and peasant, Vol'gá (Vólkh)[1] Svyatoslávovich (Vséslavovich) in whom something of a river-god has passed contaminated with recollection of Svyatosláv I., the energetic conqueror, as well as Óleg, the tutor of Igor, Rurik's son, and Vséslav of Polótsk (v. antea), Dunaí or Don Ivánovich, called the Silent (in early Russian Dunai (the Danube) means river generally) in whom the personification of the river has been welded into a human figure, and some others.

Ilyá Múromets with his marvellous strength, derived in his

youth from the magical Wandering Friars and his meeting with Svyatogór, and in his old age the doughtiest champion and contemporary of the Younger Knights forms an intermediate link.

The Younger Knights are all human and individual warriors. The brief account put forward in the following section is not exhaustive; the heroes of the Nóvgorod and Moscow cycles are dealt with elsewhere, as also the unattached tales of single heroes.

PART II: THE ELDER BOGATYRÍ

1.—*Svyatogór*

Svyatogór is a Titanic figure, attached to the conception of the Earth-mother, rather elusively undefined, certainly not human in all respects. The name looks like an obvious compound of the Holy Mountain, but popular etymology has turned *Sviatýa Góry* into *Svyáty Egóri*, St. Gregory, Gregory the Brave, and so contaminated the legend with the man, as *Egor Svyatogor*. When he moves, a great noise is heard from the North, and the dark forests quake, the Mother, the Grey Earth, trembles, and the streams gush forth over the steep banks. He could lift up the earth on his shoulders; he is taller than the standing forest, and his head above the straying clouds, from his shoulder hangs a crystal coffer, in which he carries his young wife (of whom more will be heard under the head of Ilyá Múromets).[2] Such beauty as hers was never seen on earth, she was tall, light-footed, eyes like the piercing hawk's, and brows black as sable, and her body a fair white.[3] She tempts Ilyá and is slain. Then Svyatogór repairs to the Northern Hills, to a grave made ready, and lies down in it. As Ilyá smites the roof to escape, sparks glisten and walls strong as iron rise to withstand him. Svyatogór breathes on Ilyá and lends him magical strength; a third breath would have been deadly. So Svyatogór reposes for ever in his tomb of rock, and invests Ilyá with his keen sword.

There is something of a Scandinavian flavour in this; like the tale of Thor fighting Skrimir, the Giant, in Utgard, and lodging in their gloves as in a mansion.

Further, on Rambaud's authority, Svyatogór the Smith (possibly a distant relation of Wayland) has distinct analogies with the Finnish "Smith" Karelainen, or the Ilmarinen of the *Kalevala*; and some regard the tale as a simile of Night as the unveiling of the Dawn. Some nature-myth of the Northern winter is certainly part of this story.

The meeting of Svyatogór with Mikúla, the Villager's Son, will come most appropriately when we deal with the latter.

Another version of this characteristic tale of Svyatogór makes him instruct Ilyá to buy a foal for five hundred roubles[4] of a peasant near the white hazel bridge: it will turn into a heroic steed. Svyatogór invites Ilyá to visit him, bidding him warm a bit of iron, but not put forth his hands.

Svyatogór lives, like all the fabulous beings, beyond the limits of Holy Russia. Now Svyatogór's father was blind and wanted to handle Ilyá, and test his strength, so Ilyá placed the iron in the blind man's hands, and so convinced him of his strength. This episode is very similar to the Irish story of Finn, who dresses up as his own child and gives his enemy the Giant a great white stone to suck instead of bread, so breaking the tooth in which his strength lies; as also with the device by which Skrimir cheats Thor, when he lays mountains on which Thor hammers in vain, between his head and Mjöllnir, Thor's lightning.

2.—*Mikúla Selyáninovich*

Nicholas the Villager's Son occurs very rarely, but the scanty references are very complete. Like Svyatogór he is, so to speak, pre-Adamite, but he is born of the soil, he is the giant people, a kind of Titanic peasant, almost, since there is nothing divine or Olympic in these Russian heroes, a god of agriculture. In certain aspects, Svyatogór is the hostile, chill, crass devilishness of Northern Nature; Mikúla is the cultivating energy of youth. It will be seen that Ilyá Múromets, the good human Hercules who derives strength from the pre-human to use it against the Tatars is mystically bound never to fight his antecessors, Samson Samóylovich, Svyatogór Kolyvánovich[5] and Mikúla Selyáninovich, and

never the race of Mikúla[6] "which our little mother, the grey earth, loves."

One little epic song is worth quoting in full; it rings like a pagan hymn. The metre is followed as closely as possible.

Hail to thee, Mikúla the Villager!
Thou hadst once a filly y-clept "Lift up thy head!"
She lifted her head high above cloudland.

Once he was in the city of Kíev,
Carried off two wallets of salt;
Into each of the wallets he put
Of salt a hundredweight.

Very soon Mikúlushka tilled and ploughed:
Spruces and fir-trees into furrows he flung:
Harvested rye and garnered it home,
Garnered it home, threshed it at home!

I will brew me my beer, and give my guests cheer!
I will swill to the full, and Mikúla extol!
For thine it was, Mikúlushka, to plough and to till,
Thy life it was, Mikúlushka, a peasant's!

In one of the stories of Mikúla, one day when Vol'gá Svyatoslávich (*v. infra*) was palfreying in Holy Russia seeking the three cities bestowed on him by Vladímir, he heard a ploughing in the field, the ploughshares scraping, and not a soul to see, great stones hurling themselves into the furrow. On the third day he discovered the worker, who tells him he had been in the city on his light-bay steed, and carried away two bagfuls of salt with forty *puds* in each; that the peasants lived like robbers, and asked for their fare-money; he had given them a *grosh* (two kopeks); he had seen the tramps and given them their passage-money; and he who had stood sat down, and he who had sat down, lay prone.

Vol'gá asks the Ploughman to accompany him; but first the plough must be lifted, and all Vol'gá's strength and his doughty men avail nothing; only the Ploughman can lift it; his work is to benefit the peasant in the village, not the errant stranger. The mare on which the Ploughman rides does not stumble, and Vol'gá offers five hundred roubles (that invariable assessment). The former replies he bought her as a filly from her mother at that price, as a horse it would be priceless, and he reveals himself as follows:—

I plough to have rye, in the stacks it shall lie:
In stacks I shall heap it and garner it home.
I garner it home and thresh it at home.
I tear it all through, and my beer I shall brew,
Brew me the beer, and the boors shall have cheer.
Peasants shall cry out for me loudly:
" Hail to thee Mikúla the Villager's son."

When he was born the birds flew beyond the blue seas, the beasts retired to their dark lairs, the fish to their sunless depths, but Mikúlushka hunted and caught them.

A *pobyválshchina* (prose narrative) tells of the meeting of Svyatogór and Mikúla, and can be divided into two distinct layers of thought. Svyatogór on a journey saw a wandering tramp, and could not overtake him on the road. He hailed him to stop. The man took his wallet off his shoulders and cast it on the ground, and Svyatogór had to satisfy his curiosity by lifting it. He fell down prone, so great the effort; and is told in reply the wallet contained the weight of the earth.

So much for the mythology; the remainder is a folk-tale. Svyatogór asks Mikúla how he may learn what fate God has in store for him. He is bidden go straight till he comes to cross-roads, and then turn to the left to the Northern Hills. There, under a great tree, stands a smith who will tell him his destiny. After three days Svyatogór reached the smithy, where the craftsman was forging two fine hairs. The Smith was forging the fate whom each man should marry. Svyatogór's bride lay in the Realm by the Sea, in the City of the Throne, pent in the dunes. So Svyatogór betook himself thither to slay his bride, found a hut, and in the dunes a maiden whose skin was like a fir-bark. He took five hundred roubles out of his purse, put them on the table, and smote her with his sword on her breast. She woke up, and the fir-rind had fallen from her breast, and she was beautiful as none had been. She traded on the money, built ships, and came to the Holy Mountains (*Svyáty Góry*), and there Svyatogór fell in love with her. One day he saw the scar and learned the inelusibility of fate.

Mikúla has three daughters, Nastásya, an Amazon who sails in the Hawkship and marries Dunáy Iványovich; she was a faithful wife; and Vasilísa, who marries Stavr Godínovich

and rescues him from prison, and Katerína. All three are very strong characters.

The foals of Mikúla's wonderful mare are given to the four great heroes : Ilyá Múromets, Dobrýnya Nikítich, Dyuk Stepánovich and Churílo Plénkovich.

There are most certainly strong affinities to be found to this supreme ploughman, and many theories have been entertained. But he stands out amidst the Elder Knights in clearness of definition, a kind of protestant proletarian who never frequents the Court of Vladímir, and only has concern with the other champions as conferring strength or accompanying Vol'gá to his principality, where he champions the peasants' cause.

Some of the Russian scholars have endeavoured to trace a kinship between the Κολάξαϊς, of Herodotus (IV., 5) and Mikúla. It is doubtful whether any of the peoples described by Herodotus were Slavs at all, but the etymology suggested κολο (=*Kolo Kolesa*, wheel) is possible ; a corruption to Mikúla would be certain. Herodotus says : " The Scythians say their race is the most recent . . . . There was first a man Targitaos, whose parents were . . . . Zeng and the daughter of the river Borysthenês (the Dnêpr) Targitaos had three sons—Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and the youngest Kolaxais. Under their rule, golden fabric fell from the heavens, a plough, a yoke, a bill [a hatchet σάγαρις] and a bowl [φιάλη]. The eldest saw them first and wished to lay hold, but the gold burned him as he approached . . . . But the youngest quenched the flame and carried the gold home. Then the elder brothers acknowledged the omen and resigned sovereignty to the youngest.'

3.—*Volgá Svyatoslávich*

This hero has many names, owing to his complicated ancestry and popular corruption (Busláyevisch, Vseslávich, etc.) His personal name is Olég, with various transitions into Vol'gá, and corruption to Vólkh (which suggests *volk*, wolf, and *volkhv*, wizard).

Like the precedent figures he is closely linked with Mother Earth, who, though not personified and vivified like the Scandinavian Erda, has a sacred and mystical significance,

into which another conception has been woven, of the Sacred Russian land, a district of no fixed boundaries but determined nationality (like the original Ἑλλάς), a sort of shifting shrine amid nomad barbarians and hostile foes of the Western civilization.

But Vol'gá is definitely of the epoch of Vladímir, and a member of that Court, whose praises he earns (whereas Svyatogór is a Titanic and isolated being, like Sámson Samóylovich, Polkán and other semi-mythical knights); and stands out against Mikúla whose glory is only in the mouth of the people.

There are two historical Olégs who have contributed to this popular fiction, Olég the Wise (the tutor of Ígor the son of Rúrik) who besieged Constantinople and overawed the Greeks by dragging his boats overland (this was in 904)[7] and also Olég, the half-brother of Vladímir I. to whom his father, Svyatosláv I. had assigned the land of the Drevlyáne as his share (a tribe who lived along the rivers Goryn,[8] Prípyet' and Slukh in Volhynia and Minsk). There was also the Olég, the son of Svyatosláv Yaroslávovich, the first cousin of Vladímir II., and Olég Svyatopólkovich, the son of Isyasláv Yaroslávovich, the son of the Svyatopólk whom Vladímir allowed to rule at Kíev. All the princes of this name were of note.

Something of these historical elements enters into the legendary Vol'gá Svyatoslávich [Vseslávich, etc.] of the *bylíny*. Vol'gá was born when the red sun was sinking behind the hills, and the stars were rising, some say at Kíev, on Mother Earth in Holy Russia. At the age of five when he walked the earth shook and the beasts and the birds and the fish fled to their lairs and shelters. He was taught all craft and wisdom and the languages of the world, and assembled a clan (*druzhína*) of thirty men around him, and he was a great hunter.

Someone had to go to see how the Turks were dealing with Russia, and Vol'gá alone was the man. He turned himself into a little bird and listened to the Turkish Tsar[9] saying to his *Tsarítsa* Pantálovna:

> As of old in Russia the grass groweth not,
> The flowers bloom not as of olden times,
> For clearly Vol'gá lives no more.

But Pantálovna had had a dream, despite which the Turkish Tsar invades Russia to be beaten. In another version this monarch is called Sultan Bekétovich, and his queen Davýdovna.

His mother is also stated to be Marfa Vseslávovna, where he is called Volkh and associated with Vséslav (*v.* p. 8.) whose swiftness in the Pólovtsy wars made him, in popular belief, a wizard ; and, there, the barbarian is called Saltyk Stavrulevich and contaminated with Batú the Mongol, with a queen, Azvyakovna. In all accounts he has a magical birth, and a magician's power of transforming himself.[11]

He meets Mikúla Selyáninovich, when on his way to take possession of the three cities Gurchévets, Orêkhovets and Krestyánovets given him by Prince Vladímir. The first of these cities is a corruption (according to Rybnikov) of Vruch or Ovruch (in Volhynia) where Olég the Wise was buried. The last-named may be a name made up for the occasion, and only means the Peasant's Town, and is very like Kresttsy, the capital of the district in the present province of Nóvgorod, and in another account only Gurchévets and Orêkhovets are named. In these districts the natives are savage and hold up trade;[12] and Mikúla and Vol'gá chastise them severely.

Vol'gá has the almost clear-cut historical features of a warrior who has fought foreign enemies effectively, is a princelet and has lands given to him, possibly with the tradition of the various activities of Olég the Wise, Vséslav of Pólotsk and perhaps Olég Svyatoslávich transferred to him ; his native campaigns are delimited to Volhynia, Minsk and Grodno on one theory, on another to fighting the foes of Northern Russia.

But his birth and magical attributes and gigantic powers mark him as one of the pre-historic knights, as also the slighter connection with the Court and personality of Vladímir. The gift of the three cities with all territorial rights over the inhabitants mark him as belonging to the epoch of one or other of the Vladímirs.

Of all the *bogatyrí*, Vol'gá is most markedly the wizard who travels through all the empires of the world from the heavens on high to the depths of the sea, overcoming all

living animals and assuming their forms [so Rybnikov] ; as applied to the historical figure, these facts typify his wisdom but in relation to the older traditions indicate the march of progress in pagandom ; for, by the road, all the Gods travelled *e.g.*, Dionysius, Solomon, Alexander, and the Slav Iván Bogatyr. He even transforms himself into the Naui-ptítsa (or *Stratim*, or *grif*, the mysterious bird, for which see page 159, Appendix[2]), and flies beneath the clouds. His foe is the Turk *Sandal* or Santal Tseketovich [cf. Sultan Sandal in the Tale of Bedem, *Arabian Nights*] and " Turkish " like Tatar stands for the foe to Holy Russia, in Olég's case, the Byzantine Emperor also called *Indian*—a reference to Rakhman (cf. p. 36 on Solovéi Razbóinik). The hostile queen Azvyákovna is probably derived from the Tatar Khan Uzbek, who ruled over Russia in the Moscovite era.

4.—*Don or Dunái Ivánovich*

This hero has also a mythological character of a peculiar sort, that he has been assimilated with a river-god. In older Russian Dunái (Danube) means river generally, and the Russians give their great streams patronymics when they personify them, *e.g.*, Don Ivánovich, Dnêpr Slovutich. (in the *Slóvo o Polku Igoreve*,) and in the folk-tales there are stories based on the geography of two rivers that meet or part on the same watershed. But in the *bylíny* the Dnêpr is generally feminine, *mother Nêpra*. Dunái Ivánovich always has the epithet *tíkhi*, the silent, the exact meaning of which is doubtful ; but *silent* and *white* are the standing epithets of the river Don.

The ballads of Dunái (or Dón) tell how, at a great feast and festival at sunset, all the *boyars* and princes were assembled and Valdímir lamented he had no mate. Dunái alone offers to find him one who shall be his equal, of lofty gait, fair of face and gentle of speech, with whom he may while away tardy time. She is Opráksa,[13] the younger daughter of the King of valiant Lithuania.[14] It should be noted here the epithet *khabry* (brave) is specially applied to Lithuania, and that the great trade-route whence Scandinavian civilization entered Russia ran not through Lithuania, but by the Lakes of Ládoga and Ilmen down the Dnêpr.

Dunái had served twelve years[15] in the stables of this King, a feature that somehow recalls the twelve years' service of Heracles, and the bondage of Apollo to King Phereus. He is also said to have served in the Seven Hordes and the Seven Kingdoms.

Dunái asks for Dobrýnya Nikítich as his companion, and the two ride so swiftly that they cannot be seen. [This is either a poetical exaggeration or a mythological survival]. The King of Lithuania bids Dunái be clapped into prison for his audacity, but with superhuman strength he wrecks the hall, and all the *Tatars* [Tatars and pagans are almost synonymous] are dismayed. He can lift two horses in his left hand, wield in his right a Saracen club[16] and plays havoc with his hosts. The King of Lithuania is recalled to his old debt of hospitality and consents to give up Opráksa. He had also an elder daughter, Nastásya (in the Kirêyevski ballads sometimes Dária). In other versions, Alyósha Popóvich and Ekim Ivánovich accompany him.

As Dobrýnya and Dunái set out home, at dark of night, a " Tatar " youth attacks them, and will not reveal his name. He beats him down and recognizes the Amazonian sister, the *palenítsa*[17] Nastásya Mikúlichna : Opráksa married Vladímir and Nastásya Dunái.

At the marriage feast he boasts overmuch, and Nastásya challenges him to an archery match, in which he is beaten, and somewhat inconsequently shoots his arrow into Nastásya.

She beseeches him to beat her on her naked body, to tie her to a horse's tail, or bury her alive at the cross-roads, but to leave her three months to bear her son, a youth silver to the knees, gold to his elbows and stars on his head, an expression for extreme beauty universal in Russian folk-tales.[18] But Dunái will have nothing of it ; he slays her barbarously, and extracts the child, and, as the sun sets, falls on his own hands. Where his head fell, the river Dunái flows ; where Nastásya's dropped the stream Nastásya welled. The gander's head and the white swan's fell together. The children extracted at this birth are also made twins or even triplets.

Dobrýnya, Dunái's beloved companion, in this tael clearly

goes in his ambassadorial capacity. The river episode and transformation is hard to explain. Dunái cannot mean the Danube (which then met the sea through Pecheneg territory outside Russia) nor the Don, which, like the greater length of the Vólga, lay remote from Russia in land dominated by the Pólovtsy or the Khazárs. If Dunái meant river generally, it may be *the* river, the Dnêpr ; but, in another ballad, it is Nêpra-Korolévichna, Princess Nêpra, the wife of Dunái who provokes the fatal challenge : the identical incidents ensue. In this version the hero is called Don.

Whether there exists an affluent of the Don or the Danube or the Dnêpr called the Nastásya is not clear. It may or may not be suggested that in a third version one Permíl Ivánovich suggests sending Dunái Ivánovich the Silent on this quest, and that the city of Perm[19] is on the Kama, an affluent of the Don. Or possibly the legend arose from the Lithuanian river Dviná, and that of the Dnêpr in the province of Smolénsk by the Tver border,[20] especially in view of another version mentioned *infra* : or from the meeting of the Dnêpr and the Berésîna at Bobruisk. The Vólga rises in the Valdai hills in the province of Tver.

Dunái's companion, Dobrýnya, also had a wife, Nastásya, the daughter of Mikúla Selyáninovich, and there is some confusion between the two. One ballad makes Dobrýnya fight the *palenítsa* (Amazon) and marry her afterwards, whilst Dunái makes the fatal boast and slays his competitor. Practically the same incidents occur, save that the Nastásya river is defined as one flowing swiftly into Lithuania (which might be the course of the Berézina) whilst the Dúnai runs past Kíev. Where the two rivers meet, two trees grew and intertwined, a Celtic touch (cf. *The Story of Deirdre*).

There is also a very late version in more formal style and metre, which makes two brothers Fyódor and Vasíli Ivánovich woo Nastásya, the Lithuanian princess, on behalf of Prince Vladímir. It ends with the glorification of the little sun Vladímir, enthroned in Kíev, like to whom was none in all Russia[21] nor in stone-built Moscow. The names and the style clearly attach this ballad to the Moscow cycle.

The original Dunái Ivánovich was a hero of gigantic power, perhaps a river-god of uncertain geography, and the miracu-

lous son he bears, the intertwining twigs, mark him as a mythological character. The relations of Vladímir to Pagan Lithuania lend him historical reality at a living Court, where the other heroes are already assembled and their characters and feats known and contrasted.

5.—*Samson Samóylovich*

Samson Samóylovich, or as he is also called, Manóylovich[22] is one of the earlier and rarer figures in the ballads. He is found for the most part in intimate connection with the Hercules, Ilyá Múromets. The original inspiration for this character came, as might have been expected, from the Bible, and there is one ballad in which the origin of his giant strength is clearly indicated. But he has been fully transformed into a famous hero of Holy Russia. As such he is riding along the Steppes on his knightly horse, he sees a youth riding in front of him, and there appears on the way a blue flag stone[23] which his new companion bids him lift. Samson fails altogether, and has to be assisted by his comrade, who is an angel from the Lord, and he is given miraculous strength by the grafting on his head of seven angel's hairs. He is now so powerful that, very much like Svyatogór, he would have the might of the giants who support the earth. If there were a ring in the heavens and an iron chain stretched forth thence to the earth, he would shake the heavens, and if the ring were to be embedded in the little mother, the earth, he would shatter all the lands and intermingle Heaven and Earth. Then the angel leaves him. In this very Slavicized version of Samson and Delilah, Samson has his fate forged for him in the same way as Svyatogór (*v.* p.). His wife, who wants to know the secret of his great strength, betrays him to his foes. He is then flogged and bound, but his hairs grow once more and he shakes down the walls of the palace on to himself and his enemies. So far there is very little original matter ; but in two other ballads he occurs in conjunction with Tatar Russia, where Ilyá is now in his old age and is summoned by Vladímir to aid him against the Tatars. Ilyá in both cases has to summon his god-father who refuses aid, and afterwards with his *druzhína* of twelve valiant knights dallies and

sleeps and takes his ease. The Tatar King in this episode is called Kaïn (or Kalin) and Ilyá for once in a way, though he is fated never to die on the battle-field, has the worst of it, for he falls into a deep pit and is made a captive of the Tatar. He manages to release one of his bound hands and to send an arrow with that curious prayer or invocation (which the Russians incline to use when they wish to aim especially well) into the chain mail of his tardy ally who will not come to the relief of Holy Russia, nor visit Prince Vladímir and his queen Opráksa, because, as he says, the Prince devotes himself to nobles and *boyárs* and has no respect for *bogatyrí*, the valiant giant knights of old. But under such a forcible summons Samson wakes up and the foes are routed, and Kaïn issues an ordinance that henceforth none of his children nor his kin are to attack Russia.

In other ballads the historical figure of Mamai (who was defeated by Dimítri Donskóy at the field of Kulikovo) is substituted for Kalin. The interest of Samson is very largely the manner in which the Russian genius contaminated the Biblical legend with the pervading religious myth of Mother Earth and the gigantic strength she gives to her self-born heroes. As a geographical note, Samson is to be found on either the Sorochinski or the Faraonski Hills. In a footnote on a previous page it has been suggested that the Sorochinski Hills may be a recollection of the incessant guerilla warfare waged against the Pechenegs on what would now be the Bessarabian frontier near the modern town of Soroki. In the term *Faraonski* may be the Biblical recollection of the Egyptian Pharoahs.[24] Lastly, it may be remarked that the Biblical Bylína first mentioned is very much later in style than the subsequent episodes.

6.—*Sukhán Odikhmántievich*

This hero of the Court of Vladímir is very rarely mentioned. He is at the Court, when Ilyá first arrives. He belongs to the earlier cycle of the earthly champions; unlike Svyatogór and Vol'gá, he has no magical attributes, but, on the other hand, he takes no part in the more or less legendary sequence of events. His first name differs considerably in form from Sukhán to Sukhmán or

Sukhmánti. The termination "manti" points to some foreign derivation; the patronymic is sometimes Domántevich. Vladímir reproaches him with bragging, that he finds his food distasteful, and is not quaffing the green wine, nor taking his share of the white swan's flesh. In reply, Sukhán brags he will with his own hands bring him a white swan alive in his hands, unwounded and without any blood stains. He starts out on the expedition and goes to the river Dnêpr, the Little Mother, and addresses her. Here, as usual in these ballads, the Dnêpr is made feminine as Nêpra. On the banks of the river he meets a Tatar host and slays them, with the usual unconvincing and summary prowess of these early Russian heroes. On his return, Vladímir asks him for the white swan he is to have captured in his bare hands, and Sukhán replies that he started out with the purpose, but instead overthrew a Tatar army. Vladímir disbelieves him and sends Dobrýnya Nikítich (as usual in his ambassadorial capacity) to the banks of the Dnêpr to investigate. Vladímir hears the report, and repents of his incredulity, bids his henchmen take up Sukhán out of the deep dungeon and promises to reward him for his services with cities and suburbs, villages and their lands, and countless golden treasure. This method of reward clearly attaches Sukhán to the Vladímir cycle. But Sukhán has been too deeply wounded in his pride. He remarks:

> "As my sovereign the Little Sun pitied me not,
> My sovereign the Little Sun had no mercy,
> Now no more shall he see me with his own clear eyes."

He tore off the bandages from his wounds and spoke:

> "Let the Sukhán river flow
> From my blood that is red and glowing,
> From my blood that is hot and was useless."

A passage which attaches him to the River Gods, and is in form very similar to the tale of Nastásya and Dunái Ivánovich, unless it has been simply adapted from the tale of Dunái.

7.—*Ilyá Múromets*

Ilyá Múromets is one of the links between the Older Knights and the Younger. He has the miraculous qualities of the Titanic figures who derived their strength from Mother

Earth, but his feats are human, and he serves Vladímir. He has, by some commentators, been not inaptly compared with the Greek Heracles, who has the same divine qualities, and has to serve ungrateful masters, but the Russians have never succeeded in combining his feats into any compact unity as did the Greeks, any more indeed than the Celts could with Finn or Cuchúlain of Muirthemhne.

The accounts of his birth are pretty well uniform. For thirty[25] years he sat moveless without power to move legs or hands, whilst his brothers tilled in the fields.[26] Then one day the *Kalêki perekhozhie* (wandering beggars) came by and gave him three draughts of a magical drink whereby he acquired a gigantic strength. What these personages are is very difficult to state. They seem to resemble wandering friars, because they are old men, they are sacred, and they are entitled to hospitality. They come from nowhere, and generally bear the impress of primitive folk-lore.

Ilyá was born at Múrom, a Russian settlement amidst the Finnish population. His father is Iván Timoféevich, and his mother Evfrósinya Yákovlevna. But Ilyá is never known by his patronymic : only by his place of birth, in the village of Karacharevo or Karachaev (a word with a distinctively Turanian sound, Kara being the common prefix to place-names, and meaning black). It is possible that a great deal of Finn mythology may have entered into the composition of his character. In some other versions these wandering friars are identified with the emblematic figure; in the story of the Nóvgorod hero, Vasíli Buslávich, the old man Piligrim-mishche, (who in the Nóvgorod cycle is burlesqued as might be expected from that peculiar style). This is probably a mere contamination. The Beggars give Ilyá three draughts and at the third, as in the case of Svyatogór, the strength imparted to Ilyá is so great that grey mother earth could not support him. Ilyá sets out on his journey, and thus spake the old man :

" May God greatly bless Ilyá Múromets,
With His own strength :
And be thou a champion for Christianity,
And for the Holy Virgin.
In warfare to thee there shall be no death :
Fight thou with all the hosts of the pagans,
And against all the valorous Amazons.

But more mighty than he in the wide white world
Is Samson Samoýlovich and Svyatogór Kolyvánovich,
And yet mightier still from grey earth, the little Mother,
Is Mikúla Selyáninovich."

And against these earlier champions, he is not to fight; they are his ancestors.

Ilyá Múromets asks his father to purchase him a foal, and to pay any price that is demanded, and after he has driven it for three days and three dews it grows up into a powerful and brave steed. His adventures with Svyatogór Kolyvánovich, from whom he derives a further gift of strength, have been described in the previous section.

His first great feat is the slaying of the Nightingale Robber. This monster is described in most extraordinary terms. In the first place as to names, it appears he is also called Odikhmantevich (as is also Sukhán) and Akhmatov. He is called a nightingale, but he is evidently a gigantic bird, for his nest stretches over seven oaks, and his whistle has three standing epithets—"lionlike," "of a wild beast," and "of an aurochs.'" As a bird he is also called with very slight variance, *Ptitsa Rakhmannaya*[27] a bird of *Rakhman*, another almost incomprehensible term. Rybnikov derives this fromVrakhmanov, and supposes that it means Brahman, being a reminiscence of the tales of terror from India, which were brought after the return of Alexander the Great from that country, in which case *Rakhmany*,[28] would primarily have meant Brahman. The change of *b* to *v* would have come in the course of transition through the Byzantine *β*. In any event, these epithets in the ballads have become confused, and have lost any meaning, and speculations as to their ultimate derivation are almost as futile as the endless screeds which have been written on the Homeric adjective *ἀμύμων*. It is, however, possible that 'nightingale' here is not the original meaning. As a bird he is gigantic, and his nest is on three, or seven, twelve or thrice nine oaks. But that the word does not really mean nightingale derives some plausibility from the similar confusion that has taken place in the Swan Maiden, where it is almost certain that "*dêvitsa*" is the feminine of *Div*, which is cognate with *Ζεύς*, *Divus*, *dyaus*, etc.

In Russian, *Div* is the demoniac being who appears in the

Tale of Igor's Armament, and shrieks above the tree, bidding the foreign land hear : especially as in the Olónets dialect whence so many of these ballads come, ě accented is pronounced *i*.

An alternative derivation for Solovéy Razbóynik is from *sláva* (glory). If so, one meaning of Solovéy would be "famous," and popular etymology would explain the attributes of the nightingale.

A third element enters into this name ; if Solóvnik, one of adversaries of I yá, be assimilated to this group, there is the derivation from *solovy*, grey, which would constitute another bit of personal description.

Miss Hapgood in *The Songs of Russia* (1885) suggests that Ilyá is the Thunder-god, a theory not impossible in itself, associated as he afterwards was with Saint Elias, who has these attributes. Rambaud favours this view, and expatiates on it, stating that Solovéy is a symbol of the storm, which is imagined as a giant bird (cf. *aquila* and *aquilo*). In support of this theory, he cites the fact that Ilyá's arrow, like the lightning, blasts an oak [though this, again, may be picturesque metaphor] and that Ilyá finds a kind of Fafnir's treasure in Solovéy's castle. But a similar episode is told of Dobrýnya Nikítich.

Another comparison that has been made is that with Heracles, who in one of his Twelve Labours, has to drag Cerberus up, for his unkindly master, Eurystheus, to see.

This name of *nightingale* is also borne by Solovéy Budímirovich, with this qualification, which is insisted on in the texts, that the *Robber* is not a '*builder*,' whilst the Norse stranger emphatically is, and demonstrates his skill. Probably it means that both are "foreigners," but that the Robber is a nomad, and the sailor hero a dweller in cities.

This episode of the slaying of Solovéy Razbóynik is the central feat of Ilyá's life, the one most be-sung by the ballad-makers.

To resume the direct narrative of it, Ilyá Múromets sets out for Kíev, but there are two obstacles in his way. He arrives at the city of Chernígov which is besieged by a Tatar host ; this incalculable army he defeats single-handed. He also has to pass by the Nightingale Robber, the thief

Vor Rakhmanovich, the thief Rakhman. ("Thief" is a derisive epithet for these Tatar heroes of the ballads : it is so conventional that the Tatar apply it to themselves, when speaking in the first person).

Ilyá Múromets takes his club and smites the robber on his white breasts, and the foe flies down from the oak tree. The field of operations in some ballads (later in date) is the Psitsarkaia Steppe, vaguely placed in the Kharat country. Ilyá Múromets descends from his good horse, ties the foe to his bridle and drags the enemy with him. Soon they arrive at the Nightingale Robber's palace, whose daughters espy him. One daughter (there are two, Máryá and Kátyúshen'ka) says to the other, "There is our father coming home leading a warrior with him" ; but the mother sees the truth. Then the elder daughter, Márya, leans out of the window, takes up a flagstone that weighs one hindred *puds*, and is aiming it at Ilyá Múromets, when her father cries for mercy, thinking he may be ransomed.

Ilyá sets out to Kíev and arrives at Court, and, in some versions, his tale is not believed. He must demonstrate by the deadly whistle of the Nightingale Robber what it is he has really captured. Ilyá bids the Nightingale Robber whistle in a half tone so as not to affray the whole Court. The Nightingale Robber asks for three casks of wine, but instead whistles to his full strength, and all the princes and *boyars* fall to the ground. All the older houses in Kíev were shattered, and the newer houses shook, and all the window frames dropped out, and as a punishment for not obeying him, Ilyá cuts off his foe's impudent head. In some versions other details are inserted of this, Ilyá's greatest deed, but this may be taken as fairly representative.

His next most important feat is the slaying of Ídolishche. Ídolishche (occasionally Odólishche), the big idol, also known as *Skoropít*[29] has a standing epithet *pagan*, and represents the terror of the idolatrous nomad barbarians who are always infesting Kíev. He comes up to Kíev and demands a champion to meet him, in single combat, and Ilyá undertakes the burden. The dress Ilyá puts on for this occasion demands particular attention. On his feet he puts silken plaited sandals. He dons a knapsack of black velvet. On

his head he puts a *cap of Grecian earth*, and with this equipment he sets out. The cap of Grecian earth is an emblem of the orthodox faith, and is also worn by Dobrýnya when he slays an extremely similar foe, Túgarin. But Ilyá in this case cannot win by mere strength. He did not take with him his elm club, but went out on the road, and he began reflecting how he should deal with Ídolishche. Some miraculous help has to come. The big *wandering* friar (also called Big John) meets him once more, bearing in his hands a crutch weighing ninety *puds*. Ilyá asks him to lend him his crutch, and only obtains it after challenging him to fight. Ilyá Múromets can barely lift it off the ground. Disguised as a wandering beggar, Ilyá penetrates into the white stone palace of Ídolishche, who asks him, "How big is Ilyá Múromets, the knight of Kíev?" Ilyá truthfully answers, "Ilyá is as big as I am"; and Ídolishche further cross-examines him: "How much bread does your Ilyá eat?" "How much beer does he require?" And Ilyá again replies, "Ilyá eats as much as I, Ilyá drinks as much as I." Ídolishche, who boasts of his fabulous gluttony (just like Túgarin, with whom he is often confused)[30] mocks at Ilyá and says that he can drink seven casks of beer and consume seven *puds* of bread. Ilyá then is roused to anger, and to the same kind of mocking banter as is used by Alyósha Popóvich in his fight with Túgarin.

"And in the home of Ilyá Múromets
Once there lived a peasant:
And he had a cow, a huge eater,
Who wallowed and swilled the homestead."

Ídolishche 'disliked this tune' (the invariable formula for such incidents) and threw his knife at the wandering *Kalêka*. But Ilyá Múromets was roused, seized his cap of Grecian earth and flung that at his foe, who died, and his head was cut off. This episode is very largely the same as that of Alyósha Popóvich and Túgarin, but must be noted as one of the characteristic feats of Ilyá.

Ilyá Múromets also goes to Constantinople to the Court of Constantin Bogolyubovich [Θεόφιλος] in the guise of a wandering friar, wearing the cap of Grecian earth, but there finds Izdólin sitting at the Imperial hearth, and slays

him after an episode similar to that stated above in the combat with Ídolishche. He also wears as part of his costume on this almost secret mission a *Saracen cloak* [unless *Sorotsinski* comes from Soroki on the Pecheneg front'er; or it *may* be the proper Russian from of the western Saracen. It can hardly be connected with *sórok*, forty, nor *sóroka*, magpie, nor *sorochka*, shirt; and the word must mport some form of religious symbolism, as the term is not used except in these combats, with pagan or hostile foes, when the battle-field often is the *Sorochinski* hills.]

One other great feat of Ilyá's is the beating back of the Tatars, under Tsar Kalin or Kaïn [or Mamai (defeated at Kulikovo) is introduced into the ballad]. A letter is sent to Vladímir summoning him to surrender. He weeps, and defers; Ilyá is in prison (this episode anticipates the quarrel of Ilyá with Valdímir), where Vladímir's daughter has been tending him. Ilyá asks for a delay of three years, three months, three days, and three hours, during which time he reaches the Tatar host, gains the assistance of Samson Samóylovich and defeats the Tatars. In another episode he overcomes the Tsar Kalín, using the same old device of the boast and counter-boast, the original of which was the tale of Alyósha Popóvich and Túgarin.

Another great feat of Ilyá is the slaying of Zhidóvin (*Zhid*, Jew).[31] *Zhidóvin* is the standing symbol of the hostile folk of the Khazars, who were converted to Judaism. Zhidóvin is also known as the *infidel* [*nevêzhe*] and is an unreal and symbolic figure.

Ilyá has an epic quarrel with Vladímir. His feats are all disbelieved at Court. After slaying the Nightingale Robber he is given a low place at the table beneath all the princes, boyárs, and potentates, merchants, and rich men, and all the champions, warriors, and the sixty knights of Russia. He retorts by playing havoc at his uncourteous host's table to right and left, and Dobrýnya Nikítich has to be sent as an ambassador to conciliate him in his tents. Ilyá consents to return to Kíev on condition that all the houses of refreshment (in late ballads called *tsarski kabák*, imperial inns) shall be open for twenty-four hours, and all the people shall have beer and green wine to drink, and liberty to

drink themselves drunk, and threatens that if the princes will not do according to his will, he will tyrannize only until morning. [*Tsarstvovat'* (rule) was not the word used for the dominion of a Russian Ruler]. And on these conditions some peace is restored, but Ilyá is of too popular an origin ever to be in favour at Court.

This ballad, therefore, shows distinct signs of being late in its vocabulary and style, such as the reference to Vladímir by the Moscovite term *Gosudár, Bátiushka,* and the use of the terms Senators and Duma to describe the Councillors of the State: the term *Tsarski Kabák* may be a mere slip of memory.

From Persian sources, from Rustem in the *Shah-Nameh,* another irrelevant legend attached itself to Ilyá: namely, that he should bear a son of whom he knew nothing, and should slay him in combat. The mother in some accounts is called Savíshna. In the ballads this son is called Solóvnik[32] and attacks Kíev, calling for a champion, and none other than Ilyá can be found to defend Kíev against the foreigner. The youth goes so fast that they can only see him when he is sitting, and when he is passing by, they cannot tell whither he is gone. Only Ilyá can succeed. He leaps on him from afar in the open field, and lays hold of him by his golden hair. (It may be merely incidental that nearly all the foes Ilyá has to meet have yellow locks: there must be some racial or national significance in this conventional feature). Still Ilyá cannot lay him low, and his match has at last been found. When he at last does succeed, Solóvnikov begs his foe go to Nastásya, his mother, and bear her the report of his death, and Ilyá asks him in the formula for Easterns, " From what horde, from what land, from what father, from what mother does he come?" but the youth says: " Oh, thou aged hound, and grey-haired dog, if I had been sitting on thy white breasts, I should not have asked thee for thy name, or thy father's name, but should have stabbed thee in thy white breasts"; but at last he consents and then Ilyá recognized his son, and sets out to heal the wound he has given. Still, Solóvnikov is unfaithful, and assails Ilyá in his sleep; he cannot kill him, for Ilyá's time had not come. On the father's white breasts there lay a cross

that weighed one and a half *puds* (the exaggeration of weight is tedious in these ballads). The arrow struck the cross, and then Ilyá had to slay his infidel son.

In another version of the same episode, an Amazon rides up to Kíev and Alyósha Popóvich and Dobrýnya Nikítich are in turn sent and laid low. Ilyá has to set out to fight these unconquerable enemies but proceeds to the Sorochínski hills, to the mountain *Skat*, and there he finds the Amazon riding and brandishing a steel club, hurling it up to the very clouds, playing with it as it it were a swan's feather, although it weighed ninety *puds*.[33] Even the heart of Ilyá was afraid and he had to beseech his shaggy horse not to play him false. It was a long fight, and is, a rare event in this style, well described, and the *Polenitsa* (Amazon) on being asked will not declare her name, but at last is forced to confess that she comes from the Black Horde, from valorous Lithuania, (this magical figure always comes from the North) and is the daughter of a widow. Her mother was a baker (i.e., of servile rank) and brought her up on her earnings and had sent her to Holy Russia to seek her father. Ilyá Múromets swiftly leapt down and laid hold of her by her white hands, and handled the golden rings on her fingers and kissed her on her sweet lips, and said he had lived in valorous Lithuania for three years when he was exacting tribute, and had lived with her mother and slept in her house, and he knew her as his daughter. Again she plays him false, as did his son. Ilyá again is saved by the huge cross he wears on his breast.

There is also another ballad in which a pagan foe, Sokól'nichek [the Little Hawk] comes and assails Kíev, and has to be dispatched by Ilyá. In one ballad the principal heroes of the great work are in the first place, Ilyá Múromets, the Cossack of the Don, Dobrýnya Nikítich, Alyósha Popóvich, Churílo Plénkovich, Mikhail Potyk, and as the sixth and seventh the two brothers Agrikánov. The last-named are very doubtful. Some Greek derivation from ἀγροῖκος ἄγριος is obvious[34] but otherwise very little is known of them. Usually when these are mentioned we have the mention of Zbrodovich, of the Zbrodorichi brothers or the *backwoods-men*(cf. p. 88). There is some faint mention of an older knight, Agrikán, but little is known of him, though

there is every possibility of further discovery when more songs have been published. Dobrýnya Nikítich has to set out against Sokól'nichek, the Little Hawk, who seems to be a variant of the Nightingale Robber ; for he has only to cry in a knightly or magical voice and Dobrýnya falls to the ground and lies in a swoon for three hours. At last Ilyá has to take the field. He forthwith harnesses his steed with a *Circassian* saddle (*Cherkasskoe*) [there is a town of Cherkásy on the Pecheneg frontier to which it might also refer] and after a long fight Sokol'nichek fells Ilyá. Ilyá when he falls to the ground, like Briareus, gathers strength and hurls his assailant over : but his enemy is not dead. He goes back home to his lofty room and his mother Semigorka Vladýmerka. She is some powerful witch, who is elsewhere called *Latyrka* or *Latygorka*[35] and occurs in the tales of Vasili Busláyevich and Danílo the Unfortunate, as well as in the tale of Iván Godínovich (and other heroes). She reveals to him who his assailant was. Sokól'nichek goes back to his tent, and attacks Ilyá in his sleep. Again the knife falls on the golden cross Ilyá wears on his breast, and arouses him from sleep, and this time Ilyá despatches his assailant.

In all these tales Ilyá is never conquered, for it was foretold to him that he should not be slain in battle. The episode of his death is a frequent theme of narrative. This ballad is called The Three Journeys of Ilyá Múromets.

Ilyá is now an old man, and the story, subject to variations, is much the same. He comes to a stone, *alatyr*. In some versions this untranslatable word has been converted into a stone with a *Latin* inscription on the stone, and on the sign-posts is a legend telling whither the three roads lead : one will bring wealth, the second marriage, and the third death. Ilyá shook his head, for " Wherever he had been journeying, he had never alighted on such a wonder. He had not needed wealth and was too old for marriage. To take a young wife[36] would be a new burden, and an old one would only lie on the stove,[37] so he would elect the road that led to death. And on the road to death he came across forty thousand robbers, and with his helmet, which weighed forty *puds*, he slew them all, and so he avoided death.

He then went on the road that led to marriage, and came to the white stone palace where the far-famed Amazon lived, and she had a deceitful bed. She received every wanderer, and fed them with sweet food, and when they had entered the bed, it sank down to the depth of 40 *sazhens*.[38] But Ilyá insisted on her taking the first step, and threw her on to the bed, and so she was buried in the depths, and so he escaped marriage. So lastly he set out on the road to wealth and came back to the stone which is sometimes called *servaliushch*. (This is the same idea as the mystic stone which decides the fate of Vasíli Buslávich). Ilyá now has to set out on the road to wealth. There he found great caves filled with jewels and silver and gold, which belonged to the fair and deceitful maiden, but he devoted all this gold and silver to God's Church, and to the orphans, and so he escaped wealth, and returned to the city of Kíev.

But one day when he was fighting, when he had slain all his foes, he and his horse turned to stone, and this was the manner of his death, and birth. This version has a very Celtic flavour. In some later versions he became a patron saint, but there is very little trace of this in the ballads.

Ilyá is the most popular and the principal figure in the Russian ballad cycle. His principal task is to fight pagan foes, and for that reason he has been granted the pagan strength of Russia from some hostile powers such as Svyatogór, whose strength is more than double his, but whose daring is only half, and he comes on his campaigns, wearing the cap of Grecian earth, the sign of orthodoxy. He is by no means the only brigand slayer in the cycle. Dobrýnya's great feat is the slaying of the Dragon of the Mountains, but there is none the peer of Ilyá for might and persistency. But this is not his only peculiar feature.

He is of popular origin and out in favour at the Court. Like Mikúla Selyáninovich he is of the people, and stands in complete contrast to the aristocratic figures who were his brothers-in-arms. He has magical tributes: he can carry enormous weights; this is not attributed to the knights of the younger cycles. And his strength is only serviceable because he has husbanded it and because it is not such as

the earth cannot bear, nor the doubtful legacy of strength which condemns such figures as Shark Velikán to a crawling on the earth, and Svyatogór to remain embedded in the mountains. His magical origin is everywhere apparent. His birth, too, is miraculous.

There must be some symbolism in the unintelligible feature of his story in which there is no variation, that for thirty years he had neither hands nor feet, and then received them from the wandering friars. He also had the original gift of strength from mother earth with his giant's power. To this legend, disparate as it is, other elements were superadded, the most obvious loan being that from the Rustem legend in which he is made to slay his own son whom he has begotten on his journeys. His extraordinary life releases him from any fear of death on the battle-field, and it is a tempting thought what some other nation, gifted with more poetical force than the Russians, might have made of the way in which this dauntless hero at last suffers the common lot in a unique manner and is converted into a statue. One need only contrast the treatment of the death of Cuchúlain at his last battle by Lady Gregory, who follows the Irish legends very closely. "There was a pillar-stone west of the lake, and his eye lit on it, and he went to it and he tied himself to it, with his breast-belt, for the warrior would not meet his death lying down, but would meet it standing up. Then his enemies came round about him, but they were in dread of going close to him for they were not sure but that he might still be alive. 'It is a great shame for you,' said Erc, the son of Cairbre, 'I should strike off the head of that man in revenge for his striking the head off my father.'

Then a bird came and settled on his shoulder. 'It is not on that pillar birds were used to settle,' said Erc. Then Lugaid came up and lifted Cuchúlain's hair from its shoulder."

There was as much dramatic matter in the passing away of the hero who could not be slain, but the Russians could only say that he *turned to stone.*

In some ballads he is associated with Ermák Timoféyevich, the discoverer of Siberia. Mamai, the Tatar general, sends

a challenge to Vladímir in Kíev, and Ilyá, Alyósha Popóvich, Samson, Svyatogór, Don Ivánovich, engage in the battle. Ermák has to be induced to fight, and in no wise is differentiated from the fabulously instantaneous victories that are the rule in these ballads.

Ilyá is always called the Old Cossack, sometimes with the specific Cossack titles of *Esaul* and *Ataman* [captain, chieftain]. Originally *Cossack* was a tribal designation; later, the true Cossack organization was attributed to the older word for the purposes of the ballads.

His character is very well summed up by Rambaud: "Pour les côtés moraux de sa physionomie épique, il faut donner l'avantage à Ilyá sur la plupart des héros grecs ou germains, et il supporte bien la comparaison avec les plus nobles paladins de nos chansons de geste."

In his youth he is made one of the crew of the Hawk-ship (*v.* Appendix VI.) In the ballads he always belongs to the older generation, and is called the Old Cossack, but he is younger than the elder Bogatyrí. He has a great reputation for sobriety and temperance in eating;[39] he is ascribed a special Christian mission, to help the indigent, to support popular rights, thus, when slaying Solovéy Razbóynik, he reproaches him for the misery he has caused to mothers, wives and orphans:

> Long enough hast thou caused to weep fathers and mothers;
> Long enough hast thou widowed wives that were young:
> Long enough hast thou left friendless and orphaned young children.

His strength is God-given, and he is immune from death on the field of battle, in order that, without rest or stay, he may fight the good fight.

Thus, his original character, his later contamination with Elijah, or Saint Elias, the patron of thunder and direct heir of the Pagan Perun, his constant resort to a monk's disguise, and his spare ascetic nourishment—these four causes, among others, contributed to his canonizing. According to Kirĕyevski, his relics are laid in the crypt of the Reverend Saint Anthony; his cult, together with that of the other saints of the crypt, is celebrated on the 19th December.

PART III.: THE YOUNGER BOGATYRÍ.

I.—*Dobrýnya Nikítich*

Two historic figures underlie the legendary hero : (1) Dobrýnya, the son of Malk of Lyubech, and brother of Malúsha, Olég's housekeeper and mother of Vladímir I., was a very notable character of his time. In 971, according to the Chronicles, the folk of Nóvgorod besought the Prince, " If thou wilt not come to us, then we will find a prince for ourselves." Dobrýnya was selected, and vigorously seconded Vladímir's efforts to establish the worship of Perun, setting up an idol by the river Volkhov, " to which the folk of Nóvgorod made sacrifice, as to God."

In 986 Valdímir and his maternal uncle Dobrýnya set out on a victorious expedition by boat against the Torks (a nomad Turanian race).

Another Chronicle tells how Michael, the Metropolitan of Kíev and all Russia, with six bishops and the patriarch Fóti, also Dobrýnya, all went to Nóvgorod and cast down all the idols, destroyed the heathen temples and baptized many people. . . . . He hewed into pieces the idol of Perun, threw it down, and tying adders to it, dragged it in the dung, smiting it with wands and burning it.

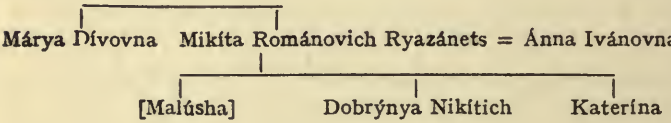
(2) The second historic Dobrýnya is mentioned in connection with the Battle of Kálka, by the banks of which, in May, 1223, the Russians were routed by the Tatars, and six princes killed. The Tatars followed up their victory and pursued the Russians as far as the Dnêpr, but retired after this foray into Asia.

In 1224 there is mention of a merchant's son, Dobrýnya Nikítich of the city of Ryazáń, nicknamed Gold-belt. The carnage at the battle of Kálka was frightful ; the Chronicles report that seventy *bogatyrí* were slain, and amongst these Aleksandr Popóvich [who, as Alyósha Popóvich is the comrade of Dobrýnya in the bylíny] with his servant, Tórop and Dobrýnya of Ryazáń : or that " of the warriors so many fell, that hardly one man in ten could escape ; and seventy great and valiant knights were all killed."

There is this further record : " There was war between Prince Yúri Vsévolodovich and Prince Constantine [of

Rostóv and Yarosláv] and the elder brother [Yúri] won. In Constantine's retinue were two *bogatyri*, Dobrýnya Zlatopóyas and *Aleksándr Popóvich* with his servant Tórop. . . ."

In the ballads, Dobrýnya is the nephew of Vladímir, and the other relationships are set out *infra*: his godmother, Anna or Nastásya Ivánovna was a great friend of his mother, and accounted shrewder than Marína. Dobrýnya is described as *young* or very young, an epithet used for the attractive and handsome. He has yellow hair, and, either on his left or his right leg, a birthmark which serves for dramatic recognition. In time of peace he is sometimes said to wear a *Latin* dress.



The legend of Dobrýnya Nikítich is one of the most widely spread and strongly characterized of the Kíev cycle. His life divides itself roughly into four special episodes; his bathing in Puchai River, and his combating with the mountain serpent, his fight with the Amazon, his meeting with Marína, and lastly his long embassy, during which he left his faithful wife behind, and how Alyósha Popóvich seized her.

In conclusion there are ballads telling how he met his death, which has very little connection with him in particular, and is only of the ordinary personifications of Death as a visible figure whom some may fight, to whom most must yield.

In all the legends of Dobrýnya we find the characteristic lament of his mother, Ofímia Oleksándrovna, or else Mamelfa Timoféevna, or later Anna Ivánovna, full of weariness and depression at his unfortunate birth. He should have been born as great in the matter of luck as Vladímir at Kíev, in strength as the old Cossack, Ilyá Múromets [for be it observed in the chronology (such as it is) of these ballads Ilyá is an old man, before Dobrýnya enters on the scene]

And for daring he should have been as bold as Alyósha Popóvich; in misfortune he should have been Ilyá Múromets, for strength Svyatogór the knight; for beauty, Osíp the fair, and as fine a dandy as Churilo Plénkovich. Or his strength may be compared with that of Samson Kolyvánovich,[40] or for curly locks with the realm of Kudryánishche. His travels are not as great as those of Dyúk Stepánovich, nor his wealth like that of Sádko of Nóvgorod.

(*a*) His mother consoles him and tells him that he is to go on an embassy; he shall be a mighty speaker as also of the Homeric *μύθων τε ῥ' ητῆρ' ἔμεναι, πρηκτῆρα τε ἔργων.*

Then Dobrýnya complains that he is to be sent to the Sorochinski land [this may mean either the Saracen land, or the frontier beyond Soroki, or probably both]. He is to fight the mountain snake. Swiftly Dobrýnya rode to the river Puchai and was going to bathe in the stream naked. Now there were maidens on the bank washing linen, and they warned him not to bathe naked in the river Puchai, but to keep his shirt on. But Dobrýnya mocks them in a phrase that Vasili Buslávich also used when he disregards friendly admonitions: "You have been asleep and dreamed idle dreams."

The river Puchai is called "bestial" or "savage," and is inhabitated by this serpent with twelve tongues or fangs. In the cycle of stories of Egóri the Brave, this saint also meets and slays this same dragon. But Egóri scatters the limbs and the incident is not unlike that of the killing of Ymir[41] (*v.* Preface, p. ix.). The serpent vomits a rain of fire and boasts that he will burn up and devour Dobrýnya at his will. But Dobrýnya was a good swimmer, and made use of his broad-brimmed hat, *kolpak*, filled with Grecian earth [which has the usual mystical significance of orthodoxy] and forthwith hurled it at the monster. The snake[42] begged him for mercy, and made a solemn vow he would no longer fly over the fields of Holy Russia, and no longer take any Russians prisoners, if only Dobrýnya will not trample on his young children; and on these conditions he is released. But the pagan horror is not bound by any such vows and flies over to Kíev. Vladímir summons all his magicians and

sets them working for three days, but none other is found but Dobrýnya Nikítich to fight the monster and to rescue the maiden, Zabáva, Vladímir's niece. Dobrýnya, as usual confers dolefully with his mother, arrives on the scene, tramples all the little snakes under foot, and slays the dragon, after some dialogue. He cannot overcome the monster without bloodshed and war; also after slaying him descends into the cavern and releases all the Tsars and all the Tsarévichi, all the kings and all the kings' sons, and all the countless hosts who have been taken captive, up to the number of forty thousand, sets them all free, finds Alyósha Popóvich on the way, and gives him the Princess in charge. In some ballads he also releases his aunt, Maria Dívovna, who is called the sister of Vladímir, and fights the Witch of Goryn, the *bába-gorynchátaia*.

(*b*) As he rode back along the tracks his horse had made on the muddy way, she reached the Russian Amazon, and struck her with his club, but she never quailed.

Then he came to a grey oak six sazhens thick, and he struck that oak and broke it to splinters; and spoke to himself that his strength was great as afore, but that his daring was deficient. So he turned back again, found the Amazon, struck her once more with his club and still she did not falter, and only at the third adventure did she at last turn round and shake, and remarked that she felt as if gnats had been biting her,[43] or perhaps the mighty Russian *bogatyr* had been rapping her. Then she seized Dobrýnya by his yellow hair and put him into her deep pockets and carried him about for three hours. This episode very closely follows that of Ilyá and Svyatogór. The horse warns her that he cannot continue to carry her and a *bogatyr* at the same time. Then the Amazon, Nastásya Mikulichna (who is one of the daughters of the Titanic figure, Mikúla Selyáninovich) remarks that if she finds that the *bogatyr* is old, she will chop off his head, if he is young she will make him her captive; but if she likes him, she will marry him. It is the third and most fortunate of these possibilities which takes place, She liked the look of Dobrýnya and at Kíev they were married.

In another tale the name of the monster whom Dobrýnya has to fight is Nevêzhin, the Infidel; but except for this the episodes are the same.

(*c*) The bride of Dobrýnya was certainly hard-won, but was very faithful. There are a large number of ballads which tell how Dobrýnya has to leave his wife and mother and to set out on a long embassage. His wife asks him how long she is to wait. She is to wait three years, and, if he has not returned by then, she is to wait another three years, and then, if again after nine years he has not come back she may sing a Mass for his soul and she is then to live as a widow or to marry whom she will, only she must not marry his affianced brother,[44] Alyósha Popóvich.

Alyósha Popóvich, in several of these tales, is called *very young*, like Churílo Plénkovich, and this attribute of youth is not altogether flattering to the moral character.

So she waited for him three years, and day by day went by as the raindrops fall, and week by week as the green grass grows, and year by year as the rivers flow, and still Dobrýnya never came back from the open field, so she started to wait for him another three years, and day by day went by as the raindrops fall, and week by week as the green grass grows, and year by year as the rivers flow. And at the end of six years, Alyósha came with the news that Dobrýnya Nikítich was no more alive; and the lady his mother began to weep and to stain her bright eyes with tears, and still Nastásya is faithful to her vow and waits her twelve years, and day by day went by as the raindrops fall, and week by week as the green grass grows, and year by year as the rivers flow. And then Prince Vladímir began to take a personal interest in it, and to ask her why she remained as a young widow and so passed her days fruitless, why she did not marry bold Alyósha Popóvich, and under such powerful inducements she consented. Now Dobrýnya was at this time in Constantinople, and his horse stumbled; his master objurgated him as wolf's carrion or bear's hide, but the good horse spake to him in a human voice telling him of the re-marriage of his wife. And Dobrýnya aroused himself, and went so speedily

that he leapt from mountain to mountain, from hill to hill, over lakes and over rivers, and over the broad valleys. He came and saw his mother, who did not recognese him. He tells her that he was lately with Dobrýnya ; and then, dressed up as a strolling player [*skomorokh* σκώμμαρχος][45] he enters the Court where the wedding festival is proceeding. He makes his way in without asking leave, and plays the *gúsli* so well that Vladímir asks what he would, and the favour he asks is to drink a glass of wine with the new bride ; into this he drops his golden ring and his wife rejoins him. Dobrýnya then reveals himself, and states that he is not angry with his wife ; for, with all women, the hair is long and the memory short, and wherever they are led, they will go ; but he was astonished at Prince Vladímir for giving away the wife of a living man, and he lays hold of Alyósha by his yellow locks and gives him a suitable punishment for his treachery. This tale is often told, and there are very few variants except in details as to the manner of the recognition. One version in especial is very late in style, and takes Dobrýnya to the river Soróga (or the Cheregá) which is rather a perquisite of Churílo Plénkovich than of Dobrýnya.

In another version there is further contamination because his wife is made out to be Katerína Mikúlichna, a third daughter of Mikúla Selyáninovich (who was, however, the wife of Stavr Godínovich).

(*d*) These episodes in the life of Dobrýnya would, if handled by a dramatic or poetic race, have been good material for the greatest drama, but unfortunately they fell upon a barren soil.

There are several other legends connected with his name. In one tale Prince Vladímir was holding a mighty festival to his many princes and *boyars*, and to the mighty *bogatyrí* of Russia. They were all feasting and carousing, and they were all boasting. One knight was boasting of his extraordinary strength, and another of his good horse, and another of his countless treasure. And the sensible man was boasting of his true-born mother, and the fool of his new young wife. Prince Vladímir himself paced up and down in great grief and pain, asking wherefore should he boast for which of his

champions could he dispatch to the Sorochínski land to King Buteyán[46] and to take from him tribute for the years passed and the present years, twelve years in all, to receive twelve swans, and twelve gerfalcons and to carry letters of allegiance ; and when they heard this all the noisy crowd was still and kept silence. Then Permil Ivánovich stepped out, bowed down low, and asked leave to speak, saying that he knew whom he should send on this expedition to King Buteyán, namely, Vasíli Kazímirovich. So Valdímir, enthroned in Kíev, took up a goblet in his white hands, and filled it with green wine, and no small stoup, with one and a half *vedro* he filled it and he handed it to Vasili Kazímirovich, who forthwith got up, took this goblet in one hand, and quaffed it down at one draught, and he consented to go on the expedition, if he could take his god-brother Dobrýnya Nikítich, and Dobrýnya consented only he also asked that he might take another of his god-brothers Iván Dubróvets. And Iván stepped up to look after the horses, and Vladímir stepped up to Iván Dubróvets and dealt with him in the same generous manner as with Vasili Kazímirovich. So the three champions left the white stone palace and went into the city of Kíev. They put on fine raiment and decided to go to their own homes and to meet at a certain spot by the grey oak by Nevín, and at the Latyr or Alatyr stone. And so young Dobrýnya went home to his mother complaining in the usual way ; she should never have borne him, she should rather have thrown him out on the lofty mountain of Skat (*v.* p. 42) or have cast him forth into the deep ocean ; and she in return makes the refrain which is characteristic of the cycle of legends comparing him with all the heroes whose qualities he does not share. Dobrýnya then bids his wife wait for him for twelve years, but in any case not to marry Alyósha Popóvich. Then he set forth to the trysting oak and met his sworn brothers, and they called on God to help them and the Immaculate Virgin and journeyed on for three days till they came to the Saracen land of the infidels, and the realm of King Buteyán. King Buteyán treats them honourably, seats them at his own table and asks them which of them is skilled in playing chess, or at the German draughts. Dobrýnya takes up the challenge with the German draughts, and loses

the first game. And Dobrýnya laments that henceforth they will never return to Holy Russia, never see the white world, for he has played away his young head. And he plays a second game, and he beats the King, and in the third game, too. Now the King was displeased at this, and challenged them to an archery match, and again Dobrýnya has to defend the cause of Russia, and again wins in the contest. So the King at last challenges them to fight, and the Tatars are defeated, and King Buteyán is forced to give tribute himself, and so they set forth back home to their former trysting place.

(*e*) In another ballad Dobrýnya's education is described. At the age of twelve he was taught writing, and had a retinue, and at the age of fifteen he asked leave of his mother to go out into the open world. In this journey he has a horse called Self-flier, and as he proceeded at his lightning speed all the wild beasts in the forests cowered, and the birds in the hills flew away. He met a great host of pagans, and single-handed slew them all.

(*f*) As a final episode, there is a short ballad as to how Dobrýnya met his death, a piece of folk-lore which is told of many other figures. It is interesting in the presentation of Death as a wandering witch rather than in connection with Dobrýnya. Death the Terrible comes up to Dobrýnya in the open field and informs him that he has been about long enough in the white world, shedding guiltless blood. He asks her who she is ; is she a Tsar or a Tsar's son, or a King or a King's son or a mighty *bogatyr*, and she informs him that she is Death the Terrible. He then threatens to take his sharp sabre and to cut off her foolish head, but she bids him say farewell to the white world, and will take out her sharp sword, which is unseen, and will cut through his bones, and he will fall from his good horse. Then Dobrýnya prayed her for two years in order to obtain forgiveness for his sins, but she would not give him one hour nor one minute, and then she drew out her iron sword, cut through his sinews and so he fell down dead.

Another very late Moscovite ballad of the death of Dobrýnya deserves some attention., Dobrýnya sets out to

the River Smoródina (which it seems almost impossible to localize) and addresses the stream :

> Oh, thou little stream, rivulet,
> Swift mother-river Smoródina.

The River replies with the voice of a young maiden that there are many ways of crossing, but few fords, but that there are two hazel [*kalínov*] bridges. Dobrýnya crosses and meets Death, who lets him return with his horse and saddle to fetch two knives he had forgotten. On his return the Smoródina[47] drowns the horse first, and then him.

In another ballad even more fairy-tale episodes occur of Alyósha Popóvich resurrecting Dobrýnya with the water of life and death.

Such contaminations of the ballad and the folk-tale can be disregarded.

The combat with Marína[48] belongs to a different style and manner. In one tale Dobrýnya served for three years at the table, for three years he was a cup-bearer, and for three years he was a janitor, and so nine years passed by and the tenth year Dobrýnya was made free, and then his mother bade him go about amongst all races, and in all lands and in all hearts and in all parts of the districts, only never to go into the street of Ignati[49] nor into the home of Marína, for she had destroyed eight youths, and she would make him the ninth. In one vision it is Dobrýnya's sister who persuades him not to marry Marína. Now in all of his wanderings he had obeyed his mother, except in regard to the last inhibition, and Marína[50] saw him, came down out of her white stone palace, laid hold of him with one hand, and laid the oaken tables, spread them with chequered cloths and with all sorts of green wines and sweet foods. But in the goblet there was serpent's poison, so he took up the goblet with his white hands and threw it to a hound, who died in agonies; then he cut off the enchantress's head.

This same story, very obviously derived from Circe, occurs in an ampler form, in which Maríchka converts nine youths into aurochses and is the consort of Túgarin (the foe of Kíev whom Alyósha is to slay).

Dobrýnya is enchanted by the seductress and is converted into a bull, but his mother goes to visit Maríchka and undoes the enchantment. This story is also told, the scene being transferred to Moscow and in the Moscovite style. The enchantress in this poem turns her victims into deer.

These are the main episodes in the legendary figure of Dobrýnya Nikítich. The passage with Marína, as well as the death-scene, have no connection and are merely attached to his name by accident. As the ambassador and councillor at the court, he is a distinct personality, and has already been seen taking the difficult task of intermediary between Valdímir and Ilyá Múromets. The essential parts of his tale are the slaying of the pagan dragon, his winning of the Amazon as his wife and his functions of ambassador and conciliator at the Court of Vladímir, and the faithfulness of his wife during his long absence.

Although the exploits of the knights who feast at the gluttonous boards of Vladímir's Court are often inter-changed, especially those of the dragon-slayers, for all this, their characters are markedly recognisable.

Dobrýnya's life is one of ungrateful toil : he serves a long apprenticeship at Court, is sent on distant, perilous voyages, and his Prince rewards by trying to cheat him of his faithful wife. Dobrýnya is eminently compassionate : he deplores the wanton shedding of blood, spares even the young of the Loathly Worm of the Mountains, and his devotion to his mother has an epic note of grandeur perhaps unparalleled. But, generally, it may be remarked what a very high place of honour women, mothers in particular, take in the balladry of early Russia.

Unlike Ilyá Múromets, Dobrýnya is a nobleman in all his virtues and his prowess, the chivalrous paladin : and unlike him, he is melancholy and reflective. He betrays nothing of Ilyá's democratic churlishness ; but also has none of the titanic strength and magical immunities that render Ilyá superhuman, and paved the way for the church to conventionalize his tradition with gratuitous pietism. If a nation be judged in its idealisms by its fictions, medieval Russia had noble and gentle aspirations.

2.—*Churílo Plénkovich*

Churílo Plénkovich is one of the marked figures at the Court of Prince Vladímir. His name has been variously derived by different authorities. He is very fully described. His two eyes gleamed like two candles ; when he walked abroad, a sunshade was carried in front of him so that his fair countenance should not be scorched. His boots were of green morocco, with soft heels. He is called " Cox-comb." He trod so softly that under his heels a starling could jump forward safely, and a flower not be crushed. His hands were white ; he wore golden rings and silk gloves. On his head he carried a brimmed hat [*kolpak*] gold in hue ; and his *kaftan* was green. His footsteps were slight, like a white hare's or an ermine.

Churílo is ascribed a divine character. The name of Plenko may be derived from *plên*, *pólon* (captive).

Another etymology connects Plenko with a place, Plensk in Volhynia, an ancient principality covering about the district of the present province of Volhynia, and containing the ancient monastery of Pocháievo,[51] probably, too, the river Pochái. True, the Caspian Sea and the Volhynian frontier are far apart ; but the constant confusion of Volynsk *Khvalynsk* (Volhynian, Caspian) all through these ballads tends to mould into one the legends of the enemies on both borders.

Principally Churílo Plénkovich appears as host (*gost*, which means merchant or trader). The name of Churílo is also corrupted to *gusinko* (gosling).

One day Prince Vladímir had dispatched six hundred labourers to the river Soróga [also Cheregá] [probably *Sorozhánin gost'* contains a confusion with *Surozhánin*, from the Sea of Azov] to catch the foxes and the fish. Now Churílo lived in the city of Kíevets on the river Soróga with his valiant *druzhína*.

" When Vladímir came out of his white portal,
He looked into the open field towards the river Soróga,
And he saw a crowd of one hundred youths advancing from its banks,
A l their heads had been broken in with maces,
And bound with bandages,
And they came in to Kíev city, to the Prince's door,
And they made their plaint to Prince Vladímir."

And they tell him how Churílo lived in Kíevets on Mother Soróga with his valiant *druzhína*. And how he had despoiled them all of their hunting. Scarcely had this crowd come up than another came on its steps, and this one contained two hundred aggrieved suppliants. And then there came up another host of three hundred, and informed Vladímir how it had been despoiled, and there was no booty for them.

So Vladímir took the matter up, summoned Ilyá Múromets, the ancient Cossack, took Princess Opráksa with him, his queen, and went to visit Churílo at Kíevets, (little Kíev).

There must indeed have been very many territorial lords that the real Vladímir could not cow. When they arrived at the palace of Churílo, Plénkovishche, the master of Soróga, came out to meet them and entertained them well from his enormous wealth. In his palace (as when Sadkó, the merchant, had attained his wealth) sun and moon and stars and dawn were all painted on the walls, and the decoration was all installed on the model of the heavens. They could see out of the window a host of one hundred youths go out into the fields, all riding horses of the same colour, and bridles of a single bronze. Their *kaftáns*[52] were of woven cloth of damask, and the rest of their outfit, which is minutely described, is all in the same exaggerated terms of luxury.

And, as Vladímir looked out of the window, another troop of two hundred youths passed by, and then another of three hundred, and every youth that passed by seemed fairer than his foregoer. But there was one youth who was fairer than all the rest.

He was Churílo, and his head-dress was an arch of gold and silver, and his neck was like a white swan, and his face was the colour of poppies, his eyes like those of the clear-eyed hawk, and his brows dark as sable; he could leap from horse to horse, and he used to snatch the caps from his companions and to hurl them back at their heads. Then Vladímir spoke to Plénko, the father of Churílo, asking him if this were his beloved son, young Churílushka Plénkovich. It was; and then the father went in to meet his son, telling him what an honourable guest had come to see him, the Little Sun, Vladímir, enthroned in Kíev,

and to honour his noble guest Churílo brought golden caskets, visited his wrought coffers, bought a sable *shúba* covered with samite from beyond the seas and gave it to Vladímir. He also fetched a cloth of precious damask and gave it to Queen Opráksa, and he fetched countless treasure and distributed it to the princes and *boyars*. Vladímir accepted the gift, asked him whether it did not weary him living in Kíevets, whether he would not rather come and live in Kíev in Vladímir's poultry-house.

Then, however, comes the foreboding note which is characteristic of tales of Churílo Plénkovich :

> Some are redeemed from misfortune,
> But Churílo buys him misfortune.

So Churílo came to Kíev to live in the poultry-yard of Vladímir, and at the wish of Queen Opráksa he was appointed to the guardianship of the bedchamber, where he would lay the downy feather beds, and put in their places the lofty pillows, and sit at the *chevet* and play the harp and so soothe Prince Vladímir to rest, and in this alteration in the fate of Churílo comes the same refrain :

> Some are redeemed from misfortune,
> But Churílo buys him misfortune.

Churílo lives in the bedchamber and fulfils these very domestic offices : soothes Prince Vladímir to rest, and pleases Queen Opráksa more than any : so that in some legends Vladímir banishes him to the river Soróga betimes.

And then this particular narrative goes on without any connecting link, leaving perhaps much to be implied, whether Churílo would not like to be a herald of the court, to go about the city of Kíev, and issue invitations to honoured visitors.

Churílushka accepted the office, and became inviter. Half used to refuse Churílushka and the other half used to invite him.

" And God ordained Churílo's life, just as aged hags nibble at their crutch-handles, and young maidens toy with their purse-strings, and beauteous damsels stare at their betasselled boot-tops, so they all feasted their eyes on the lovely boy Churílo."

Churílo went into the cloth market to pay a visit to Bermiáta Vasílievich [the variants of this name will be noted] and invited him to the feast in formal terms, and Bermiáta bade him go into his white stone palace and invite Katerína Mikúlichna, his beloved wife, to the banquet.

Churílo, nothing loth in any of the Court offices he accepts, goes into the lofty house of Bermiáta, and Katerína greets him kindly, points out that her tables are laid, and that the food has not been eaten, and that she has been long waiting for Churílo Plénkovich. The serf-maiden, Chernáva, who bakes the bread for the house [cf. Nóvgorod, the black folk= Chern'] warns him against the fatal invitation, and Katerína takes an arbitrary and cruel revenge on her zealous attendant. However, they go and sit together, and pass the time pleasantly. And once again the refrain of impending doom.

He hung his cap on the clothes hook, and threw his sable quilt over his knees. Bermiáta comes back and knocks at the door, summoning his wife to let him in. She runs to the door in her night-dress and Bermiáta entering asks Churílo whether this is the manner in which he asks guests to the royal feast.

This story of Churílo and Bermiáta's wife, Katerína, became very popular, and there are very many versions, in practically all styles and all metres. One version begins with the irrelevant introduction :

> 'A little white hare that leaped along, it does not sweep away its tracks. A man lets fall the silver nails from his foot soles, and the little children follow on the tracks, and they find the silver nails.'

The development of the Katerína episode was almost worthy of a *Decameron*. In one fragment when Bermiáta was at the Mass on Easter Day, Katerína asks Churílo in to play chess to win one hundred roubles for the first mate, two hundred roubles for the second, and three hundred roubles for the third; but they are spied by the ancient servant, who warns her master, Bermiáta, that there is an uninvited guest in the house, young Churílo Plénkovich. As he knocks Katerína lets him in, and he asks why she is not decked for the festival. She complains of a headache and the noisy beating of the heart. And then he asks her why she is going about in slippers, and when he goes up into the room, he

sees the boots of Churílo, and the cap and kaftan. She tells him that Churílo has changed clothes with her brother, but he goes further and finds Churílo himself, lying on the patchwork quilt, and he draws his sabre; and then never the light of dawn shone forth but the sharp steel was wielded; never a precious pearl fell but only the little head of Churílo tumbled down, and it was not white peas that were shed, but the blood of Churílo that flowed. The same tale is told in other versions, and the details are made even more unpleasant. For the serf-maid, Chernáva, is turned into a common spy of the most scurrilous sort, and in the end Bermiáta, after slaying his wife and her lover, appears himself with his serf—(a very similar episode to the consolatory marriage of Iván Godínovich with Anna after the slaying of the unfaithful Vasilísa).

In a very much later version the story is told from the beginning to the end with very lifelike details of an embassy from the citizens of Kíev complaining of the depredations of the marauders whom Churílo commands. Vladímir is besought under the Moscovite title, Gosudár, to ordain a righteous judgment against the presumptuous princeling. So Vladímir sets out to the river Pochaí. [Note on p.115. In this tale it is called Pochái, and not Puchaí, all of which goes to prove that this river must be situated near the Monastery of Pocháev on the Galician frontier in Volhynia].

And Vladímir saw an old stout man walking about wearing a *shúba* (fur cloak) of sable, embroidered with costly green samite. The buttons were chased in gold. He bowed down and invited Vladímir to eat bread. Vladímir asked him who he was, and was told that this was Plénko Gost' Sorozhánin. There is the same vivid presentment of wealth as we had before. In Churílo's house the stove was all glazed tiles, and the ceiling of dark sable skins, and tapestry hung from the walls with windows in between, and the decoration was of the glorious stellar fashion which denotes the wealth of Sadkó Kupéts. Hosts of youths go by, and Vladímir mistakes a henchman for Churílo; and, when the owner himself steps in, he thinks he must be the Tsar of the Golden Horde or a king from Lithuania, or else that it must be the bargainers who have come to apply for the hand of his niece

Zabáva. Vladímir decides he will not listen to the complaints against Churílo and will not give any judgment, but he invites him to Kíev. A similar foreboding refrain of misfortune is used throughout this version. Churílo in this is not only called *young*, but *very young* : young in these poems implies very great beauty.

He goes about the streets of Kíev and shakes his golden locks like a string of falling pearls, and when they gaze on the beauty of Churílo the old women turn round to look at him in their cellars, and the young maidens stare at him and tear off their headgear.

This description of Churílo's beauty (like the foregoing) is in the right epic style, and reminds one of the picture of Helen passing in front of the old men of Troy, quoted by Lessing in his *Laokoon* : [*Iliad*, III., 154 seq.]

> Οἱ δ' ὡς οὖν εἶδονθ' Ἑλένην ἐπὶ πύργον ἰοῦσαν,
> ἦκα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον
> οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνημῖδας Ἀχαιοὺς
> Τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πόλυν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν ;
> αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν.

and Opráksa bids Vladímir appoint him to the bedchamber; but Vladímir, foreseeing misfortune, bids him leave the city of Kíev and return to his native river Puchaí.

Again there is another version in which the cuckold bears the name of Búrman Iványch. The character of the slave-maiden who informs him is vilified down to repulsiveness, and called a common prostitute : is definitely made a household serf, *cheliadenka* (*v.* p.165.) Búrman takes summary vengeance and cuts off the head of his wife and Churílo. Then he proceeds to his informant and reproaches her with real epic power :

> " Woe to thee, dark servant and handmaiden,
> This is the last of thy spyings.
> Skilled thou wast, maiden, feeding the cows,
> Skilled thou wast, maiden, feeding the cattle ;
> But foolish thou, maiden, ruining wives.
> Thou brought'st them to speak, now speak on thyself,
> Thou brought'st me to see it, now prove it thyself."

And he punished her for her treachery in this same summary fashion. But his conscience gave way and he went to see

his *boyárs*, who reproached him, and so he bewailed his fault and wept, and asked to take his own punishment, to be given a good horse and a sharp steel. He went out into the open fields, stuck the lance into the grey earth at its blunt end, and impaled himself in his white breasts on the sharp end and so gave himself to death ; and his *boyárs* and the mighty *bogatyrí* buried him in the green ground, but not in consecrated territory, and they pronounced this judgment :—

" He had no possession of sense and reason,
And he himself, he lost his own sinful soul,
Himself to slay his own white body,
And from God he can have no forgiveness."

Churílo Plénkovich is one of the few figures in which Russian balladry almost attains epic grandeur.

There are other slight variants. The unfortunate host is called Vel'má Vasíl'evich, and this episode ends with his marrying the informing serf maiden. Most of the versions heighten the tragedy by dating it on the eve of Easter Sunday or the Eve of the Annunciation.

In the tale of Dyúk Stepánovich mention is made of Shark Velikán[53] (the collective symbol of the Tatar terror) ; but Churílo Plénkovich also has some association with this monster. One ballad evidently is in a more literary style, in a very much longer metre, and much more complicated. The scheme of the metre can be stated in this form :

$$\breve{\text{U}}\text{U}-\,|\,\overset{\text{U}}{-}\breve{\text{U}}\,|\,\overset{\text{U}}{-}\breve{\text{U}}\,\|\,\overline{\text{UU}}\,|\,-\text{UU}$$

Shark Velikán was weary of life, for he had first the sore loss of his good horse, and a second and bitterer grief was that his sharp sword was broken, and the third and worst of all was that he had conceived an unconquerable passion ; for Márya, the White Swan Maiden, had looked upon him. So the son of the Mussulman, Shark Velikán, went about the earth thinking about the misery of his life, saying how he could chastise the Christian God of Russia, when he met the young champion Gusínko Plénkovich. (For this corruption of a name which suggests *gosling* see p.183). They made friends, and became sworn brothers even, and Shark Velikán invited him to his Mussulman home, and Shark

asked his advice about how safely to recover his wise horse or get one in exchange.

Gusínko Plénkovich advises him to go to the free city of Nóvgorod, and to steal from the iron stables behind the coppers bars an unbroken foal which could bear his weight.

Then he asks him how he shall get a knightly sword equal to his might, and Gusínko advises him to go to the city of Kíev to the mighty Prince Vladímir, and in his imperial palace there are all sorts of weapons, but he asks is it in his power to wield a sword of such strength.

Shark Velikán mocks at the question, and then puts his third doubt: how he may seek Márya, the White Swan Maiden. His guest mocks at this question ; how should a Mussulman[54] gain the Russian Márya, the White Swan? At this reply the giant Mussulman, Busurmánishche, grew angry, and his slit eyes glinted, and he began to fling about on all sides, and the walls fell down wherever he trod, and as he played his pranks, he seized Gusínko Plénkovich by his white breasts and hurled him over thrice ten lands. [A distinct recol lection of the ordinary style of the *skazka*]. And he smiled, bidding the braggart tell him how he has buried his soul when it shall never return answer in the distant land of the Moslems. This very striking ballad with its very musical metre has next to no connection with Churílo Plénkovich ; it is associated with his name, and must therefore be mentioned in this place. In style it is literary, and the language and dialect differ entirely. That Churílo can be friendly with the infidel foreigner shows his foreign origin. Quite apart from the ballads in which he appears as a principal figure, Churílo is constantly mentioned as one of the principal figures at the Court of Prince Vladímir when any embassies are received, tales are told, or adventures rehearsed, and he and Dobrýnya Nikítich, Mikháil Potýk, Alyósha Popóvich are the most distinctly conceived characters at the boisterous board of this knightly circle.

For pictorial detail and vivid character drawing perhaps none of the figures, none of the knights of Prince Vladímir, can compare with Churílo Plénkovich.

3.—*Mikháylo Potýk Ivánovich*

Mikháylo Potýk the Rover has a very well-defined story, which is very much more a fairy tale than a ballad, and, indeed, save for the frame-work being that of the *bylína*, the subject matter is much more that of narrative song than anything strictly connected with the Vladímir cycle. Mikháil Potýk Syn Ivánovich is one of the *visiting* heroes. He travelled from Horde to Horde, and made his way to the King of Lithuania, who took pity on the youth when the princess fell in love with him. He then went to live on the river Puchai (*v.* note on p. 82), where he shot ducks and swans and the little wild ducks who were flying by or were on the river, and there on a well, framed in white oak, there was a white swan sitting which he pierced with an arrow. She struck the grey Mother Earth, and turned into a maiden and spoke with a woman's voice.

We are here face to face with the very telling picture of the White Swan,[55] the Russian Siren. According to Busláyev there is a confusion of derivation in this word. She is generally called the White Swan, the fair maiden. It is probable that *dêvica* is a popular form of *divica* ; *div* occurs in the *Word of Igor's Armament* as a malevolent being seated in the trees who croaks a low Amen for the Russian host ; and in Serbian mythology there are seventeen *divy* who sit on the hills, and lodge in the caves, whilst in Czech there is a word *dívok* which has come to mean "foreign." This course of derivation is fairly clear. The gods would naturally be called *divy*, and when the country was converted to Christianity the native gods would be turned into demons.

Mikháil Potýk acts as an ambassador, collecting tribute, and, in one version, receiving a letter of tribute from Tsar Likhodêi. As so often, the tribute consists of twelve swans, twelve gerfalcons ; and Mikháil boasts that he can capture a swan with his bare hands without either wounding or maiming it. The same episode follows, and the Swan Maiden addresses him :

> " Mikháil Potýk Syn Ivánovich,
> Do not kiss me, the beautiful damsel,
> For I am an infidel maiden
> Of the country of the unchristened,
> But return to Holy Russia, the famous.

We will go to the throne city of Kíev,
We will enter God's church, the true Mother,
Thou wilt give me the Christian confession,
And then we with thee in gold will be wreathed,
And then thou shalt kiss me, the beauteous damsel."

But this marriage turned out ill for Potýk. He was out palfreying when the Tsar's son, Fyódor Ivánovich, came and took Márya, the White Swan, with him. Mikháil Potýk went out to recover her. He put on his feet a pair of silken hose and he took a stick made of fishbones, and a wallet made of black velvet, and on his head the cap of Grecian earth—(a symbol that he was proceeding against the infidel).

Márya, the White Swan, was looking out of the window, and she bade Fyódor Ivánovich receive him gently, and drink him to sleep, and then the two of them laid him in a deep cellar, and nailed the door to the wall. But there was another daughter, Anna, the Princess, who rescued him, and restored him to all his knightly strength, and all of his former mighty valour. So he set out once more to the kingdom of Fyódor Ivánovich, and this time slew him, as he was warned by the daughters of the Tsar not to drink the green wine; he laid hold of Márya, the White Swan, and slew her. In other versions he killed her in the traditional manner for unfaithful wives, hacking her into bits. And then he married Anna.

In another version Mikháil Potýk is given the third rank after Ilyá Múromets and Dobrýnya Nikítich. After his marriage with Márya in this version, Mikháil Potýk is sent to Tsar Nalyót to collect tribute. [The name of this Tsar may be connected with *letát'* (to fly), and refers to the ordinary verb which is used to portray the swiftness of the Nomad hosts which beset Kíev. They are all said to fly like crows, and are even called crows or eagles. Nalyót is a name given to inimical beings in the folk-tales]. Potýk gambles away all his goods at the table. His young wife has died whilst he is away [as he is informed by a dove who enters at the window; or elsewhere it is a horse that speaks to him, with a human voice], and he bids a grave be prepared in which he is to be buried alive, a positive pledge which was exacted from him at his betrothal in some other earlier version. This double burial is a sign of very ancient

origin. Oncken also quotes an Arabic author who describes the ceremonies of the pagan Slavs in the sixth century; how a young wife had to be immolated to accompany the deceased hero, and her body was burned with his on the great ship which was erected on the waters of the Dnêpr.

Mikháil Potýk's instructions are carried out, and he is laid in the pit which has a fence of white oak, together with the dead body, and he stayed in the earth for three months. Then a snake came up to him and began to feed on the dead body. Mikháil fought with the snake with iron rods, and commanded it to bring him the water of life so that he might revive his young wife, taking one of the young as a pledge.

This water of life and death is one of the most common subjects in the fairy tales of Russia. It has to be obtained with great difficulty from some distant mountains, as the Russian folk-tales say, beyond the three-ninth land, the thrice-tenth kingdom, mountains about as fabulous and untraceable as the Sorochinski hills on which these heroes have to do their prowess. The sprinkling with the water of death brings the fragments of the body together, however much they may have been hacked or even boiled.

Mikháil Potýk takes the young snake as hostage; in three hours, under such pressure, the father-serpent finds him the water of life. Potýk sprinkles the snake and on the third aspersion the young snake comes back to life. He then does the same for his young wife, who remarks in the very words of the *skazka*, "What a long sleep I have had." Then the two rise up again from the grave.

It is Easter[56] and the Prince and *boyars* are coming home from Mass. Mother Earth heaves the water beneath, the sand becomes disturbed, Ilyá Múromets bids them dig the sand, and they then see Mikháil Potýk and his young wife emerge.

Soon after this a great rumour spread "about all lands and all Hordes," *i.e.*, throughout all the territorial possession of the Russians, and all the undefined stretches belonging to the pagan Hordes, that there was no such bride to be seen anywhere, and forty Tsars, forty Tsarévichi, forty kings,

forty korolévichi assembled on the Sorochinski hills and sent a Tatar summons [*yarlýk*] to Vladímir bidding him swiftly give up this young wife, without warfare, without quarrel, without trouble, otherwise they would lay Kíev waste. Who is the fair young bride? Vladímir turns to Mikháil and says that one woman is not worth the weal of a whole kingdom, and he bids him give her up. Mikháil, on the other hand, thinks that Vladímir might take this rather discommoding compliment as aimed at Opráksa his queen, and that he might surrender his wife, and Mikháil refuses. So he dresses himself up as a woman, goes to the Sorochínski hills and challenges them to an archery bout, saying he will marry whoever sends the arrow farther than he. He begins to shoot, and slays them all; but, when he gets home, Tsar Vakhraméi Vakhraméyevich has in the meantime come to Kíev, captured his wife, and taken her into the land of Volynsk.

Probably Volynsk does not stand for Volhynia, but for Khvalynsk, which would have much the same sound and signifies the savage land beyond the Caspian Sea.

Tsar Vakhraméi,[57] as a figure, looks indisputably like the Bahram of the *Arabian Nights*, especially in view of the very Oriental features of this part of the story. To the Russians this story would have come from Greece, and Byzantine Greece had already softened *B* into Modern-Greek *V.*; but it has been suggested by Rybnikov that Vakhraméi may equally well be derived from the Sanskrit Bráhman. In the story of Hassan of Balsora and some others Bahram the Magian (who was also an infidel, a fire-worshipper) carries victims away to a distant mountain, with the object of sacrificing them to his Deity. Subject to this factitious difference, the same magical power seems to attach to Vakhraméi; at any rate there is a remarkable similarity in the sound between the two hostile powers. Possibly also Solovéy Razboinik *Rakhmanovich Rakhmannaya Ptitsa* may be cognate, and Rybníkov adds to this family of incomprehensible names, Afron, another hostile pagan ruler in the folk-tales.

There are further Oriental features in the story of the search which Potýk has to make for his young wife when he

journeys to the land of Vakhraméi Vakhraméyevich.[58] He arrives there, and she deceitfully tells him :

" Hail to thee, Mikháyl Potýk,
I, without thee, my champion, cannot drink, cannot live on,
Vakhraméi the Tsar has seized me by force " ;

and she offers him a drink which sends him into a trance, and he is magically turned into a burning stone. His conversion into stone is another clear derivation from the *Arabian Nights*, where the enchanters have this power. His conversion into a ' burning white stone ' is an assimilation of this Oriental feature with that mysterious emblematic stone which is constantly influencing the lives of the Russian *bogatyrí*.

But his sworn brothers, Ilyá and Dobrýnya, came to seek him, and on their way they found an old man who accompanies them to the land of Volynsk where Vakhraméi Vakhraméyevich lives ; there they ask for alms, but the deceitful wife has seen through them and bids them be invited in to be given the drowsy drink. They are given money, and the old man divides it into four shares, the fourth share to be given to the white burning stone. Ilyá the earth-born does his utmost to lift it but he slips down into the earth to his breast. The old man, who is one of the Wandering Friars, bids them farewell, exhorting them to pray to St. Nicholas of Mozhaïsk. Here the Wandering Friar has been identified with the Christian Saint.

Once more Mikháil sets out to win his wife. He is received with the same welcome, and is immured alive in a dungeon. But Vakhraméi has a daughter Márya, who makes Mikháil promise to cut off his wife's head, if he is released. The story then ends with the same episode as the first version. The savage mutilation of the unfaithful wife might be a distinct reminiscence of the vengeance taken on Grimmhild in the original Scandinavian tale of Sigurd. At the same time this ballad with its variety of episode, its great length, and its unity of conception comes as near to epic reality and force as anything which may be found in this branch of Russian literature. In this second longer version Mikháylo sees his approach through a telescope from afar, which is another clear indication of Oriental origin, such implements occur-

ring as magical gifts in many places in the *Arabian Nights*.

Márya, the White Swan Maiden, is called *immortal*, the same adjective as is applied to Koshchéy, of the folk-tales, another very difficult and monstrous enemy.

It may be noted that the gamble at which Potýk loses his fortune is very frequently chess, as also that the fact of Ilyá and Dobrýnya visiting Tsar Vakhramév in the disguise of Wandering Friars is primarily a reminiscence of the ruse by which Ilyá slays Ídolishche. But it is something more. There is something symbolical in the fact that these Russian heroes when they go to meet pagan antagonists of their race have to take on a secret guise (thus deriving strength from the church) of wandering friars, who possess the attributes of the earlier cycles of *bogatyrí*, and derived their strength from Mother Earth.

The story of Mikháylo Potýk Ivánovich is an evident conglomeration of many sources. There are signs of a nature-myth of the birth of Spring (*v. supra*), and also of a sun-myth (*v. infra*). The treatment of his legend in the Kirêyevski compilation presents some notable variants.

Potýk is a mighty knight of Holy Russia and a sworn brother of Ilyá and Dobrýnya. The compact with his magical bride states that the survivor of them shall be buried alive in the same grave. On her death, he went into the sepulchre with her, and revived in the manner described above. On their return to earth, they live together happily until he dies. Then she is buried with him, and the two are at rest. Her name is generally Avdótya.

Potýk is portrayed as a youth of extreme beauty, with long hair hanging down to his waist.

There is an entire cycle of ballads associated with a single incident in the life of this hero : *The One and Forty Kalêki*. This abstract (taken from Rybnikov) is illustrative. Forty beggars and one gathered for a pilgrimage to the sacred shrines of Jerusalem [cf. the pilgrimage of Vasíli Buslávich p.145]. They sewed themselves wallets of stamped velvet and shoes woven out of the seven silks of Shemakhá, and on the shoes they wore a gleaming jewel that guided them by night. They swore a mighty oath, any one of them

who stole or committed any sin, should have his tongue torn out by the roots, his eyes gouged out.

They arrived at the city of Kíev, and bowed low to Prince Vladímir, asking him for alms, not one rouble, but a thousand roubles. Vladímir gave them what they begged and sent them on their way ; but Opráksa, playing the part of Potiphar's wife, looked amongst them, and saw her darling, Mikháyl Potýk.

She invited them all to her own apartments and fed them until they were sated, gave them to drink until they were drunk. Then she took Potýk alone into her room, spoke honeyed words to him, but he was faithful to his vow, and repulsed her solicitations.

" These words misliked her "—the usual formula—so she planned her revenge. She summoned her chief cup-bearer, and bade him put into Potýk's wallet the goblet out of which Vladímir quaffed green wine. Then she despatched Alyósha Popóvich to raise the hue and cry ; and after him Dobrýnya Nikítich, the ambassador. The cup was discovered where it had been put, and Potýk paid the penalty in full.

He crawled on all fours in a meadow and heard a bird of paradise sing, telling him in sovereign song that the dew of that spot had healing powers. So he set forth again on his pilgrimage, and, so say some, in return for Opráksa's sin Idolišče appeared at Kíev.

Some variants of this tale must be noted. In some of the Kirêyevski *byliny*, this hero, in this episode, is called young Kasyán Mikhailovich, and his beauty is described in the terms of a sun-metaphor :

> Young Kasyán Mikháylovich
> Took his seat at the place of honour.
> From his face so full of youthfulness,
> As from the sun, so glowingly
> Great rays shone forth.

Or again, after his mutilation, we are told that " for his great righteousness, the Lord sent down two angels from on high, who restored his soul to his body and healed his eyes." In this version he is redubbed Fomá Ivanóv : and Opráksa puts a priceless pearl into his wallet ; further, quite

characteristically, it is Churílo Plénkovich (who was cup-bearer) who commits the treachery.

This legend is disparate from the story of this handsome young hero : his feats have nothing very individual to mark them or him.

But it can well stand by itself, for the fineness of the poetry it has inspired.

4.—*Alyósha Popóvich*

Alyósha Popóvich in the ballads is the son of Fyódor (or Leo) the old Pope of Rostóv ; and, like Ilyá Múromets, is strongly localized, but is never known by his patronymic, Popóvich, signifying that he is the son of a priest. His character is frankly unpleasant. In the Kirêyevski *byliny*, he is said to have a brother Ekím [a corruption of Joachim] elsewhere called his servant, and a sister ; but the brother is generally called Ekím Ivánovich. Alyósha's hair is, as a rule, yellow. Lastly, like Ilyá, he is sometimes given the Cossack title of Esaul.

His historical antecedents are discussed under the head of the two Dobrýnyi Nikítichi, with the latter of whom his fortunes were so closely bound up. Alyósha Popóvich, although he plays such a large and characteristic part in the cycle of the Court of Prince Vladímir yet has very few ballads devoted to him. He is always alluded to inferentially ; sometimes he is called an exceeding youth, a title that ill becomes the wearer of it ; he is one of the gad-abouts at the Court, who receive and rather be-mock the wandering heroes and serve to amuse the lords and ladies. In the folk-tales there are a number of prose ballads, in which this unflattering character is clearly brought out, and further he also bears the epic epithet, the mocker of women.

There is one feat of his which stands out : his slaying of Túgarin, the Serpent's son. The tale runs usually that up to the very walls of the capital city of Kíev, whilst the gentle Vladímir reigns, Túgarin Zmyéyevich rode up and Vladímir set his festive boards, and invited him to a noble banquet ; all the oaken tables were set for him, and sweet food and drink, and Túgarin sat down. He was a gluttonous beast, for he swilled the wine and devoured the white swan flesh, and so aroused the anger of Alyósha Popóvich, who

gibed him into hostility by telling him that at the house of his father, Leo, the Pope of Rostóv [the home of Alyósha, i.e., the ancient city of that name in the province of Yarosláv, not the later city founded on the river Don] there was an old dog, a mere skeleton, and it was so greedy that wherever it went, it choked itself, and so Alyósha would choke Túgarin. Still, Túgarin took no notice, and then Alyósha narrated the story of a cow his father had which guzzled and burst; then there comes the usual formula preceding a challenge. "This misliked the hero," and Túgarin snatched up the huge steel knife lying on the table and flung it at Alyósha Popóvich. But his servant, Ekim, was standing at his master's side and he caught the knife and turned it aside, and asked his master whether he should meet Túgarin in the open field or whether his master would; to which Alyósha replied that there was no knowing whither a legless cargoose would fly. Túgarin flew into the open field, and on the next day Alyósha followed him and met and slew him.

Túgarin is a historical figure (it is proved by the epithet Gagarinov, which is applied to Idolishche or to Túgarin, as well as to other monsters). Svyatopólk II. (1050—1113), the eldest son of Izyasláv Yaroslávich, in 1093 ascended the throne of Kíev. He married the daughter of Tugorkan, the Polovetski chieftain, one of whose grand-daughters also was the wife of Valdimir I.'s youngest son, Andréy Syatopólk, who was a notoriously bad ruler.

Kirêyevski remarks that "these family relationships with Tugorkan [the sovereign of the race with which Russia was continuously fighting] are expressed in the ballads in the fact that Túgarin is often at home at Kíev, and has connections with the women of Kíev and reclines, putting his hand into Opráksa's bosom."

In 1096 the Chronicles relate: "The Princess slew Tugorkan and his son. . . . . In the morning, they found Tugorkan dead. Svyatopólk took up the body, as of his wife's father and his foe, brought it into Kíev and buried it at Berestovo, at the cross-roads leading to Berestovo and to the monastery.'

On these foundations, of Aleksánder Popóvich, who was killed at Kálka, and Tugorkan, whose political affiance with the ruling house at Kíev benefitted him so little, an edifice of defined legend has been built up. The legendary narrative

is told much more fully in one of the prose ballads in the great collection of Afanásev.[59] One of the versions may be translated as follows :—

" In the sky the young bright moon was being born, and on the earth of the old prebendary, the old Pope Leon, a son was born, a mighty knight. When they began to feed Alyósha, what was a week's food for any other baby, was a day's food for him, and what was a year's food for others was a week's food for him. Alyósha began going about the streets and playing with the other boys. If he touched anyone's little hand, that hand was gone ; if he touched the little nose of anyone, that nose was done for ; his play was insatiate and terrible. Anyone he grappled with by the waist, he slew. And Alyósha began to grow up, so he asked his mother and father for their blessing, for he wished to go and to fare into the open field. His father said to him : ' Alyósha Popóvich, you are faring into the open field, but we have yet one who is even mightier than you ; do you take into your service Maryshko, the son of Parán.' So the two youths mounted their horses and they fared into the open field. The dust rose behind them in a column, such doughty youths were they to behold. . . . . So the two doughty youths went to the Court of Prince Vladímir. And Alyósha Popóvich went straight to the white stone palace to Prince Vladímir, crossed himself as is befitting, bowed down in learned-wise in all four directions, and especially low to Prince Vladímir. Prince Vladímir came to meet the doughty youths, set them down at an oaken table, gave them good food and drink, and then asked their news : ' Who are ye, doughty youths ? Are ye mighty knights of prowess, or wandering wayfarers bearing your burdens ? I do not know either your name or your companion's name.' So Alyósha answered, ' I am the son of the old prebendary, Léon, his young son, Alyósha Popóvich, and my comrade and servant is Maryshko, the son of Parán.' And when Alyósha had eaten and drunk he went to sit on the brick stove to rest from the mid-day heat, whilst Maryshko sat at the table. Just at that time, the knight, the Snake's son, was making a raid. Túgarin Zmyéyevich came to the white stone palace, came to the Prince Vladímir. With his left

leg, he stepped on the threshold and with his right leg on the oaken table. He drank and ate and had conversation with the Princess, and he mocked Prince Vladímir and reviled him. He put one round of bread to his cheek, and piled one on another. On his tongue he put an entire swan, and he thrust off all the pastry and swallowed it at a gulp.

"Alyósha Popóvich was lying on the brick stove, and spoke in this wise to Túgarin : ' My old father, León the Pope, had a little cow, which was a great glutton ; it used to eat up all the beer vats with all the lees ; and then the little cow, the glutton, came to the lake, and it drank and lapped all the water out of the lake, took it all up and it burst, and so it would also have torn Túgarin up after his feed.' Then Túgarin was wroth with Alyósha, and burst on him with his steel knife. Alyósha turned aside, and stood behind an oaken column. Then Alyósha spoke in this wise : ' I thank you, Túgarin Zmyéyevich, you have given me a steel knife ; I will break your white breast, I will put out your clear eyes, and I will behold your mettlesome heart.' Just at that time Marýshko Paránov leapt out from behind the table on to his swift feet and seized Túgarin, and fell on his back, and threw him over ; lifted up one of the chairs, hurled it into the white stone palace, and the glass windows were shattered. Then Alyósha Popóvich said from the brick stove, ' O Maryshko, son of Parán, thou hast been a faithful servant.' And he answered : ' Do thou give me, Alyósha Popóvich, your steel knife, and I will break open the white breast of Túgarin Zmyéyevich, I will close his clear eyes, and I will gaze on his mettlesome heart.' But Alyósha answered : ' Hail, Marýshko Paránov, do not you sully the white stone palace ; let him go into the open field wherever he may, and we will meet him to-morrow in the open field.' So, in the morning, early, very early, they went out into the open field and Túgarin flew into the open and challenged Alyósha Popóvich to fight him in the open field. And Marýshko came up to Alyósha Popóvich and said : ' God must be your judge, Alyósha Popóvich, you would not give me your steel knife ; I should have carved out the white breast from that pagan thief, I should have gouged out his bright eyes, and I should have taken out his mettlesome

heart and gazed at it. Now what will you make of Túgarin, he is flying about in the open.' Then Alyósha spake in this wise: 'That was no service but treachery.' So Alyósha took out his horse and saddled it with a Circassian saddle, fastened on with twelve silken girths, not for the sake of decoration but for strength. And he set out into the open field, and he saw Túgarin, who was flying in the open. Then Alyósha made a prayer: 'Holy Mother of God, do thou punish the black traitor and grant out of the black cloud a thick, gritty rain that shall damp Túgarin's bright wings that he shall fall on the grey earth and stand on the open field.'[60] It was like two mountains falling on each other when Túgarin and Alyósha met. They fought with their clubs and their clubs were shattered to the hilts. Their lances met, and their lances were broken into shreds. Then Alyósha Popóvich got down from his saddle like a sheaf of oats, and Túgarin Zmyéyevich was almost striking Alyósha down. But Alyósha Popóvich was cautious. He stood between his horse's feet, and turning round to the other side from there, smote Túgarin with his steel knife under his right breast and threw Túgarin from his good horse. And then Alyósha Popóvich cried out: 'Túgarin, I thank you, Túgarin Zmyéyevich, for the steel knife; I will tear out your white breast, I will gouge out your bright eyes, and I will gaze on your mettlesome heart.' Then Alyósha cut off Túgarin's turbulent head and took it to Prince Vladímir. And as he went on he began playing with that little head, flinging it high up in the air and catching it again on his sharp lance. But Valdímir was dismayed. 'I see Túgarin[62] bringing me the turbulent head of Alyósha Popóvich; he will now take captive all of our Christian kingdom.' But Marýshko gave him answer: 'Do not be distressed, O bright little sun, Vladímir, in thy capital of Kíev. If Túgarin is coming on earth and is not flying in the skies, he is putting his turbulent head on my steel lance. Do not be afraid, Prince Vladímir; whatever comes I will make friends with him.' Then Marýshko looked out into the open field, and he recognised Alyósha Popóvich, and he said: 'I can see the knightly gait and youthful step of Alyósha Popóvich. He is guiding his horse up-hill, and he is playing with a little head; he is

throwing the little head sky high and is catching it on his lance. He who is riding is not the pagan Túgarin, but Alyósha Popóvich, the son of the old prebendary, the Pope León, who is bringing the head of the pagan Túgarin Zmyéyevich.'

The legendary history of Túgarin, as contained in the Kirêyevski ballads may be briefly summarized. Variants of his name are Tugaretin Zmêevich or Bêlevich : he is always *young*. He is said to be three sazhens high, his shoulder-blades a sazhen apart, etc. [a description adapted from Idolishche (*v.* p. 39), or may be vice versa]. There is an arrow's length between his eyes ; his horse is like a wild beast, he breathes fire and his ears emit smoke. His head is as big as a beer-barrel and his breast is black. His costume is gorgeous, and when he speaks he roars.

The first version is that he is a knight in Tsargrad (Constantinople) at the time of Theophilus. He campaigns against Holy Russia, together with Ídolišče Skoropít and is defeated, sent to Kíev, but released at his mother's request.

The second account is that he is in the great Horde, and is captured by Ilyá, beyond the mountains, beyond the *ulusy* [the Tatar term for village or assemblage].

Thirdly, he reigns at Kíev in the time of Vladímir. Twelve knights bear him on a bench of pure gold ; he sits at the high seat beside Opráksa, and here again he and Ídolishche merge.

He twice fights Alyósha Popóvich, either in the open by the river Safat[63] on the road from Rostóv to Kíev ; or together with Dobrýnya, who slays him. Fourthly, in the folk-tales, he came from the Tsar of the Bolgars.

He is also found in connection with Lukopyór-Bogatýr, the son of Yaroslávich Lázarevich, who is called the *ziat'* [the husband of one's daughter, sister or sister-in-law] of the invader, Batú. None of these names imply any differentiation of action or character.

Alyósha Popóvich seems to have been a Court favourite, and his slaying of Túgarin sometimes has a certain sarcastic or even Cervantesque flavour, especially as his servant assists him. The real interest of his character is borne out by the incidental reference to him in the tales of Churílo and of Dobrýnya Nikítich.

For some reason or other, his character is generally vilified. He plots against Mikháylo Potýk, seduces Dobrýnya's faithful wife, and save for his one feat, the slaying of Túgarin, does very little to merit his standing epithet of *bold*.

He quarrels with Ilyá Múromets and is reproved by him for eating and drinking to excess, as well as for misconducting himself with a merchant's daughter, who flees his advances.

He is a ready fighter, especially adept with knives. As a horseman, he is noted for his swiftness.

But none of his aptness seems to redeem his essential fault, that he is the son of a pope; as such, has popish, envious eyes, grabbing hands; is presumptuous, timid, and boastful. He is said to be "the same drunk or sober, and to be the best quareller of them all": his table feats fall short of the real heroic, e.g. Ilyá (in some accounts) and Dobrýnya, as his bowl only contains two and half *vedra*.

Braggart as he is, even said not to know how to read or write, an arrant coward who accepts his punishments very meekly, he must still, as *the mocker of women*, have had great charm, and, as a fluent speaker of 'Tatar,' may have been of service. In fact, this gay rascal so impressed the popular imagination as a pertinacious wooer that a number of folk-dances are still extant that tell of his fascination.

Two adventures, taken from the Kirêyevski compilation, deserve a note.

Alyósha and Ilyá set out together to the Sarátov Steppe [the word *step'* only occurs late, and Sarátov was not conquered until Moscovite days]. They light on a Wise Bird fluttering its wings, and hopping from foot to foot, at which Alyósha aims. It speaks and bids them go to the River Sarátovka, to the White-burning Stone, to the cytisus bush [*Kust rakitovy*, these words are stock lines and meaninglessly epenthetic]. There they find two Tatars, who have taken captive a Russian maid.

> One Tatar thus addressed her:
> "In Russian thou'rt called a fair maiden:
> But in our language be our *golchánochka*."
> The second said: "We will steal thee. . . "

Alyósha slew them both with his bow and arrow, and discovers that he has rescued his sister.

In another tale, five Russian knights, Ilyá, Kolyván Ivánovich, Samson Vasílevich, Dobrýnya Nikítich, and Alyósha were staying on the brink of the blue sea (a phrase that merely represents the idea of a water-way). In the morning Ilyá goes to the Dnêpr to bathe and sees a doughty youth with a hawk in his right hand, and in his left a feather [*tretre-peró*, a word hard to trace]. Of all the heroes, Alyósha alone gives the challenge, and is horse-whipped. Ilyá sets out once again, wins the fight, finds it is his own son, Borís Zbut. Alyósha here appears as the braggart.

These tales are disparate and confused; the *bylína* is almost a fairy-tale; as examples of late style they might be noted.

Ekím Ivánovich [cf. p 30][64] Alyósha's brother, is very rarely mentioned. In one story, to be found in Kirêyevski, Alyósha and Ekím ride out, shoulder by shoulder, from Rostóv, and stirrup by stirrup; and Alyósha asks his brother, as one learned in writing, to read the signpost. The three directions are to Múrom, Chernígov and Kíev. They rode to Kíev, and arrived at the river Safat. A wandering beggar met them, whose sandals were of seven rich silks, his hat of Grecian earth from Soroki. Like Ilyá Múromets, Alyósha changed clothes with him, and in this disguise meets Túgarin who asks for news of Alyósha (exactly in the same way as Ilyá deals with Ídolishche). Alyósha pretends to be deaf takes his moment of vantage and club Túgarin to death, leaping on his breasts (which here very exceptionally are called *black*) and robs of his gorgeous raiment.

These rather extraneous versions of the deeds of Alyósha require separate mention.

5.—*Dyuk Stepánovich*

Dyuk[65] Stepánovich, the *boyár's* son, seems to have attracted a great deal of attention from the oral recorders of the Russian ballads. He is, like Solovéy Budímitovich, one of the " foreign " knights, who travel from foreign lands to visit the Russian Court. The country of his origin is said to be Galicia, and also wealthy Karelia (a district not far from the situation of the modern town of St. Petersburg). The Karelians were one of the original Finnish tribes, and inhabited part of modern Finland. The orthodox

section of this race live principally in the northern part of the Archangel government, in the district of Kem [the Kem being a river falling into the Gulf of Onéga in the White Sea]. He is also associated with Volynsk (Volhynia), which as usual involves in its turn a confusion of the Baltic with the old name of the Caspian (Khvalýnsk) and hence he is said to come from India, India representing a country some way from the Caspian. Probably there is a contamination of the two sources of wealth from the East, and from Scandinavia, but his legend attaches mainly to the Caspian country.

The usual story of him is that he complained to his mother, Mamelfa Timofeevna, that he would like to travel into the world ; that the time and season had come for him to go afar into the open field. She advises him to avoid the dangers, the shrieks and howls of the wild beasts, and the whistle of the Tatars [*vizga-piska*] but to proceed to Kíev, and so with her blessing he sets out. His caparison is barbarously gorgeous. The saddle-cloth was of silver, and the tongues of the buckles were of red gold, the rest was of steel that came from beyond the seas, whilst the reins were of silk of Shemakhá,[66] and this silk could not be torn or worn away, and the steel could not rust, and the gold could not turn yellow, nor could the pure silver blacken. And so when he starts on his journey there are as usual obstacles to be met. He is not to go to the famous mountain of Palach,[67] called the immortal,[68] for to that mountain many doughty youths proceed but few escape ; and when he goes to the renowned city of Kíev, he is not to boast of his orphan's property, of his wealth, and he is not to boast of her, his mother. On his way he, of course, did go up to the mountain of Palach, the deathless, and there he saw many heads of warriors decapitated, and as he rode through the mountain he began to shoot arrows. The first arrow he shot was worth a hundred roubles, and the second was worth a thousand roubles, and the third was incalculable. In the sharp end there was a helmet-nail, and in the heart of this there was a jewel. At the blunt end of the arrow there was an eagle's golden wing, and the gold of an eagle that had come from beyond the seas.

As he rode on into the mountain of Palach, he saw on a grey oak a black crow [adapted from the folk-tales] sitting, cawing aloud, and threatens to slay him, but the crow speaks aloud with a human voice, and tells him that if he proceeds further afield, he will find an antagonist worthy of his steel.[69] He rides on and finds the earth beaten up as if with many horses, and in the white-linen tents sees a knight who has a white horse tethered outside.

Dyuk Stepánovich is now in a quandary. If he went into the tent, there would be no daring in it, for the knight would slay him as he entered, and his head would fall. If he leaves his horse outside, he will see whether the horses will eat together peaceably, and if they do, he will have a peaceful reception, but if they begin to fight he will still have time to escape. The two horses browse conciliatorily, so Dyuk Stepánovich boldly entered the tent, made the sign of the Cross and a due obeisance, and he saw a knight sleeping in the corner, and snoring aloud as the rapids roar, and he looked at the knightly blazon [*nadpis' bogatyrska*][70] and saw it was Ilyá Múromets. He shouts aloud, but Ilyá does not awake save at the third summons[71] and then asks him from what land and from what Horde he comes : the formula for a foreigner. Dyuk Stepánovich then tells him that he comes from the famous land, from the rich Horde, from prosperous India. Then Ilyá asks him why he aroused him from his mighty sleep, whether the Tatars were fighting in the field, or whether Dyuk wished to meet him, and to prove his powers.

Dyuk Stepánovich wept at this, and asked him why he should contend with him ; for it was fated that Ilyá should not die on the field ; they had better set out together on some warlike feat. As they go, they meet Ídolishche, the symbol of paganism, who does not do any reverence to our two champions, but sits down at their board ; bread he refuses, because it is insufficient, and in reply to Ilyá's commendation of his strength replies that he is strong, that he has travelled through, Sweden, Turkey, Ryazán', Kazán', and Astrakhán ; and he can nowhere find a champion who shall be his meet. These countries were the realms of the pagans.

As they approach Kíev, Ilyá Múromets parts company with Dyuk, and advises him again not to boast of his position and his countless realms of gold, but sometime to visit him again in the open field and to enter his tent. As he comes in he enters the Court and states he is Dyuk Stepánovich from wealthy India. Churílo Plénkovich, the Court favourite, the rich owner of appanages, challenges his statement; but Dyuk obtains confirmation when he mentions Ilyá Múromets.

But Dyuk cannot refrain from boasting, and arraigns the fare that is offered him, for there in his own prosperous India, they have glazed stoves, and live in luxury such as is unknown in Kíev. He engages in two bets: that he will for three years change his dress every day, and that he will leap the Dnêpr. In the fulfilment of this bet Dyuk makes use of his magic horse, one of the four belonging to Mikúla Selyáninovich (*v.* p. 26).

This is the general scheme of the tale of Dyuk Stepánovich; slight variants occur. The challenge of Churílo may be more explicit.

Dyuk's mother is sometimes called Nastasia Vasílyevna, and the details of his wealth are sometimes developed in a different fashion. All the casks are of oak at Kíev and of silver in 'Volýn-górod,' and the boisterous winds are there confined by chains.[72] Dyuk Stepánovich, on being challenged to a bet to change his dress every day for three years, sends his horse to his own homeland of India by itself, and his mother, on hearing that he is still alive, sends him golden caskets, and the change of dress required to fulfil the terms of the bet. As a sample of the magnificence of Dyuk's costume, his cap is said to have had embroidered on the front of it the red sun, and on the back of it the gleaming moon, and the back of it shone like a beacon fire.

The third great episode in this tale is when Dunai Ivánovich is sent by Vladímir with Churílo Plénkovich to value the property of Dyuk. The embassy consists of Don Ivánovich, Vasíli Kazímirovich,[73] and Alyósha Popóvich. When they arrived at this distant home, they did due obeisance, and to the mother in particular, and she tells them she is only the water-bearer of Dyuk Stepánovich.

They go on again and do similar homage, and are told that this is only the laundress ; and the third time they are treated in the same way by one who declares herself to be the henchmaiden, and it is only at the fourth meeting that they discover Nastásya Vasílyevna, the mother, and she receives them kindly, and gives them much drink and food, and the wine is so strong that at the fourth glass, they depart from their senses. For three years they stay there valuing his goods, and they find the task impossible. Then they sent a letter back to the proud city of Kíev :

> " Hail to thee, great Vladímir, enthroned in Kíev,
> Do thou sell thy might city of Kíev,
> And let these our letters be thy authority,
> And with pen and ink sell also Chernígov ;
> And then thou mayest value what Dyuk possesseth."

Dyuk Stepánovich, in another version, has to go through a more arduous test before he reaches Kíev. He has to slay the snake of the mountains, to pass through the land of the harpies [*ptítsy klevutsïi*] and the crashing rocks (Συμπληγάδες)[74] like Jason in the Greek tale. The slaying of the snake is a feature adapted from the tale of Dobrýnya Nikítich. The harpies and the clashing rocks come from a Greek or Byzantine source, and the Russian writer was not equal to this feat of imagination because he simply allows Dyuk to overleap these obstacles with the aid of the magic steed. The snake in the mountains is described as having twelve tails. This name Dyuk being incomprehensible to the Slavs, he is sometimes called *yunka*, the young man ; [*yúny*, young.]

The probable origin of the Palach mountains has been suggested. The river Puchai is hard to place. It is certainly not far from Kíev, but also on a hostile frontier. As to the form of the name, one may compare the village Puciósă in the Roumanian Carpathians. There is also a famous monastery, founded in the XIII. century, a few miles off the former Austrian frontier at Pochaev, and the river must be at this point.

The metres in which his tale is told vary very considerably, he being a popular figure, and the versions differing both in origin and date. There is one ballad written in a much more

complicated metre, and evidently from a more literary source, describing how Dyuk Stepánovich assails the monster Shark Velikán. It has been suggested in the history (page 123) that this may be a popular rendering of the Tatar ambassador Tselkan, who visited the city of Tver at the invitation of the Grand Duke Michael, and castigated it.[75] However this may be, Shark Velikán also is given the attributes of the old world monster like Svyatogór. He traverses great distances, and whatever displeases him slays with his steel sword, or crushes it with his iron feet, and with fire-brands sets the dwellings of God's folks on fire. He is slow in his motion, for the earth bears him heavily.[76] Dyuk Stepánovich in this feat borrows all his characterization from Ilyá and from Egóri Khrábry (St. George the Dragon-slayer); his sword is said to weigh forty *puds*, and by his swiftness he plunges it into the white breasts of this tardy monster. There have been a number of theories as to the derivation of the name of Shark Velikán, but his mention is comparatively rare.

There is a further more or less comic ballad in the earliest form of the ballad metre, mainly trochaic and in short lines, describing the marriage of Dyuk Stepánovich. There were two widows: one, Sadováya, had nine sons and one daughter, the Swan Maiden or White Swan; the other widow, Ogorodnikova, had a single son, Dyuk, and Mistress Sadováya at a feast reproached Mistress Ogoródnikovaya with her poverty, calling her son Dyuk a crow who pecks at the threshing floor. The latter goes home joyless, and Dyuk incited by her reproaches, feels his knightly mettle roused, and mounts his good horse, takes his sharp sabre, carries his hawk on his shoulder, and went to visit Sadováya. The nine sons and the one daughter meet him half-way, and with his sharp sabre he lops off all the sons' heads; the combat being undescribed, as usual. The daughter he takes as his serf and captive; but he is induced by his mother (who, towards the end of the ballad, re-assumes the name of Mámelfa Timoféyevna) to marry her, not to make her his laundress. They then set out for India. This *narrative song* is a mere adaptation to the name of Dyuk of other heroes' stories, notably of Khotyón Blúdovich. It illustrates some

domestic usages in a style rather alien to the Kíev cycle proper, and more akin with the so-called innominate or unattached *bylíny*.

There is also a disparate but very beautiful ballad [Rybnikov, II., 130] on Dyuk Stepánovich, relating an adventure of his with Churílo Plénkovich, which deserves a separate analysis.

Out of the fair city of Volýnsk on the prosperous river of the Danube, the *boyar's* son, Dyuk Stepánovich, was setting out to the holy city of Kíev to greet the Christians, but heard an unjust tale, that in the city of Kíev Gusinko (gosling) Plénkovich [this is the form given to Churílo's name in some of the ballads] had been sitting some time in Kíev and had been boasting of his wealth. So Dyuk Stepánovich summoned his faithful servant (Nikíta Pólitsa) and bids him go to the young queen and beg her to act as hostess to Dyuk Stepánovich, when he comes on his pilgrimage. [This servant of Dyuk rather resembles the class of wonder-working servants who are found in the *skazki*, such as Katomá, men who can fulfil their masters' desires by all sorts of wonderful means and never take any reward for themselves. Such, too, is Marínka, the servant of Alyósha Popóvich].

On their arrival the panel-doors opened and the Queen [*tsarévna*, evidently foreign from the use of title *tsar*] herself came out to meet Dyuk Stepánovich, let him in with her own white hands into the darkness of her inner rooms, and gave him every honour. Then she began to question him slyly, to ask him whither he was going and the strength he bore with him. He replies: "All my strength is my faithful servant, and all my wealth is my powerful horse," and with his prowess he can play havoc with her kingdom, and his steed is so powerful that not even the famous foal the White Swan can pursue it. [This is evidently a reference to the miraculous horse which Mikúla Selyáninovich owns, though the name given to it of the White Swan is evidently a confusion with other legends. The queen here evidently inhabits some kind of Venusberg: but Dyuk Stepánovich is firm, for he is come on a pilgrimage, and not to soil his soul]. In the morning, Dyuk with his faithful servant went into God's church and all the Christian folk, the princes and *boyars*

gazed upon the latter. Dyuk had wonderful buttons on, and the people were frightened and scared at sight of them, for everyone of the golden buttons there were fortyscore of snakes, and so they began to pay reverence to Dyuk Stepánovich, asking him whether he intended evil to Gúsinko Plénkovich.[77] The latter was offended unto death, and went out of the church. Nikíta Pólitsa went to meet him, seized him by his legs, dragged him into the midst of the dark forest, threw him into the deep dungeon of the Wise-Woman (*Vêdmá*) of Kíev, leaving him to his fate, and then returned to his master, Dyuk Stepánovich. He finds his master surfeiting on the food of love, and sickening on excess of it, and the faithful servant advises him to carry her away on his faithful steed to the white folk, the Christian land of Russia. He steals her in this fashion and goes so speedily that in one hour he covers one hundred versts.[78]

It would be impossible to detail all the various legends of Dyuk Stepánovich with their slight variants. This one is particularly interesting because it represents the conflict between the two very aristocratic figures at the Court of Vladímir, Churílo, the womanish court favourite, and snobbish master of immense wealth, and the jealousy he arouses in the passing stranger, Dyuk Stepánovich, the *foreign knight.* At all events, this *bylína* is one of the most charming bits of lyric narration that can be found in this style.

6.—*Solovéy Budímirovich*

Solovéy Budímirovich literally means the nightingale that rouses the earth. The appellation of nightingale presents some difficulty. It is used in the song of Igor to designate Boyán, the great minstrel of olden times, and in that sense its meaning is intelligible ; in the *bylíny* it is also used for the Solovéy Razbóynik, and in this connection it has been hypothesized that it may have been a reference to a very musical highway robber (as one commentator suggests). For a discussion, cf. the possible derivations of Solovéy. One of the derivations of this word may be that it was a man's name meaning either the grey man, or the famous one. Or perhaps all these forms may have fused into a single

conception. The second name Budímirovich might possibly be translated "one from the place of the sunrise, where the world awakens," or the stranger from the East.

Solovéy Budímirovich is one of the *foreign* knights who only visit the Court of Vladímir from distant civilized realms. He is always stated to come from the Baltic [*Volýnskoe móre*]. He also sails from the Isles of Kodol[80] as also from a place called Ledenets.[81] which are hard to assign geographically except in so far as we are aided by other mentions of the river Nevá, the *White Sea* (which may mean either the Baltic or the White Sea, i.e., the province of Nóvgorod), and by references to Lithuania. In any event the characteristic proems to the many ballads that illustrate this hero point to the fact that he hails from some far land to the East, coming down from Pskov either following the line of the Dnêpr or the Dnéstr, probably the former, and Budímir might therefore be reasonably translated as from the Land of the Sunrise.

Milyukóv (in the Jubilee volume published in honour of the great Slavist, Vsévolod Fyódorovich Miller) deals very succinctly with the geography of Solovéy Budímirovich. The sea from which he sails is the Baltic, and his home appears to be the Gulf of Finland. In some poems this sea is called the Viryazhska[77] which has been glossed as Varyazhska, the Viking Sea [Varyagi]. "As is well known, the nearest part of Esthonia on the left bank of the river Nárova [a stream flowing from Lake Peipus into the Bay of Narva] from its source into the Gulf of Finland in ancient days bore the name of Wironia or Wirland[78] and the people were by the Russians called Viruyane. . . . . If, by the town of Ledenéts an old Esthonian castle is to be understood, on the site of the later Revel, on such an assumption, the epoch of Solovéy is more or less defined as that of the betrayal of the Danish fortress in the first half of the thirteenth century." This fort was built by Valdemar II., King of Denmark (1202—41), and was called Lyndanissa, the probable origin of that famous city. Moreover, Kodolski (or Kodoilov), the Isle of Kodol, is almost certain Kotlin (in German, Ketlingen) at the mouth of the Nevá.

The proems to his ballads are always geographical. One of them begins in this fashion :—

> Dark are the forests, the forests descend
> To the city of Smolensk.
> The mountains are high of Soroki,
> Clear are the fields that go down to Pskov city,
> Lichens and bogs on the lake of ice ;
> Rivers and islands go down to the ocean.. . . etc.

Other places mentioned in similar geographical indications are the *Turkish* Sea, the *Kodolski* Islands, and the *Wendish* Land, and in the discussion of the ship in which he sails there is a clear account of the merchandise and its resources which reached the city of Kíev.[83] One other favourite beginning for his legends is :

> From beneath the oak, the grey one ;
> From beneath the birch the drooping.

These conventions are characteristic of this legend.

Solovéy Budímirovich, with the Lithuanian fleet, sails down the great water-way to Kíev. There are 30 ships and one (in some other versions there are 33 ships and one), and in the van Solovéy is sitting, and the ship flies with the speed of a hawk, evidently a reminiscence of that magic ship which occurs in the earlier tales. Its figure-head was that of a beast, and its side was expanded like that of a great aurochs which is found beyond the seas in far Lithuania. The anchors and the cross-bars were of silver, the partitions were covered with black sable skins and the screens with black velvet, and the upper rooms were lined with green and covered with valuable skins from Siberia. These details are taken from two or three variants, all of which have one feature in common, that they overload the mysterious ship with all the possible imaginings of the greatest wealth. In this swift ship Solovéy sits and plays the *gúsli* ; his mother Ulyana Vasílyevna (Ulyana Grigoryevna, Amelfa[84] Timoféevna, etc.) accompanies him, and she has the conventional epithet of " young," like all the fair ladies in these ballads : the respect paid to her make her comparable with Dobrýnya's mother. When Solovéy gives orders he always makes use of a certain form :

Brothers, mine, my own druzhina, ataman [the Cossack term].
Now listen, your clan-master speaketh.
Do ye the work commanded.
Sail ye the main to illustrious Kíev,
To the generous Prince, to Vladímir.

They soon arrive, and the Great Ataman of this wonderful fleet fills three thousand boxes with pale silver, red gold, and jewels, and brings them as a present to Vladímir. And so young Solovéy [he is always called young, like Churílo Plénkovich, as he is characterized by his exceeding wealth and luxury] with his mistress mother, goes and does due reverence to Vladímir, and asks as a favour that in the garden in which Zabáva Putyátichna[85] lives, he shall have liberty to erect three towers in which to dwell. Zabáva is the niece of Vladímir and occurs in many tales. She is carried away by the serpent whom Dobrýnya slays, and generally seems to have been very much courted, or perhaps one should say raped by the various pagan horrors who beset Kíev. The exact form of her name is unknown. One finds Zabáva and Zapáva, also Hubáva, Dubáva, even Liubava [love]. It has been suggested that the original form was Kubava, that the word is derived from the Southern Slav *hub*, meaning beautiful, in which event *hubay* will be a possible Slav abstract similar to the Servian *liubav*, Russian *liubóv*, love.

Solovéy begs to be allowed to erect three towers, and this marks him out as being a builder [*stroítel*] in this cycle of heroes. It is observable that when Ilyá is preparing to slay the other Solovéy (*v.*p.197) that he expressly states that he is no builder, but only a destructive agent. This may refer to the fact that Solovéy Budímirovich is a civilized foe, whereas Solovéy Razboínik comes from the barbarous Hordes.

In a single day these three mystic towers are erected. We are told that the brothers of the *druzhina* obeyed the big *atamán*, took off their cloaks of scarlet cloth, and put on workman's *kaftáns*, took off their feet their boots of morocco, and put on workmen's boots, and built their three towers which had golden roofs, in a single day.

Now young Zabáva Putyátichna looked out early in the morning, and she saw the wonder and went up to the first

tower and listened. There she knocked, but was not heard, for the *druzhina* were busy counting out Solovéy's countless money, and she went to the second, and heard a silent whisper, and there was the mother of Solovéy praying to God, and she went to the third tower, and she knocked, and there she heard the throb of the *gúsli*, and she heard him singing songs he had got from Nóvgorod and Jerusalem, from beyond the blue sea of Volýnsk, beyond the island of Kodol; and the maiden sat there and she listened all day long, and in the evening she went to the third tower and uninvited she hailed Solovéy, and was not ashamed, and asked him to marry her. Solovéy in most of the legends is very proper. He acknowledges that he, too, has fallen in love with her, but that in one point she "did not please him," that she had been her own matchmaker; and he sat there three months and still would not relent, and after that he sails away and leaves her.

In some other versions sentimentality was too much for this rather tragic end, and our hero does the proper thing and acts as a match-maker, and they marry and live happily ever afterwards.

Solovéy Budímirovich, although his origin and his voyage have been very much confused in many of the versions, and mention is even made of the Turkish Sea (certainly the Turks never entered into Russian history until long after his legend had been fixed) is certainly a Northern hero who sails down the great north route, down to Smolénsk and the Sorochínski hills and so down to Kíev. In some tales another route down the Vólga to Kazán' and Astrakhán is indicated, but this would be the natural variant after the centre of commerce had shifted from Kíev to Moscow, from the Dnêpr to the Oka. The extraordinary descriptions of his ship and of his outfit must be taken as metaphorical, indeed overdone, exaggerations of his great wealth, but probably represents the trend of civilization and commerce which reached Russia from Scandinavia.

Like Dyuk Stepánovich and Churílo Plénkovich, his outstanding feature is his countless wealth; but, although in some late ballads he is called a *gost'* [merchant of a higher class] he is neither a boyar's son, like Dyuk, nor a trader like Churílo: and, above all, he is never associated with any

warlike enterprise, despite his obvious Viking ancestry. The memory of the formidable sea-rovers seems to have faded away from the landlocked and unmaritime Russian people.

The tale of the wooing of Zapáva is strong and full of native and social interest. Something like a refreshing breeze of genuine romance seems suddenly, one might almost say inappositely, to sweeten these recitals of war, terror, and fabulous prowess. The severe strictures on Zapáva for her bold declaration of love are a striking evidence of the austere esteem in which the Russia of the ballads held womankind.

In one version (in Kirêyevski) his mother "made enquiries," and then told her son to sail away and reflect.

> Go sail beyond the blue seas,
> And when thou hast bartered thy merchandise,
> Then shalt thou marry Zapáva.

Solovéy obeyed. During his absence, the roguish David Popóv came to Court, and the whole incident is a mere adaptation of the story of Dobrýnya and Alyósha. David told false tales of Solovéy's mishaps, in consequence of which Vladímir and Opráksa arrange a marriage between David and Zapáva. At the wedding-feast, unconvincingly in the very nick of time, Solovéy sailed into Kíev. Zapáva, with a redeeming promptitude, ran up to Solovéy, who tauntingly told Popóv :—

> " Good speed to thy marriage ; thou hast none to sleep with."

A late ironic touch to this Moscovite narration. In this tale, as in so many others, there are all the elements of tragedy and drama, and epic. But the Russian nation was never allowed to develop its resources.

7.—*Iván Gostínni Syn*

Under the name of Iván the Tradesman's Son, there are two completely disparate legends, and, although the poems dealing with him are few, the characterization is very complete.

(*a*). The first of them clearly belongs to the Kíev cycle. In the city of Kíev feasting was going on ; every man was

bragging, some of their fathers and mothers, some of their young wives, and some of their golden treasure.

> " And the sensible boast of their father and mother,
> And the fool of his new young wife,
> And the wealthy man of his golden treasure,
> But darling Iván the Tradesman's Son,
> Neither ate nor drank nor banqueted,
> Nor ate of his roasted swan."

And Valdímir, solicitous as ever for the festivity of his guests, asks him whether he has been insulted, or what the reason is. Iván [sometimes stated to have come from King Etmanuil, Vladímir's father-in-law] answers quite lustily, however, asking whether there is a champion at court who will ride to the city of Chernígov, the three hundred and thirty-three measured versts, and return between mass and matins. Valdímir replied that the hobbledehoy is boasting in his cups, so Iván challenges him to it, rides his horse, and speaks to it, asking it to help him to bring Prince Vladímir to shame, and to abash his elder brother (Vladímir's horse). At the start, Iván laid hold of his *shúba*, and all the bystanders told Iván what a fool he was to allow his good horse to spoil the cloak which had been a present to him from Prince Vladímir. Iván still answers lustily :

> Ye are the stupids, boyárs, and princes,
> If the youth lives, he will earn him a cloak,
> And if the youth dies, while he had the cloak,
> This cloak was worth five hundred roubles.
> But the youth can sew one worth one thousand.

In the early morning they start, but Iván's grey-maned horse is a magical one, neighs like a beast, and whistles like a serpent, and with the fearful sound lays low all the three hundred foals belonging to Prince Vladímir, whilst Iván leaps the river Puchai,[86] and makes good his bet. Vladímir wishes to purchase his magical steed, but Iván refuses, for his horse has been purchased in the Great Horde and cost five hundred roubles. Vladímir orders his grooms to steal this wonderful horse, but in captivity it will neither eat nor drink, and in despair Vladímir has to give it back to its lawful owner.

The interest in this tiny episode consists in the exact historical reference it has to Vladímir I., who states in his

will how active he had been, and how he had often traversed the distance between Kíev and Chernígov between mass and matins.

(*b*). The other legend is of an entirely different character. It is not attached to any court, and is rather one of the narrative ballads ; but for all this, is of some interest.

> From a father who was sensible,
> From a mother who was clever,
> There was born a child, was senseless ;
> A senseless child, and stupid.
> Bore the name of Ivánuchka, the Tradesman's Son.

Now, the father died, and the mother, who is called Ofímya Oleksándrovna [cf. the mother of Dobrýnya] sent her son to trade beyond the seas, and gave him many words of warning not to go to the Tsar's cabaret,[88] not to drink the green wine, and, generally, to behave himself ; but the boy did not do what he was told. He went and drank away all his patrimony, all the goods he had acquired beyond the seas, and he pledged all the black ships ; and his mother heard of it and went to the shores of the sea, to the foreign towns, got her son again, rescued him from the drinking-house, took him with her white hands and sold him as a slave to other merchants ; for she, his lawful mother, had born an ungrateful son, saying almost in the words of King Lear, that sharper than a serpent's tooth had been his bite. She returned home with her tears flowing and she spoke to the people :

> Be not astonished, ye Christian people,
> That I have sold my own son, my beloved one.
> Who is known as Ivánuchka the Tradesman's Son.
> For he knows not his own true mother ;
> He squanders away his golden air-ship ;
> For his sins I have now sold him.

This short tale is only interesting as a sample of manners, and has no connection with the Kíev or any other cycle ; it is rather more in the Nóvgorod style, for its homeliness and simplicity.

8.—*Danílo Lóvchanin*

In Kirêyevski there are some further ballads connected with Vladímir, derived from Nizhegórod. It is worth noting the beginning of the introductory formula :

> Like the red sun counting the hours,
> A feast was celebrated,

This ballad seems to be late in style and imitative, but it is very rare to find such direct identification of the metaphorical glory of Vladímir, here called Volodímir, with the real sun who makes a circuit of the heavens and counts the hours, and is thus called *Chisló-vrémya*. The scene is that of the Court, boasting, and of Vladímir bewailing his bachelordom. Putyátin Putyátovich tells him to take as his wife the "terrible" Nastásya Mikúlichna ["terrible," the epithet applied particularly to the King of Lithuania, and to Amazons] who is the wife of Danílo Lóvchanin, and then Vladímir will have some human companionship. And Vladímir asks how he shall take away the wife from a living man, and is advised to send Lóvchanin on a distant quest, "from which he shall never return," to the Isle of Buyán, and there to slay the wild beast that grew feathers and a thick fleece, and to bring its heart and its liver.[89] So Vladímir takes the advice and despatches Danílo.

This very human episode need not have been copied from the episode of David and Uriah. Danílo rose up on his "swift"[90] feet, rose up from the oaken tables and the embroidered table-cloths and the sugared foods, and went out of the open door, sat on his swift horse, and went to his own little hut. His young wife, Nastásya Mikúlichna, saw him from her high room. She noticed when he entered how he hung his boisterous head down, and his eyes drooped down to Mother Earth, and he tells her that the wiles of women are betraying him. He bade her fill his quiver with one hundred and fifty arrows, and she gave him three hundred.

At last he arrived at the windy island of Buyán, took out his mighty bow and sent a gold-headed arrow upon a silken cord. He slew the beast, took out the heart and the liver, and himself sat down to refresh himself on the flesh of white swans.

Here again, as so often, there is no attempt to make a battle or a fight in any sense a reality.

There came to meet him three hundred *boyárs*, and three hundred Tatars, and three hundred Cossacks of the Don [an institution of much later date] and they challenged him to fight for life. So Danílo once more arose on his stout legs, took his strong bow and slew five at each pull, and so des-

patched to their fate all the Tatars, *boyárs*, and Cossacks of the Don, and then the good youth bewailed himself. " I am sure I must have displeased the prince " ; so he thrust his lance by its blunt end into the earth and impaled himself on the sharp end, a death which recalls that of Sukhán Odikhmántievich. All the lesser folk remained behind and brought the tale to the Prince, and Vladímir made ready to marry Nastásya Mikúlichna, the Terrible. She only asked for leave just to see her dear friend once more, and to bid farewell to his body. So she went and saw it, saw them digging a grave, and bade the carpenters[91] dig the grave wider in order that he might have room to turn his heroic bones round, and when she came to the body she impaled herself on the same spear. The end of this ballad is somewhat similar to the story of Deirdre and the children of Naise. Deirdre slew herself in Naise's grave in order to escape marriage with the tyrannous King Connachar. Only, as usual, the Russian lacks any sense of the possible poetry in the story. In another ballad in the Kirêvyevski compilation, on this topic, Vladímir is called Seslavich [i.e., Vséslavich : for Vséslav ; *v.* p. 8]. This ballad has some peculiarities of style. There is almost a trace of the postponed definite article now found in modern Bulgarian. They are all boasting merrily, only Danílo is silent. When questioned he replies that he has a golden treasury, and he has a young wife, and he has a beauteous garment. Then Vladímir is tempted by Mishátka Putyátin to seek for Vasilísa Mikúlichna for his bride, and very soon overcomes his scuples against taking her from a living man. So Danílo is this time sent to the " Levanidov meadows " to capture a white-throated bird, and to bring it to the princely table ; none but Ilyá Múromets, the ancient Cossack, warns him that he is sending away a clear white hawk, and he will not capture any white swan. But this mispleased the haughty Prince Vladímir, and he sent Ilyá down to his ever-ready dungeon. Then the prince sat once more on his golden throne, and sent Mishátka with a message to Chernígov to Danílo's house. The envoy enters noiselessly, and tells Vasilísa that he has not come of his own free will as a guest, but is on an embassage to bear his " swift-written ordinances."

Then Vasilísa read these documents and wept burning tears, cast off her bright raiment and put a youth's clothing on her, saddled her stout horse, and set out to meet her beloved husband Danílo. She finds him and greets him, and tells him that it is their last meeting, and that they are to go together to the great palace. So she and Danílo went at last to the open field to slay swans and geese. As they went he bade her bring him his small quiver of steel arrows, and she brought the larger one, and informs him in reply to his questions that the last arrow may be for himself. Danílo went out into the open field into the Levanidov meadows and looked down on the town of Kíev and saw like a gathering of white snow or the blackening sky the Russian host assembling against himself. So he wept bitter tears, and using almost the same words as in the previous ballads, said that he had evidently mispleased the Prince, took out his sword and played havoc with that Russian host. Then once more he took out his *telescope* and looked at the city of Kíev, and saw like two elephants that meet in the open field, or two stout oaks that shake their green boughs, two great heroes meeting to slay Danílo Danílovich, namely, his own brother Nikíta Danílovich, and his sworn brother Dobrýnya Nikítvich. Then he wept bitter tears and said " Truly the Lord is wrath with me, and Prince Vladímir is very wrathful." And then Danílo Danílovich spoke : " Where was it ever heard or seen that a brother fight brother in war ? " Then he took out his sharp spear, stuck the blunt end into the damp earth and impaled himself on the blade on his own white breasts, and so closed his bright eyes. Then the two knights came upon him, and wept bitterly, and they turned back and told Prince Vladímir that there was none so valiant as Danílo Danílovich. And Vladímir, on receipt of the news, set out merrily enough to go to Danílo's house, and there soon arrived at Vasilísa's chambers. Then he kissed Vasilísa on her sweet lips and she begged him not to kiss her on her blood-stained lips. Then Vladímir bade her array herself in bright garments for the betrothal. They set out to the city of Kíev, but as they passed those Levanidov meadows, Vasilísa begged Valdímir to allow her to bid farewell to Danílo Danílovich, and she impales herself in

the same way as Danílo. Vladímir returns to Kíev and repentantly releases Ilyá Múromets, where he had been immured for telling the truth, and rewards him with a sable *shúba*, but condemned Mishátka to be boiled in pitch.

9.—*Iván Godínovich*

Iván Godínovich is called a nephew of Prince Vladímir. He is introduced to us first at a banquet at the court of Prince Vladímir, sitting dully mute at the banquet, staring at grey Mother Earth, and not bragging. Vladímir twits him with his unsociability, and receives his reply that he desires to marry, that he had been beyond the blue waters at the city of Chernígov at the house of Mítri the merchant in his white-stone house, and had fallen in love with his daughter Nastásya. So he sets off to Chernígov and visits Mítri,[93] arrives in that city, and asks for Nastásya's hand, and is refused. He makes forcible entry and carries his bride off by main force. Mítri as host informs him afterwards that she has in writing been betrothed to Koshchéy the Deathless, and that Iván will be no match for this terrible foe.

Koshchéy the Deathless is one of the standing puzzles both of the *skázki* and the *bylíny*, and Kashchey, or Koshchéy, has through the false spelling of the unaccented " a," been confused with the word *kost'*, bone, and he is thus presented as a miserly starveling, and even as the Wandering Jew. On the other hand, he belongs to that well-known cycle of giants to be found in all folk-lore of India [*v.* the story of Pushkin and the common European folk—tales, of the magician whose soul is contained in an egg, which is contained inside a cake, which is inside a hare, which is in an inaccessible island—or, at any rate, in some such manner as this, utterly isolated from any contact].

However, in the ballads, Koshchéy, as illustrated by this particular tale, belongs to the genus of Svyatogór and Shark Velikán, and the earth-born monster who makes the ground tremble under them.

Probably one other use, which has, however, confused this conception, is that of Koshchéy as found in the *Word of Ígor's Armament*, where it is probably a Polovéts warrior enslaved ; the word may mean ' workman ' (a Cumanian root, *Kuch*,

is cited). At any rate, he is a monstrous giant of some sort, not necessarily a foe of sacred Russia, like Ídolishche. The heroes who slay him need not wear a cap of Grecian earth.

Iván Godínovich sets out with all the conventional speed of these heroes. He can be seen sitting but not riding, and he takes out his white linen tent and passes the time with Nastásya.

> Now at this season, at this hour,
> No noise was noised, no thunder thundered.
> But Koshshéy the Deathless, flew over,
> And Grey Mother Earth trembled
> And the grey oak groves shook.

He challenged Iván ; by divine help Iván Godínovich stabbed Koščey straight on his white breasts ; but he had no sharp knife ready. Nastásya is asked to bring one, betrays her valiant hero, but lays hold of him by his yellow hair, and Koščéy and Nastásya between them tie Iván to the grey oak.[93]

But this time a dove and a she-dove settled on the oak and Koshchéy took his bow and arrow and shot at them. The arrow rebounded back on to Koshchéy and so he died. Then Nastásya repented of her fickleness and besought Iván to take her once more as her husband, and he consents only he will put her under three " princely penalties." She unlooses him and he comes down and cuts off her legs, remarking that they did not please him because they took her out of the white tent to lay hold of Koščéy. Then he cut off her white hands for the same reason, and then he marred her body which had lain with Koshchéy ; in this manner Iván was almost married, and went back to the city of Kíev.

> And a reverence he did to Prince Vladímir,
> From Koshchéy the Deathless, that he was now dead.

In other versions Koshchéy bears the epithet Tripetovich or Trapetovich. Another version is fuller and more dramatic. Koshchéy gives some reasons for seducing his bride ; he tells her that she will only be known as a laundress at the court of Vladímir, never as a Tsarítsa (a queen of the heathen) and the bride herself, who is here called Márya, is made to use the proverbial expression against herself, that a woman's hair is long and her memory short. These unhappy marriages

form quite a conventional tag at the end of these ballads, and were evidently regarded as semi-humorous. This particular version ends :

> They waited and waited for his bride to arrive,
> And Ivánushka came, not a soul to be seen.

Again in another version it is expressly stated that Iván Godínovich betook himself to the Golden Horde to marry Nastásya Mitrévichna, a distinct historical reference to the inter-marriage which took place between the Russians and Tatars and other barbarians. Elsewhere the other hostile suitor is also stated to be Fyódor Ivánovich (who also is mentioned in the tale of Stavr Godínovich). This version ends :

> Every gay youth at some time must marry,
> But only for a few is the marriage prosperous.

It is almost impossible to dissociate Iván Godínovich from Mikháylo Potýk, or any Bogatyr, whose evil fate allied him with the treacherous Swan Maiden (or Russian siren).

In the Kirêyevski ballads, the confusion (or identity) is yet more apparent. Iván Godínovich is there stated to have red hair—the colour of the hair being a point on which these, the *byliny*, particularize. The bride is called Avdótya or Nastásya indifferently, the former is the usual name given to the magical maiden. The second Pagan husband is said to be Koshchéy, or even Ídolishche, or Afroméy [one of the forms of Vakhraméy] although Dmítri, the rich merchant of Chernígov, is also mentioned as her father. The scene is invariably laid at Chernígov ; a reminiscence of the historical fact that after the death of Vladímir II., the house of Kíev was split into the two contending branches of the Monomákhovichi who sat at Kíev, and the Olgovichi who established themselves at Chernígov. The father of Nastásya is sometimes called the *King* or even the *Tsar* of Chernígov, possibly a reflection of the days, when the Tatars kept their state in this region.

Some of the commentators try to correlate the Swan Maiden (or also the Snake Maiden of the folk-tales) with the Serpent Maiden of Herodotus (IV., 9). The analogy seems faint.

10. *Stavr Godínovich*

The story of Stavr Godínovich,[94] whose connection with Iván Godínovich seems merely nominal, belongs rather to the *skazka* (folk-tale) category than to the ballad proper.

Stavr Godínovich is seated at the court of Vladímir, the only one who is not drinking and not bragging, and Vladímir asks him why. Stavr foolishly states that there is one thing of which he can boast, the one thing the ballads warn everyone not to make much of, namely his young wife, Vasilísa Mikúlichna, the daughter of Mikúla Selyáninovich, for she will be able to outwit everyone at the court, and Vladímir himself. Vladímir takes the only course that he ever knows of in dealing with truculent and inconvenient guests, claps him forthwith into prison.

Vasilísa Mikúlichna hears of what is being done, cuts off her red hair, puts on the garb of an ambassador, and gets herself a " knightly steed."

So she rides up to the broad door, enters the white palace, steps forward with her right foot into the dining hall, and lays her written delegation on the golden table, calling herself an ambassador from the famous Glenski country.

She forthwith betrothes herself to one of the daughters of Vladímir, who at once advise their father not to give a woman to the maiden, for the ambassador's step was much too quick. She sits down on the spot, presses her legs together, and Vladímir orders a hot steam bath to be prepared ; but she leaps in and out, before ever Vladímir is ready to enter and so cheats the enquiry.

In another version, she took German scissors and cut her hair down in the male fashion, dressed herself up as a beauteous *tsarévich*, and went up to the great Prince Vladímir to betroth herself to Zabáva Vladímirovna. [Zabáva occurs in the story of Solovéy Budímirovich (where her ordinary name and the variations of it are discussed).] As the next test, she is set to fight a champion. She puts saddle cloths high on the horse, and felts, and on the top of it a chain mail saddle so as to raise her stature ; the rest of her dress is very carefully described. The silk came from Shchekhmatin,[95] the copper from Kazán', and the steel from Iberia. She went straight into the entrance chamber, made the sign of

the cross, as ordained and a due obeisance. In reply to Vladímir's questions states that she comes from the Lyakhovitski country[96]; and has come to ask for the hand of Zabáva. Zabáva sees through the disguise; the test of a bath is proposed, but defeated by Vasilísa's swiftness.

The next contest she decides on is archery, and here Vasilísa like Nastásya, is a true daughter of her father, Mikúla Selýaninovich, and out-distances all the competitors. So the marriage has to be celebrated, and Vasilísa asks for Stavr Godínovich to play the *gusli* at the wedding, and Vladímir has to surrender his prisoner. She reveals herself to him, and they go back home.

This is the whole story of Stavr Godínovich. The legend of the Amazon is very frequent in these ballads, and taking into view that the Amazons of the Greeks came from some mystery country in the north, may point to some faint basis of historical fact too far off to be discernible.

11. *Vasíli Ignátyevich, the Drunkard*

The tales of Vasíli Ignátyevich whose patronymic is sometimes the same as that of Vasíli Kazímirovich's,[97] the companion of Dobrýnya Nikítich, presents some very antique features. From under the curly-leafed birch trees, and the miraculous cross of Levanidov, the great she-Aurochs [*Turitsa*] with golden horns came with her children, passed under the walls of Kíev city, and they saw a very great wonder there, for there was a maiden, a fair damsel, who was holding the scripture book of Levanidov in her hands, and as she read, she wept. The bulls went back to their mother, gave her greeting, and informed her of the wonder they had seen, and the mother told them it was no maiden they had seen, but the guardian Saint of the walls [Gorodováya Mat'] foreboding a terrible misfortune. Now from the eastern frontier Batýga Batýgovich [the Russian ballad form of the Mongol invader, Batú] with his son Batýga and his son-in-law Korablikov,[98] and an uncountable host (all reckoned in forties of thousands) were coming to besiege Kíev, flying like a hawk at midday, so that not the smallest bird could

escape them, and there was no knight at Kíev to defend. But Vasíli Ignátyevich was strolling along the walls of Kíev city and drew his arrow and struck the tent of Batýga and at a single blow slew Batýga the son, and Tarakánchik[99] and other notables. So in Kíev they began to seek out for the guilty man, and they found Vasíli and they led him to Batýga praying for forgiveness, and Vasíli besought the mighty Tatar to pardon him, and that he would aid him to conquer the mighty city of Kíev. Batýga was satisfied with this offer and welcomed him, giving him a heroic draught of wine which Vasíli quaffed at a single draught, and so gained strength to ride a mighty horse and to wield a sharp sabre. He mounted and began showing his prowess among the pagan host to their detriment, and returned then to his host, saying that he was no longer able to ride his mighty steed, or to wield the sharp sabre. Batýga none the less gave his guest a second reception, treated him royally as before, and Vasíli once more started out for a foray in the Tatar host. This time when he returned, he had more heart, called Batýga an old dog (the ordinary style of reference to the Tatar), and hoped that, with the aid of God, Batýga might be defeated.

Batýga fled in dismay from Holy Russia (a consummation not reached in reality), and the ballad ends with the regional characterization which prefaces a number of the ballads (especially those of Solovéy Budímirovich), such as there are stones and rocks in the northern country, and Samson the knight rests on the holy mountains; and Alyósha is praying in the temple; in Nóvgorod the sound of bells may be heard, and sweet songs in the city of Petersburg,[100] and sweet *kalachiki* (a floury loaf with a handle to it) in Novo-Ládoga, and that kisses are cheap on the White Sea.

Danube, Danube, Danube flow,
And henceforward no more know.

There is a further ballad telling of Vasíli Ignátyevich. There is a gap for the proem, and this version starts with an account how Batýga with his son Batýga and his son-in-law Tarakanchik Korablikov set out to besiege Kíev, an incalculable host, so that neither a hawk could fly through it, nor a

small bird pierce it. As before, there were no knights at Kíev. There was only one beggar who lived in the drinking booths, called Vasíli Ignátyevich, who had spent twelve years in the drinking houses and had sold up all his possessions.

He came out from his retreats, and shot one arrow which pierced Batýga's tent and slew three of the greatest champions, the son of Batýga, the son-in-law, Tarakánchik and others as well. Batýga sent an embassy to find the culprit who was soon discovered lying on a stove in the *kabak* (drinking booth), and Vasíli begged pardon of Batýga for the wrong. Vasíli again took three mighty goblets of green wine and of green meade, one and a half *vědra*, and so gained strength to mount his mighty horse, and to wield the sharp sabre. Then Batýga gave him a host of forty thousand to aid him in the capture of Kíev city, in accordance with the promise noted in the previous version, but Vasíli slew his new allies, and Batýga once more fled the field, praying that " neither he nor his sons nor his grandsons might ever again attack Kíev."

A third version starts much in the same way as the first, stating how beneath the miraculous cross, Elandiev, (possibly a variant of Levanidov,) four golden horned aurochs came forth beneath the city of Kíev and beheld a fair maiden holding the gospels in her hand and she wept twice for all she read. So they went back to their mother (*turitsa*) and told her of the wonder that they had seen, and were told that it was not a maiden, but the Holy Mother of God who was weeping for the misfortune to come over Kíev. In this version the son-in-law of Batu is called Tarakánchik Karennik.[101]

In this version Batýga has the strange patronimic Sergéyevich, otherwise the story of the double treachery of Vasíli is much the same, and the ballad ends with an even more elaborate bit of regional geography than in the second version.

In other versions the same incidents are told of Vasíli who here is simply called Pyánitsa, or drunkard.

There is something more of a popular character in this tale of Vasíli Ignátyevich than anything strictly belonging to the Court cycle of Kíev. The figure of the drunken

roisterer who derives strength from his immoderate potations[102] sounds rather like a satire on the miraculous draughts through which Ilyá at the beginning of his career derives his heroic might. The unscrupulous way in which Vasíli goes off to the enemy, simply in order to defeat him treacherously, and the honourable way in which he is received back seems a very true historical reflection of, one might almost say on, the way in which the Tatar campaign was actually conducted. The mysterious emblems of the golden horned bullocks that saw the Virgin guardian of the walls weeping with the Gospel in her hands, has a rather more ecclesiastical origin, but is a very beautiful image; it also sounds like ancient folk-lore.

There has been very much debate as to the meaning of the name Tarakánchik, and it has been attempted to identify it with other mystical kingdoms, and ultimately even from the Heracles, who is granted, in Russian folklore as his own kingdom, the underworld he subdues. It seems at first sight rather more likely that it is a corruption of some Tatar name, especially as it ends in the characteristic *-kan*: cf. the Tatar title of *Khan* postponed to the name. One might suggest *Karakan*, the Black *Khan*. The popular etymology turning the original form into *tarakan*, cockroach, would be a not inept contumely for the Tatars from the speed with which they moved, their enormous numbers in their nomad forays, and the destruction which they achieved; other similar abusive titles being *vor* (robber), *pios* (hound), and so forth. At all events the ballads dealing with this hero are late, at least in their present form, and some of them post-Petrine.

A word should be added on the names of the Tatar chieftains who are so easily conquered in the ballads.

First, there is Batú, changed into Baty, Batyr', and Batýga; as well as Mamai, both of them historical figures. Kalín, or Kaïn, or Kalína cannot apparently be so readily traced. In the retinue of these monarchs, there is always a *brother-in-law* or son-in-law, called Sartak, or Úlyuska, or *Lukoper*. Sometimes, too, we find a son Lontek or Tarakáshka. The same well-known Turanian word *kara*, black, probably lies at the root of the other variants of this

latter name, Koráblikov and Kerannik, assimilated to *korábl* (ship) and *karat'* (chastise).

The description of Vasíli in the Kirêyevski tales is nearly the same as that in Rybnikov. The hero is said always to wear *long skirts*[103] in which he gets entangled, and does ambassadorial service to the Tatars, especially to the Tsar beyond the Don. He is a sworn brother of Ilyá Múromets; and, when at home, lives naked on the stove in the pothouse. Despite his enormous strength, he is easily persuaded, whether by Vladímir or the enemy. A note in I. F. Hapgood's *Epic Songs of Russia* suggests some faint historical foundation. Batu in 1240 besieged Kíev; and in 1381 Tokhtámysh Moscow. On the latter occasion, "'Taken unawares,' says the Chronicle, 'and deprived of all power of defending themselves, nearly all the inhabitants gave themselves over to drunkenness. A few, however, fought the enemy from the city wall, amongst them a certain cloth-dealer, Adam by name, who shot an arrow from the Frolóv gate and slew one of the horde, a person of distinction, causing thereby great grief to Tsar Toktámysh and to all his princes.'"

One late ballad deserves particular mention. Tsar Kalín was invading Russia and demanding the instant surrender of Kíev. With him were his son-in-law, Sartak, and his son, Lontek. Vladímir was in despair; and he and Ilyá Múromets set out on an embassy to the Tatars, the Prince disguised as a cook and smeared over with soot from the cauldron. Their object is to propitiate Kalín for the death of Sartak whom Vasíli the Drunkard had shot through the eye. They offer one cup of pure silver, another of red gold, and a third of precious pearls—an ignominious procedure that ill befits Ilyá, but is more in accord with the facts of history.

But Kalín demands the man who slew Sartak; and then Ilyá rises in his wrath, spits in the Tatar's eyes, and slaughters him and his host.

The ballad ends, with the conventional tag of the tales of this popular hero:

> God grant us we see Kíev nevermore,
> God grant us we meet Russians nevermore!
> Are all in Kíev town such doughty knights?
> One man has overthrown all Tatary!

12. *Khotyón Bludovich.*

Khotyón Bludovich [or Khotín or Gorden] is a purely aristocratic figure at the court of Prince Vladímir. His wealth, his large land-holdings may have been suggested, or are at any rate connected with the patronymic that he bears.

Blud was one of the tutors of Yaropólk, the half-brother of Vladímir I, who conquered Yaropólk, capturing Kíev. The family of the Bludovichi dates back to the original *Blud* of the time preceding the reign of Vladímir I, and is widespread over Russia, of distinguished ancient lineage.[104] There is no trace in this legend of anything but what one would expect in a ballad recital of the feats of a great nobleman. The name *Gorden* may be some popular pun on their names [cf. *gord*, proud].

At a great festival at the court of Prince Vladímir given to all the princes and *boyárs*, and the mighty Russian *bogatyrí* there were also present two widows, a Bludováya, and the other was a merchant's wife, elsewhere called Chasováya.[105] Mistress Bludováya had only one son, Khotín, and the merchant's wife had a single daughter, Ofímya [also called Katerína or Avdótya], whom she would not grant to Khotín.

Khotín is a youth of great prowess. Like Vasíli Buslávich his jests were not light. He used to hurl a steel club up to the very sky with a single hand, as though it were a swan's feather, although it weighed ninety puds. He reaches the house of the proud merchant's widow and asks Ofímya if she will marry him, and she replies that she has been praying to the Lord for three years to be betrothed to Khotín, and so they marry, and live happily.

In another version where this merchant's wife is called Chasováya [? gaoler] similar reproaches are made against Khotín as a milksop and he on being roused summons his servant Panyútochka : together they set out to slay the twelve brothers with whom in this version of the tale the merchant's wife is blessed in addition to her daughter. Khotín rides up to the lofty house of Mistress Chasováya and cries out at her as an evil, long-toothed hag, and asks Ofímya as for himself, to be given as a handmaiden to Panyútochka. In order to redeem her children, she has

to give one pan filled with gold and silver, and another filled with precious stones. But she proceeds to the court of Vladímir and offers him this ransom, who in exchange gives her six regiments to defend her house. In the combat that ensues Vladímir's men and Mistress Chasováya are defeated: in the end Prince Vladímir has to acquiesce in the result. Khotín rides up to Prince Vladímir and asks for a town and its appurtenances, as his appanage. And the refrain of Prince Vladímir runs :—

> Some from misfortune gain redemption,
> But Vladímir buys himself misfortune.[106]

Khotín Bludovich is a constant figure at the court of Prince Vladímir, and sits at high table. There are many versions of his story. Mistress Chasováya receives the name of Chainaya [tea-bearer?] and derives her wealth from German trade. Again Khotín is corrupted into Kotenok (kitten),[107] and one of the narrations ends with the following picturesque epilogue :

> And still at the same great banquet of honour,
> The wife and the husband they talked in this wise;
> All the people are sitting like candles aglitter,
> My husband is there, the fairest of all.
> Biting his beard, and smoothing his whiskers,
> Smoothing his whiskers, his eyes all astaring,
> He gazes on me like the devil at a pope;
> And I gaze on him, the fondest of all.

This is the only incident told of Khótín Bludovich, otherwise he is a sedentary figure and the story of the first marriage is not peculiar to him.

With the exception of Ilyá Múromets (who keeps aloof from Court) nearly all the heroes of the Kíev cycle are aristocrats: Khotyón Bludovich is an instance of one of blood, bearing a historic name. In one Kirêyevski *bylína*, the wedding is described; its splendour may be gauged: "all the folks sat like gleaming candles." This version however ends with a conventional folk-tale climax, in which Khotyón revives his brothers-in-law, after slaying them, with the Water of Death and Life: and Vladímir and Opráksa reconcile him to his proud mother-in-law—in whose opposition something of the antagonism of the merchants-guild and nobility may be traced.

13. *Mikháylo Petróvich Kazaryánin*

This hero cannot very well be omitted from this survey although the name only occurs in comparatively late and imitative ballads. Quite apart from the atmosphere of prayerfulness, and inconsequential fairy-tales episode, the use of such loan-words as *pantsyr* (German *Panzer*), and the Moscovite governmental phrase *gosudareva otchina* [his imperial ancestral estate] would suffice to mark the unoriginality of the story.

From distant Galicia, from the town of Volýń [for these cf. the summary to this section p. 115 ; and the proems to the ballads of Dyuk Stepánovich] there rode forth young Mikháylo Kazaryánin, swift as the clear-eyed hawk, flying like the falcon. His horse races like a wild beast ; he bestrides it like a hawk on a jess ; his sabre is one sazhen long, and every arrow he shoots is worth five roubles ; whilst all of his equipment is set forth at length and valued in thousands. These details bear a great resemblance with the narratives dealing with Dyuk Stepánovich.

He arrives at Kíev. He enters courteously at the gate, ties his steed to the oaken post on to the steel ring.

Vladímir received him in heroic wise, gave him one and a half *víodra* of green wine and sweet mead in a bullock's horn. Mikháylo quaffed it at one draught.

Vladímir dispatached Mikháylo to go shooting, and bring home bags of geese, swans and ducks for the table [cf. the stories of Sukhan Odikhmántevich, and Danílo Lóvchanin].

Mikháylo obeyed, and on his way back came to an oak [probably the Mavriski Oak, so often mentioned in these tales] ; and on the boughs of it he saw a black crow—in all Russian folk-lore crows play a great and curious part.—The bird was hopping from foot to foot, preening his feathers, and his beak gleamed like fire. [Compare the similar incident in the tale of Mikháylo Potýk].

Mikháylo levelled his bow at the crow, when the latter spoke and told him of a booty he might win ; that three Tatars were sitting on a bench of walrus ivory, holding captive a Russian maiden, Márfa Petróvichna.

Almost the same story is told of Alyósha Popóvich : and

also of the two King's sons from Cracow, save that the brother Luká is rescued, not a sister.

He finds her weeping bitterly ; and the Tatars telling her of the fate in store for her, to be married into the Horde ; but this note of consolation they add—and it points to the ballad being composed at some date when the great Horde had broken up (*v.* p. 126),—that she shall be married to a *peaceful* son of the Horde, possibly referring to the branch which had become sedentary in the South.

With the usual ease, Kazaryánin slays all three ; but is only restrained from wronging the maiden, by her exclaiming that he should have regard to his knightly honour ; that he has neither asked who is her father nor her grandfather ; that she is of Volýń in Galicia, Márfa Petróvichna.

He thus discovers his sister, who tells him how the three Tatars made a foray,—again a very life-like and vivid touch. The two ride back to Kíev with the loot, she on one of the slain Tatar's horses.

The ballad ends with the note which has all the impress of historic accuracy, that Vladímir is " delighted with the new champion and gives honour to him for his faithful service."

The story is a mere episode and scarcely original at that. But the verses which describe the recognition, and the almost Western romantic appeal to the duty of a bogatyr to respect chastity [he shall not fornicate], mark out Mikháylo Kazaryánin from amongst his fellows ; and there is a distinct lyrical ballad note in Márfa's lament.

> Oh, rash little head of mine, evil-fated,
> Oh flaxen locks of mine, doomed to misery !
> And yestere'en ye were combed by my mother !

This rather recalls the recurrent phrases in English ballads, such as :

> O wha will shoe my bonny foot,
> And wha will glove my hand ?
> And wha will lace my middle jimp
> Wi' a new-made London band ?
>
> Or wha will kaim my yellow hair
> Wi' a new-made silver kaim ?

As regards the name Kazaryánin, it has been conjectured that it is derived from the Kazars or Khazars, the tenth-century occupiers of South East Russia.

14. *Danílo Ignátevich and Mikháylo Danílovich.*

Danílo Ignátevich was a knight of mighty prowess, but poor and not a man of great possessions. He is said to have met Ilyá Múromets as a wandering friar on the former's expedition to Jerusalem to rescue the Holy City from Ídolishche. He had served Vladímir faithfully for fifty years, had slain fifty tsars of the barbarians, and now at the age of ninety entreated to be released and set free to go to a monastery and save his soul. With great reluctance Vladímir consents.

He consented that he be shorn;
That he don the robe in a holy monastery;
And they heard it, the hordes of the infidels
That there was not with Prince Vladímir
The mighty champion Danílo Ignátevich.

When Danílo left Kíev, all went ill; for the Tatars got wind of the fact that the champion had withdrawn, and sent the usual summons demanding a single warrior to meet their host; threatening to pillage and burn Kíev to the ground.

Vladímir is in despair, and weeps; but salvation appears in the person of Danílo's twelve-year-old son Mikháylo [sometimes called Iván or Danílo].

The story varies in unimportant details of machinery as to how the interventions of this inheritor of heroism is secured. In most accounts the scene opens at a festival at Court, when the silent and unboastful demeanour of the aged father excites the attention of Vladímir, who grants his request to be allowed to retire, on condition of having his son to take his place.

Vladímir's consternation is very apparent, as also his relief when the boy offers his services; although in some accounts he almost disclaims the lad, who is setting out to his first taste of warfare.

He thus addresses the Prince.

Weep not, fear not, despair not;
I am thy mighty defender,
Thy buckler in oppression.

Nothing however daunts the son. He sets out first to the monastery to get the father's blessing. Danílo unwill

ingly suffers his departure, provides him with a magical shaggy horse [a feature that recalls the tale in Afanásyev, in which the pious dullard of a family of three sons gets a wonder-working steed at his father's grave *v. The Princess to be kissed at a charge*], and digs him up out of the ground his armour. He warns him, however, to leap only the two deep trenches in the enemy's lines, not the third.[108]

This incident of magical import occurs in some other tales.

In later versions the father prays almost elaborately to the Saviour and the Mother of God; but in this ballad the overdone pietism of the Moscow style is consentaneous with the central idea.

> Thou, the saviour, merciful Mother!
> Accept my child from the hermitage!
> Aid thou my son Mikhailo!
> That he accomplish all and be valiant,
> And defend and uphold Kíev.

The son goes out to battle, slays the foe, but overleaps the third trench. He is taken captive, bound in silken fetters and carried up to the Ulan Tsaritsa. The Ulans originally were Turkish or Tatar cavalry, or rather lancers and regular figures at the Khan's Court, e.g., "He brought the Tsar of Kazáń, his Ulán and his Murz to Moscow." [The Chronicles as cited by Dal].

But the boy prayed to the Virgin and was miraculously released; he rose up, his strength thrice renewed, and defeated the infidel host, and cut off the Tsarítsa's head, which is unflatteringly described. Even the hero marvelled at it; the ears were as big as dishes, the eyes as goblets, and the nose was like a war-club.[109]

This last exploit is not always told of him. In other accounts the father goes to the battle-field, searches for his son's body, and almost slew him by mistake. The two of them then return home, the father to his orisons and the son to receive the plaudits of the Court.

This series of ballads illustrates one thing very well, namely, the rather craven character attributed to Vladímir, but also provides a side view of the religious feelings at this very concrete, if unhistorical Court.

The two men, father and son, are alive, not mere puppets dressed in heroic garb. Additional colour, extraneous, is sometimes given by confusing the father with *the old man, the big pilgrim* (*v.* p. 143), and making the son the dolt, who achieves where the clever fail.

15. *Nikíta Zalêsháninˊ*

There is very scant mention of this *bogatyr*, and it is difficult, altogether, to class him either amongst the elder or the younger knights, principally because he is mentioned so very late (although, like many of the heroes dealt with by the Moscovite bards, there are a number of elements of early folk-lore preserved in his legends). He is said to have been in Constantinople with Alyósha Popóvich when Ídolishche and Túgarin were slain. The *men from beyond the woods*, occur (in Kirêyevski) in some of the ballads dealing with Ilyá Múromets' birth, his sedentary life for thirty years, and the slaying of Solovéy Razbóynik. In one ballad after the exploit we are told that Ilyá Múromets came to the broad courtyard of the great Prince and all the mighty *bogatyrí* came out to meet him; amongst them Sámson Samóylovich, Sukhan Domántevich. *The peasants from beyond the woods*, and the Khanilovy, namely Ilyá, Sámson, Alyósha Popóvich, Glapit, Sukhán, 'The White Club,' and Dobrýnya; or the others may be Ilyá, Sámson, Sukhán, the Seven Brothers Zbrod, the Zalêsháne, and the Khanílov Brothers.

As elsewhere stated, Central Russia was a country of forests separating the northern and eastern steppes from the black soil of the south, and all medieval tales tell how the heroes pierced the woods which are centred for this purpose round the town of Bryansk; the peasants from the forests would be the vassals from beyond this country, the hostile "kings" in the north-west. Of Nikíta Ivánovich Zalêsháninˊ there is very little told. He is said to fear neither the Tatars, i.e., the Turanian enemies to the south east, nor the *bogatyrí* of Kíev. A further standing epithet of his is *nobleman*; it is rather difficult to see why this epithet is applied to him in particular. In another ballad in Kirĕyevski he

is assigned the second rank after Ilyá Múromets in the circle of seven knights of Kíev.

The most romantic episode related of him is in reality an incident in the life of Ilyá Múromets. Ilyá Múromets, being of peasant origin, is always unpopular at the court of Kíev, and Vladímir did not believe in his great exploits. One ballad runs that Ilyá was riding in the open field, and he spoke to himself in this wise : " I, Ilyá, have been in all the cities, and it is long since I have been in Kíev. I go to Kíev to examine what is now happening in Kíev." He enters the great yard and is not known. In his anger at the shameful non-recognition, he assumes the name of Nikíta Zalêvánin, and is set at table in a position of indignity not with the *boyárs*, but with the *boyárs' children*, another designation of lower nobility rank. Ilyá answers : " Not honour has rank, but force has honour. Thou thyself, Prince, sittest with the crows, and thou settest me to sit with the chicks." To this insult Vladímir retorts by directing them to remove Ilyá, but they cannot even shake his broad-brimmed helmet from his ' boisterous ' head. And whatever the numbers he sends they fare no better. As usual in this series Dobrýnya Nikítich, who recognises Ilyá even in disguise, takes the part of peacemaker, and upbraids Vladímir for his discourtesy, and the ballad ends with his according Ilyá any rank that he will, and being rebuked for not knowing how to receive guests.

PART 4: SUMMARY

The Bogatyrí and the Geography of the Ballads

The heroes of the ballads play their parts chiefly in three distinct territories, two of which are confused together.

The first and the clearest is the north. In the country between Lake Onega and the modern provinces of Nóvgorod, Tver, Yaroslav and Vladímir the main events of Ilyá Múromets, Dunai Ivánovich, Svyatogór, Vol'gá Svyatoslávich almost certainly belong, (although, as stated in the footnote, (page 199), in dealing with Vol'gá Svyatoslávich it is conceivable that the town of Vruch might be a reference to the Volhynian city of that name). But Rybnikov's theory

of the corruption of Gurchevich into *Vruch*, and the substitution of a G for a V scarcely seems feasible. Sámson Samóylovich is also clearly assigned to the Holy Mountains in the Valdaí hills. Now, all of these heroes have some common characteristics, the presentment of a mass of fabulous and uncouth folk-lore with a, so to speak, undetermined transformation into the natural powers, or very close association if not identification, with the river-gods of pagan times. The mythological element seems to have a very alien, and almost un-Aryan, tone, and as all this territory consisted of Finnish land which has been slowly subjugated by Russia by peaceable infiltration, no doubt a very large element of Finnish folklore may have entered into it.

In the north, the Finnish part of the river Kama seems to have been particularly unruly, and is referred to in several ballads of Ilyá Múromets, Vol'gá Svyatoslávich and Vasíli Buslávich, and constant reference is made to the White Lake which in the Nóvgorod cycle generally means the "White Lake" in the province of Nóvgorod, but under certain conditions may also refer to the Baltic. Sometimes, not often, the White Sea is intended. These same ballads also contained specific reference to the modern Schlüsselburg [*Orêhovec*] in the old Russian form and other early settlements north.

The second geographical area is the Volhynian boundary and just in this region geographical names are crowded. The heroes always used "Circassian saddles," but considering that the Circassians at this time were removed from Russia on the south by the breadth of the Pecheneg country and on the east by the Tatar territory which included the Don and the Vólga, it is hardly likely that very much trade passed through such disturbed parts, or that Circassian leather would have been available in the frequency that is implied by this constant reference. As, however, there is a town of Cherkásy, now the *Chef-lieu d'arrondissement* in the province of Kíev and a trade centre to the present day; and as also in ancient days the *Cherkasy* were Great-Russians in Little Russia (who from 1612—1624 invaded the Nóvgorod territory), it is rather more probable that *Cherkasskí* refers to this district, in which so many of the

other events also centre. There is also the river Pochái near the monastery of Pocháyevo, the hills of Soróki, the adjectival form of which Sorochinski very happily came to coincide with the Russian for *Saracen* or infidel; and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was at Soróki the further alien race, the Genoese colony called Olkhonia, which formed a depôt for the Genoese trader. There is also a town of a similar name, Sorochintsy, in the southern province of Poltáva on the River Psel in the *arrondissement* of Mírgorod, and this second town named after the same tribe would also be in hostile territory. Other references to the Volhynian frontier will be found in the notes, and in the separate treatises on the *bogatyrí*.

Between the Volhynian frontier bounded more or less by the lines of the modern province of Gródno, came the home-land of the ancient Russian ballads, and the great cities on the Dnêpr, Smolénsk, Starodúb with the mysterious forests of Bryánsk in between, Chernígov, Kíev, Pereyáslavl; and away to the east of these lay the rich southern countries which are held alternately by bands of barbarians; first of all by the Khazars and then by the barbarous Pólovtsy, whose name has survived in the Russian ballads; to the west by the Pechenegs who were soon assimilated by the time of Vladímir, and to the rear by those masses of Mordvinians and Turanian races who have now been hurled back to the steppes of Asiatic Russia. On the east, the entire courses of the Vlóga and the Don, and the Crimea were held by these peoples, and strangers used to come from unknown parts to the Sea of Azov and across the hills from the Caspian.

At this point, another etymological confusion enters into the ballads and renders the geography of the third point of danger utterly confusing, because of the old name of Caspian, Khvalýnsk. Now in the Russian initial *Kh* is often only sounded as a rather stronger aspirate, and an unaccented *o* is sounded *a*. Thus the people of Volynsk, the Russian for Volhýnia, would inevitably have sounded the same as Khvalýnsk: and thus strangers from beyond the Caspian would have been confused with *Volhynian*. Beyond the Caspian lay the mysterious land of India, and the Brahmans have left a token of their visit in the epithet

of the Nightingale Robber, Rakhmaninov. The name of Khvalýnsk is derived from Khvalisy, a people who in the ninth and tenth centuries lived at the mouth of the Vólga on the shores of the Caspian Sea; higher up the Vólga in the modern province of Sarátov, there is still a town Khvalýnsk that bears their name.

In the tales of the transformations of the rivers and the river-gods constant use is made of the term Dunai, which in all the modern Slav tongues means the Danube. It is probable that the original Russian stock came down from the Carpathians along the line of the river Danube, and entered Russia near Kíev. One of the first facts known of the Russians in history is their conquest of Kíev, and they seem at first to have employed the word *Dunai* as meaning any great river [see pp. 30 *sqq.*, where the possible meaning of the confluence of the river-heroes Nastásya and Dunaí Ivánovich is discussed].

The third distinct geographical realm is that of the Nóvgorod ballads where there are distinct traces of the Hanseatic trade. Terénti Danílovich is sent to bring furs from Holstein, *Holshtinski*. It is observable that, as in the southern Slav languages, the letter *x* is used to denote the Teutonic *h* and not as in Russian the *g*. The geographical proems of the tales of Solovéy Budímirovich clearly illustrated the trade route down from Ladoga to Kíev; and, be it noted, that at Kíev the recital of the towns stopped. As Klyuchévski remarks in his history, at all times the Russians have been land-locked, ever since the Scandinavian house of Rurik, had lost all connection with its home (Yaroslávwas the last who invoked aid from Scandinavia). The Russians as Russians never organized any fleet; even the mighty city of Nóvgorod used German transport. Medieval Russia was then an entirely land-locked state, comparatively small in these immense areas.

There is very great difficulty in understanding the names of the seas. The "blue sea" may mean any of the great rivers or the Baltic. The Black Sea is scarcely ever mentioned, and is never known by its present colour.[110] The Caspian is still known under the old title Khvalýnsk, and so is the Sea of Azov under the old name of Surok and, as

it is suggested in the account of Churílo Plénkovich, his old name for the Sea of Azov has occasioned very great confusion between *Sorozhánin*, meaning the inhabitants of the river Soróga, not far from Kíev, and *Surozhánin Gost'*, a trader from the hostile and wealthy lands of the South. In this connection it should be stated that the early Russian form of the Chersonnese or Crimea, was Korsun, whilst "The White Lake"[111] in the Nóvgorod cycle distinctly means the lake of that name in the province of Nóvgorod; in Serbian legends it stands for the Aegaean, and generally may mean any great ocean.

In the Nóvgorod tales the "Coast-land" means Pomerania (which is only a derivative of the Slav *po móre*, by the sea).

To the north-west lay the country of the cruel Kings, Gróznye Korolí, the lands of the Esths, Courland and Lithuania, a state only civilized later on in the day and then under German Catholic influence, or Polish sway. "Valorous Lithuania" is the ballad-name for all the immense stretch of country watered by the Dviná, and the Dnéstr. In the east and south the hostile barbarian *Tsars* of the Turanians ruled.

These then are the main spheres of geographical interest. The north with its tale of trade and magic; the south with its legends of chivalry in which the eastern and the western frontiers have been combined by a variety of false etymology, and a similarity of historical pressure.

Kirêyevski thus summarizes the legendary realms: Jerusalem is the extreme, and the Baltic the northernmost sea: but tales are told of the regions from the Danube to the White Sea, from Cracow to the Siberian border, and the steppes over which Kalmuks, Bolgars and other Turanian races roamed.

There still remains one very great problem over which Slav scholars dispute; how it is that the tales of Kíev in the Little-Russian area have been retold with such telling effect in the very northern districts of Olónets, and in the Great-Russian districts. As regards the elder *bogatyrí* the whole content of the tale is strangely tinged with Finnish elements, and the link they have with the southern Court of Kíev is comparatively slight. But the younger *bogatyrí*

are tales of the south and only come down in the northern form.

In the absence of historic fact, endless theories may be indulged. Perhaps it will be sufficient to insist on the one outstanding feature that the Tatar invasion swept down from the east through the modern provinces of Pénza and Simbírsk; left the north comparatively untouched and devastated the south; and that the enforced immigration of the Russians of the south to the northern provinces of the Yaroslávl Kostromá, Vladímir, and Vologdá, into the realm which became the principal part of the Grand-duchy of Moscovy, contributed very largely both to the enhancement of that state, to the filling of this new country with the old names, and to the conservation of the old legends in the new lands. It was more or less as though, when the Saxons extirpated the Celts and drove them into the Welsh mountains, the Welsh still told tales of the flat lowlands of England, and preserved the traditions only on the heights of the Welsh hills.

In conclusion, at the risk of reiteration, this point must be insisted upon, that the geography of the Russian ballads is incomprehensible save with these historical facts of confinement within these frontiers. Russia as we know it seems to imply the Don and the Vólga and the Lithuanian rivers; these were as much outside the Russia of the ballads as the Rhine.

IV. MOSCOW

§ 1. The Houses of Suzdal and Moscow

Whilst after the death of Vladímir II. Southern Russia was tearing itself into shreds in the face of the barbarians who infested the country, the Princes of the north were consolidating their power. The foes which Russia had to fear before the coming of the Tatar were in the south-west the Magyars of Hungary; the Pechenegs in the south; as well as the hostile Catholic powers of Galicia, Poland, and the energetic Teutonic orders who were at this time waging war in Wendish Prussia. The south had become impoverished by incessant strife and deteriorated by a mixture of blood, and further, the old trade route down the Dnêpr was being rivalled by the Dviná and the Dnéstr to the west, and later on by the Vólga and the Don on the east.

Yúri Dolgoruki, a younger son of Vladímir, still aspired after the historic sovereignty of Kíev, but his son Andréy Bogolyúbski was a northerner born, and, although he became Great Prince, translated the capital to the city of Vladímir (near Moscow). The north was a country of colonization. A cursory examination of the geographical names rather suggests a modern map of Australia, the old historic names were all transplanted and repeated. Thus there were three Pereyáslavls to recall the fame of the city which soon was the headquarters of the Golden Horde; there was Vyshegórod, Zvenígorod, etc., etc. Vast as is the south, the north was yet a huger domain, and the new colonists as they penetrated north had more despotic power in their holdings. Andréy Bogolyúbski says, so the ancient chronicle reads, "I have peopled all White-Russia with towns and villages, and have made it a population."

On the wrecks of Kíev a new Russia has been born, and perhaps it is not uncharacteristic that the greatest hero of the Russian ballads, Ilyá Múromets, was born in the

Finnish settlement of Múrom. Andréy Bogolyúbski disdained to visit Kíev. " He was dismayed," says the chronicle " at seeing the turmoil amongst his brothers, and nephews and all his kin. He was always independent and stirring, and always aiming at the acquisition of the great Principality ; but amongst them there was never any peace, and thus they destroyed all ruling ; and Andréy was wroth at this in his secret heart, and, without telling his father, he decided to go away to Rostóv and Súzdal', saying, ' there it is more peaceful.' " In 1169 Andréy Bogolyúbski took and burnt Kíev and then assigned the ruling of it to his brother Glêb. After that, Kíev passed into the hands of another branch of the ruling house, the Rostíslavichi, second cousins of Andréy, who took the title of the Great Prince at Súzdal. He might almost have become the sole ruler of Russia, but that he failed in an attack on Nóvgorod, although he effected his purpose of cowing the great city by cutting off the corn supply. Later on, his subordinates of the elder branch whom he installed at Kíev demurred at his despotic ways, and Andréy inaugurated something new in Russian history—he called them his vassals receiving lands at his hands and of his gift. Up to this time the Great Prince had been only *primus inter pares* with no idea of feudal subordination ; and in this manner, so says Klyuchévski [from whom the greater amount of this historical section is drawn] ' the primacy of the Great Princes was detached from any particular place and acquired a personal significance, an attempt being made to give it something of the authority of a supreme power.' Andréy was a typical ruler of North Russia, cold hearted and unprincipled. In 1175 he was murdered. He was succeeded in 1177 by his brother, Vsévolod III, who continued his policy and ruled South Russia from the banks of the northern river Klyáz'ma.

The Great Principality of Vladímir, like Kíev, went laterally like the leadership of a clan to the fittest descendant by seniority from son to son, and there was a lateral succession of the great part-principalities as at Kíev, but minor grants of territory could be disposed of by the last will of the father to any son in lineal descent and thus these smaller divisions were called districts (*udêl*) and not principalities (*knyázhestvo*)

and became personal possessions, also technically called *votchina*[1] (a father's estate, derived from *otéts*, a father). This change was rendered possible, as the north, as has been stated, consisted of colonies founded by individual enterprise : such " junior domains," of which Moscow was one, were all *vótchiny* (or *ótchiny*), descendible estates. When such a tenure passed into a widow's hands, it was called an *oprichina* and vested in administrators, called *oprichniki*. These subdivisions tended to multiply steadily, and the sons of these smaller landowners became gradually impoverished, with a consequent decay in their administrative authority ; and other instant results were that such nobles would rather look to their principalities as their country, and would tend to forget their common Russian nationality. This period of Russian history is called *Udêlnaya Rus'*, the Russia of small domains, as compared with the *princely* Russia of the Kíev epoch.

In 1221 Nízhni-Nóvgorod was founded. Yúri II., 1217 to 1237, was succeeded by his brother Yarosláv, 1237 to 1246, under whose reign the Tatar sovereignty was consummated. In 1256 the Golden Horde settled in South Russia and was converted to Islam. Very soon their system of taxation was evolved. Tax collectors were sent out periodically to enforce their demands which were assessed as a poll-tax. Their arbitrary demands, and how frequently they were made may be gauged by the fact that from the Russian nation they even exacted human dues, and required every third son out of a family which had over three children, and all unmarried men and women, and beggars. In the dealings with the Horde there was only one authority, the Khan, and he had to be approached with more than currish servility. There was no law in his court, whither princelet after princelet of the Russian house took a long journey for months across the roadless steppes to make a disgraceful allegiance. He who bribed best and bribed longest might consider himself securest. With this corrupt and profligate authority as a perpetual field for intrigue, it may be imagined what became of political morality, which is always a tender plant, especially in a people that showed so little power of union or common action as the Russians. It is rather profitless for the purpose

of this book to follow Moscovite history very closely. One great ruler must be signalized, Dmítri Ivánovich Donskói, the only Russian chieftain who had the courage and the very slight power of organization that was required to defy and beat the Tatars. In 1378 and 1380 near Pereyáslavl' Zalěsski and on the Kulikóvski field he beat Mamai, the Tatar leader, who was aspiring to rival the feats of Batu, the conqueror of Russia. Not that indeed it was any profit to Dmítri that he could animate some of the Russian allies with the spirit of a crusade against their pagan and savage oppressors. After his great victory in 1380, some evil inertia obsessed him and he settled down and watched Tokhtamish come back and burn Moscow (in 1382), and intimidate all the northern princes so thoroughly that for a hundred years more the Tatars reigned supreme, and there was none to disprove their lawless and unscrupulous will.

At this point, what is important to trace is the history of the transfer of the sovereignty from Vladímir (the city) to Moscow. There have been found in Moscow some remains of a Kurgan settlement, but in 1156 it became a town, i.e., there were wooden palisades put round the enclosure. In 1147 it was a hunting city for the pleasaunce of the princes of Súzdal. In 1238 this primitive Moscow was burned by Batú, and in the course of his narrative the chronicler mentions that there were already churches and monasteries there. In 1246 Yaroslávl Yaroslávovich gave the city of Moscow to his son Michael. Moscow was one of the *udêly*, a minor possession which might devolve by will or in lineal descent, and did not go arbitrarily to a brother. The princes of Moscow being thus situated on the river Moskvá near the Eastern trade-route and within a reasonable distance of the Oka and the Vólga, found themselves in possession of lands in a good central position, and set themselves to develop and extend them for the benefit of their private purses. Thus in 1270 they acquired by will of Iván Dmitríevich, Pereyáslavl and Sěverski ; and as time went on soon swallowed up Kolomná and Sérpukhov ; and the whole of their acquisitions can be accurately traced.

Yaroslávl Yaroslávovich died in 1271, surviving Michael, to whom he had assigned Moscow, who died in 1249. Moscow

became a private estate of Daniel Aleksándrovich, the son of Alexander Névski, (for some time Prince of Nóvgorod, and a notable warrior). Daniel after the death of Andréy Aleksándrovich became Great Prince and in 1328 his younger son Iván Kalíta succeeded to the throne on the death of his elder brother Andréy. From that time, 1328, Moscow became the private possession of the ruling house, and henceforth the principality descends from son to son in a regular course. From 1304 to 1328 a feud raged between the cities of Tver and Moscow, both of which had ambitious rulers. The citizens of Tver seized Yúri Danílovich forcibly, and engineered the acceptance by the Khan of Michael Yaroslávovich of Tver as Great Prince. But Yúri Danílovich outdid the Tveráne in cunning and had Michael beheaded by the Tatars in 1318. Yúri then obtained a *yarlyk* (Tatar letters of title) assigning him the coveted primacy, but died in 1324, when Tatar influence again transferred the throne to the Tver family in the person of Alexander Mikháylovich.

But the free city of Tver rose against the Tatars and expelled their *baskaki* (tax-collectors) and the Tatar delegate Shchelkan (whose name may have survived in the Tatar of the ballads Shark Velikán) ; and Iván Danílovich, surnamed Kalíta (the wallet) in 1328 resigned the primacy of his father in return for making Tver the scapegoat for Russia's rare insubordination against her savage tribute-masters. He led the Tatar host against Tver and crushed that free city, the first illustrious victims to Moscovite autocracy. The whole incident reflects very honourably on Russian civic *moral.*

Iván Kalíta (1328—41) ' The coagulator of Russia,' according to Karamzín, the historian, extended the territory of the principality of Moscow by constant purchases and other acquisitions, a policy pursued by his successors.

He transferred the capital to his *vótchina* Moscow, and his successors, and so, says Klyuchévski, continued his policy of putting together Russia largely out of their own moneys like a mosaic. The result of the grand principality being transferred to Moscow was that the State was administered as the private possession of Moscow. The Tsarist autocracy was the political outcome of this legal growth.

In 1299 the Metropolitan of Kíev had migrated to Vladímir

(the city) and under Iván Kalíta the See was transferred to Moscow and all the great families followed.

From the time of Iván I. the succession to the throne followed a regular line of descent by primogeniture, until in the imbecile Theodore, the grandson of Iván the Terrible, the line of Rurik was extinguished; even then, had the royal succession been as regularly established as in France, had the notion of the elective monarch been as extinct, some third or fourth cousin could have been found (as happened, in France, when the House of Valois died out), so that the "period of broils" might have been avoided.

The autocracy at Moscow did bring positive benefits, peace from the Tatars, no more of the tax-collectors, freedom to colonize the Finnish stretches of Northern Russia, the completion of the territorial unity of the State of Northern Russia, and the conversion of Moscovy into a national Russia, and the regular subordination of administrations instead of the provincial *boyárstvo* of "princely Russia." The Moscovite rulers were hard, energetic men with considerable resources, as all the revenues of Moscow went to the sovereign who assumed the sole right to mint, to conclude international treaties, and also all *udêly* were made to escheat to the Moscovite Prince, as feudal over-lord: these changes consummated in the reign of Ivan III.,[2] who could say 'All the Russian land from our ancestors of olden times is our *vótchina*: all Russia by Divine Will is our *vótchina*,' a pretension of centralized government and unmasked despotism, inconceivable in the earlier stages of history at Vladímir or Kíev.

The trade route down the Don and the Vólga down to Astrakhán was developed and Moscow became a centre of international commerce, and the wealth of the principality increased by leaps and bounds under the security of despotism and increasing territory, and the Grand Prince of Moscow could assume the character of the leader of a crusade in his fights with Catholic Lithuania.

With Moscovy under such energetic and concentrated government the Republic of Nóvgorod was suppressed in 1470. In 1474 the prince of Rostóv sold the Princes of Moscow all of his rights, and in 1485 Tver and its territory

was captured; and in 1489 Vyatka, and in 1510 the last free city Pskov;[3] very soon afterwards (in 1514 and 1517) Smolénsk and Ryazáń went the same way, and, about the same time, Starodúb and Nóvgorod Severski (on the Dnêpr) the cradles of Russian civilization, were re-incorporated with Moscovite Russia.

§ 2. Iván the Terrible

Some special note must be made of Iván IV., the Terrible, though this account aims at nothing more than a summary of the trends of Moscovite history, how the country was gathered up. According to Karamzin his reign falls into two halves, one up to 1560, when he ruled firmly with the aid of the *Boyárs* and then until 1584 when a mania of persecution seized him and he vented his mad suspicion in a series of Tatar furies, so vile that no Oriental despotism, nor even the feats of Alba in the Netherlands could parallel them for deliberateness and barbarism. Possibly the most recent history, however, could supply parallels. His latter rule was a catastrophe. True the aristocratic but tumultuous influence of the *Boyárstvo* had to be suppressed, and the country to be governed by servants, not territorial Magnates, but the desolation of Nóvgorod in 1570, of Moscow in 1569, and other cities, was unjustified, in fact, and accompanied with scenes of undiscriminating bloodshed. Iván must certainly have been mad; in one of his fits of rage he slew his heir, Iván, leaving the imbecile grandson Theodore, and a lateborn younger son Dmítri, the latter of whom was mysteriously murdered after 1584—the deed being imputed to Boris Godunóv, who was elected to the vacant throne, and despoiled for a time by the Polish pretender.

Iván's instrument for his Terrors was the *Oprichina*. In 1565 Iván divided Russia into the *zemshchiny* or land administered by the nobles, and the *oprichiny* or estates under the administration of his lieutenants. The *oprichina* formed a kind of mock religious order of men devoted to Iván's service exclusively, at first without political significance, a kind of secret police, through whom he ruled, thus dispensing with *Boyárs* and not openly investing authority in ministers of inferior estate. Iván might, says Klyuchévski,

have proceeded against the noble classes, and spared the individuals, and so secured his objects. He did the contrary, inaugurated terrors and furies and left the rank surviving. The unconcealed lawlessness and savagery of these devastating visitations have made Iván IV.'s name a deathless byword.

From 1584 to 1613, when the first Románov was elected to the Throne in the person of Mikhaíl Fedórovich, is a long tale of Pretenders, " False Dmítris," supported or connived by the nobles who sought to re-establish their authority over against the pretensions of the enserfed classes, even with the aid of the Polish rule.

Lastly, the final history of the Horde must be briefly traced. The Golden Horde, or centralized nomad army, broke up between 1342—1378, and the principal branches were established at Sarái, at a point between the lower Vólga and the Don, in Mordvinia, near Ryazáń and two independent courts at Kazán and Astrakhán. After Mamai's defeat at Kulikovo Póle and Pereyáslavl' Ryazánski, and the fearful revenge of it by Tokhtámysh in 1382, the aggressive power of the Tatars steadily declined, and the Moscovite Princes were immune from Tatar tax-collectors, sending their tribute in for themselves. The Golden Horde finally settled in the unassailable fastness of the Crimea;[4] and when about 1472 the Turks beset the Tatars, soon after to crush them and release Russia incidentally, the Moscovite Prince Iván III., under the influence of his queen, Sophia (the daughter of Thomas Palaeologus, Emperor of Constantinople), plucked up courage and refused these disgraceful subsidies. But there was no decisive engagement, for the Tatars had more serious foes to contend with in the south in the Turks, who in 1475 conquered the Crimea.

Now that the Tatar strength was shattered, the Moscovites made rapid progress and crushed the few predatory nomads one after the other; the most important incident to note being the storm of the robber stronghold at Kazáń in 1549. In 1592 the Crimean Tatars were suppressed.

The liberation of Russia is dated 1480, when the Turks outed the Tatars, and Russia at last received back, without

lifting a sword in her defence or in safeguarding her honour, her own inheritance of the south as a legacy from the Tatars at the hands, by the gift, of another more vigorous stock of Moslem Turanians who were to gain age-long security by occupying the impregnable Dardanelles.

Tatar influence in Russia, was, despite the two hundred years ascendancy, slighter than might have been expected: though the Slav blood in the South had been thoroughly drenched with other Turanian admixtures (the Pechenegs, Pólovtsy and Bolgars). For the Tatars continued their nomad existence all through this period, and never settled in cities, and thus were ephemeral and transitory. Amongst the principal consequences of the Ruler of Moscow becoming the national sovereign of Great-Russia (according to Klyuchévski) was the birth of a new feeling of nationality, first expressed in foreign policy, and then formally extended to internal administration. The monarch of Moscow acquired greater significance, especially after the marriage of Iván III. to Sophia (the daughter of the last Emperor of Constantinople) conferred on the Russian line the heirdom of the Eastern Empire. From that date the title *gosudár* (lord) is used, intimating the national and ecclesiastical head. Somewhat later, when the Tatar yoke had been shaken off, the title of Tsar was assumed in dealings with unimportant foreign Courts; in internal acts, accompanied with the word *Samodérzhec*, autocrat, borrowed from the Byzantine *αὐτοκράτωρ*. The word *Tsar* had previously only been employed for the Tatar Khan or the Byzantine Emperor.

Russia by this time was no longer regarded as an estate derived from a father or grandfather [*ótchina dêdina*]; Iván III. soon called himself Lord by the Grace of God. The successor to the throne was designated in the father's litetime and solemnly crowned.

From the Tatar the Russian autocrat of Moscow took the leavings of their historic title of Tsar, a word previously used only to denote alike the autocratic and barbarous rulers of the Turanian Bolgars, the Pechenegs, and also the despot of Constantinople. Their new independence they celebrated with the style under which they used to pay

allegiance to their Moslem overlord, the " Tsar of all Russia," which might be rendered Rājā of all Russia.

This official title of Vasíli Ivánovich III. (about 1510) illustrates how the power of the Moscovite Ruler grew up fragmentarily.

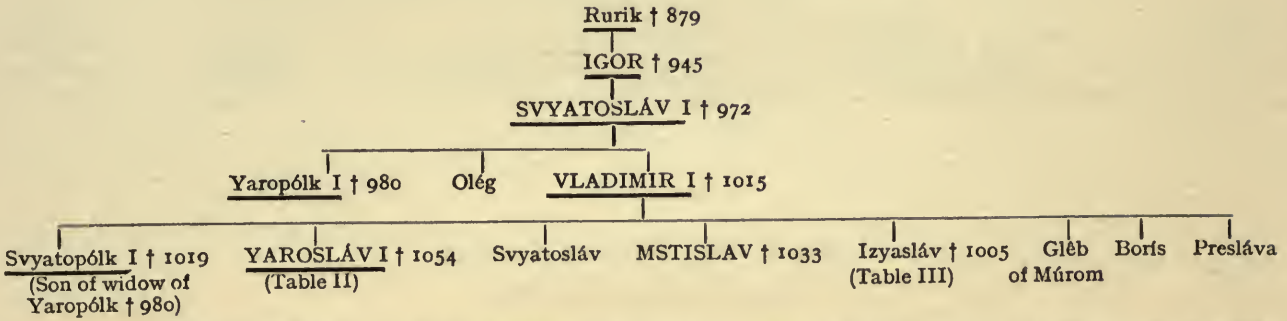
" From the great Ruler, Vasíli, by Divine Grace Tsar and Grand-Prince of Vladímir, Moscow, Nóvgorod, Pskov, Smolénsk, Tver, Yugra [i.e., the country from river Pechóra up to Urals], Perm, Vyátka, the Bolgars and all the others, Ruler of all Russia, and Grand Prince of Nóvgorod and the Nizóvskaya Zemlyá [i.e., land of Rostov and Súzdal, by mouth of River Mológa], and Chernígov, Greeting."

This brief account is a bare summary and bold generalization. The object is to show something of the autocracy of the principality of Moscow, round which one great section of the Russian ballads centres. Some few historical figures, especially in the reign of Iván the Fourth, have been sung in this series ; but these ballads are late in style and imitative, and the individuals they celebrate can be illustrated in footnotes. They have less spontaneity, and in fact something of the deadness which is the keynote of Moscovite Russia ; just as a boisterous and undisciplined liberty typifies Nóvgorod, and aristocratic anarchy, Kíev. With such elements to face, the iron hand of Moscow which dared not trifle with the nomad force of Sarai (as other states did successfully) could not help winning ; and under the circumstances, it was the only way in which a single Russian national State could have been created ; beginning in a centralized heritable estate, it could allow of no exception or variation even to such pliable and subservient free cities as Pskov and Tver. The same rule swept over the whole of the country, and made it as flat and as uniform and direct as a high road. Autonomy and local independence, the nurses of national poetry, could not subsist.

3 GENEALOGIES OF THE HOUSE OF RURIK

DOWN TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE LINE IN 1584

TABLE I

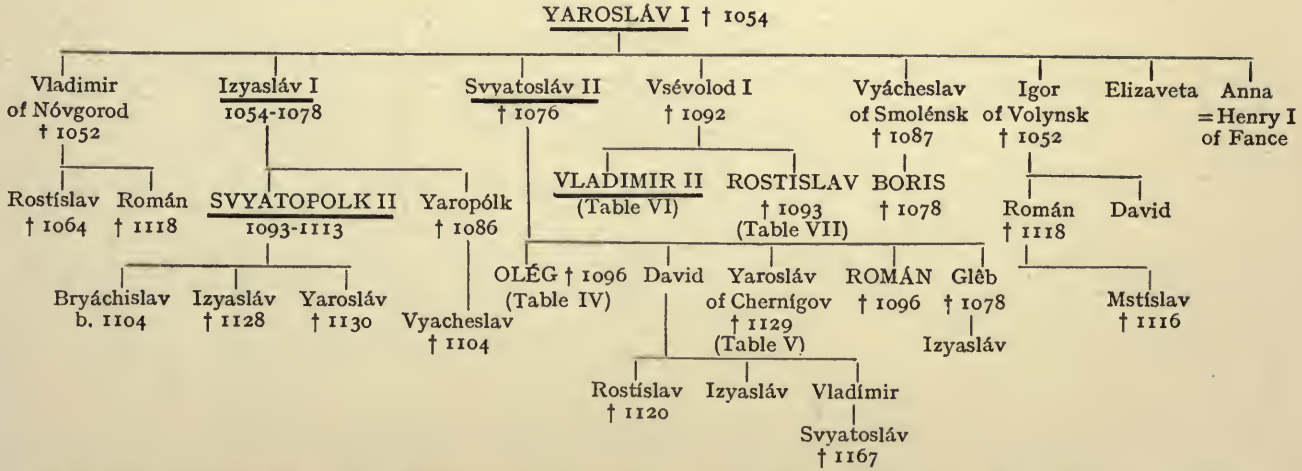


Names underlined are grand-princes of Kiev : Names in capitals are mentioned in Igor : Names in italics are Grandprinces of Sûzdal, Vladimir or Moscow.

TABLE II (*v* TABLE I)

THE YAROSLAVICHI

(FIVE GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)



Names underlined are grand-princes of Kíev : Names in capitals are mentioned in Igor : Names in italics are Grandprinces of Sûzdal, Vladímir or Moscow.

TABLE III THE HOUSE OF POLOTSK (FIVE GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)

(*v* TABLE II)

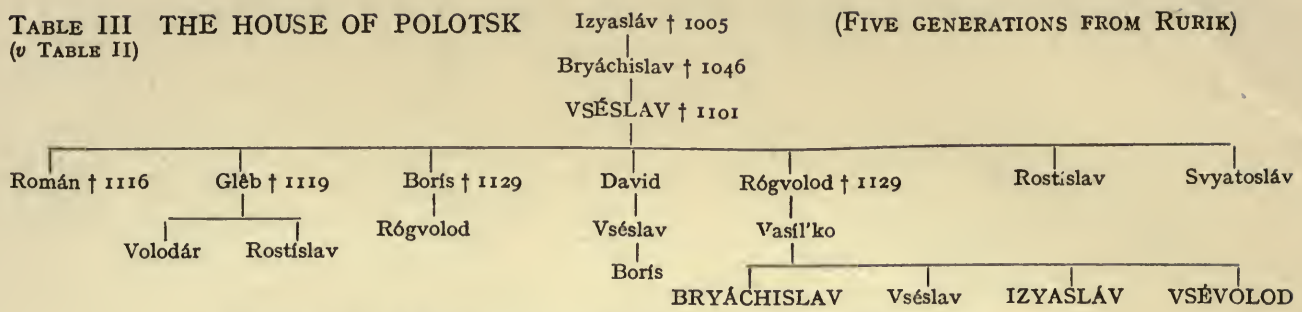
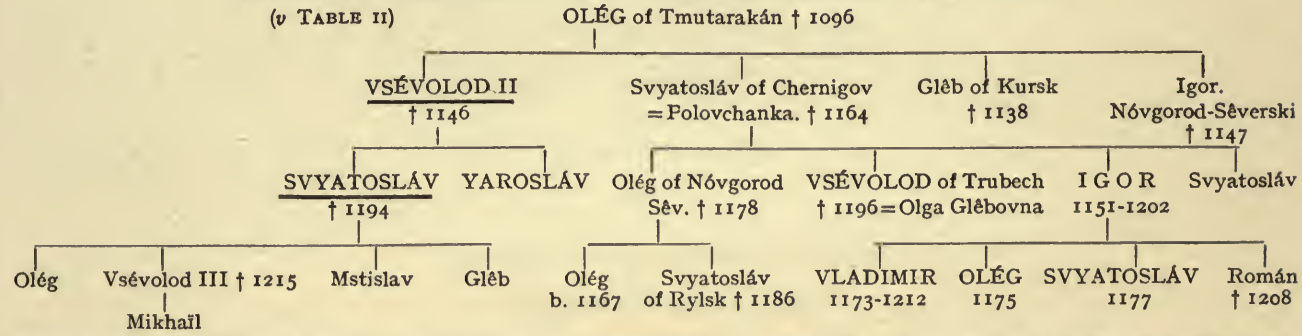


TABLE IV THE OLGOVICHI (EIGHT GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)

(*v* TABLE II)



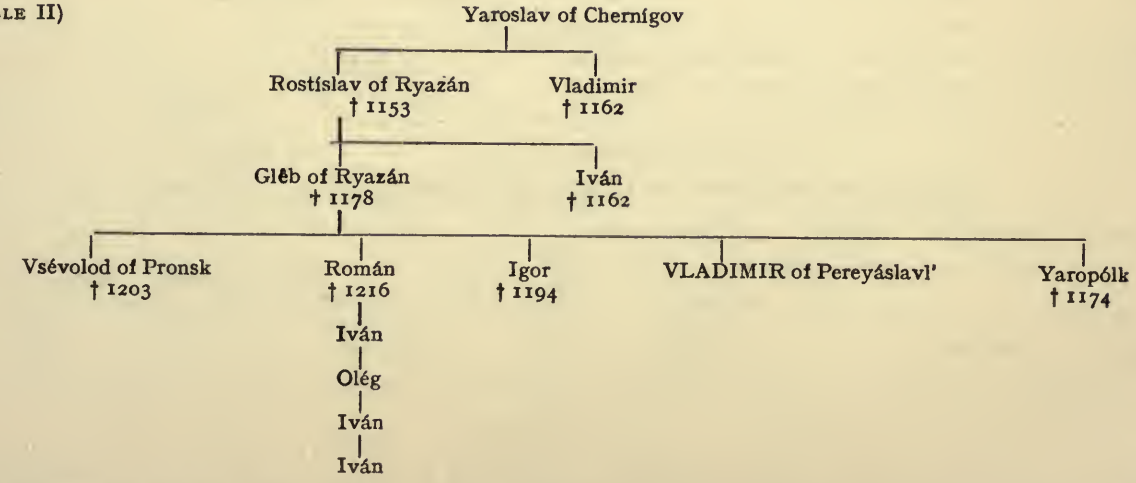
Names underlined are grand-princes of Kiev Names in capitals are mentioned in Igor : Names in italics are Grandprinces of Sûzdal, Vladímir or Moscow.

TABLE V

THE HOUSE OF RYAZÁN

(SEVEN GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)

(*v* TABLE II)



Names underlined are grand-princes of Kíev Names in capitals are mentioned in Igor : Names in italics are Grandprinces of Sŭzdal, Vladimir or Moscow.

TABLE VI THE MONOMAKHOVICHI

(SEVEN GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)

(*v* TABLE II)

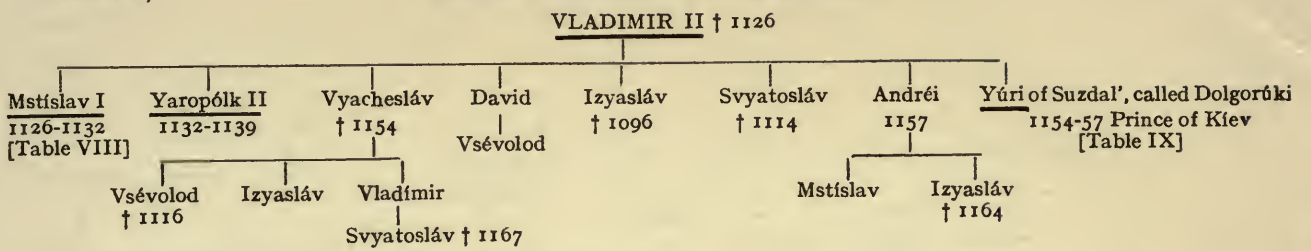
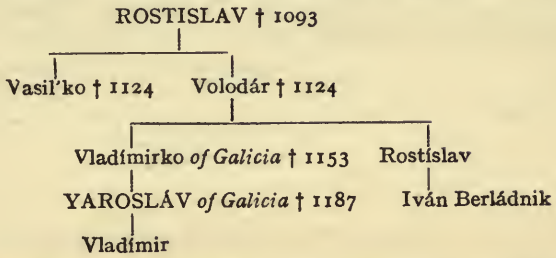


TABLE VII THE HOUSE OF GALICIA

(SEVEN GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)

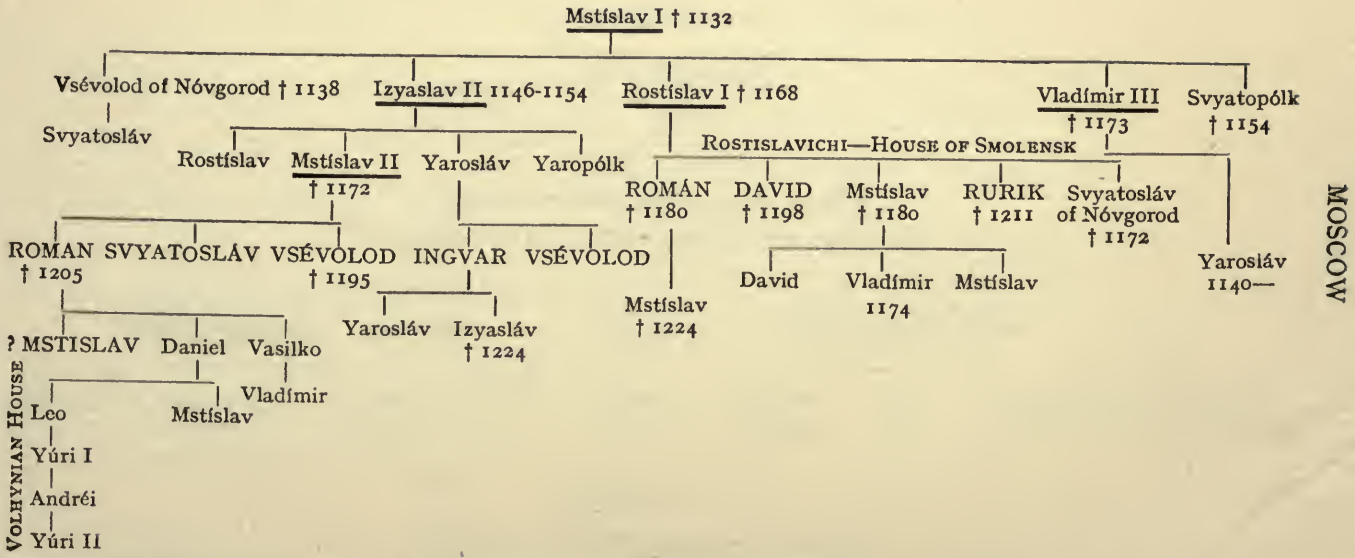
(*v* TABLE II)



Names underlined are grand-princes of Kiev: Names in capitals are mentioned in Igor: Names in italics are Grandprinces of Sûzdal, Vladímir or Moscow.

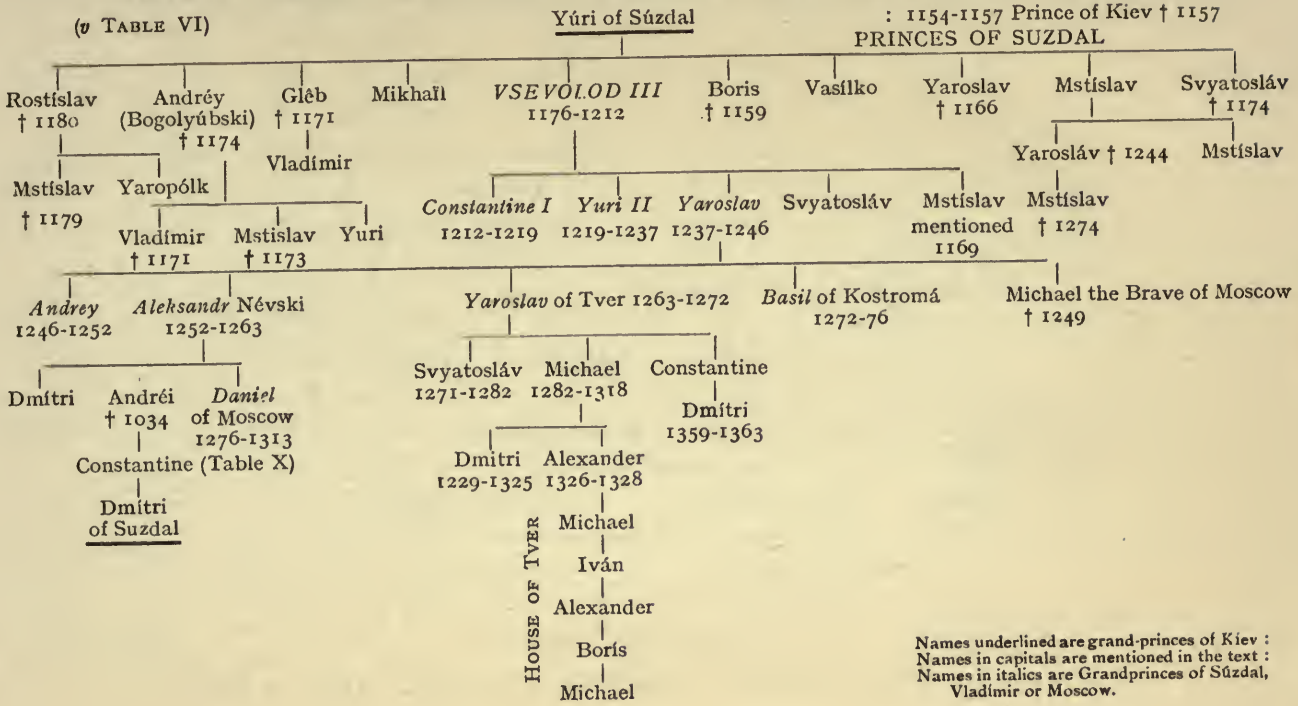
TABLE VIII THE MSTISLAVICHI

(cf TABLE VI) (EIGHT GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)



Names underlined are grand-princes of Kiev : Names in capitals are mentioned in Igor : Names in italics are Grandprinces of Súzdal, Vladímir or Moscow.

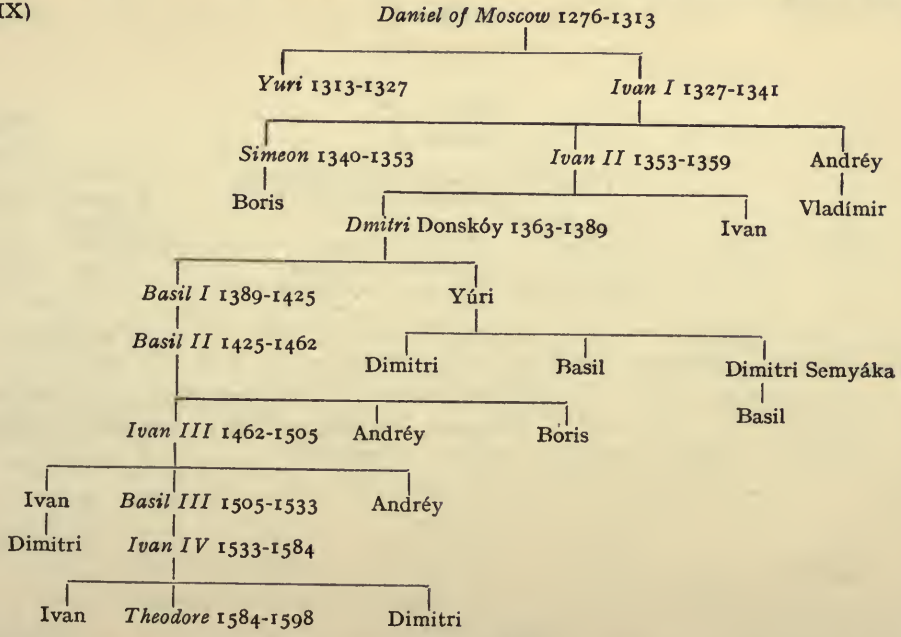
TABLE IX HOUSE OF SUZDAL & MOSCOW (EIGHT GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)



Names underlined are grand-princes of Kiev :
Names in capitals are mentioned in the text :
Names in italics are Grandprinces of Súzdal, Vladímir or Moscow.

TABLE X THE HOUSE OF MOSCOW (TWELVE GENERATIONS FROM RURIK)

(*v* TABLE IX)



Names underlined are grand-princes of Kiev : Names in capitals are mentioned in Igor : Names in italics are Grandprinces of Sûzdal, Vladímir or Moscow.

V. NÓVGOROD

1. The History of Nóvgorod.

In the monotonous stretches of Russian history, which present something of the unrelieved dreariness of the Steppes (it is a country eminently which Buckle would have imagined a geographical despotism), there is one point of relief—the history of the Republic of Nóvgorod.

Nóvgorod was originally founded by the Scandinavians, and is one of the few towns in Russia which had any semblance of history or any real autonomy. Geographically, it was favourably placed: it is situated on both sides of the River Vólkhov; and, being one of the starting points of the Trade Route down the river Dnêpr, and, to its luck, being surrounded and rendered inaccessible by swamps and bogs from attack to the East and the West,[1] it was comparatively immune from the attacks of the Turanian barbarians who infested early Russia. Rurik left a garrison there, when he made his historic marauding expedition which founded Russia, but the richer lands of the South tempted him, and Nóvgorod never became one of the coveted principalities over which so many devastating civil wars were to be fought. It was a colony for the most of an alien Karelian or Finnish population, and probably the population was very different in composition from that of Southern Russia. Nóvgorod, protected by its bogs and enriched by its situation, very soon developed independence, and about 1019 Yaroslâv granted the first Charter, which fixed the sums raisable on the taxes.

The principal officer of the town was called a *Posádnik*, and held office for a year, and, probably more through omission than through permission, soon came to be elected by the democratic council of all the citizens, which was called Vêche. The Vêche was indeed an institution found in every ancient Russian city, but nowhere else it developed

to such a power. It had no regular sessions and was only summoned at need. Never in the annals of Nóvgorod's history was there any organization. The *Ruling Archbishop* presided. Voting went by acclamation, not even by the counting of heads. If the noises, after the resolution had been put, were not sufficiently indicative of the decision of the meeting, the issue had to be decided by fisticuffs. Any citizens from any part of the Nóvgorod Territory could attend. The cities of Pskov, the " younger brother," and Tver later on (1348) also became free cities, wringing their independence out of Nóvgorod. Vyátka, the colony of Nóvgorod, was also founded later on and became independent. The line of the Tatar invasion left Nóvgorod practically unaffected, as they marched south to the " black soil " and settled in the ancient territory of the Pechenegs and the Pólovtsy. In the year 1259, Nóvgorod was indeed obliged to contribute to the Danegeld exacted from the rest of Russia, and the Tatar tax-collectors made an unwelcome irruption, otherwise the free spirit of the city and its isolation preserved it from the Tatar plague. As the years went on the city gained privilege after privilege. In 1126 they elected their own Posádnik, and very soon after their own Týsyatski,[2] who was a kind of military tribune. In 1136 they were able to expel Prince Vsévolod Mstíslavich as being too fond of sport and too neglectful of his duty.

In 1196 Vsévolod III. confirmed them their liberty of electing their own Prince.[3] These Princes of Nóvgorod were constitutional monarchs with limited power; their acts had to be countersigned by an official responsible to the Vêche. Their only duty was the defence of the city against foreign foes. And the Princes had to live outside the city. In the 13th century a further charter was granted by Yaroslav Yaroslávovich, Prince of Tver, making it obligatory on the Prince to do nothing without the countersignatures of elected officers. The Vêche consisted of any citizens from any part of the territory of Nóvgorod who could attend the meetings. It followed naturally under such conditions that the citizens of Nóvgorod usurped all the power; and consequently the other towns became disaffected and ultimately won a rancorous independence

against the mother city. Democratic as were the forms of the Government, in substance it was an oligarchy. Free folk were divided into the rich classes or the capitalists who were called Boyárs. Next to them ranked the merchants (either the wealthier, called the "hosts" or "good merchants" as against the "local merchants"), and beneath these again but merging with them, the tradesfolk. Lowest of all in the social category of the free folk came the "black folk" and the free labourers or *Smerdy*, or, as they were also called the *Muzhiki*. These consisted of the agriculturists owning their own plots of land, craftsmen and artisans, and workmen generally. By the custom of the constitution as it developed, although any man might be elected to any position, no official was ever elected save from the great houses of the Boyárs; e.g., in the thirteenth century there were twenty three *posádniks* elected, and of fifteen individuals ten belonged to only two rival houses.

The Vêche had wide powers of jurisdiction, full legislative powers, elected all of their rulers, decided on war or peace, were a court of justice to which their officials were responsible. Special courts with full acts of law were constituted for non-political or civil cases. One other exemplification of this Russian democracy was that any citizen had the right of owning land, not only the ruling classes, as in any other part of Russia which was under the dominion of the House of Rurik. Land companies also existed, and held land in common for commercial purposes.

Nóvgorod was a modern state with almost western institutions looking to the Catholic West for its culture and its trade, and boisterously, turbulently free, a good instance of what Heine somewhere says that medieval history is the tale of liberties, not liberty.

But this one evil feature Nóvgorod shared with all the rest of Princely Russia, that it was founded on slavery. These slaves were recruited from the *Zakúpy*, who had been Smerdy, husbandmen impoverished in civil war, self-sold into serfdom to redeem their debts, as well as from slaves born, and prisoners of war. Any runaway Zakúp forfeited his liberty altogether. The many wars, the constant invasions, encaptived many Russians as well as barbarians, and

this slave population was employed to all do the menial work, and the moral character of the nation was none the better for this.

From a political point of view again, Nóvgorod was dependent on Moscovy, for the bogs that isolated it and for some centuries warded off the Princes of Súzdal, also made the growth of any corn impossible, and the northern Princes always had it in their power to starve the free republic into submission if they could not subdue them by the sword. Indeed, Nóvgorod, as a fighting power was not of very great moment. The excessive liberty and disorganization of the state made its army feeble and unreliable.

The senate of Nóvgorod consisted of the Council of the Lords [*Sovêt Gospod*], a translation from the German term *Herrenhaus*. This was presided over by the Archbishop and consisted of the Vice-Prince, the ruling Posádnik and the leaders of the districts [*pyatina* (fifths)] and the towns, as well as the leaders of the Hundreds of the towns.

Nóvgorod has its own eventful history. The thirteenth century, with the struggles of the houses who supported the southern or the northern Princes, is a long tale of internal feuds. In the 14th century there is a more dire rivalry—that of the proletariat classes [*chern*] against the plutocracy. Some indication of the general unsettlement may be taken from the fact that in one hundred years there were thirty-eight different Princes, and forty-three different Posádniks.

Nóvgorod extended into a large territorial State, and this Empire was divided into *fifths*, each of them annexed to the five districts of the mother town—a curious instance of the arbitrary influence of tradition on empire, of the false analogies of precedent.

There was no systematic government. Such a state could not endure and as the House of Súzdal' expanded into the monarchy of Moscow, such neighbours became incompatible.

Nóvgorod and Tver' were the only Russian States who dared fight the Tatars, since it was the people who were making war for their own liberty against the Princes who were seeking to buy advantage. But against the crushing forces of united Russia Nóvgorod could not stand and in

1473—8 Iván Vasílyevich ruthlessly stamped Nóvgorod out of existence.[4] The great bell which had summoned the citizens to solemn assembly in the Vêche he transported to Moscow to clang in servile fashion, undistinguished from other bells in the Cathedral; and in the following years, family after family was forcibly transported to enrich and people Moscow. In 1570 Iván IV. celebrated an orgy of blood, when the Opríchina visited Nóvgorod and slaughtered the suspects, and from this blow the city never recovered. The democratic capital of Nóvgorod became a memory, a mere recollection of greatness; but a symbol of the better conditions under which Russia might have grown up had she not been ground into uniformity under a despotism which gradually took over all the unenviable characteristics of an Eastern state: for Russia, like most Continental States, shows in a larger measure the political incapacity of combining central government with local independence and diversity. "The destruction," says Klyuchévski, "of the local peculiarities was a sacrifice demanded by the common weal, and the Moscovite sovereign executed this office."

§ 2. The Ballad-Cycle of Nóvgorod

Introductory

The ballads of the Nóvgorod cycle are few in number and very largely imitative in conception. There is a kind of wild humour in them which reflects free Nóvgorod; and there are scarcely any allusions to any of the real heroes of their own history, such as Prince Alexander Nevski, who conquered the Swedes. A similar lack is observable in the Moscow cycle, but the Nóvgorod ballads are less historic and more fictional than those of Kíev. None of the national triumphs, few as they are, were signalized in the poetry of the people.

The metre is much more regular than in the Kíev ballads and almost approaches modern unrhymed lyric: trochaic in character, with two or more beats, though unaccented initial syllables are used, sometimes so constantly as to make the rhythm anapaestic or iambic. The ending is almost always in dactyl, which Russian terminations render

peculiarly easy, and these grammatical forms may be rhymed or in assonance. But there is no scheme of rhyme until the XVIII. century introduced and imitated Western metres.

2. *Vasíli Buslávich*

Vasíli Buslávich, or Busláyevich, is the most important hero of the Nóvgorod cycle. He has little or no reference to specific Nóvgorod history, but his tale is full of meaning as a social picture of that turbulent city, and is written in a dramatic burlesque style with homely touches which are practically non-existent in either the episodic Moscow series or the courtly stories of Kíev.

The name occurs in history. One Vasko Buslávich was *posádnik* and died in 1171 (according to the *Epic Songs of Russia*) and a contempory of Sadkó Kupéts.

Vasíli was the son of Busláv who lived for ninety years[5] and never grew old or tired; "he preserved peace within Nóvgorod and never thwarted stone-built Moscow." In other versions, many similar details are found showing that he remained on good relations with the other great cities of Kíev, Tver, Smolénsk, Pskov, etc., especially Pskov. He had one son, Vasíli, a boy of tremendous strength, who went out to play in the streets, and in a rather dangerous fashion, for whomsoever he touched he dislocated, and any leg he kicked was broken; so that all the nobles assembled round Vasíli's mother (who is called Emelfa Timoféevna, like the mother of Dyuk Stepánovich) and besought her to take charge of her over-lusty son; otherwise they would duck him in the river Vólkhov. Vasíli was a great drinker of green wine and sweet mead, and gave a festival to the citizens of Kíev, to whosoever could quaff his cup at a single draught, the cup to contain one and a half *vedros* and weigh two *puds*. In the general list of the companions of Vasíli Buslávich who formed his *druzhína* are found Kozmá Novotorzhánin, Potánka Hromenki, Homushka Gorbatenki, Ivánishche Sílenki and Váska Polenski, all of them derisive names. Most of these mock heroes are of obviously popular origin, and are intended perhaps more or less as a satire on the legendary prowess of tne *bogatyri*. In other versions Vasíli holds his banquets not in his own house, but in that

of Nikolai Zimóv'ev, also called Voevóda, the elective general of Nóvgorod. The citizens of Nóvgorod invade Zimóv'ev's house and eat until they are sated, and drink until they are drunk, and then quarrels set in and Vasíli took the scarlet elm club [possibly a satire on the primitive weapon of Ilyá Múromets, *v.* page 38] and began belabouring all his stout men.

In some other versions again, there is a feast given by the Prince of Nóvgorod to which Vasíli is not invited; he goes as an unwelcome guest and plays havoc at the table of his host.

One other nobleman of Nóvgorod whom he offends is Koz'má Fomá Rodiónovich. At this feast Vasíli challenges the citizens of Nóvgorod to meet at the great bridge over the Vólkhov with his *Druzhína* and to fight them all day long. Then the noble widow, his mother, put *choboty*[6] (vast slippers) on to her feet and a sable *shúba* on one shoulder, gathered all her treasures from her cellars and went up to the authorities of the town and endeavoured to bribe them to pardon Vasíli. But it was in vain, so she gave him a sleeping draught and he only awakened in time to go and save his *Druzhína* who had been disastrously beaten, and single-handed to rout all his assailants. One other being comes to meet him, his God-father, The Pilgrim,[7] also called Andrónishche, the Old Man, the choleric giant who comes from a monastery, variously called St. Sergius and St. Cyril, and wears on his head a huge bell weighing twelve *puds*, sometimes identified with the great bell of St. Sophia, the cathedral church of Nóvgorod. He is also called "uncle," a term applied in the folk-tales to all powerful servants of the favourite prince and blessed with magical powers and titanic strength, a sort of grotesque guardian angel.

The old giant and Vasili meet and altercate, and Vasíli at last taunts him, saying he gave him no egg last Easter but will now; and he lays this rather paste-board sounding giant low. In some versions it goes on to say how, after Vasíli had slain him with a single blow, they "sung the praises of his godly god-father," another satirical imitation of the way in which the ballads rendered tribute to a fallen enemy.

In another version Piligrímishche, who is here said to come from another monastery, steps up with a quick challenge, and like the Giant in *Jack the Giant Killer* :

" See me, all of you,
Vasíli I'll undo."

There is no one now who can keep this unruly boy in order, and the story always ends in one of the following ways : Either the mother runs out, puts *choboty* on to her bare feet and a *shúba* on to one shoulder, and seizes her offspring personally, and carts him off home ; or in another version, the Virgin Mother of God herself has to come and intercede. This is one of the episodes of the life of this hero. To complete the tale some further variants must still be noted.

It is said of him that his jokes were by no means light, and that the men of Nóvgorod used to say of him that with such spirits he would set the Thames on fire ; or, as the ballad has it, that he would turn the river Vólkhov into *kvas*. He is also said when he summons his valiant mock *Druzhína* to the first banquet to have put *yarlýki* (Tatar letters of tribute) on to arrows and to have shot them all over the town.

And there are domestic details, as when the laundrymaid-serf[8] opens the cellar in which his mother has imprisoned him and gives him drink enough to keep him quiet. In some versions, too, his mother is called Avdotya Vasílevna (a name also borrowed from the Kíev cycle) ; and generally this particular episode ends with the two following lines :—

" And Avdótya Vasílevna stepped from her new-built hall
And 'gan weeping for her child, her beloved."

His education is fairly fully described. At the age of seven, he was able to play his very practical pranks with all the children that he met in the streets, and at the age of seventeen he had learnt the art of war.

His mother complains of him that, when his father was the same age, he was still unbreeched, and never had a hundred roubles in his pocket, but he had a doughty companion and friend ; a reference to the proverb : " Possess not one hundred roubles, but possess one hundred friends."

Lastly, we may note that in one version (to which no very great importance need be attached) he is given a *Druzhína* of thirty, he being the thirty-first, a feature which is a direct imitation of the company of Solovéy Budímirovich. The number nine is of some special sanctity in this tale, for all the quantities and the beats, etc., etc., work out in nines and multiples of nine.

In combination with this pre-eminently naturalistic and satirical account of the riotous democracy of Nóvgorod, there is a uniform account of the death of Vasíli in which all the rather mysterious supernatural elements found in such tales as the death of Ilyá Múromets recur. He goes on a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He comes to the mountain of Thabor[9] and is warned not to bathe naked in the river Jordan where the Saviour was baptised naked. His companions obeyed the injunction and Vasíli disregarded it. He arrives at the "White Burning Stone" so fateful in the lives of many heroes as well as in his own. This stone is variously called *Latyr*, *Alatyr*, or even *Latyn* (Latin). It is stated that he betrothed himself to the mountain of Thabor and married the White Burning Stone. On this stone is inscribed the legend that whosoever shall leap across it in safety shall remain alive, but whoever falls must die. Vasíli stumbles and so dies. In some tales there is a cathedral church built above this stone, and an image of the Saviour impressed on it (possibly a similar legend to that of St. Veronica and her handkerchief).

In another adventure on this fateful journey the "ancient hag" meets him (the same witch as occurs in the tale of Danílo the Unfortunate), and warns him against bathing naked in the Jordan. Vasíli has no more respect for her than for anybody else, and simply answers her that if she were on his side of the stream he would instantly have begotten twins of her.

Other portents accompany his last journey. He sees part of a knight's skeleton lying on the ground, and spurns it with his foot, and it speaks to him with a human voice warning him of his fate, and asking why it is treated in this unbecoming fashion.[10] He then falls down on the stone and dies, magically. Taking the first part of the legend of

Vasíli Buslávich, some very notable features stand out. He represents in burlesque the great unmoneyed class of the population of the free city of Nóvgorod ; without respect for princes, independent, and incapable of self-government. He has no deference. He has seen princes dethroned ; he has seen street brawls ; this is the atmosphere in which he lives. Such pictures of life as there are are domestic, and the numbers of servants mentioned are all of them serfs or slaves. He was evidently a pot-house hero, and the number of versions, only slightly variant, show how the humour of his free exploits must have tickled and incited the free citizens of Nóvgorod with memories of the turbulence of their open-air Parliament [*Vêche*]. Like them, Vasíli has no share in the wealth with which he is surrounded. It is confined to a narrow plutocratic class typified in Koz'má Rodiónovich, the general, and Nikolai ; and as Vasili says :

> I go, a guest though uninvited,
> Where men sit down I will sit down.
> What my hand can achieve, I will eat and drink."

The second episode, that of his death, belongs rather to the sphere of the folk-tales. The meeting with Death, the mysterious warning of his fate, is a theme frequent in the folktales and the ballads. An explanation of the enigmatic figures has been attempted as far as possible elsewhere in this book in dealing with heroes to whom these mysteries are more strictly pertinent.

§ 3. *Sadkó the Merchant*

Sadkó Kupéts is the second greatest figure of the Nóvgorod cycle and shows all the characteristics of this style with the almost complete elimination of historical reference, the very large proportion of folk lore and the familiar, almost burlesque style. He must have attracted a great deal of attention because the number of *byliny* dealing with him is enormous. A large number of his ballads are in the later style, in a very regular metre, pure trochaic or even pure iambic. He is always called " the wealthy merchant." The *gosti* (merchants) were apparently a grade of society intermediate between the *kuptsý*, or big merchants, and the

tradesmen. He is always represented as a man of immense wealth.

> Once there lived Sadkó the wealthy chapman,
> And Sadkó's house was all like Heaven.
> In the sky was the sun, in the room was the sun,
> In the sky were the stars, in the room were the stars,
> In the sky was the moon, in his room was the moon.
> And Sadkó's house was all like Heaven.

He conceives a great desire (in some ballads) at the festival to buy all the goods that could be purchased in Nóvgorod, and he sends out and spends money until in all the city there was nothing more to be had, and he trades with these, putting them on to his scarlet ship and setting forth on the blue sea (in the Nóvgorod ballads, this stands for the Baltic). But all the ships founder, and Sadkó throws his goods like jettison to appease the *Sea-King* (a medley of the ideas of the water-sprite with an incipient Neptune in his majesty). The lot falls on Sadkó himself[18] and he is thrown out to sea on a plank. He however takes with him his *gusli* and descends into the court of the Sea King, but finds him disputing with his queen whether in Russia iron is more costly than gold, for down there red gold is a plaything for little children. Sadkó hears them and answers the question that in Russia gold is valued more than iron, but iron is used for a plaything for the children in the street. This question, according to Rambaud, is a historical recollection of the saying of Vladímir I, that he could buy silver through his champions, but no champions for silver. Forthwith the Sea King takes speedy revenge on his independent-minded queen; pulls his sharp sabre out of the sheath, and cuts off her impudent head. Forthwith, in accordance with the ordinary custom of the water gods (as evidenced in some of the folk-tales where the devil is said to inhabit the rivers), he offers Sadkó Kupéts a choice of brides.

In some ballads he is said to have two daughters, in others he makes a procession of brides. Sadkó is instructed by St. Nicholas of Mozhaisk to pass over the first three hundred, and the second three hundred and the third three hundred, and to accept only the fair maiden, the fair "dark" maiden Chernávushka, but if he ever wishes to return to the living world not to deal with her as man and wife and then he

would find himself lying near Nóvgorod. (There is a river *Chernáva* near Nóvgorod, ten versts long flowing into the Nevka; and this reference also has some historical value because when Vasíli Ivánovich and his son Iván Vasílevich in 1547 were unable to obtain Byzantine princesses, they too had a bridal review at Moscow and all the noble girls were summoned up. *Chernávushka* may also be a reference to the river Smoródina, the black river, a river of fate (*v.* note p. 201) often mentioned in the more fairy-like ballads, e.g., those dealing with the meeting of Grey Grief and the young champion, Upava.

But there is also a further meaning attached to this part of his legend. Probably the story has some Finnish source,[18] and in some versions Sadkó starts as a poor man, casting his nets in the Lake Ilmen and catching a gold fish who brings him the wealth with which he subsequently buys up all the goods in the city. In another version, when Sadkó comes to the realm of the Sea King he finds a festival going on, to celebrate the wedding of his daughter to the Ocean, a beautiful poetical expression for the fall of the rivers into the sea. A similar thought was at the bottom of the Venetian celebrations at the marriage of the city and the sea. According to Busláyev there is a Pskov legend that the wise princess Olga was turned into the great river; and the river Vólkhov (on which Nóvgorod lies) is regarded as a metamorphosis of Volkh (who has been seen to be one of the tributary myths of the tale of Volgá Svyatoslávich).

There are also fuller versions of his tale; how at one time he had no property only his *gusli* and his mastery over them. He used to play at the feasts of the neighbourhood, but was never an invited guest. After recovering the golden fish from the sea, he becomes wealthy, and invites the great folk of Nóvgorod to a banquet, and amongst others are mentioned Fomá Nazár'ev and Luká Zimóv'ev (whose names also occur in the tales of Vasíli Buslávich). He got himself a countless treasure, and built thirty ships and sailed up the Vólkhov into the Lake Ládoga, and down the Neva and into the Golden Horde. Then he set sail on his last journey and is cast into the sea as has been described. The Sea King begs him to play the *gusli* and so enchanting is his play, that all

the court sets about to jig and dance. Sadkó plays on until one night, St Nicholas of Mozhaisk tells him that while the lord of the Ocean has been making merry the waves have been tumultuous and the merchant fleets have been wrecked. He is to tell him, when next he is invited, that the strings of his *gusli* have been broken. The same Saint gives him directions how he is to break the spell.

He selects his bride, the river Chernava, but does not lie with her, and finds himself lying on the bank of the river outside Nóvgorod. These are all the incidents in the curious tale of Sadkó Kupéts. It is more of a folk-tale than a *bylina* except in form, but the dramatic shape, the dealing with common folk and not with princes renders the few heroes of the Nóvgorod cycle peculiarly interesting.

There is some faint historical foundation. According to Rámbaud and Miss Hapgood, in 1167 one Sadkó, a merchant, dedicated a church to Saint Borís and Saint Glêb [the two martyred sons of Vladímir I], although the bylíny vary on the names of the saints. This church must have been of consequence, as it is often mentioned for one hundred years in the Nóvgorod chronicles.

§ 4. *Terénti Danílovich*

Terénti Danílovich is one of the heroes of the Nóvgorod cycle, but there are only scanty references to him. The ballad contained in the Rybníkov collection is in pure trochaic metre.

Once there lived Terénti
Terénti Danilovich . . .

and the regularity and perfection of the rhythm is a sign of comparatively late date. Terénti Danílovich is principally notable for his wife, who was avaricious and became sick. She bade her husband go to a foreign city, seek for young *Skomorokhi* (wandering players) to cure her of her disease. So poor Terénti went to a distant country far away to seek for young Mummers. He went to Orekhovets (probably the modern Schlüsselburg) [for which place cf. the tale of Olég Svyatoslávich] and did not get as far as Ontonovets, and was standing on the " Hazel Bridge," by the Levanidov

Cross[14] and some young playgoers passed him. They bade him go to the Holstein[15] coast and buy Holstein furs. Swiftly Terénti went to the Holstein coast and bought the furs. He had himself inserted inside the furs, and the traders carried the box beneath the window at which his wife was sitting and asked as they knocked whether Terénti were in. His wife ran up to the window in her chemise, without any waistband (this is the usual undress in which persons mentioned in these tales receive unexpected guests), and asked for news of him. They tell her that Terénti is dead, that his head is lying on the "thorny shrubs," a phrase borrowed from the Kíev ballads and not altogether applicable here. His feet lie in the grass, and the weeds are growing across his body. They beg her to allow them to enter her high room to play the *gusli* and to say a requiem for the soul. So they entered her lofty room, prayed to God, bowed down on all four sides, and especially to the wife of Terénti (another clear loan from the ceremonies used at the Court of Vladímir).

This false tale of his death seems like a reminiscence of Alyósha Popóvich's lying report of the death of Dobrýnya to Nastásya his wife. Then Terénti leapt out of the furs, took a weight and began to trim his young wife into shape and to heal her illness. This is all the tale that there is of him.

It clearly belongs to the Nóvgorod cycle, from its mention of the Hanseatic trade route through the Baltic into Holstein, as also in the characteristic mention of the *gusli* which play so large a part in the legend of Sadkó Kupéts. It is a pleasing piece of domestic fantasy, with the homeliness of the tales of the Nóvgorod cycle.

VI. THE EXOTIC ORIENTAL BALLADS

1. King Solomon

There are some series of exotic oriental ballads, different in style and manner from the Kíev cycle, amongst them the story of Tsar Salaman and the Queen Salamánida, and the beautiful Tsar Vasíli Okúlevich. It has an obvious eastern origin from the Moslem tradition of King Solomon of Judea, who acquired a mastery over all the djinns in the earth and the angels above, and the devils below, and had supreme knowledge. It also contains a strong infusion of the biblical notion of Solomon, the wise king, the unfolder of riddles, which has been transformed into the common folk form of riddles on which a wager of life or death may be set. Rybnikov in the commentary of his great compilation thus summarizes his character :

" We have collected no few facts to throw light on the poems of Solomon, and must state at once by what route this name came into the poems, for this name comprises one of the oldest of Indo-European creations. Solomon is considerably older than Alexander. He gave his people their apogee of fame and wealth, built a famous temple and other noble buildings, founded cities, and considerably extended trade. Further, without leaving the realm of history, there are facts to hand which in themselves tell something of the vital prehistoric antecedents of this nation. Bathsheba the daughter of Eliam the wife of Uriah the Hittite (here called Virsávya) became the wife of David in adultery, after the slaughter of her lawful husband, and she bears David a son Solomon, whom his father loves and prizes above all others.

There is also a Serbian story quoted by Rybnikov which runs as follows : The wife of Solomon looked out on a foreign Tsar, and she wished to desert her husband and to elope with this other ; but she could not elude King Solomon

who guarded her strictly, and so she made an agreement with this foreign Tsar that she would take a drug, and appear as one dead. When in this fashion she had seemed to die, Solomon cut off her little finger, so as to see whether she were really dead; and when he saw that she felt nothing he buried her. Then the other Tsar summoned his people to exhume her at night and bring her to him, and in some fashion or other he brought her to life, and took her to himself to live with. But Solomon the all-wise, soon came to know how it was with his queen, and he set out to seek her, and took with him a sufficiency of armed men and soon drew near to the capital of that Tsar so as to take his queen from him. He left his people in the wood telling them that if they heard a trumpet sound, they should instantly come to his help, each carrying the branch of a tree in front of him, and so advance into the Tsar's palace. When the wife saw her first husband, she was very much afraid, but in some way or other deceived him, and shut him up in her room. When the Tsar came back from his hunting, his wife met him and told him that Solomon the Wise had come and was shut up in a room, and bade him go at once to that room and slay him, but not to speak a single word, otherwise he would outwit him. So the Tsar took his sabre, and went to cut off his head. Solomon calmly and without fear sat on an oak cushion, and when he saw his foe approaching him with a sabre, he smiled, so that the Tsar could not withhold himself from asking why he smiled. Solomon answered him and said that Tsar against Tsar was fighting for a woman's head, but the other Tsar answered him, 'could it be otherwise?' But Solomon answered him: "Unbind me and take me out of the city, kill me in an open place, and before you do it, let sound my horn three times so that all may hear it and come near, and then even the forests shall come near and shall march forward to see how one Tsar slays another Tsar." So the Tsar obeyed his words, for he was very curious to see how the woods could march forward to see how one Tsar could slay another Tsar. So he untied Solomon and put him on to a *teléga* (peasant's cart) and took him on to the open field to slay him in the presence of all his youths and noblemen. As they were going on Solomon

glanced across the *teléga* on to the front wheels, and then he smiled again. The Tsar who was riding beside him on horseback asked him what he was smiling at. And Solomon answered him, "I was smiling how one half of the felloe was in the mud and the other half out of the mud," and the Tsar turned aside contemptuously and said that the good people called Solomon wise, and look what a fool he was. Soon they came to the scaffold, and the Tsar ordered him to sound his horn once. When his men heard the sound of his trumpet, they all leaped up. He sounded it a second time and they only saw green boughs moving forward like a wood. Then the Tsar was very much astonished and believed that it must be so as Solomon had told him, and he ordered him to sound his trumpet a third time. Then the men of war of Solomon reached the spot, and released Solomon, and slew that Tsar and all of his youths and noblemen.

There is a further prose-ballad which runs as follows: The queen mother of Solomon was big, and she was sitting one day and chatting with her servants confidentially, and they said, one wife has a very old husband and so she keeps a lover. Then the Tsaritsa said, and I should have done the same, if I had been in her place. But the child in the womb spoke out and protested, and she upbraided the child and said she would not bear it, and the babe again spoke out and threatened her. The time of her birth came, and the child lived to the age of five; then the Tsaritsa spoke to her "uncle," or confidential servant, "Take my child from my eyes, take him beyond the seas, plunge a knife into his heart, and bring me his heart to eat." The usual fairy-tale incidents follow, and Solomon persuades the murderer to substitute the heart of a dog, and the queen as she eats it grimly remarks that even his heart was dog-like. Tsar Solomon was left alone, and went beyond the seas. He came to a village and saw peasants threshing corn, and offered them his purse if they could solve a riddle. The riddle was, "what goes fastest of all on earth? and with what cattle does the peasant talk?" The eldest son came out and could not solve the puzzle, and Solomon offered to give the answer if he should be taken into the family as the fourth son. Then he comes and solves the riddle, telling them that the answer

to the first is the sun, because it goes in twenty four hours round the earth. That the purest bread is the sacred Host on the high altar, and that the cattle with whom the peasant speaks is his horse, and so Solomon took service as a shepherd in that village.

There are other similar tales in verse or prose of King Solomon, disconnected from any cycle, and mere stories, such as that of King Solomon and the blind merchant to whom his wife gave an apple from a tree hitherto barren. He asked for others, and so she went up into the tree, and in a cradle at the top, she met her trysted lover. Tsar David was speaking with his queen and wondering what he would do with his wife if he had eyes to see. God gave the blind man eyes, and he saw his wife and reproached her, but forgave her her transgression, and Tsar David remarked that his eyes were of no use to him.

In a stricter ballad form the following tales are found: Tsar Vasíli Okúlyevich summoned a mighty host, and bade them find him a queen who should suit him; to be of noble stature, and fair face; her eyes as the clear eyed hawk, and her brows like a dark sable, and her gait like a peacock, and her speech like a swan. Iváshka Povareny, also called Marishka, a foreign merchant, told him he would find no one like that save Salamánya, Queen of Solomon. Tsar Vasíli asked how he should take away from a living man his wife. Iváshka answered him that he must outwit wit, and outthreaten threats, and load up a scarlet ship, and put a chequered bed upon it, and a down quilt on to that, and silken pillowcases on to that, and curtains of rustling damask, and put up a crow's nest and in it birds singing every princely song; and to take forty scores of bottles of wine, and a marten *shúba*, for King Solomon, and black slippers of kid for Queen Salamánya; and so they set sail. They sailed across the blue sea, and stretched their thin sails, and God gave them a quiet passage. Iváshka (also called Tarakáshka) took his presents in his hands, landed on the steep shore, and went up to the palace to the fair Queen Salamánya. He did her due obeisance and asked after Solomon who was not at home. Then he asked her to come to the shore and see his merchandise. And while she was examining it, he set sail. But soon

the winds arose, and the queen woke up from her sleep as the wine had liked her well, and Iváshka gave her a goblet of a *vedro* and a half and bade her not weep for Tsar Solomon for he was taking her to the fair Tsar Vasíli, where she should be the Tsaritsa, and have her full of meat and drink. And so one year, and two years and three years went by, but the terror of Tsar Solomon never ceased. Tsar Solomon at last aroused all his hosts, and his *Polkany* or centaurs, his winged men-horses. [They are the Russian centaurs, the Greek Κένταυρος is also turned into the Slav form *kitofras*]. And he bade them when he sounded his horn, when they heard his sharp voice, saddle the horses, and at the second summons mount them, and at the third ride over the sea. He came to the court of Vasíli Okúlyevich as a wandering beggar [a clear adaptation from the legendary visit of Ilyá Múromets to the court of Constantine Theophilus in the same disguise], and asked for alms. But the unfaithful queen saw who the visitor was and advised her new husband to hang Solomon on the gallows with a silken halter. Tsar Solomon asked leave to sound his horn, to play a tune before his speedy death, for from his youth he used to pasture cattle. The queen advised him not, but is disbelieved. At the first summons all the beasts of the world ran away in terror, and all the birds flew, and so Tsar Vasíli asked wise King Solomon why this happened; and the wise king answered him that in his youth he used to hunt and so all the birds flew to him, and all the wild beasts ran away when they saw that his death was approaching. At the second sound all the mountains and all the forests trembled, and the blue seas were disturbed, and the great ocean came over the sea. When he sounded his horn the third time, the mighty host assembled and all his centaurs and Amazons assembled, bringing with them three gallows, one for Iváshka, the other for the fair Tsar Vasíli Okúlyevich, and the other was intended for the Tsaritsa, but she wept and begged for mercy; but he could not forgive her and she, too, suffered death.

There is another ballad, much the same in incident, which is put into the pagan realm of Kudryán, over which the beauteous king, Vasíli, is called *king*, not, in the Russian style, *prince*. He is holding a festival very much

like those of Prince Vladímir from which the forms of boasting and conversation are borrowed, and Iváshka Tarakáshka sets out on his baleful mission.

Except that this version provides some picturesque detail it is an unimportant variant. In another version, again, Vasíli Okúlyev is enthroned in Constantinople and Tarakáshka, the foreign merchant, sets out on a similar embassage, but the queen herself tells Solomon that she has had a dream portending the disaster. With very few variants the same incidents happen.

Tsar Solomon, as well as some ballads of the Lithuanian princes, are utterly independent of the Kíev and Nóvgorod cycles, and this general introduction is intended for those tales, in which there is a common thread of semi-historic interest. The Lyrical ballads and, amongst them, the Lithuanian tales are specially prefaced.

2. The Book of the Holy Spirit and King David Evséyevich.

There is a very large collection of these semi-sacred songs collected from the Northern provinces of Great Russia, mostly in medieval Russian beginning much in this style :

From our own, from Alatyr [the feminine Aladyr is more common],
On the head of Adam, in the middle of the Sorochinski fields. [In the ballads Sorochinski is a term mostly applied to certain fabulous hills.]
There fell down the Book of the Holy Spirit. [*Kníga Golubínaya*, the Book of the Dove].
And up to the Book of the Holy Spirit there gathered and there met forty Tsars and forty Tsars' sons, forty princes, and forty princes' sons.
To meet the Tsar, the All-wise ; to meet Davyd Yevséevich (son of Jesse). [In these Moscow ballads Vladímir is invariably corrupted to Volodúmir, the Tsar. As noted elsewhere the use of *Tsar* for anything Russian is a sign of Moscovite origin].
And he asks the All-wise King David Yevséevich to read it, the Book of the Dove, to read it out that all men may know.
And why amongst us the white world has existed.
And why the red sun existed.

And why the young brilliant moon existed.
Why the white twilight[1] exists.
Why the crowded stars have come to be.
Why the boisterous winds have come to be.
Why the people of God exist.
Whence have come our mighty bones.
Whence were created our bodies.
And Davyd Yevséevich, the All-wise Tsar, answered :
" Hail to thee, Volodúmir, Tsar Volodúmrovich, know why this book is not small ; for this book is forty *sazhens* high, and it is twelve *sazhens* in its width, and there is none who can hold it in his hand ; and there is none who can read what is in the book. But the book is printed, and the words of God are printed in it.
Then he proceeds to answer the questions why the white world came from the Lord, and the red sun came from the face of God, and the young moon from His breasts, and the white dawn from the eyes of God.
And the crowded stars from the sacred raiments.
And the boisterous winds came from the Holy Ghost.
And the word of God came from Adam ;
And our stout bones came from the sun ;
And our bodies from the damp earth.

In this series of explanations, quite apart from the obviously Christian ideas, there is a very strong flavour of pagandom. The idea of the creation of the world from some medieval giant is found in Indian folk lore : still more notably and appositely for Russian folk lore from the Norse legend of the great giant Ymir, the raw stuff of the earth, from whose parts all was erected.
But Volodúmir, Tsar Volodúmrovich, is still unsatisfied, and he still wants to know

Which Tsar is the Tsar of all the Tsars ;
Which city is the mother of all the cities ;
Which church is the mother of all churches ;
Which river is the mother of all rivers ;
Which mountain is the mother of all mountains ;
Which tree is the mother of all trees ;
What grass is the mother of all grass ;
What fish is the mother of all fishes ;
Which bird is the mother of all birds ;
Which beast is the mother of all beasts.
And the All-wise Tsar Davyd Evsyéevich, answered :
" Hail to thee, Volodúmir, Tsar Volodúmrovich,

Amongst us the White Tsar is the Tsar of all the Tsars. [After the fall of Constantinople, and the assumption of the Tsardom of Russia by the great Prince of Moscow, the Ruler of Moscow became the Head and Protector of the Orthodox Faith.]

For he believes in the baptismal faith, the faith of worship.

He believes in the Mother of God, and the Indivisible Trinity.

He stands by the house of the Virgin Mother,

And all the Hordes have bowed down to him,

And all the pagans have done him homage ;

And for this reason the White Tsar is the Tsar of all the Tsars.

Jerusalem is the city, the mother of all the cities for it stands in the middle of the earth, in the middle of the earth in the white world. [The full medieval belief].

And in the holy city of Jerusalem, there stands a cathedral church, the church of worship ; and in the holy church, the cathedral church, there is a white stone grave place ;

There is the raiment of Christ himself, the heavenly Tsar, and for that reason the city is the mother of all the cities, and the church is the mother of all the churches ;

And Jordan river is the mother of all rivers ; for baptized in it was Jesus Christ Himself, the heavenly Tsar with all the forces of Heaven, and all the saints ; and with John the Evangelist ; and for this reason Jordan is the mother of all the rivers.

The mountain of Thabor is the mother of all mountains. [The following variants of this name occur : Khargor, Khvangur, Fagor, Faor, Vargor, Fangor, Khvangor, Faom, Khavor, Khvars-gor].

For imaged on it is Jesus Christ Himself, Jesus Christ Himself, the Heavenly Tsar, with all the heavenly host. With the troop of the twelve apostles ; with the troop of the twelve arch-angels when He announces Himself to his disciples. And therefore Thabor is the mother of all the mountains.

The cyprus tree is the mother of all the trees, for on the cypress tree Jesus Christ was crucified, Jesus Christ Himself, the Heavenly Tsar, between two robbers, between two pirates, and hence this tree is the mother of all the trees.

The grass Plakun [almost invariably masculine, sometimes feminine, Plakunnaya],[2] is the mother of all grass, for when Christ the God went to crucifixion, then the Mother of God, the Virgin mother of the world, went out, and

she wept and the world sobbed, for her son, for her beloved one.

And from her tears, her pure tears, there was born the mother grass Plakun, and hence Plakun is the mother of all grasses.

The ocean sea is the mother of all seas, for out of it comes the cathedral church, the church of worship; in the cathedral church there was raised the book of Christ Himself, the Heavenly Tsar, and thus the ocean sea is the mother of all seas.

And the fish Kit[3] is the mother of all fish, for all the grey earth is founded on him, all the grey earth beneath the sun; and when this fish shall drown all the grey earth shall be overturned, and thus Kit is the mother of all fish.

The bird Strafil[4] [these are the principal variants of his name, Strakhvil, Strefel, Vostrokhil, Astrafel, Estrafil, Strakhil, Strikhil, Strafil, Strepeion, Ashtrakha, and in Serbian Nog, Noi] is the father of all birds; for that bird lives in the blue sea, and when this bird begins to quiver all the blue sea seems to heave, and the merchant ships founder; the vessels go down, the sea-going vessels, and so Strafil is the mother of all birds. [In the later *skazki* this bird became *Zharptitsa*, the bird of light, and many tales have been woven around it. It steals the golden apples of the enchanted apple tree, and its feathers have magical powers].

And so Indrik [the variants are Vyndrik, Bêlo-yandrikh, Yandrikh. Professor Chadwick has suggested to me a possible etymology from the Old-Norse *Gandr* a magical object (Fenrir is called *Vonargandr*: *Gandálfr* is a wizard; one of Loki's sons was *Jormundgandr*: *v. Gylfaginning*, Chap. xxxiv: Indrik is certainly suggestive of Fenrir] is the mother of all beasts, for this beast lives in the holy mountain and eats and drinks in the holy mountain, and he prays to God in the holy mountain, and when this beast leaps for joy, it is like the clouds that fly in the heavens; and thus this beast is the mother of all beasts.

Still Volodúmir, Tsar Volodúmrovich[5] is not satisfied, and tells him that night he had slept little and had dreamed much, and he saw two monsters which fought and tore each other; one was like a white hare, and the other like a grey hare; and the all-wise Tsar David Evséevich said that these were not two beasts that fought, but they were Right and Wrong. And the white hare was Right, and the grey hare

was Wrong. And Right overcame Wrong and Right went with God to heaven. And so these tales end with a pious epilogue.

It is worth noting some of the variants in detail. In one ballad it is stated that in the cathedral church there lie the relics of the Roman Pope Clement [probably Clement VI (1338—52) of Avignon. He excommunicated Casimir of Poland for marital infidelity, and forced him to do penance : headed a crusade, and made vain attempts to unite the East and West, negotiating with John Catacuzenos and the Armenians]. The fish is sometimes called Tit instead of Kit ; and this pope Clement is also shortened to Klim in Russian ; and it may be noted that the name of *ocean*, though derived from the Greek, is often acclimatized in Russian as *Kiyan*, a word of similar termination as Buyán, Filuyán, etc.

The impossibility of reading the book of Nature is stated in various exaggerated forms, and one of the signs of the biblical knowledge of the writers of these ballads is that the winds when they are stated to come from the Holy Spirit are dervied " from the holy spirit of Sagaoth " (i.e., Sabaoth). The princes and *boyárs* are said to come from the sacred head of Adam, whilst the orthodox peasants are only derived from the relics of Adam, from his sacred knee. One further question is added : What stone is the mother of all stones ? The answer must be the mysterious stone Alatyr, and its sanctity arose when Jesus Christ, the Heavenly Tsar, with his twelve apostles and twelve disciples held conversation and rested on it. He inscribed his doctrines on the stone.

Other people who took a part in this dialogue are Volotoman, Tsar, or Volontoman [in older Russian *volot* means ' giant '] When these ballads were composed the memory of Kíev had almost vanished ; and Vladímir even became *Volotumir*, owing to the form *Volot* being contaminated. One other question is what lake is the mother of all the lakes, and the answer is Ilmen ; but the narrative goes on to say not that Ilmen which is near by Nóvgorod, but that Ilmen which is in the Turkish land, the Ilmen by Jerusalem out of which Jordan flows. Whether *ilmen* originally meant lake in general, or is applied to all lakes as being similar to this lake, must be regarded as uncertain.

The Book of the Holy Spirit is said to fall from a heavy thunder cloud, and the book is said to fall on the Sorochinski land, on the *Farafonski* mountain [usually its form is Faraonski, which looks as if it came from Pharaoh ; but the former is the harder and perhaps older form]. David's ancestry is variously disguised as Yevséevich, after being turned into Osíevich and Voevséevich. The meeting is also said to take place at the Mavriski oak, or at the wonder-working Levanídov cross, which must surely be the cross of Lebanon.

Another dream of Tsar Volotoman is interpreted in this wise : that his Tsaritsa bore a daughter Salamánida, and that David's queen bore a son Solomon who was to be her husband ; these links attach the Slavized legends of David and Solomon.

The company that meets to resolve the world's riddles is occasionally of even more motley complexion. David Evséyevich, the Wise, Isaiah, Tsar Constantine, Vasíli Senakúrevich [Syn Akúrevich] all foregather. This last named deserves some attention. In the ballads with a more pronounced Oriental savour Okúl'evich, is the general patronymic for the infidel ruler ; as may be seen in the tales of King Solomon *passim*. It has been conjectured that Sennacherib was borrowed from the Old Testament, very naturally Slavized into Senakúrevich, and so converted into Syn Akúrevich, whence the forms Akur, the Wise and Okúlevich. The Alatyr stone is referred to in these terms :

> Oh ! the Stone Latyr, of all stones the mother;
> Oh, the Stone Latyr, of all stones the father.
> It lies in the midst of the waters.
> There journey on the sea many captains,
> And beside that stone they tarry.
> And much they take from it that is useful,
> And send it abroad over the world so wide ;
> The stream here flowed, the streams so rapid,
> Over the earth and over the world,
> Over the world for the world's own healing,
> Over the world for its bettering.

These semi-sacred ballads refer to David who here poses as an Oriental unraveller of the world's riddles. His son Solomon inherited this gift. But his characteristic legend is quite different and has been dealt with elsewhere.

These tales are of distinctly eastern origin and need only be mentioned with a view to distinguishing them from the Slav cycles of Kíev and Nóvgorod. The wandering friars tolp and garbled their songs into an undigested medley of centuries of biblical and mythological lore. The metre into which these ballads are cast is a beat of four, the first foot being an anapaest and the last, as in almost all the ballads, dactylic. The only variation being when the last syllable bears a principal accent, that it turns almost into a pure iambic pentameter. Occasionally the lines are rather truncated, having only three beats. Anapaests are of course freely substituted for iambs

UU–| U–| U–| U–UU
UU–| U–| UUU–U
UU–| U–| U–| U–| UU–
U–| U–| U–| U–| U–|
UU–| U–| UU–| U–|
U–| U–| UU–| UU
UU–| U–| U–UU

VII. SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY.

Conditions and Ranks in Medieval Russia.

When the Scandinavians sailed down the trade route of the Dnêpr, each chieftain had his troop of leal men (called in Norse Vaering, which the Slavs converted into *Varyag*). The captain was called Koning (king), which the Slavs similarly turned into *Knyaz'* (prince). The train of attendants became a fundamental part of Russian aristocracy under the title of *Druzhina*, from *drug*, friend. As these henchmen acquired land and became nobles, this primitive warlike organization gradually became effaced, and disappeared in the 14th century. The more considerable folk, the larger land owners, were called *boyárs*, a corruption from *bolyar*, *bólye*, greater, a formation absolutely comparable to that of *seigneur* out of the Latin *senior*. The designation *boyár*, which has occasionally in this book been translated Earl, does not necessarily imply any of the territorial or blue-blood connotations of earldom. It has been seen that in Nóvgorod all of the wealthy merchants by their position became *boyárs*. These *boyárs* were granted considerable tracts of land, smaller, however, than the partitions which each successive Prince had to make amongst his own family. The family partitions were called Principalities, and were subordinate to the Great Principality of Kíev without strict feudal allegiance. This part of Russian history is called *Princely Russia*.

The Princes received careful education. At their birth they received two names, one their Princely name which was of Scandinavian or Slav derivation, e.g., Óleg or Svyatosláv, and their Christian or baptismal name, which was of Greek derivation, e.g., Vasíli. Lastly, they might have some special honorific *agnomen*. Thus Vladímir I. with his historic title would be fully designated : Vladímir, Vasíli Vsévolodovich Monomákh (Μονόμαχος). In their third

year their hair was cut, and in solemn ceremony they were placed and mounted on a horse, and their education under a tutor commenced. The introduction to State business began very early in life. This may account for the extraordinary number of efficient and able rulers, and they were married very early, boys at fourteen, and girls at the age of eight. The working day began at sunrise and at mid-day they celebrated the carousal (*pir*) or festival which forms the *mise-en-scène* of the ballads. When they died, they were buried at once, and dressed in black, with a horse and flag carried in front of the procession. A spear was put over their graves and dirges were sung.

Amongst the lower grades of their subjects, beneath the princes and the *boyárs*, ranked next the *Prince's men*, who, if they were free, paid a tribute per head. These, in their lowest grade, consisted of free peasants, *smerdy*, who worked on their own land. In modern Russia *smerd* has come to mean rapscallion, owing to confusion with a verb derived from a different root meaning 'to stink.'

Above the free labourers or the *smerdy* stood the *Ogonishche*, i.e., prosperous citizens, men who owned their own firesides (from the Russian *ogón*, hearth).

But, beneath the free men, there was a very large proportion of slaves. Klyuchévski says: "slave-ownership was the foundation of the social divisions of Russian society." There was an ever-ready source of slaves. When the Horde invaded Russia, they took numbers of men captive of all ranks; and whenever the Russian princes required extra service, they only had to purchase their own subjects, who had absolutely forfeited their freedom to the Tatar. This class of slaves was called *Ordynski*, from *Ordá*, Horde. The general term for slave was the Slav word *kholop*, and these might be recruited in many ways. For one thing the *smerdy* were impoverished by the never-ceasing irruptions and feuds, and found their small holdings wasted, and sold themselves to larger land-owners as *zakúpy*. The position is quite comparable to that of the debtors in early Roman history, and like those far-away unfortunates, it was easier for them to enter into the shackles of serfdom, than to get themselves free. Born slaves were divided into three classes, *roleyni*, or

field-slaves; *dvorskíe*, or attendants in the Mansion; and *chelyáde*, or domestic servants. Any prisoner of war forfeited his liberty. There was thus an ever-ready supply of that fatal deterrent to honest work and sound national morals, namely, a large slave-holding people.

The public administration was in the hands of the *zémskie boyáre*, the land-owners of the particular districts. The Court consisted of the *Dvoryáne*, nobles [in modern Russia *dvoryanín* still signifies nobleman], who assembled in central towns at the *Vêche*, which followed the same procedure as the more famous Parliament of Nóvgorod, though it had considerably less power. The taxation at this time was on the only source of wealth, namely, land, and was rated by the individual holdings—the land for this purpose being divided into *sokhi* (harrows). The Tatar Khans took their tribute *per capita*, a method of procedure which bore much more hardly on the poor than the rich, and so tended further to impoverish the lower classes. Whereas the Princes of Vladímir and Súzdal, to save their country from the havoc attendant on the periodic visits of the Tatar *Baskaki*, or tax-collectors, aranged to collect the tribute for themselves and to dispatch it to Sarai, the city of the Golden Horde; incidentally profiting on the rate of exchange.

Land-tenure in North Russia when colonized, proceeded in a very similar way, except, as has been stated, as every settlement was an advance by an individual pioneer into alien Finnish territory, the sense of individual ownership was much more developed. As was also stated in a previous chapter, Andrey Bogolyúbski ventured to address the very Princes, even those of the elder branches of Kíev, as his vassals. (*v.* p. 120). In the Moscow districts the Principalities still went by lateral succession, but as the great divisions of the land under princes broke up, one after another small holding came into being, which were called *Uděly*, and this period of Russian history is called *Udělnaya Rus'*.

These minor divisions were the absolute ownership of the individual, unlike the Principalities which belonged to the clan, and devolved from the head of the clan rather than from the temporary owner who was regarded as a tenant. As being descendible, these lots of land were called *vótchina*,

from *otéts* (father) or *dêdina* from (grandfather). Thus North Russia became a country in which the sovereign had despotic authority, most of the Principalities of Moscow having been acquired as private additions to the *vótchina* of Moscow; and this autocracy was checked to a very slight extent only by the pretensions of the numerous *boyárs* who had local jurisdiction. It was the interest of the monarch of Moscow, and indeed to the general public advantage, to curtail the powers of these local nobles, who also had magisterial powers; but the result of this change was to accentuate and facilitate despotism.

The later Moscovite rulers gave their officers of State [*sluzhilye liúdi*] estates [*pomêst'e*], to be held on condition of military service and feudally: not absolutely as allods, like the *vótchiny*. Such holders were termed *dúmnye*, or *moskovskie* (if at Moscow); *uêzdnye* or *gorodovýe* if provincials. The assessment was called *oklád*.

In 1584 a law was passed for the enserfdom of all the peasants in Russia, largely on the plea that it was difficult for the small landowners to satisfy military requirements, if their peasants were free to migrate at their will, whereas the larger landowners had local authority and had already enserfed their men.

The merchant class was also organized; the men of wealth were, in Nóvgorod, called *boyárs*, and everywhere *gosti*; and in a late statute, an insult to a *gost* was assessed at fifty roubles; whereas the honour of the second class of traders (*kuptsy*) was only valued at five.

In the ballads, the position of women is well-defined. Their chastity is savagely guarded, and outraged husbands dismember the unfaithful wife with evident approbation. The girls are secluded; thus Vladímir's niece is severely censured for making approaches to Solovéy Budímirovich, and Opráksa has to wait until all arrangements have been made before she may declare her own wish to marry Vladímir.

Mothers are all honourable matrons, revered and with great authority, loved (*e.g.*, Dobrýnya's and Solovéy Budímirovich's mothers) and, as widows, having authority even to sell bad sons.

2. The Homes as described in the Ballads.

In the Jubilee volume published in honour of the great Slavist, Vsévolod Fyódorovich Miller, there is an article by S. K. Shambíny on the ancient Russian home in the *byliny*.

Shambíny follows an exact historical method of not theorizing but taking the evidence from the text of the ballads, and he discovers that every reference to the residences of the legendary folk is historically accurate. This may be taken as an incidental corroboration of the views expressed in the Preface, that these ballads are to be understood in themselves, and not as loans from alien countries, or as myths.

The name by which houses were known in general was *dvor*, and there were various epithets which could be added; that they belonged to princes, *boyárs*, the *druzhína*, the *bogatyrí*, ambassadors, or merchants, and for these merchants' houses, there was again another sub-division for the inns or caravanserais in which foreign traders were received [namely, arrival merchants' houses, i.e., where they arrived, or departure-house or room whence they departed]. Another word occasionally used for *dvor* is *podvór'e*. Sometimes the later meaning is *dvor*, i.e., yard, is found and in this later sense we find the *living court* and *stables*, i.e., places where the man lived, and the stables. In general, however, *dvor* in the ballads means residence. The standing epithet of the *dvor* is broad. In the towns these homes resemble farmhouses, and were also called *posél'e*, and later, *pomêstishche* [i.e., squire's houses] especially in the Moscovite ballads, the white-stoned palace is applied to the houses, an epithet transferred from 'White-stoned Moscow,' the standard description of Moscow.

The house lay in a yard, *ográda*, surrounded by a fence *tyn*.[1] The standing epithet of the *tyn* is 'steel,' and the gates which were 'broad.' In the ballads this extent may be occasionally exaggerated. The *dvor* is said to be from one to seven *versts* across.

The fence and the gate themselves were decorated with varied carving. Over the gates there always hung *ikons*, both inside and outside. Thus in the ballad of Terénti Danílovich we are told that his *dvor* was one whole *verst* long, and that round the house was built an iron fence, and on the

fence there were gilt arches, and little ' pearls ' or beads on the top of those. The gates were " massive." The door-jambs were called ' crystal,' and the threshold step was of walrus ivory, and the gates were ivory; these terms are merely poetic licence or exaggeration.

The gates were hung on columns. As the honoured visitor entered the gates, he found a pathway strewn with sand or covered with carpets,[2] leading to the mansion [*khoromy*. In Russian *khram* is now temple or church]. The guest rode up this path and dismounted at the mansion. By the house the guest found columns (which have the standing epithet of silver) into which gilded rings were fastened for tying the horses. On these same columns there were cups hanging on silver chains which contained honey for the knights, and baskets of oats for the steeds.

The rooms inside the mansion were called the white oak halls [*grídni bêlodubóvnyya*]. On plan the house looked like a scattered series of little buildings and sheds connected with passages and a continuous roof. There were no fixed number. Churílo Plénkovich, who is noted for his wealth, is said to have had seventy of these apartments.

Round the buildings there might be a number of gardens or lawns [*sadý*] [in modern Russian this word means garden]. These buildings served various purposes such as the chapels, dwelling-rooms, cellars and servants' quarters. The servants' quarters might stand apart from the main buildings, and were then called *izbá*[3], *khatenka*.

An *izbá* (hut) without a smoke-hole was called *kurény*, because the smoke could not escape; the porter's lodge was called *privorotna*, and other huts had special designations.

There was no variation in the disposition of the rooms, the only difference was in the size and elaborateness.

After tying his horse to the post, the honoured guest was next led up to the hall [*gridni*]. There were steps [*krylcó*] leading up to this hall, which would be covered with carpets of " silk of Shemakhán." This grand stair-case [*perenoy* or *perilo*] with or without landings [*perelómy*] was covered with carvings like the exterior, especially pictures of animals, eagles, bears, and the sun, moon and stars. A lofty stair-case without landings, they were called " steep." The steps

had hand rails of black marble or overlaid with ivory; and when decorated the flight of steps was called *krásny*.

In general it may be said that these early Russian builders showed a perfect passion for covering every available part of the floors, windows, walls and all else with a profusion of tapestries and carvings. At the top of this flight of steps was a verandah, *terrása* or *runduki* in later Russian, which was also carpeted. A door led to the *sêni* (or cooling room), the standing epithet for which is *novy*, new. These rooms [*seni*] were "glazed" or "latticed," and a special adjective might be applied to them according as they led to the masters' or the servants' quarters. The lower floor was unsuitable for residence. This was called the *podklêt*, and here the children were sent to play, and the merchants kept their stock and so on. It was considered an insult to a guest to be sent to the *podklêt*. On the first floor there was the large hall called *gridnya* or the *stolováya*. The threshold of the door might be "decorated" [*svyêtly*]. The principal room was also called *gornica* or *povalusha*. In this room there was always a big look-out window, often the red window mentioned in the ballads.

The *sêni* are the general sleeping-room, especially in the summer, the cool room to which the family retires for the night from the heated *izbá*. Next to this room was the heated sleeping-room, and again near this was the chapel of the house [*krestovaya*, or the *molennaya*], on one wall of which was the *ikonostasis*. The γυνεικεῖων of the house was called *zhenskaya polovína*.

Lastly it should be remarked that the general term for roof in the ballads instead of the modern Russian *krysh* is *verhi krutye*.

A few notes may be added on the decoration and furnishing in the grander houses. The doors leading along the upper passages from room to room were mostly of oak decorated with carvings or paintings. The lintels of the door were of wrought iron. The door moved on two pivots, fixed on two hollows in the lintels, which suggests massiveness of construction; thus the meaning of such phrases as "The doors opened wide on a pivot" [literally heel]. In the richer abodes there were 'beauteous windows' [*krasny*, red], also

called *kosyashchaty, slanting*. The following passage illustrates how they were built:

> The rooms were built lofty;
> The windows cut sideways;
> There were fixed posts of white oak;
> The casings were affixed of silver;
> And on each window there was a dove with his mate.

There were two types of windows, sash windows (*volokovna*), built very narrow to let out the smoke; used mostly in peasant huts; but the window generally mentioned in the ballads is the *beauteous* or casement; the frame-work is iron. They were hung on hinges, and the window-frame was termed *okonnica*.

Windows were made of glass or occasionally of 'crystal.' All the glass had to be imported from abroad, and the intervening spaces, stanchions or mullions, were called *páklinki*.[4] The windows were surrounded by a kind of decorated frame into which embroidered cloths or curtains were fitted. On the top of these frames little gilded balls might be placed [*makovki*]; this seems to be a bead-ornament. The window-sills were blocks of white oak overlaid with silver figures. On the outside face of the frame, on each side were columns overtopping the frieze between which was enriched with carved devices, one of which is specially often mentioned, viz., that of the dove and its young.

The floor was called *most* or *pol-sereda*. It consisted of wood-blocks on joists in squares like bricks, or a tesselated pavement of marble and slate. Occasionally even the floor is stated to be made of walrus horn [in the ballads called *rybi zub* and in modern Russian *norzhivaya kost'*.

The stoves in simple houses were made of burnt clay, and in better houses were decorated with green glazed tiles, the smoke escaping through pipes covered in the same style; these pipes being called *dymoloki*.

Walls and ceilings in simple houses were of fine deal; but in noble houses were hung with richly decorated tapestry [*shaternóy*]: the signs of the zodiac formed a very favourite emblem for weaving in tapestry.

Of furniture there was comparatively little. Very long benches were set along the walls as fixtures (bearing the

epithet *brusovy*). There were also stools, *besêda*, which were generally made of white oak, and in the ballads the word *stol* (table) and *stul* (chair) are often confused: *stul* when mentioned always bears the epithet 'golden,' because it was covered with cloth of gold; and is also used as meaning 'throne,' the imperial throne being described *kostyanóy stol*, probably an ivory chair: Vladímir in Kíev is always termed 'enthroned in Kíev.' With *stol* in this sense, the modern Russian *prestól* (throne) might be compared. Generally, however, movable seats were rare.

After the heroic period of the Russian ballads the furniture became more gorgeous. Chairs were no longer made merely of oak or of cypress but 'of ivory' from the walrus or elephant. Hand-mirrors were in use up to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, the larger fixed mirrors coming in later.

No special remarks need be made on the bedrooms, where the style of furniture was very similar.

Shambíny draws the following conclusions: First, that the descriptions in the ballads coincide exactly with the historical facts as recorded in the chronicles; secondly, that the houses as described are accurate presentations of the houses of the nobles and emperors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is the bloom of Russian architecture. Russian architecture began well, and might have developed, save for the irruption of the Tatars. The reign of Iván Kalíta, mean as it was, did restore peace, and the arts began to flourish again.

3. Whence the Ballads Originated.

These ballads originate in the people. They have been collected by a number of zealous compilers in the fifties and sixties of the last century, and their description of the poems is perhaps almost first-hand evidence of the people who sing them and the audience. Rybnikov says that in the Province of Olónets (whence the larger portion of the ballads has been collected), that the social and festive meetings begin in October and are continued up to Shrovetide. They correspond to the *Posidêlki* in Great-Russia; but there is this difference, that in the Posidêlki the girls go on working, whereas in the *Besêdy* of the Olónets all is given up to social

gaiety. An Izbá is hired and the men pay two or three silver kopeks a day, or 24 or 30 for the winter, whereas the girls can have the advantage of these proceedings without making any payment.

The ceiling is covered with interlaced wood work. To the left of the door there stands the Russian stove. Benches are laid along the walls and above them are shelves. Running from the corner in which the ikons are set (called the Great or Honourable Corner) there are three windows of which the middle and largest is called the Red Window. On the cross beam and shelves candles are set; and the table is spread to the right of the door up to the honourable corner. To these festivals not only the neighbourhood comes, but all the lads and lasses as well from the villages round, ten and fifteen miles away.

The girls sit down on the benches stretched from the stove on the right hand side of the room. The rich girls are dressed in red sarafans [a kind of skirt with or without a bodice, pleated or gathered and buttoned in front, but always sleeveless, made of brocaded silk, girded at the waist with ribbons] and chemisettes with short sleeves. Round their necks they have figured kerchiefs, worn low enough to show the pearl necklace. They also wear pearl ear-rings; and network caps of horsehair inset with pearls fall over their hair and brow. The cap is further adorned with lace, and the richer the girl the more lace she has collected for her cap. Some of the girls put a little coronet of pearls over the cap.

Others sit on the benches by the stove and act as audience. The proceedings open with ancient songs, accompanied with dances to traditional measures.

These ceremonies in Olónets may illustrate the happenings in Russia generally.

4. Where the Ballads are Sung.

The men who tell the ancient ballads seem very similar to the old folk of whom Mr. Cecil Sharp lectures when he displays the old material he has gathered together. They are old wandering minstrels of both sexes of local celebrity, with sweet voices and great powers of impersonation and acting; each man specializing on some few ballads. They

are sung to the *gúsli*, a primitive form of zither harp which gives the recitative a rough and simple beat, and it was amongst these men, the classes enslaved for so many centuries, that these invaluable fragments of folk-song have been preserved.

"Beginning at the cradle, the Russian song rouses the young Russian, and it teaches him childish games. In his boyhood, it has songs ready for the first awakening of the tender passions. For the girl, it has touching verses to describe the bitter passage from her virgin freedom to her married bondage, and these songs also contain inspired love-passages for the love of man and wife, and teaches them, when the time comes, lullabies to sooth their child. The Russian song enlivens the heavy workaday toil with its sufferings in the winter snows, or the sultriness of summer, in the Izba with its uncertain candle-light, and at the festivals it provides the forms for the *khorovódy*, or choral dances, or for the *Besedy* (social meetings). When the peasant children grow up, the song accompanies the boy into military service and the daughter into her foreign home, and they guide the father and the mother in their old age home, when the children have to bid them an eternal farewell."

These words from Rýbnikov show the large scope and poetizing effect of these ancient tales and traditions. That their style and language have not modernized more may be largely due to the conservative influence of the Church Slavonic liturgy; but, even thus, with few exceptions, the language is Russian, without any of the discarded verbal inflections of Slavonic.

5. The Conventional Form and Refrains.

At this point, some further observations may be made on a few fixed conventions of style and epic commonplaces.

The minstrel derives these tales from oral tradition and has no option for originality, save in the opening and concluding tags. Some heroes have specific proems assigned to them, e.g., Solovéy Budímirovich, in whose case they are always a curious catalogue of geographical names, for examples of which see p. 88.[5] The inductions to the ballads of the Kíev cycle and that Moscow manner that imitated it, contain

allusions to the rising sun, with which Vladímir is inevitably compared.

When there shone on us the sun so ruddy,
There reigned over us the Tsar, the Terrible.
In the setting of the ruddy sun
Behind the lofty mountains
Behind the seas so broad.

In some cases it is felt that ancient measure is too hopelessly inept, and then a more modern atmosphere is provided by such a proem as this:

Under the Tsars as at present,
Under the Kings as of yore.

The tale told, a conventional ending must be supplied. One form is to say that the fame is sung of the worsted champion:

So of . . . . they sing the glory.

Another is a kind of fairy-story epilogue that all ends well and happily.

And they lived as of yore as of olden days . . .
And here the Tale of Ilyá Múromets is ended,
They began quaffing mead and ale,
They began living and doing and thriving.

Yet more frequently a moral tone is given that the old narrative is revived to incite the young folk and soothe the aged.

They tell the tale of Dobrýnya
By the blue sea, that we have peace,
And that all good youths may hearken.

May you have luck and brides and friends,
And herewith my story ends.
A tale whereat the youth may wonder,
Whereby the old folk be consoled.

Or again the inventive faculty may fall short, and then there is only a brief intimation that the recital is over.

This is the end of Dobrýnya and my tale. . . .
This story is ending
And another beginning. . . .
Thus fame and honour Vasíli won,
And this, my story, now is done.

Lastly, there is a strange lyrical ending seemingly of mythological import, invoking the river god to know no more. This form of incantation might be compared with the phrase quoted *supra*, that the legend of Dobrýnya is to calm the ocean waves.

> River, flow, flow;
> Henceforth no more know!

In reading the ballads attention must be paid to two points. First, the natural accentuation is often strained; secondly, unlike modern Russian verse elision is the *rule* where a final vowel of one word meets an initial vowel of the second; and, thirdly, that in all such words as *chélovek, górod*, where modern Russian has made two syllables out of one; (cf. Polish *czlowiek*, Czech, *hrad*), the extra syllable is only slurred.

Similarly the common verb *býlo* is (as in many dialects) to be scanned and sounded *byŭ*.

6. The Cossacks.

The Cossacks were originally a Turanian Kirgiz tribe of nomad horsemen; they were joined by escaped serfs, who adopted their dress, whilst the Cossacks adopted the Russian language. They have always been free.

The organization of the Cossacks scarcely need be touched upon in the introduction to the Russian Ballads, as coming considerably later in Russian history. The Cossacks migrated to the frontiers on the Steppes, where they became a frontier colony, ever ready to engage in guerilla warfare, and living like nomads on occasional agriculture, but mainly by hunting. The Cossack territory was an ever open asylum to the oppressed Russians of the interior, because in them the serf could live the life of freedom not much less barbaric than his natural conditions, and live among his own folk. In these ballads, when Ilyá Múromets is called an "Old Cossack" the term must be understood as in its older historical sense, and not in the special application of the Cossack of the Ukraïne and the Don.

In Nóvgorod the ranks and stations of the lower classes were rather more complicated. As stated in the chapter on

Nóvgorod the personal capital of the merchants was the principal source of wealth rather than the land. In Nóvgorod there were the *smerdy* who were allowed to work State land, and *polovniki*, an inferior position, who were able to hire their services for private landowners, and, in the State of Nóvgorod, scarcely differed from the *kholopy* or slaves. In the city of Pskov the Princes had jurisdiction over the *polovniki*, but Nóvgorod had gained this privilege for herself. Pskov was also in some respects more democratic, for there were there to be found *svoezemtsy*, peasants who cultivated their own plots of land, and did not lose their freedom if they removed from them. However, Nóvgorod also possessed peasants who owned their own plots, but who had not the same liberties. In general, this feature stands out in Russian social life, that there seems to be no distinction of the ranks. It is all through a matter of position and of wealth, as is very largely evidenced by the sub-division of the citizens of Moscow by such terms as the "lesser folk," "black folk,"—all terms to describe position rather than blood.

VIII. APPENDICES.

1. The Mysterious Stone Alatyr.

The White Burning Stone *Alatyr* is a very puzzling feature in Russian ballad lore. Its name occurs in heroic ballads mainly in connection with Ilyá Múromets and Vasíli Buslávich; but, in the semi-pagan and religious ballads of the wandering friars, there can be very little doubt that the primary meaning was some form of stone or amber to be found on the Baltic coast. Thus a Riga despatch to the *Russkoya Slovo* of 1st January, 1917, records that 'burning-stones' have been discovered in Esthonia, containing 70% of combustible matter, and that they were being chemically analysed.

There are, in the main, two forms of the word: *alatyr'*, masculine, and *aladyr'*, feminine. The first form is shortened to *Latyr* and, in course of corruption is often called *Latýn'*, owing to confusion with the nouns *Latyn*, the Latin (Roman) faith or country, and *Latun*, latten. This word is a very good instance of the treble or quadruple etymologies which are so characteristic of Russian ballads. According to Rýbnikov, the stone was one that "floated past Hercules' pillars to Volýnsk, and gave a blaze of light." The same authority attempts to derive it from the Greek ἤλεκτρον and in support of this cites one variant form, *Ilitor*.'

But this latter variant is nowhere found in the compilation of Rýbnikov, nor apparently in that of Sakharov. There is only one ballad in the Kiréyevski which uses this form *Ilitor'* [I. 338], and it is observable that this particular ballad is late in language and in style. It is cast into the ordinary form of the questions and answers addressed to the wise king David Yevséevich, and in this particular version the King of Birds is said to be the Phoenix.[1] In fact the authority for the form *Ilitor'* would seem to be almost negligible.

It is also stated that there are other forms such as *Alabor*, *Alabyr*. In later Russian there is a verb *alaborit'*, meaning to set in order. Whatever the origin of this may be, in the three compilations mentioned, there seems to be no authority for the use of any such word to denote this particular stone. Furthermore in the 1912 edition of Dal's *Dictionary*, this verb is derived from the old Swedish *alvar* (earnestness), German *albern* [in its original meaning].

In this connection it may be mentioned, there are two or three other almost incomprehensible jewels mentioned in the Russian ballads, religious and profane and heroic. In one of the Kirêyevski ballads of Dyuk Stepánovich one *Antavent* is mentioned and is glossed in the text as "self-shining." The etymology from some Greek form ἀντιφάντης is self-evident.

There is also one other stone *Tiron* mentioned in this connection as part of the ear-rings of Dyuk Stepánovich's mother, and the modern Russian *yakhont* ruby, amethyst etc., according to its colour, is also found as part of the outfit of the Hawk Ship of Solovéy Budímirovich, and is clearly derived from the Arabic *Yakut*.

The miraculous stone *Alatyr* is defined by Dal as an enigmatic stone mentioned in the folk tales and the spells. It is called "Burning White," and lies in the bottom of the sea, or in the sea, or in the ocean, or in the Island of Buyán. Dal goes on to say probably it comes from *yantar*, the Tatar for amber, and comes from some Tatar source.

Now this word *Yantar* has no very traceable relation with *Alatyr*. There is a Lithuanian form *gintaras* with which it is evidently connected. In the ballads collected under the title *The Wandering Friars* by Kiréyevski the stone *Alatyr* has a mystical significance. It is the mother of all other stones, and rivers flow from it so as to heal the world. It is stated to be in the middle of the sea, or perhaps in the mysterious Isle of Buyán, or in the middle of the Sorochínski field. In the ballads of Solovéy Budímirovich, it is distinctly connected with the Baltic, and it is said to come from the Icy Sea ; but then this is the *Blue Sea* of this cycle. Further, his *Book of the Dove*, or perhaps, as one might say, of the Holy Spirit, fell down on to this stone, and ballad after ballad has

been written in which Davyd Yevséevich is asked to construe this book, which is the Book of Nature and cannot be read.

Two other forms still have to be noted, namely that Solovéy Razbóinik in one of the Kiréyevski ballads is called *Alatyrence*, which probably means pagan, and that in early Russian there is a word *Alatyrec* meaning a good-for-nothing. It is probable that there is no connection between this second word *Alatyrec* and the stone, and the confusion may well have arisen from the nomad tribe of the *Alyutory* who with other northern Turanian tribes are specifically mentioned in some of the Kíev ballads: possibly they were to be found on the river *Alatyr.*[2]

I venture to put forward a new solution. Whilst not going as far as Stasov, who hypothesizes an absolutely Oriental origin for everything contained in the ballads, there is very strong evidence of distinct and large loans of positive features in a number of the stories (as has been noted elsewhere), and it is probable that all knowledge of precious stones came from Moslem sources by means of the Tatars and the Turks who derived their culture from the Arabs. The very earliest form of this word *Alatyr* does suggest the Arabic title *Al*, which occurs in the English word *almanack*, etc., and is so very frequent in the Moorish words which differentiate Spanish from all the other Romance languages. In Dr. J. Ruska's *Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (Heidelberg, 1912) there occurs one stone which is described in these terms: "This stone *Alqiri* comes from the west and is found near the city built by Alexander the Great [in Spain, near the city on the borders of Barka]. It is deep black and pleasant to touch. By daylight something like dust rises up out of it, but it has no smell. If a piece weighing one hundred drams be laid on a cart-load of pitch it seethes and breaks up. If the stone be cast into water, the water recedes to right and left; and nevertheless it will float on the surface." In the same book is found the mention of another stone *Hagár al Bahr*, which is defined as "a stone on the sea shore, black and rough and also light, it does not sink in water, it has a charm against drowning at sea, it will not heat, and it has a medicament against rheumatic complaints." If the form

alabyr is found for this stone, it may possibly have some connection with this *Hagár al Bahr*, but *Alqiri* may very well have become *Alïyr* (the change of termination being due to false analogy with *bogatyr*, also very probably with *altár* or Old-Slav *oltar*, altar, from the Latin). The statement that, when it is placed in water, the water recedes to right and to left distinctly points to its being used as an amulet against drowning, and makes the Russian reference that it is found on the Island of Buyán in some sense intelligible. No authority, however, can be cited in defence of this case. Like *bogatyr* the word is found only in Russian and in no other Slav language, and comes into use, like *bogatyr*, after the Tatar conquest; the confusion and diversity of the accounts clearly point to a misunderstood foreign origin.

Dal mentions in his preface a cognate Czech word *aldr* glossed by Jungmaun as *Kámen drahý Onychínus*. If *alatyr'* has this double or treble etymology, from the South, from Arabia, from the East as a geographical name, and the North, as amber, this contamination of all sources may explain the legend.

2. The Isle of Buyán.

The Isle of Buyán as manipulated by the Russian ballad-writers, becomes something like the mysterious Isle of Youth or the Isle of St Brandan, *Tír n'an Og* of the Celtic stories.

The word *Buyán* is clearly of Russian origin. The root, means to blow, and as applied to a forest's movement, signifies vigorous forest: as applied to corn, thick corn. In the adjectival form *buiny* is used as an additional epithet for the head of almost every single hero and heroine, who all of them have "unruly heads"; another adjectival form *buyány* meaning much the same as *buiny*. In the Government of Túla there is a word *buidazh* which means an open space on the top of a hill. The connection is clearly "boisterous," "wind-swept."

In the early Russian ballads the invariable formula is *Na ostrovê na Buyánê* ("on the island of Buyán,") but it is highly probable that Buyán became a substantive only later, and at first was adjectival and meant "on the windy island." Lovers of nature-myth have at once seen in this

phrase a symbolization of the passing cloud; this may be partly true, and such a metaphorical use is feasible. At the same time the conception of some mystic island of happiness set in the middle of the ocean is a universal conception, and the two ideas may have blended.

On this island of Buyán (according to the ballads contained in the *Wandering Friars*) there are very many mystic things to be seen. There is the stone *Alatyr*, the mysterious bird *Strafil*, *Indrikh* 'the king of beasts,' always undescribed; and above all the mighty fish *Kit*, the Whale, which is the mother of all fishes, and on whom the whole of the moist earth is founded; when this fish shall drown, all the moist earth will fall to pieces. Lying on this island is the *Book of the Dove*, which is dealt with above.

In the folk tales the fairy city of Filuyán is found similar in form and conception. The derivation must be Θύλη.

In my opinion there is little doubt but that Buyán is the Island of Rügen (in Old-Russian *Ruyán*). Rügen is derived from the Teutonic root seen in '*rough*,' and so corresponds in meaning with *Buyán*. It was the principal centre of the Slavonic and Wendish worship, and contained the great Temples of Yarovit and the deities, who were finally destroyed by Valdemar of Denmark between 1171 and 1175.

In Pagan times Rügen was a place of pilgrimage: it was close by the commercial centres of the Baltic, and the recollections would have survived in folk lore. It is pertinent to add that it is quite probable that the Wends were Celts; if so, this would account for the strong tincture of Celtic in Russian folk lore.

3. Churílo Plénkovich.

Churílo Plénkovich, perhaps one of the most romantic and defined figures of the cycle of Vladímir, is one round whom more doubts and fanciful etymologies have been woven than on any other hero. Every one of his three names, Churílo, Plénkovich, Sorozhánin gost', requires explanation, and has been overloaded with commentary.

i. (*a*) *Churílo*. One source of this name is probably the Greek name, Κυρίλλος, Cyril, and in some ballads the name Tsirilo is still found. (*b*) Churílo is a diminutive of *Chur*,

a root very widely used throughout all the Slav languages. The primary meaning seems to be "that which is cut to a clean edge," and in Czech the word *Curidlo* means a mask designed to scare children. In Polish there is a word *Czurylo* meaning a certain grass with sharp edges, and also a swindler, evidently one who cuts the price fine (cf. the Czech *Curydlo, thapsia*). There is also Curadlo in Czech (watering pot), in which again there is the association of cut metal. This root has many cognates in the other Aryan languages. In Old Norse there is a form *skaer* meaning "bright" as applied to cut metal: in Lithuanian *skîrti*, to cut. The English root *shear* is applied to sheep only, the Dutch *scheeren* means only to shave, whereas the German *scheren* meant to cut generally, and this same contrast in shaving and cutting in the cognate Greek ξύρειν shave, and Κείρειν, cut, and the Sanskrit *Kshurás*, razor.

In Russian there is a form *churílya*, shovel, ladle; and *churit'*, meaning to cut wood into fine parts; *chura*, a thick pebble, sand that cuts the foot.

Chur in Russian is an old word meaning boundaries, and it is stated, although Sakhárov denies any positive evidence for it, that in the old Slav pantheon as reconstructed by the later commentators there was a god Chur, the God of Boundaries, some kind of Ἑρμῆς Τροπαῖος with whom the cosmologizing critics have identified Churílo, and thus gave him the divine parentage. One of them indeed notes the fascination that he exercises upon the women of Kíev, and imagines that such a state of things would be inconceivable, save for some supernatural origin. In modern Russian *chur* has lost its meaning of boundary, but is used colloquially to stop an unpleasant conversation, *Chur menyá ot negó*, "let's have no more of him," whence has been derived the modern verb *churat'*, to say *chur* in this uncomplimentary sense. (*c*) One other source of confusion was the root *shchur*, which survives in the modern Russian *práshchur*, great-great-grandfather. In early Russian this household deity was also called *Rod*, and the pagan Slavs according to Andreyevski "to ease the voyage of the deceased into the kingdom of the dead" resorted to cremation, for they considered the fire released the soul from the body and sent it into Paradise. On the one hand,

fire was the earthly embodiment of the heavenly Sun God, the ambassador of the gods, and again it was said to cleanse the soul of the deceased, and so the fire itself became a symbol of the ancestors' soul known as *rod* or *shchur*, later *dêdushka domovóy* (literally, the grandsire of the hearth). So much trace is there of ancestor worship: and this deity *shchur* may be one of the many conceptions which have helped to enrich the personality of Churílo Plénkovich.

Churílo. (*d*) The name of Churílo is corrupted into *gusínko*, gosling, and the story of his deeds may have become ugly, owing to the connotation of such words as *curídlo*. One commentator, proceeding from the fact that he is first of all appointed to look after the poultry yard of Vladímir, and that popular etymology turned his name into gosling, attempted to make him a presentation of the rising sun and the cock who announced it, an ante-dating of Chantecler's pun of *Lacour, la basse-cour*, which hardly seems probable for fifteenth-century Russian.

The name of the cuckold husband, *Bermyata* or *Permyata*, has been identified with the city of Perm, which is said to derive its name from the ancient title of Biarmia, which the country bore when it was inhabited by the Finns.

ii. (*a*) *Plénkovich.* It has been attempted to derive Plénko, the father, from the well-known root, *plên*, captive. There is also the city of Plénsk, in Volhynia, an ancient principality covering about the district of the present province of Volhynia, containing the ancient monastery of Pochaevo and therefore the river Pochai. Obviously the Caspian Sea and the Volhynian frontier are the opposite extremes of medieval Russia; but as stated elsewhere Volýnsk and Khvalynsk are being for ever confused throughout these ballads, and thus the enemies east and west are all the more readily conglomerated owing to this fortuitous etymology.

iii. (*a*) *Sorozhanin.* There is a river Soroga near Kíev which is certainly one of the origins of this epithet. (*b*) In early Russian the Sea of Azov was known as *Surozh*. *Sorozhanin gost* meant a merchant of the highest class, and the word probably contains a confusion with *Surozhanin gost*, meaning the merchant from the sea of Azov, especially as

in medieval Moscow some merchants were called *Surozhski*, those who treated with the Crimean city Surozh, now Sudak. (*b*) *Surazh*. This name is fairly wide-spread throughout Russia. There is one town in the government of Chernígov however, inside the range of medieval Russia, and another in Vitebsk near the rivers Dviná and Kasplya, and a third in the Government of Grodno. The association of this town of Surazh may also have entered into the conception of Sorozhanin. (*c*) Lastly, amongst the gods of Pagan Russia was one *Svarog*, the god of the clear sky, whose name is almost identical with the Vedic *Svarga*, heaven. *Dazhbog*, the god of heat, was called *Dazhbog Svarozhánin*. The story of Svarog has been stated by some commentators to be like that of Saturn or Κρόνος, the god of the sky, Perun in this case taking on the parricidal office of Zeus. It is claimed that into *Sorozhanin* there may have crept a corruption of *Svarozhanin*, and that Churílo was regarded as a descendant of this god or of the sun. As authority is cited the famous passage in the *Word of Igor's Armament* where the Russians are called *Dazhboga vnuci*, grandchildren of Dazhbog; and this etymology is put forward in order to prove the divinity of this hero, who is more human in his frailties and presentation than perhaps any other knight of this cycle. It is at best very dubious whether Slav etymology could permit of such a corruption as *Svarog* into *Sorog*; and it scarcely seems probable that this conception influences the tale.

These are some of the theories that have been woven round the name of Churílo Plénkovich. On the basis of the etymologies it has been attempted to turn him into the Russian Hermes. He plays the *gusli*, so do all the other heroes; but it is a significant thing that Hermes invented the lyre. He sits by the bedside of Opráksa; did not Hermes in the character of Morpheus bring sleep? Hermes again was the messenger of the Gods: one of Chuírlo's duties, after his attentions to Queen Opráksa had been deprecated by Vladímir, was to summon guests to the royal festivals. It is suggested that this is one obvious derivation, and it has been attempted even to bring phallic emblems to prove this point.

That we have in Churílo Plénkovich a very definite fiction

of the powerful *Udêlny Knyaz'*, the independent princelet of his district, complicated with the idea of the wealthy merchants from foreign lands, and that this picture is consistent does not seem to have occurred to these commentators.

It is suggested that Churílo is a live picture of the wealthy princelet and the great merchant. At all events, any attempt to father any Olympus of divine deities on to the Slavs must fail, and to make this image of Churílo as the great foreign merchant of immense wealth, all the more concrete, we have the fact that in the valley of Sudak or Surozh in the Government of Tauris in 1365 there was a Genoese city which in 1475 was conquered by the Turks. In fact, the summary of Sakhárov of the various theories as to the Slav cosmogonies might be cited here. "This is how our mythologers have described the ancient Russian gods. They act as inventors, but not one single fact can they form. It is all boast and guess and hypothesis. And . . . from all the gods of the other Slav races, our mythologies have appropriated all they could find into the Russian cosmogony, without giving any consideration whether it was just or true."

4. A Ballad Describing the Death of the Heroes.

There is one other ballad of comparatively late origin recited in Siberia describing how the race of heroes ceased to exist in Holy Russia. The seven valiant Russian heroes had set out to the river Safat. The use of this number seven rather corresponds with the later attempt to create a cosmogony of seven river gods for the ancient Slavs; and one curious feature is the use of the word *Vityaz'* for hero, which is not found elsewhere in the earlier ballads. The seven are Khoten Bludovich, Vasíli Kazimirovich, Vasíli Buslaevich, Iván Gostínny Syn, Aliósha Popóvich, Dobrýnya Nikítich, and the aged Cossack, Ilyá Múromets—a very motley crew.

In front of them stretched the open field; and on it stood an ancient oak. And there were three roads leading from it; the first to Nóvgorod and the second to the city of Kíev, and the third to the blue sea. Now at the setting of the red sun Dobrýnya got up earlier than all the others and washed himself in the cold water, and put on his thin linen,

and prayed to the miraculous image. And beyond the river Safat[3] he saw a tent of white linen, and in it there lay the evil Tatar, Mussulman, who would never let any man on horse or foot pass by. So Dobrýnya saddled his speedy horse, put on a saddle cloth and a Circassian saddle, and rode up to the white tent, summoning the evil Tatar, the Mussulman, to an honourable war. And the Tatar came out of his white tent, and sat on his horse, and it was like two winds that met in the field, or two thunder clouds that collided in the sky, when these two valiant knights met. Their sharp sabres were shattered and their steel swords also. And they dismounted from their horses and set to fight with their bare hands. Dobrýnya's right hand and the right foot were cut off, and he fell on the ground, and the Tatar fell on his white breast, and pierced it, and took out the heart with the liver. And when the red sun arose, Alyósha Popóvich arose first of all and, with the ordinary rather tedious repetition of details which is common in the later ballads, went out for a similar conflict and overthrew the Tatars. He was going to deal with his enemy in the same fashion when a black crow called out to him, and spoke in a human voice: "Hail to thee, young Alyósha Popóvich," advising him not to slay the Tatar, for the crow would fly across the blue sea and bring him the waters of life and death with which, if he sprinkled the body of Dobrýnya with the water of death, life would return, whilst the water of life resuscitated him. So Alyósha listened to the crow, and when the water of life and death came, sprinkled the body of Dobrýnya twice (as is always done in the *stázki*), and brought Dobrýnya to life, and then they released the Tatar.

The third episode in this ballad is that Ilyá Múromets next got up earlier than any of the others and after he had washed in the river and prayed to the Holy Image, he saw the Mussulman host so thick that the valiant champion could not ride through it, nor the grey wolf break through it, nor the crow wing its flight. So he summoned his six fellows to the combat, and in three hours and three minutes they had laid low the pagan host. Then they began boasting that their powerful shoulders were not tired, nor were their eager horses wearied, nor their steel swords dulled. And

Alyósha asked that there should be some unearthly host given them to fight which they too would beat. And as soon as he spoke this foolish word, two warriors appeared before them, and spoke in a threatening voice, asking if the heroes wished to battle with them, saying that there were only two of them against the seven. But the heroes did not know who the warriors were, and Alyósha Popóvich spurred out against them, and with one blow smote them low, and the four rose on the field, and they all four lived. And Dobrýnya set out next, and slew the four, and then there were eight, and so in this rather unconvincing geometrical progression, all the feats of these seven heroes only raised an infinite throng of new foes. This combat went on for three years and three months, and by this time the powerful shoulders of these heroes were tired, and their horses weary, and their sharp steel swords blunted. They were at last afraid, and escaped into the stony mountains into the deep caves, and as they went into the caves they turned to stone ; and this is the last that has been known of the race of the heroes in Holy Russia.

The account of this ballad is put into an appendix and the language, as well as the source of it, mark it as being very late. The confused assemblage of these seven heroes, the absence of characterization, and the mention of the river Safát[4] as well as the rather churchy tone clearly designate this as belonging rather to the later cycle of the *Wandering Friars* than to the first heroic style. At the same time the death through petrification in the rocky mountains is a very primitive feature of Russian folk lore, and as has been seen Ilyá Múromets, Svyatogór, and Vasíli Buslávich all met their fate in the same way.

The analogy with the Barbarossa of German legend who is still waiting for the trumpet in his stony grave is obvious.

5. The Hawk Ship.

One rather vague and inscrutable feature in early Russian folk-lore is the hawk-ship (*Sokol-korabl'*) into the composition of which several elements must have entered. The form and shape of it may have been suggested by the Viking boat on which the first invaders and consolidators of Russia sailed

down the lakes of the North and the broad waters of the Dnêpr. The meaning of the ship is stated to be the wandering cloud in the ocean of air; a speculation which may be left to justify itself.

The crew are uniformly the Elder Heroes, such as Svyatogór, Samson, Sukhan Dománt'evich [Odikhmánt'evich, etc.] and Polkán (who sometimes appears to be the Russian Centaur,[5] and sometimes a 'young' hero not markedly distinguished from the others in his prowess or character). Lastly, as one of the permanent guests, we find Ilyá Múromets, as ever the link between the elder and the younger heroes.

Extraneous visitors are also found: such as the brothers Zbrodovichi, the brothers Khaníloy [*semel*] and the "Peasants from beyond the Forests"; and occasionally the later hero Solovéy Budímirovich (who, as a Norse invader, sailed on a Viking ship). In some ballads, Ermák Timoféyevich (the historic explorer and discoverer of Siberia), who is always credited with a share in Ilyá's feats as a conqueror of the Tatars, is also given a home on this vessel.

This one description (taken from Kirêyevski) may suffice for other variants.

It had rubies inset for eyes; and black Yakut sable as eyebrows; its whiskers were supplied by steel knives; and its ears by "two sharp pagan lances"; it carried ermine skins; as a mane, it bore brown fox-skins; and it represented a tail with two white bear-skins from beyond the seas; the stern was shaped like an aurochs and the hulls like a wild beast. This mass of verbiage corresponds very closely with the accounts of the vessel on which Solovéy Budímirovich sails to Kíev, a kind of tangled symbolization of the wealth of the South and the North.

Lastly, like so much of the crude original folk-lore, the tales of this ship have been handed down orally, by the Wandering Friars, and have been much corrupted on the way; the principal source is Kirĕyevski, and his compilations all have the taint of pietistic glossings. Into the Kíev cycle proper, with the rest of the survivals of primitive belief, the Hawk Ship has at best only adventitious connection.

Oncken, in his volume on the history of the early Slavs,

quotes from an Arabic writer who visited the Black Sea in the ninth century a very full description of the funeral rites of a chieftain. A great ship was built and floated in the Dnêpr, loaded with all the treasures, the valuable furs, the favourite horse, etc., etc., a virgin girl was solemnly affianced to the dead man, and after eight days sacrificed; then the two bodies were, with the ship, all burned together.

Again, the same ritual of the burning ship is to be found in Norse mythology in Balder's obsequies.

It is not suggested that these two comparisons are anything more than parallels, showing how widespread is the notion of the mystic ship, especially in icy countries.

6. Some Specimen Ballads.

1. *In Far Lands*

From the forest wrapt in darkness,
From behind the green-clad garden,
There arose a cloud of darkness,
Darkened clouds á-black with warnings
Of chill rain-showers, frosts that chill one
And with menace that might kill one.
In that time and in that season
The daughter journeyed to her mother,
Journeyed through the great big forest,
Thought her thought to the nightingales,
Told her tale with her young champions:
" Nightingale, my nightingale,
Flit away, my nightingale,
To my homeland swiftly flutter.
To my mother, oh, my nightingale,
Do a reverential curtsey,
Bend your brow before my brothers.
Might not they have wept and sorrowed,
When they plight me in my girlhood
To that strange and foreign country,
To some great and mighty noble,
Or unto the ruffian Tatar?
In the morn they'll rouse me early,
They will send me in my girlhood
On the rushing river's waters,
They will send me barefoot, naked,
They will send me, freezing, hungry.
And I reached the rushing river
Streaming downwards rapidly.
There they perched, the grey-clad goslings
Eddying the crystal waters.
For one whole hour I stayed there,
Another whole hour I wept there,
And during the third I lapped the water,
And in the fourth hour I came homeward.
Father-in-law he curses and scolds,
Mother-in-law bids me be slain.

I besought my husband's sister:
She replied so stupidly:
'You little bride, you innocent,
You still are a little ninny!
If it had been any water,
You'd have lapped it all the same.'"

2

Whence, O Sorrow, is thy origin?
She was born, was Sorrow, from grey earth,
From under the stones, that are grey,
From under the briars, the clay-clods,
And Sorrow shod her in shoes of bast,
And Sorrow clad her in clothes of rushes,
Apparelled her in a thin bast waist-band,
And Sorrow approached the goodly champion.

He saw her, the champion, and must escape her,
And fled from Sorrow to the open meadow,
To the open meadow like a grey-clad hare,
And Sorrow followed him.
She tracked him out and stretched her meshes,
Stretching her meshes, her silken fetters.
"Stand and deliver, avaunt not, champion!"
He saw her, the youth, and must escape her,
And from Sorrow he fled to the swift-flowing river.
To the rushing river like the pike-fish,
And Sorrow followed him.
She tracked him out, her nets she cast,
Stretching her nets, the silken fetters.
"Stand and deliver, nor go, thou champion!"
He saw her, the youth, and must escape her.
From Sorrow he fled to the fiery fever,
To fever and illness, and laid him to bed.
And Sorrow followed him.
She tracked him out and sat at his feet:
"Stand and deliver, avaunt not, champion!"
He saw her, the youth, and must escape her.
From Sorrow he fled to the coffin-box,
To the coffin-lid, to his little grave-mound,
To his little grave in the grey dun earth.
And Sorrow followed him.
She tracked him out, in her hand her shovel,
In her hand her shovel and drove in her carriage;
"Stand and deliver, avaunt not, champion!"
Scarce was the breath alive in the champion,
But Sorrow raked in his little grave-mound,
Into his grave, into grey mother earth.
And they sing the fame of the goodly youth.

3. *The Death of Vasíli Buslávevich*

Speaks Vasíli, son of Busláyevich,
Hark now to me, my henchmen, my valiant ones:
A high commandment has been laid upon me:
We should fare forth to Jerusalem town:
There to pray in the holy of holies,
There to draw near to our dear Lord's sepulchre,

And to bathe in Jordan river.
And forth fared he to Salem city,
Forth fared he with his valiant henchmen,
And when he stood facing the hill of Sion,
Spake Vasíli, son of Busláyevich,
" Hark now to me, my henchmen, my valiant ones,
Let us go up to the hill of Sion,"
And Vasíli found there a little dry bone.
The little dry bone he began to kick
Where he stood, on the hill of Sion,
And the little dry bone spoke to him
In a human voice:
" Not so, Vasíli, son of Busláyevich,
For thou shalt lie beside me
For evermore on the hill of Sion."
Spat out Vasíli, and strode away from it,
And these were his own words:
" It was sleeping and had a dream! "
And when they came to Jerusalem
And had prayed in the holy of holies,
And drawn near to the Lord's sepulchre,
They began to bathe in Jordan.
Vasíli, son of Busláyevich,
Bathed with naked body.
And thus spoke the river-maiden:
" Hark to me, Vasíli, son of Busláyevich;
Whoso bathes here with naked body
Shall not live to depart from us."
Again they rode, facing the hill of Sion,
Spake Vasíli, son of Busláyevich:
" Hearken to me, my henchmen, my valiant ones,
Let us go up to the hill of Sion,
Let us look at the little dry bone."
But there lay in its place a white-hot stone.
And spake Vasíli, son of Busláyevich:
" Hearken to me now, my henchmen, my valiant ones,
Let us leap (our horses) over the white-hot stone."
And they started leaping over the white-hot stone;
The henchmen first,
But he, Vasíli, son of Busláyevich,
He leapt after them,
And he fell on the white-hot stone,
And broke his wild young head,
And lay there for evermore.

4. *Alyósha Popóvich*

In Kíev, the capital, in Kíev city,
When Prince Vladímir ruled us nobly,
A marvel was revealed, a portent.
Túgarin Zmyéyevich sallied forth.
Vladímir, the sun of the city of Kíev,
Was heading his princely and pompous feast;
The oaken tables were all set up
And honey drinks poured forth like a river,
And sugared sweetmeats covered the board.
Túgarin was gulping the swan's white flesh,
But Alyósha Popóvich was sitting at hand.
And Alyósha Popóvich spake in this wise:

" When I still abode at my father's homestead,
My father León, the pope of Rostóv,
Now he had a hound, so sorry and mangy,
A hound all grizzled and grey.
It grabbed at a bone which was much too big,
And where it grabbed it burst and split;
And thus will I deal with Túgarin Zmyéyevich,
Will I, Alyósha, the Pope's son."
And Túgarin went bibbing the wine, the green wine,
A glass at a time he guzzled down.
Whilst Alyósha bespoke him in this wise:
" When I still abode at my Sire's homestead,
My father, León, the pope of Rostóv,
He had a big cow, a monster,
Who swallowed her drinks by whole pailfuls
And when she had drunk it she burst!
And thus will I do by Túgarin Zmyéyevich,
I will burst him, I, Alyósha Popóvich."
Túgarin beliked not these gentle speeches,
And he tugged on the table a sharp steel knife.
And hurtled it by Alyósha.
By the stove, the glaze bricked stove,
His servant Maryshko Paránov was standing
And caught the knife as it flew,
And addressed the knife in this wise:—
" Ho health to you Alyósha Levóntyevich,
Is it me you will send, or will you fend
In the fight with Túgarin Zmyéyevich?"
Where the grebe and the legless diver ply,
Túgarin fled to the open fields,
And thither Alyósha went on the morrow,
Alyósha went to the open fields.
He shot at Túgarin Zmyéyevich,
Túgarin Zmyèyevich he slew.
And therefore the ages sing of Alyósha
When the blue sea rolls in peace
And tell the tale for good folk to hear.

7. Slavic Music

The Slavs have always been renowned for their music. As early as A.D. 591 the Byzantine historians record that, among the Avar captives there were three Baltic Slavs, who were untrained to arms and were employed as professional players on the *gusli* (see below, p 196). In the 10th century, Slav instrumentalists performed at the Byzantine court. The Arabian historians of the same epoch speak of a Slav seven-stringed instrument (probably the *gusli*) ; and medieval Russian Chronicles abound in references to the musical tastes of the princes, differentiating between the ecclesiastical and the popular style.

A fresco of the year 1073 at Kíev represents Russian musicians, dressed much like Western troubadours, and playing flutes, long horns, cymbals, a guitar-shaped instrument (possibly the parent-form of the theorbo), and a seven-stringed harp or psalter. The musical profession ranked so high that in the mediæval ballads such a hero as Dobrynya Nikítič was not disgraced by assuming the disguise of a *skomorókh*,* or wandering minstrel.

Slav countries are suprisingly rich in popular song. Apart from the traditional festival hymns and melodies (some of these very ancient, and pagan in origin) current history has been related in the *Byliny*, and the verse orally conserved. This democratic historiography survived down to the Napoleonic era.

Such popular song and melody were secular, often semi-pagan, and, as such, fervently persecuted by Church and State. Progressively with the decay of the South Russian civilization and Kíevite State, 13th to 14th century, the Eastern Church became more ascetic ; and under the Tatar ascendancy, and after, the minstrels who had been honoured by the princes of Kíev ultimately became strolling vagabonds.

The northern plains, however, were too vast for persecution to be able to extirpate popular customs. In the ' fifties and sixties ' of the 19th century, the ancient folk-songs were diligently and exhaustively compiled.

The Church had her own school of music, derived from Byzantine models. In the late 15th century, after the Tatars had been subdued, the Moscovite princes cultivated foreign arts ; thus, in 1490, Iván III. summoned an organist to Moscow ; Iván IV. greatly favoured German musicians ; and his son Theodore was presented by the king of England with an organ, a clavichord, and skilled players.

The end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, brought Russia under Polish influence, and new Western instruments were introduced (such as the pandora, the theorbo, and the violin), as well as the Western pentalineal system of notation. In the 15th century chamber-music was performed at the Polish and Moscovite courts ; and Sigismund I. of Poland imported Italian music.

1. **The characteristics of primitive music.**—The genuine popular music of the Slavs is probably an independent outgrowth of Aryan folk-song, akin to Indian and Greek melody, but not identical nor borrowed.

Melodic development apparently falls roughly into three periods. The octave is divided diatonically into the intervals of our modern scale—not according to the Pythagorean fifths or like the Oriental scale, which has seventeen intervals (made up by differentiating between the sharp of one note and the flat of the succeeding note).

All primitive music was designed as an indispensable accompaniment to ritual or epic verse ; thus, such music is a *récitatif* that follows the

---

* Probably derived from σκώμμαρχος.

metre and the words, rising and falling with the natural variations of the speaking voice, the tempo and rhythm being determined by the phrases, out of which the verse is built up.

Our modern diatonic scale admits of majors and minors, and also of accidentals within the strict limits of the twelve admissible semitones, whereas ancient scales have no majors or minors. The ancient Greeks could modulate from one of their eight scales into any other; the primitive Russian Slav scale in each stage of development was invariable. exactly as no modern musician could introduce a third- or quarter-tone,

Music without words—music as an art *per se*—evolved only very late, after the Middle Ages; verse or poetry as an art *per se* very much earlier. Furthermore, in primitive melody, the spoken phrase which governs the rhythm, can move only within a limited compass, very much less than that of the voice—*e.g.*, within a fourth or a fifth. The whole melody is very short and repeated without variation; it is unharmonized and based on unharmonical intervals.

(*a*) *First period.*—The first period in folk-song, and the most barbarous, is based on the interval of the fourth upwards and fifth downwards, and comprises only whole tones. To this class Highland and Chinese music are said to belong. This has been called the period of the trichord, *i.e.*, only three notes were available in each limit of the fourth or the fifth—*e.g.*, C D F.

(*b*) *Second period.*—The second stage added some new notes to the octave, and is styled the period of the tetrachord—*e.g.*, C D F G—or the fifth. Ancient Greek, primitive Slav, and medieval Western European music are said to belong to it. The octave is divided C—F, F—C′, C′—F. The music may now rise a fifth, as well as sink a fifth. The melody still has to follow the words in rising or falling phrases within these limits. As yet the leading note has not come into vogue; and the characteristic scale of this epoch impresses the modern ear as an irregular minor scale. The music still being a *récitatif*, the rhythm and tempo have to be strictly adjusted to the metre of the words. At this point, therefore, a brief account of the metre must be interpolated.

On the one hand, the ancient Greek hexameter was a strictly regular quantitative four-beat, or, again, the iambus and the trochee three-beats, the metrical stress determining the rhythm and the tempo. The length of the vowel formed the basis for the measurement of the beats. But even in ancient Greek and Latin, the influence of the tonic accent was beginning to make itself felt, and to induce irregularities, such as lengthening *in arsi*, the shortening of unaccented long terminations. Quantity disappeared very early, however, in the development of the Slav languages; Serbian alone has retained a fixed distinction of long and short syllables, the length of which is unaffected by the stress. Modern metre in all the Slav languages, including Serbian, is stressed or accentual. On the other hand, all modern poetry is strictly accentual.

The early Slav metre was in a transitional stage. Although quantity had disappeared, metre was still regulated by the long groupings of three or more syllables that had constituted the ancient quantitative foot; and the metrical—and therefore rhythmical—unit became a group of syllables with a dominating accent. Furthermore, when in the course of the 14th century ŭ and ĭ became mute, whilst the old traditional songs and melodies were maintained, great irregularities of tempo were the natural result; it was as though we attempted to read as a melodic and metrical scheme, the verses of Chaucer, and systematically disregarded the final *e*'s, which in modern English have lost all phonetic value.

The scansion of early Slav folk-songs is closely akin to that of Vedic hymns; it can be analysed into lines of twelve, sixteen, or twenty syllables: but, in Slav, quantity has vanished, the accent generally falls on the third syllable in each group of four, and the lines almost invariably terminate with a dactylic word. When the vowels ŭ ĭ became mute, false accents had to be introduced so as to coerce the poem into confromity with the tune. It was a favourite device to introduce assonant terminations as well as alliterative words or repetitions as part of the style; highly inflected languages lend themselves very readily to this device. Gradually these assonant terminations became a regular system of rhyme, while alliteration and repetition were left as a mere embellishment. Thus the same influences as in Western Europe operated to convert syllabic alliterative metre into fixed accentual metre with short metrical feet. When this process was complete, words and melody, metre and tempo, could be combined without mutual violence. To sum up: a primitive pre-Slav Aryan metre uu-u/uu/-u//-uu became the accentual ˇˇ^/^ˇˇ//ˇˇ, and, through irregularities and deviations from the strict scheme and the partitioning of the four-beat, finally evolved into the modern ˇ/ˇˇ/^//^ˇ, or trochaically (ˇˇ) ^ ^ ^ or anapæstically, ˇˇ/ˇˇ/ˇˇ//ˇˇ^

When, in the poem, these syllabic feet irregularly comprised more than four syllables, the bar corresponding to such a foot had to be lengthened, and thus the tempo varied.

(*c*) *Third period.*—From this consideration of metre, we may proceed to what is regarded as the third stage of Slav music. This synchronizes with the development in Western Europe of the modern scale, thirds being introduced as a basic division of the octave, in addition to the fourths and fifths of the previous epochs; and thus part-singing and harmonization at last were rendered possible. The leading-note had already made a first appearance in the south, in Little-Russia (which up to 1654 belonged to Poland), together with chromatic augmentations and diminutions of the fourth and fifth—a change possibly due to Oriental influence or Polish permeation. Thus the styles of N. and S. Russia became differentiated, the south advancing long before the north.

(*d*) *Artistic growth.*—From this point forward Russian folk-melody had thirds, chromatics, the leading note, and consequently regular majors and minors with tonics and dominants. The artistic development proceeded apace. Music and poetry soon started on their separate paths as different and independent arts. We shall now briefly trace this artistic growth of Russian music.

Ivan IV. had a vocal unconducted choir at his court. This practice was continued by his successors. The most notable choirmaster was D. M. Bortnyanski (1751-1825), who was musically trained in Italy and reformed the Imperial Court choir. Francesco Araja (1700-67) was the creator of the first opera in Russia, in Italian and with an Italian troupe. A. N. Verstovski (1799-1863) introduced Russian opera in Russian; but it was M. I. Glinka (1804-57) who, with his *Life for the Tsar* (1830), created Russian opera in the national style and with Slav rhythm and harmony. Since then César Cui, Borodin, Musorgski, Rimski-Korsakov, etc., have acquainted the world with the great musical genius of Russia, with its strongly marked features and characteristic harmonies. It is noteworthy that Debussy and many of the modern French school derived some of their inspiration from the great Russian masters. And, withal, this great Russian school drew upon the native melodies for its thematic material. These are to our Western ear untuneful, for they are based on a cruder scale. They are unjoyous, like the steppes. Modern Russian opera often gives the impression of a richly orchestrated folk-song, with a strange and compelling beauty all its own; for, after the first Byronesque effusions of the 'twenties' of the 19th century, Russia in all the arts turned to her national resources and built out of them a literature, an art, and a music second to those of no other people.

(*e*) *Church music.*—The music of the Church in Russia has had a history apart. After the conversion of Vladímir I. in 980 Greek schools of singing were founded at Kíev. The Chronicles make a clear distinction between popular and Church music, stating of one prince that he loved the *gusli* and his wine, of another that he loved Psalm-singing. This ecclesiastical music was Ambrosian, and based on four of the ancient Greek scales, viz., the Phrygian, Dorian, Hypophrygian, and Hypolydian. Russian Church melody could modulate within the limits of these scales. Gregorian music was not allowed to penetrate into the realm of the orthodox Church.

Unlike the popular music, which was oral and traditional, Church music was written: the notes, indicated by signs, or 'semiographs' were superscribed above the words. The choir-leader conducted by cheironomy—a sort of deaf and dumb musical alphabet. This arbitrary and awkward method lasted to the end of the 16th century, and was for long championed by the conservative against the new Western pentalineal notation, which supplanted it by the end of the 17th century. For a time both systems were used concurrently. Tempo indications were abbreviations of Slav words.

All singing was at first in unison, as the harmonics of this music were, like those of the popular songs, based on fourths and fifths, and not on thirds.

2. **The musical instruments.**—In the medieval Chronicles the names of the instruments are often loosely used, and it is difficult to define exactly what instrument is intended.

(*a*) *Stringed.*—The most ancient of the stringed and plucked instruments is the *gusli* (with the conventional epithets ' made of the plane tree ' and ' sonorous '). It was a zither-like box, with seven or eight strings, plucked by the right hand, and damped by the left. A later development of the *gusli* was the psalter, with eleven strings and a rounded body, with one end narrower than the other. The player pressed the narrower end to his chest, and plucked the strings with his right hand. Later still, we find the cymbals, a rectangular trapezoidal case on which metal strings were strung, to be struck with a hammer. It might have fifteen or more strings; it was introduced only in the 17th century.

Other stringed instruments were the *domra*, *balalaika*, *bandura* (or *kobza*), *theorbo*, and guitar, all of which had long necks, upon which the strings were strung, admitting of fingering, and carried over a sounding-box; they were plucked with the fingers or a plectrum. The *domra* was common in Great-Russia, the others in Little-Russia; they were largely of Polish origin.

The *domra* had three strings tuned in fourths, and an oval body; the *balalaika* had a triangular body, with three strings tuned A E A′, and a bent head. These instruments mark a great advance, for the cords were stopped with the left hand, so as to form the notes and intervals. The *domra* and *balalaika* were shrill and inharmonious. The *pandora*, or bandura, resembled a lute, and might have any number of strings—six at the least. The *theorbo* was a highly complicated bass lute, derived from Italy through Poland, with three separate sets of strings allowing of the playing of several parts at the same time.

Stringed instruments played with the bow came into use only in the 16th century. The earliest form is the three-stringed lyre, neckless, its body somewhat like that of a viol-da-gamba; the strings were sounded by a wheel, turned by a handle at one end. Another bowed stringed instrument, probably of Tatar origin, was the *gudok*; it had two strings, a pear-shaped body, and an Asiatic crescent-shaped bow. The Russians added a third string. The instrument was held downwards like a 'cello. Two strings were tuned in unison, acting as pedal-points, and never fingered; the third was tuned a fifth higher and fingered. Very much later, violins, violas, and 'cellos were introduced from abroad.

(*b*) *Wind.*—Trumpets are mentioned as early as the 11th century. Wood-wind instruments also occur early. The most ancient seems to be the *dudki*, or pipe, with the mouthpiece at the end. Double-pipes (*svirely*) are still used in White-Russia; these are two pipes lashed together, one being shorter than the other; a development from this was the *tsevnitsa*, the Greek σῦριγξ, seven pipes in one frame.

Reed instruments are also found quite early, and were specially used in funeral rites; they had seven intervals. A double instrument of this type was called the *surna*, a kind of hautboy.

(*c*) *Percussion.*—Drums came into orchestral use in the reign of Ivan IV.; the earliest form perhaps is the *nakry* (two clay pots with leather stretched over the top). Similar instruments were the *lozhki*, or wooden spoons, or xylophone, first used in the 18th century; *tarelki*, or timpani, are recorded as far back as the 11th century, as well as the *bubny*, or tambourines.

After the middle of the 17th century Russian orchestration was enriched through communications with Italy, directly and indirectly,

through Poland and Germany. This cultured elaboration of the rich primitive music of the Slavs has put Russian music in the first rank.

LITERATURE.—**A. Soubies**, *Histoire de la musique en Russie*, Paris, 1898; **M. M. Ivánov** *Istoriya muzykalnago razvitiya Rossii*, Petrograd, 1910; **A. Maslov**, *Opyt rukovodstva k izuceniyu russkoy nar. muzyki*, Moscow, 1911 (contains good bibliography); **A. Pougin**, *Essai historique sur la musique en Russie*, Paris, 1904; **P. Sokalski**, *Russkaya nar. muzyka*, Kharkov, 1888.

REPRINTED FROM THE *Encyclopædia of Ethics and Religion* BY KIND PERMISSION OF *Dr. Hastings*.

8. THE PERSONAL NAMES OF MEDIEVAL RUSSIA.

One of the striking differences between the names of prominent actors on the stage of Russian history before and after the rise of Moscovy, is the fact that the medieval rulers and princes mostly bore native names, such as Syatopólk, Vladímir, Vséslav, etc., etc., whereas the latter personalities appear with Russianized forms of Greek names, such as Mikháil, Dimítri, Peter, Paul, etc. In England, though names like Ethelred are now obsolete, others such as Edward, Alfred, Albert are still common.

The early Russian princes bore Norse names merely transliterated and euponicized. Such were Rúrik (Hrörekr), Igor (Ingvar), Olég (Helgi), etc. But as soon as the reigning house had been absorbed into the conquered nation, it would seem that these Teutonic names were replaced by similar Russian compounds. Thus Vladímir looks like an adaptation of *Walthér* (the master of the host): the termination *-slav* looks like the Teutonic *-brecht*, and *Al-brecht* may have been rendered *Vséslav*, and names ending in *-frid* (peace) reappear as *-mir* (which in Russian has two distinct meanings, a community or peace). Names such as Yaropólk would mean literally brilliant-(in-the)-army.

The numerous Teutonic names prefaced with *Hil-* (holy) take the Slav form as *Svyatosldv*, etc.

This line of theory leads the reader on to other conclusions. There is one name, Solovéy (the robber, and the merchant-adventurer) which has always puzzled commentators. I suggest that it is a transliteration of the Norse *Sól-veg* (Sun-honour), which as a feminine name still exists in Norway as *Solveig*. Should this supposition be correct, the name corresponds exactly with the patronymic of Solovéy, Budímirovich (that which awakens the world), *i.e.*, Solveg who comes from the East.

Perhaps, in this appendix one bold guess may yet be added. The *rakhmánnaia ptitsa*, the robber who dwells in the forest, has had all sorts of etymologies suggested for him, ranging from Hindustan to Mesopotamia. As such a confusion can hardly be worse confounded, so I conjecture that the origin is German, *Rachman*, the man of vengeance. For the only Teutons with whom Russians after the Norse invasion came into contact were the High Germans who traded with Nóvgorod, in whose language, the initial labial of this root (which is the same as the English *to wreak*) had long since disappeared.

NOTES.

Chapter on Balladry.

" Le genre humain dans son ensemble a grandi, s'est développé, a mûri comme un de nous. Il a été enfant, il a été homme, et nous assistons maintenant à son imposante viellesse. Avant l'époque que la société moderne a nommée antique, il existe une autre ère et qu'il serait plus exact d'appeler primitive. Voilà donc trois grands ordres de choses successifs dans la civilisation . . . . les temps primitifs, les temps antiques, les temps modernes.

" Aux temps primitifs, quand l'homme s'éveille dans un monde qui vient de naître, la poésie s'éveille avec lui. En présence des merveilles qui l'éblouissent et qui l'enivrent, sa première parole n'est qu'un hymne. . . . . Peu à peu, cette adolescence du monde s'en va. Toutes les sphères s'agrandissent ; la famille devient tribu, la tribu devient nation. . . . . Le camp fait place à la cité, la tente au palais, l'arche au temple . . . . Tout s'arrête et se fixe. . . . . La poésie reflète ces grands évènements ; des idées elle passe aux choses. Elle devient épique ; elle enfante Homère. . . . .

" Nous le répétons ; l'expression d'une pareille civilisation ne peut être que l'épopée."—(Victor Hugo, *La Préface de Cromwell*).

It may be doubted whether the progression of man is so strictly periodic and successive as this passage suggests. But Victor Hugo exemplifies the proposition that the motive and the need for folk-lore is to be sought in the inspiration derivable from the fictions and imaginings of man ; the aspirations in which wishes attain ideal fulfilment.

Chapter I

[1]The principle of " lateral " succession and the expropriation of descendants of predeceased brothers brought about ceaseless disturbance.

[2]The reader must distinguish between Vólga the river, the female name Ól'gá, and Ol'gá, or Vol'gá, the man's name, more commonly Olég.

[3]Solovyóv says that after the Tatar incursion Kíev became an unimportant little town of scarcely two hundred houses, and a desert ground bestrewn with human bones and skulls.

[4]For recollections of her she is called Malúsha.

[5]i.e., In the history of the Kievite State Moscovy did evolve a kind of feudal tenure from the Crown.

[6]Hence the Volgá of the ballads is called both Vséslavich and Svyatoslávich.

[7]e.g., Vladímir's relation to his beloved father-in-law, Etmanuil of Lithuania, and to Túgarin.

[8]One of the feats boasted of in the legendary career of Vladímir.

[9]Hence it is that the ballads refer to the merchants of Chernígov and as Greek and hostile and independent.

[10]In 1156 Moscow had wooden palisades and became a *gorod*, a town. In 1238 it was burnt by Batu in the course of the Tatar invasion, and possessed churches and monasteries.

[11]The Philological Society (Clarendon Press) has published an English edition of this epic (*Igor*) by the editor of the present volume. The introduction to it deals with this epoch of Russian history in somewhat greater detail.

Chapter II

[1]Nóvgorod all through is the town on the Volkhov, not Nízhni Nóvgorod.
[2]The signs —∪ are to be read as referring to stress, not quantity.
[3]There was a pillar-stone west of the lake, and his eye lit on it, and he went to the pillar-stone, and he tied himself to it with his breast-belt, the way he would not meet his death lying down, but would meet it standing up. Then his enemies came around about him, but they were in dread of going close to him, for they were not sure but he might be still alive. . . . . Then a bird came and settled on his shoulder. 'It is not on that shoulder that birds were used to settle,' said Erc."
[4]*v.* Part VI., §1, for a fuller account of social ranks.
[5]Possibly the Caspian, corrupted in Voly'nsk, and often confused with *Volynsk*, Volhynia.

Chapter III

[1]Cf. Volkhv, magician. The word used for the Three Magi. The primary meaning of this word is a designation of some Finnish tribe. [Cf. *Ipat Chron.*, Anno., 6406, 898, A.D.]
[2]The introductory tale of the *Arabian Nights* explains how the Kings Shahriar and Shahzeman meet an Afrite who carries a captive maiden in a chest containing a box, which he deposited at the bottom of the sea. Evidently this part of Svyatogór's tale must be on direct loan. The box at the bottom of the sea is like the Isle of Buyán, for which *v.* Appendix p. 180.
[3]The invariable ideal of beauty. Cf. *Opráksa*.
[4]This hazel bridge and the price of five hundred roubles are common features of many tales.
[5]*Kolyván* seems to be an obsolete word for a giant; in Kaluga it means a festival.
[6]Popular for *Nicholas*.
[7]Cf. *Decline and Fall*, Vol. IV., Ch. lv., Section 3.
[8]These tribes may be related to the Tivercy, a name perhaps connected with the Greek Τύρας. They lived near the Dnêstr. The Russian popular etymology villager [*derevlyánin*] would account for the change of consonant.
[9]This word in the earlier *byliny* is never applied to a Russian prince.
[10]According to Rybnikov, a possible reminiscence of Παταλα, in India, where Alexander landed.
[11]Tales of were-wolves are universal. Herodotus (iv., 105) quotes of the Νεῦροι, somewhere in the present Slav countries, a tradition that once a year each of them is transformed into a wolf for a few days. At any rate one of Volgá's most marked attributes is that he can change himself into what he will, fish, fowl, or beast, and may have been suggested by one of the variants.
[12]They water the horses in the river Volkhov, which flows by Lakes Ilmen and Ladoga in North Russia. There might be a reference to Volkhovisk, a town in the province of Grodno; and the district would at this time have been on the borders of Russia, and not far from the theatre of the wars of the great Yaroslav. If the reference is to this country Gurchévets may be Ovruch. But if the Volkhov is the famous stream on which Nóvgorod lies, Orĕkhorets would clearly be Orĕkhov, the old name of Schlüsselburg (near St. Petersburg) or Orĕkhovaia Gorá near Demyánsk, the highest peak in the Valdai hills to which Mikúla and Svyatogór are evidently attached. This probability leaves Gurchévets unexplained, except on Rybnikov's theory; although there is a town Grushino near Schlüsselburg. These geographical names render the identity of Ovruch and Gurchévets less convincing and bring Svyatogór,

Volga and Mikúla together in the Valdai district, amongst the Finnish population, peopled by the Russians in the thirteenth century.

[13]Apraksa, also called Feráksa in a much later version. The variants of the name in the Kirêyevski ballads can be disregarded.

[14]In the Kirêyevski ballads this King is named Etmanuil: the epithet is always the *terrible King*; but he is sometimes called Polish, Lyakhovinski.

[15]Or three years: one year in the stables, another as cupbearer, another as table-bearer.

[16]Saratsinski or Sorochinski. Considering that much of the fighting is on the Eastern (Hungarian) frontier, near the Sorochinski hills, I am inclined to translate this Mongol or Turkish. Soroki is on the Eastern Magyar border, where the Pechenegs and others had to be fought down.

[17]*Palyanítsa* or *Polenítsa*. May be connected with *Pole* (field). At the same time the word suggests the *Polyáne*, the early Slav tribe which centred round Kíev.

[18]In some late ballads the son is said to be Egóri the Brave, or St. George, on whom a cycle of *byliny* exists.

[19]This city, according to Chodz'ko, was a Finnish centre, conquered in 777 by the Slavs. The word has been by some likened with Biarmia, the name of the Steppe country, when under Finnish rule.

[20]In Afanas'ev's *skazki* there is a tale of the two rivers Vólga and Vazura at Zubtsov, and the incident is similar in style.

[21]Here called *Rossiya*, a proof of very late style.

[22]A Hebraic name.

[23]This magical stone is also the principal incident in the tale of Vasíli Buslávich.

[24]Other patronymics are Kolyvánovich (from *kolyván*, either an ancient demigod or giant, Polkanovich; cf., p. 79). Vasilevich, and Holophernes, as Molofer, has the same adventures as Samson. Samson is also one of the heroes on the Hawk-ship.

[25]For this number cf. the tale that Egóri the Brave was imprisoned for thirty years by the Tsarítsa Demyánishche. Rambaud says of this number: "Le nombre sacrementel qui correspond simplement à la durée de la saison d'hiver," and observes that Ilyá always awakens in the spring.

[26]For this feature cf. the folk-tales of the youngest son, the fool, who sits by the fireside, and then overcomes all his brothers in prowess.

[27]The number of words compressed into this conception is not yet exhausted: *v.* p. 67 on Vakhraméi.

[28]Another form, Aliutorovich, which might come from the *Alyutory* [cf., the Aleut Islands], a Turanian tribe, and again even Atamanovich, a confusion of *Ottoman* and the Cossack term *ataman*. Other corruptions are *Alatyrevich*, from the sacred stone *Alatyr*.

[29]*Skoropit* is probably derived from *Scarabaeus*, κάραβος, beetle: cf., the use of *tarakánchik*.

[30]Idolishche is confounded with Túgarin, and is two *sazhens* high, eats three stoves full of bread at once; moves inaudibly (like the Hordes), drinks a cask of forty *vedra* of beer at a draught. His head is as big as a beer-barrel, his shoulders are a *sazhen* across, a span length between his brows, and an arrow's length between his ears. With a further contamination of Polkán and the *Chuds* he is called Chudische Polkanishche. He is also called Zméevich (snake's son, cf. *scorpion*), and some think it an allusion to Skopin-Shúiski, who was the *dapifer* to Borís Godinóv, and a supporter of the False Demetrius. Mikháyl-Vasíli (1587-1610) was the last of his line, and furnished themes for many Moscovite bylíny. Cf. Rambaud *La Russie Epique*, p. 281 for further details.

[31]In some ballads called *Chudovin*, thus connecting the foe with the Chuds, who lived next to the Esths in the Gulf of Finland.

[32]Is there not some connection between *Solovéi*, the title of two foreign princes, and *Solovnik*?

[33]In one ballad her coming is thus described:

From the ocean I come, from the icy,
From the Stone, Alatyr;
From the Women Latygorka,
I am called Sokolnichek.

[34]Rambaud cites that one Agrik of Antioch had a son Vasíli. Agrik affronts St. Nicholas.

[35]A likely derivation is that this refers to the Catholic Church, the *Latin* Church on the *Seven Hills* [*Semigorka*].

[36]Ilyá is always a bachelor, and in most of his exploits a sturdy old man.

[37]The Russian stove occupies one whole corner of the *izbá*, a hut; the beds are laid on the top of it.

[38]Cf. Marína, whom Dobrýnya encounters.

[39]e.g., he takes only one small loaf, or three wafers, and only one cup of wine.

[40]Tsaríshche Kudrianishche. The meaning of this Tsardom is much disputed. Attempts have been made to derive *Kudrian* from a dative *k Odrianu*, and thus to bring in the Emperor Hadrian, whose feats were long legendarized after the fall of Rome. But whatever the origin it stands here as a symbol of beauty from identification with *kudri* curls.

[41]e.g., Hail, oh, hail to thee, dragon of fire!
Now strew the dragon on the humid earth!
And in the little sharp-cut furrows,
Quaff and drink of the humid earth!

This sounds almost Vedic!

[42]This dragon has white breasts, one, two or three tails; breathes fire, and also drowns its victims. Its home is said to be in the Sorochinski hills, in the open country, or on the stream Izrai or in a cavern. It can fly; and soars over Holy Russia taking toll of the people of Russia. Like Túgarin, it is said to be the paramour of Marína.

[43]This by-play is found in all folk-tales in which a hero attacks a giant. But also cf. Preface, p. oo.

[44]Cf. the Serbian *pobratimstvo*, or brotherhood in arms, in Russian *pobrdtany*.

[45]Cf. the return of Odysseus in disguise, and the story of Solomon.

[46]In another ballad he slays the Bolgar King: a faithful rendering of history. Dobrýnya is also given the credit of fighting Zhidóvin and Túgarin; and Shark Velikán.

[47]Cf. a very beautiful "unattached" lyric ballad in Rybnikov. A song of the unlucky doughty youth and the river Smoródina. This river, like *Safat*, is mythical; the word *Smorod* means stench; *Smorodina* is a currant. It may represent the river of hell; or perhaps be a frontier name.

[48]There was one Marína the wife of the false Demetrius. She was bitterly hated, and tales were extant of her as a witch.

[49]Or in the Andréyevski street, or in the *Pereúlok Marínny*. Her house at Kíev was fenced round, had lofty chambers, and was well stocked, but there were no ikons in it.

[50]In other ballads she is said to carry on a greengrocer's shop, to be godless, drunken, and have secret relations with the courtiers. In another version altogether Dobrýnya is said to have married her in the pagan fashion in the open field by a bush.

[51]Some ballads relate how the Turks attacked the shrine, but the Holy Mother of God came out and saved it miraculously.

[52]An outer cloak covering the body.
[53]Based on the historic figure of Sharukan, the name of two Polovetski Khans.
[54]The epithet *némecki* (German) is added; Catholic and Mussulman were alike foes.
[55]Generally her name is Márya, but she also bears the patronymic Likhodêevyna [from Likhodêi, evil-minded]. Her home is said to be Podolia, in Poland; and in baptism she is given the new name of Nastásya. In the Kireyevski ballads she is often named Avdótya.
[56]This season looks as though a return-myth of Spring were also involved in the story: *potyk*, *potók*, comes from *tech*, to flow.
[57]Sometimes called Bukhár: cf. Bolgar.
[58]In some ballads Vakhraméi (the ruler of the infidels beyond the hills, with dominion over Ulany and Panowie—Polish words) tempts the unfaithful wife with the glamour of being called Tsarítsa of towns and country that are countless. The word used for *foreign* is 'German.'
[59]Cf. The pilgrimage of Vasíli Buslávich.
[60]This might be a fragmentary reminiscence of a nature-myth.
[61]Though the feats ascribed to Alyósha in his youth belong more properly to Vasíli Buslávich.
[62]Cf. the return of Ilyá Múromets with Solovéy as captive, to the latter's palace.
[63]This legendary border-river is hard to identify. Can Safat be connected with Sambat-Kíev?
[64]From the city of Rostóv the fair city,
Like two clear-eyed hawks there flew
There journeyed two mighty horsemen. . . . .
[65]Cf. Byzantine-Greek, Δοῦκας. In Slavonic *dyuk*; *dyuk* in Little-Russian means a rich man; *dux* was translated as *voevoda* (general).
[66]Shemakhá, a town in the province of Baku, on the Western Coast of the Caspian, in Daghestan, producing silk and hides.
[67]Cf. Palat-Gorá, a mountain range in the Southern Crimea, otherwise called Chatyr-dagh. The Crimea belonged to the Tatars, and was the seat of the Golden Horde; and thus would be dangerous.
[68]The Greek form of *bezsmertny* (deathless) a term applied to Koshchéy and other symbolical terrors in the ballads.
[69]This foreboding crow often occurs: cf. Alyósha Popóvich and Mikháylo Kazaryánin.
[70]Possibly a reference to armoury; if so, apparently unique.
[71]Ilyá often sleeps a 'knightly' sleep, sometimes for three nights and three days.
[72]Cf. The Story of Aeolus.
[73]Or Ignátevich.
[74]Egóri the Brave, also passes through them; but builds a church on top!
[75]Or cf. Sharukan, the Polovétski Khan.
[76]His strength is sorrowful,
Bears him down burdensome.
[77]Our mother Nevá has journeyed afar,
And come to her end in the blue sea of Viruyán.
Viruyán is Lithuania or Latvia: from Lithuanian *viras* (man).
[78]Is this derived from the Lithuanian *víras* (man)?
[79]For this wondrous court coat, associated with the legend of the Swan-syren, compare the skázka of Danílo the Unfortunate in Afanásyev. Danílo is ordered by Vladímir to make a similar shúba with moulded buttons, representing wild animals so vivid that they seem to roar, and so forth.
[80]Compare the meeting of Mikháylo Potýk and th Swan-maiden, It should be added in connection with the queer geographical names, so many of which centre round the Baltic cities, that the river

Jordan' (though, of course, identified with the Jordan of Scripture) is stated to be the name of the stream out of which the Vólga rises near the village of Volgino in the Valdai hills in the province of Tver.

[81] Probably Kotlin, an island in the Gulf of Finland, at the mouth of the Nevá.

[82] Probably an adjectival form from *led*, ice: the White Sea known in Russian as the Sea of Ice.

[83] Amongst his ships is said to be the famous Hawk-ship: this is a reminiscence of the figureheads on Viking boats.

[84] In these forms Amelfa, Mamelfa, we may probably see the Greek ἀδελφή.

[85] Putyátichna as a patronymic refers to Putyáta a *thousand-man* (feudal subordinate of a district) of Vladímir I., who forcibly converted Nóvgorod to Christianity. The name has come down to the family of Putyátin.

[86] *V.* index.

[87] Cf. the folk-tale of *Danílo the Unfortunate* for a similar incident.

[88] A late word, *tsárski kabak*, the drinking-house under the Imperial excise.

[89] Cf. Appendix: The Isle of Buyán.

[90] *Rezvy*, another standing epithet; whatever the feet may be doing!

[91] Again the use of the word *masterá* is a proof of the lateness of this ballad.

[92] In the more Southern ballads the initial D of Dmitri and Dnêpr is frequently dropped: it is even now very frequently unsounded.

[93] Cf. The unfaithful wife of Mikháylo Potýk.

[94] Miss Hapgood in her notes states a man of this name occurs in the Chronicles of Nóvgorod. He is the son of a *sotski* (one of the ten lieutenants of the executive officers, *Tysyatski*) not a boyár's son.

[95] Cf. Shemakha, on the Caspian.

[96] These phrases are almost meaningless. Lyakhovitski may mean Polish, *liakh*, or Wallachian *vlakh*.

[97] This is the Russianized form; the connection with *korabl'* (ship) is accidental.

[98] In Kirêyevski; Kazmêrevich.

[99] *Tarakan*, cockroach. Probably another example of folk-etymology.

[100] This refrain has evidently been modernized, but its form is ancient.

[101] Karennik again is probably a Tatar word; not Russian.

[102] He is said to drink as much as Ilyá, Alyósha, and Dobrýnya combined.

[103] They were placed uneasily, children;
For Vaska was long-skirted;
If he walk on the ground, he's entangled:
In a fight, in a scuffle, he will stumble;
And Vaska will perish and be futile.

[104] According to the Chronicle of the year 980, Vladímir in return for this service promised Blud: "I wish to esteem thee as my father; and thou shalt have much honour from me. . . . . " Blud betrayed his prince [Yaropólk] and had much honour at his [Vladímir's] hands. Blud survived to be the chaplain [d'yak] to Yaroslav Vladímirovich, and in 1018 died in battle against King Boleslaw of Poland, the father-in-law of Svyatopólk Vladímirovich.

[105] According to Kirêyevski the Chas family was ennobled.

[106] This is probably an adaptation from the story of Churílo.

[107] Cf. the corruption of Churílo into *gusin'ko*, gosling.

[108]There is one curious touch of gratuitous archaism in a very good version in Kirêyevski, where the writer quotes some obsolete [*shelomya okatisto*] words that are found in the *Word of Igor* and has to translate them " into Russian " as the high mountains.

[109]The poem is in a curious dialect, which almost uses a definite postponed article.

[110]Except in some late ballads the " warm sea " contrasted with the northern waters.

[111]Sometimes in these *byliny* the Baltic is called *alatyrskoe*. Quite apart from the connection of the Baltic and the stone example, there is a river of that name in Simbírsk and Nizhegórod.

Chapter IV

[1]E.g., Ivan III. called *All-Russia*, an *ótchina*, derived from his ancestors.

[2]Cf the English 'Thousand-man.'

[3]The attack on the liberties of Pskov marks the final supremacy of Moscow. As at Nóvgorod the great bell was taken away and the *Véche* suppressed, the families transported. There was no rebelliousness and independence to overcome : Pskov with a semblance of free government would have been as subservient as before, but some faint spirit of autonomy might have survived. In the last embassy of Pskov to Vasíli there may have been a shade of irony in the address to the Moscovite Prince as Tsar vseya Rossii, the title of the Khan whose place he had inherited.

[4]Which was only conquered in 1783.

Chapter V

[1]The strategic value of swamps may become a factor in history : the recent campaigns in Flanders and against Petrograd illustrate this principle—of independence secured by morasses !

[2]The Thousand-man. Other minor sub-divisions also went in decimals, hundred-men, etc., a military sub-division. In the Slav languages there is little or no trace of reckoning by scores or duodecimals.

[3]It is unfortunate there is no English word corresponding to the German *Fürst*, a different idea from the dynastic word *Prinz*.

[4]His embassy ran : " We desire a rule in Great Nóvgorod such as exists in Moscow : that there shall be no " assembly bell " in Nóvgorod, and we shall hold the sovereignty."

[5]The number 9 is used almost redundantly in the ballads dealing with Vasíli.

[6]For this word cf. Spanish *zapato*, Low Latin *sapata*, and French *sabot*. In Spanish this Arabic-looking word means a footgear of calfskin. There is said to be an Arabic root *zabat*, to shoe.

[7]In Kiréyevski sometimes called his *godbrother*, i.e., a sworn comrade : two such swore lifelong friendship, marking each other's body with crosses.

[8]She is called *Chernáva* [black]. This character is found in other legends, but here relates to the *Chern*, Blacks or lower caste of Nóvgorod.

[9]Cf. appendix in *Kniga Golubinaya*.

[10]Cf. the ballad how Olég met his death from the skeleton of his charger.

[11]In the ballads on the mysterious death of Vasíli in Palestine, he is said to bathe in Jordan. Whilst the biblical reminiscence is obvious, it is a significant point that the spring, whence the Vólga rises in the Valdai Hills near the village of Volgino-Verhova in Tver (the centre of so much of Russian ballad-lore) is also called Jordan.

[12]A distinct loan from the *Book of Jonah*.

[13]Though the similarity with the tales of the fishermen in the *Arabian Nights*, casting their nets and catching golden fish, is striking: and the legend of the golden fish is almost world-wide.
[14]Both epic commonplaces.
[15]" X " to represent " h " as in Southern Slav languages.

Chapter VI

[1]*Zarya* in Russian used for evening and morning alike.
[2]Probably the original form was *Paklun*, the *Teucrinum* plant; or *Ajuga Chamaepytis*; or the *Berberis vulgaris*.
[3]The Russian for whale; cf. Greek Κῆτος. Perhaps also the tale of Sindbad (the first voyage) where Sindbad lands on a fish, so huge that it seems an island.
A possible derivation is that it is cognate with the English *ostrich* (*avis*, *struthio*, στρουθός).
[5]The last corruption his name had to undergo was *Malodumor*, the little-thinking!

Chapter VII

[1]Cf. German, *Zaun*, fence; Dutch *tuin*, garden; English *town*, city.
[2]If of one texture, called *odincovy*.
[3]For another variance of meaning cf. *izbá* in Russian hut, in Polish palace or departmental offices.
[4]*Páklinki* [in another sense, *gussets*]; cf. *páklya*, tow. Thus Idolishche is hurled out of the big window, and breaks three *páklinki*.
[5]e.g., The lichens lay by the Baltic sea-coast. . . . .; or,
From under the oak, the old moist oak. . . . .

Appendices

The passage referred to is:—

" The stone of stones the mother,
Is Karmaus the stone Ilitor:
It lies by the warm sea
On the Eastern mouth of the Vólga."

This points to the Caspian: the ballad is in late style. The Vólga lay outside ballad-Russia. Besides, this ballad was taken down at Simbírsk, a town of late foundation. In the province of Simbírsk there is also a river called Alátyr, a tributary of the Sura, and flowing into the Province of Nizhegórod.
[2]Alatyr is also a geographical name, both of a river and of a town in Simbírsk.
[3]The Vale of Josaphet, according to some commentators; but Chodzko states that the old Scandinavian name of Kíev was Sambat.
[4]Only used in the semi-religious ballads of the *Wandering Friars*, which abound with misused biblical quotations.
[6]Probably a piece of false etymology from *Pol-kon*, half-horse.

INDEX

Names and words italicized are legendary or mythical.
Names and words in capitals are historical.
Other references are in ordinary type.

Printed in Great Britain by MACKAYS, LTD., CHATHAM.


LIBRA