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0521813816 - Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950–1300

Simon Franklin

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## Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950–1300

This book provides a thorough survey and innovative analysis of the emergence and functions of written culture in Rus (covering roughly the modern East Slav lands of European Russia, Ukraine and Belarus). Part I introduces the full range of types of writing: the scripts and languages, the materials, the social and physical contexts, ranging from builders' scratches on bricks through to luxurious parchment manuscripts. Part II presents a series of thematic studies of the 'sociocultural dynamics' of writing, in order to reveal and explain distinctive features in the Rus assimilation of the technology. The comparative approach means that the book may also serve as a case-study for those with a broader interest either in medieval uses of writing or in the social and cultural history of information technologies. Overall, the impressive scholarship and idiosyncratic wit of this volume commend it to students and specialists in Russian history and literature alike.

SIMON FRANKLIN is Reader in Slavonic Studies at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. His publications include many scholarly articles on Russian and East European history, literature and culture, and *Sermons and Rhetoric in Kievan Rus'* (1991) and (with Jonathan Shepard) *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200* (1996).

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PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain  
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa  
<http://www.cambridge.org>

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First published 2002

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*Typeface* Plantin 10/12 pt     *System* L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X 2<sub>ε</sub> [TB]

*A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library*

ISBN 0 521 81381 6 hardback

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‘My gracious!’ said Taffy, ‘what a lot of noise-pictures we’ve made – carp-mouth, carp-tail, and egg! Now, make another noise, Daddy.’

‘Ssh!’ said her Daddy, and frowned to himself, but Taffy was too incited to notice.

‘That’s quite easy,’ she said, scratching on the bark.

‘Eh, what?’ said her Daddy. ‘I meant I was thinking, and didn’t want to be disturbed.’

‘It’s a noise just the same. It’s the noise a snake makes, Daddy, when it is thinking and doesn’t want to be disturbed. Let’s make the ssh-noise a snake. Will this do?’ . . .

‘Taffy dear, I’ve a notion your Daddy’s daughter has hit upon the finest thing that there ever was since the Tribe of Tegumai took to using shark’s teeth instead of flints for their spear-heads. I believe we’ve found out the biggest secret of the world.’

Kipling, ‘How the Alphabet was Made’

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## Acknowledgements

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This book could barely have been conceived, let alone completed, without decades of dedicated work for which I can claim no credit whatsoever: work by Russian and Ukrainian scholars who have sought out, published and analysed the primary material on which substantial parts of the book are based. In particular I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the pioneering ‘graffitologist’ Sergei Aleksandrovich Vysotskii, to Albina Aleksandrovna Medyntseva and Tatiana Vsevolodovna Rozhdestvenskaia for their work on many types of inscriptions, and perhaps above all to Valentin Lavrentevich Ianin for his extraordinarily productive labours in the recovery and publication of writings on birch-bark and related materials and his monumental reference-tomes on early seals.

I am also grateful for the comments of the three anonymous readers consulted by Cambridge University Press. Special thanks are due to my students for continually posing awkward questions. I hope they will have learned that neither this nor any other book on the period can provide definitive answers.

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## Note on transliteration, citation and terminology

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It is hard, and not always appropriate, to be consistent in the transliteration of proper names. Consistency might demand, for example, either Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos or Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. Established convention turns Konstantinos/Constantinus into Constantine, and combines his anglicised name either with the Greek (Porphyrogennetos) or more commonly with the notional Latin (Porphyrogenitus) form of his soubriquet. Little is gained by banning such hybrids for the sake of linguistic purism. In the present book Greek names are mostly transliterated from their Greek forms, except where – as in the case of Constantine – anglicised versions are long established.

However, names of people active in an East Slav context are given in Slavonised form: hence, for example, Ilarion rather than Hilarion, Andrei rather than Andrew, Georgii (or Iurii) rather than George. This leads to some anomalies. A Byzantine churchman called Konstantinos would normally be rendered here as Constantine; but the same churchman working in Rus becomes Konstantin. The missionaries who rendered the Scriptures into Slavonic are Cyril (rather than Kyrillos) and Methodios, but a twelfth-century bishop of Turov is Kirill. The obvious solution might seem to be to standardize all forms. But the obvious solution is in fact even more problematic, especially when extended to the mass of local forms found in, for example, graffiti or in birch-bark documents: should the ‘Ivanko’ of an inscription and the ‘Ioann’ who was head of the Kievan Church both be turned into ‘John’? In general I have preferred to preserve the variety of local forms of names; unless the local sources give several versions of the name of the same person, in which case one simply has to choose. Thus the prince of Kiev at the turn of the eleventh century generally appears as Volodimer in later chronicles, reflecting East Slav vernacular pronunciation, but as Vladimir on contemporary coins, reflecting the Church Slavonic, bookish form. The former also happens to be closer to modern Ukrainian and the latter to modern Russian. There is no ‘correct’ choice.

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Slavonic words are transliterated according to the ‘modified’ Library of Congress system, without diacritics. Early vocabulary is transliterated in modernised form, except in a very few cases where specific features of the early form are relevant to the argument. ‘Soft signs’ (or reduced vowels, in early texts) are indicated (') where a word is transliterated *as* a Slavonic form (e.g. in titles of books or articles cited in the footnotes), but not where the word occurs as part of the ordinary English text.

The word ‘Rus’ itself has a long and controversial history with regard to its meanings and usage in the medieval sources, in modern Slav historiography, and in English. In this book Rus has five meanings: (i) predominantly Scandinavian traders who explored the river-roads of Eastern Europe from the eighth century; (ii) the ruling dynasty and their retinues, of Scandinavian origin, who settled among and became linguistically assimilated to the local Slav population, for the most part by the late-tenth century; (iii) by extension, the lands over which the dynasty exercised authority; (iv) by further extension, the inhabitants of those lands; and (v) as an adjective relating to any or all of the above. Rather than devise a consistent sub-set of terms, I hope that the relevant connotations in each case will be clear from the context.

For ease of reference, when quoting from Rus sources I make fairly extensive use of the texts printed in the series *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi*, unless the context requires reference to an edition with a critical apparatus. English translations are mostly my own, although where possible I also provide references to published translations.

# Abbreviations

<i>AION:</i>	<i>Annali dell’Istituto universitario Orientale di Napoli</i>
<i>APDR I–III:</i>	V. L. Ianin, <i>Aktovye pečati Drevnei Rusi</i>
<i>ASSSR SAI:</i>	Arkheologičeskii SSSR. Svod arkheologičeskikh istočnikov
<i>BLDR:</i>	<i>Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi</i>
<i>BZ:</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CFHB:</i>	Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae
<i>Cross, Primary Chronicle:</i>	S. H. Cross (transl.), <i>The Russian Primary Chronicle</i>
<i>DGTSSSR:</i>	<i>Drevneishie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR</i> (continued as <i>DGVEMI</i> )
<i>DGVEMI:</i>	<i>Drevneishie gosudarstva Vostochnoi Evropy: materialy i issledovaniia</i> (continuation of <i>DGTSSSR</i> )
<i>DKU:</i>	Ia. N. Shchapov, <i>Drevnerusskie kniazheskie ustavy</i>
<i>DOP:</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DRM:</i>	M. P. Sotnikova, <i>Drevneishie russkie monety</i>
<i>FBR:</i>	Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte
<i>Franklin, Sermons and Rhetoric:</i>	S. Franklin, <i>Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus’</i>
<i>GVNP:</i>	S. N. Valk, <i>Gramoty velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova</i>
<i>Heppell, Paterik:</i>	M. Heppell, <i>The ‘Paterik’ of the Kievan Caves Monastery</i>
<i>HLEULET:</i>	Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. English Translations
<i>Hollingsworth, Hagiography:</i>	P. Hollingsworth, <i>The Hagiography of Kievan Rus’</i>
<i>HUS:</i>	<i>Harvard Ukrainian Studies</i>

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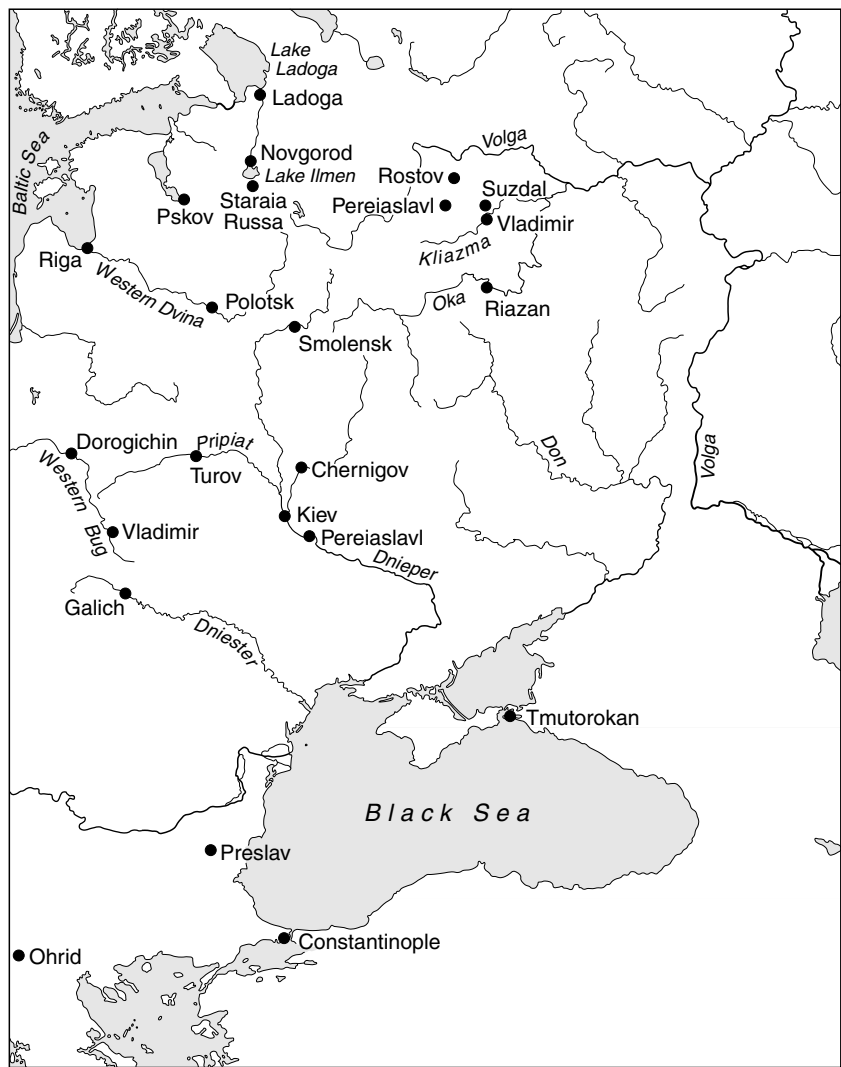
<i>ĴGO:</i>	<i>Ĵahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas</i>
Kaiser, <i>The Laws of Rus'</i> :	Daniel H. Kaiser (transl.), <i>The Laws of Rus' – Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries</i>
<i>KSIA:</i>	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii</i>
<i>LUB:</i>	<i>Liv-, esth- und curländisches Urkundenbuch</i> , ed. F. G. von Bunge
<i>NGB:</i>	<i>Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste</i> , ed. A. V. Artsikhovskii <i>et al.</i>
<i>NPL:</i>	A. N. Nasonov (ed.), <i>Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis'</i>
<i>OCA:</i>	<i>Orientalia christiana analecta</i>
<i>ODB:</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
<i>ORIAS:</i>	Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk
<i>Pap. Oxy.:</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
<i>PG:</i>	J.-P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i>
<i>PK:</i>	<i>Polata knigopisnaja</i>
<i>PLDR:</i>	<i>Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi</i>
<i>PRP:</i>	<i>Pamiatniki russkogo prava</i>
<i>PSRL:</i>	<i>Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei</i>
<i>PVL:</i>	D. S. Likhachev and V. P. Adrianova-Peretts (eds.), <i>Povest' vremennykh let</i>
<i>RA:</i>	<i>Rossiiskaia arkheologiia</i> (continuation of <i>SA</i> )
<i>RDN:</i>	B. A. Rybakov, <i>Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI–XIV vekov</i>
<i>REB:</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
<i>RES:</i>	<i>Revue des études slaves</i>
<i>RIB:</i>	<i>Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka</i>
<i>SA:</i>	<i>Sovetskaia arkheologiia</i> (continued as <i>RA</i> )
<i>SDRIaz (XI–XIV vv.):</i>	<i>Slovar' drevnerusskogo iazyka (XI–XIV vv.)</i>
<i>SG:</i>	R. I. Avanesov (ed.), <i>Smolenskie gramoty XIII–XIV vekov</i>
<i>SK:</i>	<i>Svodnyi katalog slaviano-russkikh rukopisnykh knig, khраниashchikhsia v SSSR. XI–XIII vv.</i>
<i>SKKDR:</i>	<i>Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi</i>
Smirnov, <i>Materialy:</i>	S. Smirnov, <i>Materialy dlia istorii drevne-russkoi pokaiannoi distsipliny</i>
Sreznevskii, <i>Materialy:</i>	I. Sreznevskii, <i>Materialy dlia slovaria drevnerusskogo iazyka</i>
<i>SRIaz XI–XVII vv.:</i>	<i>Slovar' russkogo iazyka XI–XVII vv.</i>

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<i>Symp. Meth.:</i>	<i>Symposium Methodianum</i> , ed. K. Trost <i>et al.</i>
<i>Tab. Vindol.:</i>	<i>Tabulae Vindolandeses</i>
<i>TODRL:</i>	<i>Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury</i>
<i>Usp. Sb.:</i>	O. A. Kniazevskaia <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Uspenskii sbornik XII–XIII vv.</i>
<i>VC:</i>	<i>Vita Constantini</i> , ed. F. Grivec and F. Tomšič
<i>Veder, Utrum in alterum:</i>	William R. Veder, <i>Utrum in alterum abiturum erat?</i>
<i>VID:</i>	<i>Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny</i>
<i>VM:</i>	<i>Vita Methodii</i> , ed. F. Grivec and F. Tomšič
<i>VopIaz:</i>	<i>Voprosy iazykoznanii</i>
<i>VV:</i>	<i>Vizantiiskii vremennik</i>
<i>Vysotskii, Nadpisi I–III:</i>	S. A. Vysotskii, <i>Drevnerusskie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoi; Srednevekovye nadpisi Sofii Kievskoi; Kievskie graffiti X–XVII vv.</i>
<i>ZDR:</i>	<i>Zakonodatel'stvo Drevnei Rusi</i>
<i>ZSl:</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Slawistik</i>
<i>ZSP:</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie</i>

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