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Author(s): Omeljan Pritsak

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THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE SLAVS, FINNS, AND BALTS

Omeljan Pritsak, Harvard University

The Meetingplace of the Finns and Slavs

(1) Izborsk and Pskov

The triune Lake Peipus, Lämmi, and Pskov seems to have been the first meetingplace of the Fennic and Slavic population. The larger Peipus Lake (3560 sq. km), together with the inlet of Lämmijärv (170 sq mi), was by AD 750 an integral part of Estonian ethnic territory, while the shores of Lake Pskov (710 sq mi) belonged to the Slavic population whom the Estonians called the Venelased (< **Vened*—"Wends"). These Slavs named Lake Peipus *Chiud'skoe ozero*,¹ or Estonian Lake. Remarkably enough, the river Narva, which flows north from Lake Peipus, bears a name of Estonian origin, while the river emptying into Lake Pskov has a Slavic name: Velikaia, or "the Great (River)." It is worthy of note that the name *Chud'*—the Slavic designation for the Estonians (and Finns in general)—is of Germanic (Gothic) origin,² as is **Vened*—the Estonian (and common Baltic Finnish) name for the Rus'ian Slavs. Apparently, some Germanic political (or economic) structure was responsible for the coming together of these two peoples.

In the territories of Pskov, Polotsk, and Smolensk, archaeologists have established the appearance, sometime during the seventh to ninth century, of the so-called "long tumuli" (up to 800 m in length) which they connect (probably rightly) with Slavonic colonization.³ Since the tumuli of the Pskov region show the oldest forms, as does the inventory of other objects unearthed there, scholars (V. V. Sedov, L. V. Alekseev) suppose that this region was the starting point of the migration which led first to the Polotsk region and later to the Smolensk region. V. V. Sedov believes that these Slavs, the ancestors of the East European Slovenes, were originally Baltic Wends.⁴

There were two old emporia to the south of Lake Pskov that were jointly the center of the first Slavic territory in the north: the older was Izborsk,⁵

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named in the *PVL* in connection with the "Invitation to the Varangians," and the later was Pskov.⁶ The archaeological data found by V. V. Sedov corroborates the assumption that the oldest layers of the so-called *Truvorove Gorodishche* (Old Izborsk) date from the eighth to the tenth century.⁷ According to old local tradition, Pskov (Old Rus'ian *Pl'skov'*) was Izborsk's successor as the center of the Slovenes.⁸ As proven by I. K. Labutina, cultural layers from the tenth century have been discovered on the territory of Old Pskov along the river Velikaia.⁹ However, the names Izborsk and Pskov were both unknown in the Old Norse tradition.

(2) *The Origins of Great Novgorod: The Vots, Slovene, and the Ves'*

The toponymy of the main territory of the Great Novgorod realm (the later *piatiny Shelonskaia* and *Vodskaia*),¹⁰ i.e., the territories to the west of the rivers Volkhov and Lovat', indicates that the aboriginal population was of Fennic stock, most probably the Estonian Vots (OR *Vod'*). The name of these people first appears in the "Ustav Iaroslava kniazhia o mostekh" as *Voch'skaa* hundred;¹¹ it then occurs in the chronicle, s.a. 1069, in the form *Vozhiane*,¹² and from 1149 it becomes *Vod'*.¹³ In the western sources of the second half¹⁴ of the twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth centuries, the forms *Watland* (later *Waeland*)¹⁵ and *Wathlandia*¹⁶ occur. The term *Wathlandia* is of Estonian origin and identical with the name of the eastern Estonian land, Waiga-Wayga, which, in turn—via the older form **Vagja*—goes back to Baltic Finnish—**Vaaja*, meaning "wedge" = Old Rus'ian *Klin'*; the latter name, in fact, was used in the Rus' Chronicles indiscriminately with *Vod'*.¹⁷

Archaeologists have stated that in the ninth century an important change took place in Watland: the old burial custom was replaced by cremation, typical of the contemporary culture of *Mare Balticum*.¹⁸ They maintain that this was due to the colonization of the *Vod'* territory by two Slavonic races which had met there: one (the older) coming from the more advanced Western (Baltic) Slavic territories (Wends, until AD 800 under Avar domination), and the other, a migration of the Slavs from the upper Dnieper (i.e., the Slavs from the Khazar empire). Be that as it may, by the fifteenth century the territory to the west of the line Volkhov-Il'men'-Lovat' was divided into two *piatiny*, whose frontier was the river Luga. To the north and east of that river lay the *Vodskaia piatina* which included the Karelian territory north of Lake Ladoga, while to the south and west extended the *Shelonskaia piatina*. While the Estonian *Vod'* apparently formed the majority of the population in the *Vodskaia piatina*, the *Shelonskaia piatina* was regarded as a backbone of the Rus'ian Novgorod.

As a consequence of the extensive excavations made in the town of Great Novgorod since 1951, the history of that important settlement has become clearer. We now know for certain that the establishment of Great Novgorod happened comparatively later, not before the end of the ninth-beginning of the tenth century.¹⁹ Late medieval Great Novgorod²⁰ consisted of four (to five) parts, called *kontsy* (boroughs); originally, there were only two of these, since

the later Great Novgorod came into being as a twin-city. The first borough was *Slavno* (the later *Slovenskii konets*), located on Slavno Hill,²¹ on the right bank of the river Volkhov; therefore, it was called Kholm 'hill,' a fact which explains the Old Norse name for Great Novgorod—*Hólmgarðr*. In one saga (Þjalar Jóns saga) the settlement is given the designation *Ilmar Holmr*.²² The second city, located on the left bank of the Volkhov, was called *Liudin konets*.²³

The names *Slavno/Slovenskii* and *Liudin* are not of geographic, but ethnic origin. In contrast to the names of *Chud'* and **Vened*, discussed above, which were of foreign origin, *Slavno* (*Sloven-* in Pskov) and *Liudin* may be interpreted as self-designations by the ethnic groups in question: the Wends called themselves *Sloveny*, while the Vepsians to this day use the name *l'üd'in'ik* in designating themselves; cf. also *l'üd'i kel'* 'the Vepsian language.'²⁴ From this analysis, we can see that Great Novgorod came into existence as the colonial creation of two different ethnic groups, both of whom were most advanced in matters of commerce: the *Slovene*/Wends, whose original base was the shores of the western Baltic and the *L'üd'in'-*/Vepsians, who came from the east.

The aboriginal Votish population (*Vod'*) seem to have opposed this development. In 1069 they cooperated with Polotsk, the foremost enemy of Novgorod.²⁵ It was only during the middle of the thirteenth century that the *Vod'* began to accept Novgorod's leadership.²⁶ Moreover, soon afterwards they assumed a role as protectors of the Great Novgorodian realm along its borders on the Gulf of Finland. "Nowhere in Old Rus' has such an abundance of weapons been discovered as in the *Vodskaia piatina*," writes one scholar.²⁷ The center of the Votish population was the town of Kopor'e, first mentioned in the Novgorodian I Chronicle, s.a. 1240. The form *vepsä* of the name for the *Ves'* is of Suomi-Finnish origin. All other medieval sources, beginning with Jordanes (AD 551), spell the name omitting the *-p-* (Jordanes = *Vas*).²⁸

The Islamic sources—beginning with Ibn Faḍlān (922)—use the name *Vīsū/Isū* for the *Ves'*.²⁹ The farthest point north in Rus' at which the Muslims from the Caliphate resided was the emporium of Bulghār-on-the-Volga; the *Ves'* served as the Bulgarian contact with the West. Therefore, their name was also familiar to western writers; for example, Adam of Bremen (ca. 1072-1076) gave their name as *Wizzi*.³⁰ One may add that the *Ves'*, along with the *Chud'* (probably the Vots) and *Slovene*, played a leading role in the *PVL*'s famous story about the invitation to the Varangians.

It is remarkable that the Volga-Bulgars—who, according to the Islamic sources, in the second half of the tenth century began to trade directly with Kiev (Kū-yābā), the important link on the newly emerged international trade highway from the Varangians to the Greeks—distinguished between the two groups in the Novgorodian twin-city as distinct kinds of Rus': the *Slovene* (*aṣ-Ṣlāwiya*) and the *Ves'* (*Ār[-Isū]*) of the *Liudin konets*. In Novgorod itself, several hoards of Kufic dirhams have been unearthed: they were deposited around AD 864 (203 coins), 953 (23 coins), 972 (192 coins).³¹

The most detailed archaeological excavations of Great Novgorod have been

made in the *Nerevskii konets*, the northern extension of the *Liudin konets*. The wooden structures of the oldest layers have been dated, by the dendrochronological method, to AD 953.³² At approximately that time (ca. 948-952) the learned emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions, for the first time, the new name for the expanding twin-city on the Volkhov: *Nemogardás* "where Sphen-dosthlabos (Sviatoslav), son of Ingor (Igor'), prince (archont) of Rhōsia, had his seat."³³

The same Sviatoslav soon took as his common-law wife Malusha, the daughter of one Mal"k" Liubechanin, i.e., a man for the western Baltic city of Liubeka (later Lübeck). Her kin, the clan of Dobrynia, in Rus' also remembered as uncle-regent for Sviatoslav's son, Volodimer, played a vital role in the Princedome of Rus' during the last three decades of the tenth century until the death of their last known representative, Ian Vyshatych, in 1106.

When, after the military catastrophes of the 1070s (Bari 1070, Manzikert 1071), Constantinople lost its exceptional position as the economic capital of the world and its satellite, Kiev, began to decline, Novgorod reacted promptly. The revolution of 1136 loosened Novgorod's ties to Kiev and proclaimed the city an independent republic.³⁴ The emerging state of "Lord Novgorod the Great" now began to concentrate its attention almost exclusively on the affairs of the rising *Mare Balticum*.

(3) *Ves' and Beloe Ozero*

According to the tradition preserved in the *PVL*, the old center of the *Ves'* was the town of Beloe Ozero (Beloozero) located at the entrance of the river Sheksna into the lake called Beloe Ozero. Unfortunately, this site has not yet been thoroughly excavated; nevertheless, its ninth-century origin is unquestioned.³⁵ The *Ves'* started their career in Eastern Europe as one of the tributary peoples of the Gothic king, Ermanarich (fourth c.); this, as was stated above, we know from Jordanes (AD 551).

(4) *The Two Voloks, the Zavoloch'skaia Chud', and Suzdal'*

There were three significant portages (sing. *volok*) which connected the Novgorodian highways with the other systems. The first or northern *volok* was located on the northeastern frontier and was mentioned in the chronicles as early as s.a. 1078.³⁶ The second or southern portage, called *Lam'skii*, first appears in the written sources in 1135.³⁷

The town of Beloozero was the starting point of the northern *volok*. To reach that portage it was necessary to cross the lake, continue northward along the river Sheksna, and enter the lake of Onega at the Tudorov Pogost. After having sailed some 40 miles northward along the river Onega, one had to cross another passage which led to the river Emtsa, a tributary of the Northern Dvina, the main artery of the far north (466 mi/750 km; catchment area: 140,000 sq mi/360,000 sq km). The original name of the river was Finnish *Väinäjoki* (<*väinä* "Sund");³⁸ this form was the source of the ON *Vína*. The Rus'ian name *Dvina*

(Severnaia 'northern') for this river—first noted in the Novgorodian I Chronicle, s.a. 1323³⁹—is a later transposition from the name of the true river Dvina (Zapadnaia; <indoeurop **dhuveinā*),⁴⁰ resulting from a popular etymology which assumed that *Vína* was a Finnish substitution for the Rus'ian *Dvina* (**dv* -> Finn. *v*-).⁴¹

The basins of the rivers Onega and Northern Dvina were known in the Old Rus'ian sources as Zavoloch'e, "the land beyond the portage"; the Old Norse sources used another name—*Bjarmar*. D. V. Bubrikh has theorized that the *Zavoloch'skaia Chud'*/*Bjarmar* were actually the *Ves'*, who engaged in trapping and trading activity in the north.⁴² Voyages from Scandinavia (especially from Norway) to the Bjarmaland as related in the fully historical account of Ohthere, the informant of King Alfred the Great, ca. 899, were regarded by contemporaries as the most exciting of adventures.

The southern *Lam'skii volok* led to the Volga-Oka basin, called *Sursdalr/Suzdal'* in the Old Norse and Novgorod sources, which was a kind of antechamber to Bulghār-on-the-Volga, the center of Islamic commerce in Eastern Europe. Suzdal' was also the main granary of Great Novgorod. The route from Novgorod to Bulghār-on-the-Volga (the Bulgars were part of the reorganized Huns) went along the river Msta, from which a portage led to the river Tvertsa, a tributary of the Volga. It was certainly not accidental that two large hoards of Kufic dirhams were found along the route from Novgorod to Bulghār-on-the-Volga: one at the entrance of the *volok* in Shumilovo (1,111 coins, dating from AD 710s to 871),⁴³ and the other at its end in Murom on the Volga (11,077 coins dating from AD 710s to 939).⁴⁴ The land of Suzdal' was known to the Old Scandinavians in the ninth-tenth centuries. The Old Norse name for it was *Svíþjóð hin kalda* or "The Cold Sweden."⁴⁵

Yet another portage led from the Bjarmaland (the basin of the Northern Dvina River) to the basin of the Volga. One had to sail along the Sukhona River (a tributary of the Dvina) from its portage to the river Kostroma, a tributary of the Volga. The third portage connected the Novgorodian river Lovat' with the Dnieper and thus with Kiev (ON *Kaenugarðr*) and Constantinople (*Miklagarðr*). This was the famous "Route from the Varangians to the Greeks."

Estonia's Entrance into History

The designation *Eesti* is an ancient one, with a venerable history. In his *Germania* (written about AD 98), Tacitus, the Roman historian of the north, mentions the *Aestii* for the first time, locating them on the "Amber Coast" of the Baltic Sea. There is no agreement among scholars about the linguistic group to which the *Aestii* belong.⁴⁶ Basically, there are two schools of thought, one claiming a Baltic (Lithuanian-Latvian) origin for them, and the other ascribing a Fennic origin. The Fenns were possibly the ancestors of the present-day Estonians and Finns. It would serve no purpose to enter into the polemic surrounding the origin of the *Aestii* or the etymology of their name here. We can simply assume that beginning with Jordanes' *Getica*, the term *Aestii*, whatever

its origin, was used by the Germanic peoples (especially the Goths) to designate the people who controlled the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. In other words, the *Aestii* were identical with the ancestors of the historical *Kuri*, *Livii*, and Estonians.

It was because of the importance of the *Aestii*, also called *Osti*, that the Baltic Sea received its Germanic name *Ostsee* (< *Oster-see*).⁴⁷ This designation is first recorded in one of the interpolations into Orosius made by Alfred the Great (died AD 899).⁴⁸ It is with good reason that the Germanic peoples referred to the Baltic as the Ostsee. In the history of the eighth to thirteenth century, Estonia, with its unique strategic position as the gate from the lands of *Mare Balticum* to Eastern Europe, was the site of the struggle between West and East for control of the area. Those who competed for domination included the Old "Estonians" themselves, the Old Danes, the Old Swedes, the inhabitants of Great Novgorod and Pskov, later the Kievan and Northwestern Rus'ians, and finally the Low-German Saxons, especially the Hanseatic League.

Toponymic studies, especially those of Paul Johansen and Lauri Kettunen,⁴⁹ have shown conclusively that the ancestors of the Estonians were an "aboriginal" people. The Old Estonians were also the first people in the eastern Baltic lands to be mentioned in the Old Norse written sources. Skaldic poetry employs the words *Eistr* "Estonian man" and *Eistnesk* "Estonian" (adjective); the form *estlat* (= *AEstland*, i.e., "Estonia") appears in a runic inscription dating from about AD1000 (the term *AEist-fari* "one who travels to the Ests" is also noted in that source). The same form of these names for Estonia and Estonians often appears in the sagas.

The *PVL* and other Old Rus'ian sources use the collective term *chud'* (singular *chud-in*) to designate Estonia and the Estonian people. The word *chud'* is of Germanic origin and is etymologically related to the Gothic word *þiuda* 'people.'⁵⁰ In the Old Rus'ian sources, the word *chud'* refers not only to Estonia proper (including Osilia/Saaremaa), but also to the Votian lands, the trading town Ladoga, and the lands behind the portages by which the basin of the Northern Dvina River could be reached, the so-called *Zavolochskaia Chud'* (the *Sauloke* of the Norwegian-Novgorodian Treaty of 1326). According to a story in the *PVL*, the *Chud'*, together with the Vepsians (*Ves'*), were instrumental in creating a political organization which included Great Novgorod.

Old Rus'ian sources, both written and oral, reveal an intimate knowledge of Estonian mythology and epic poetry. They refer to the foremost Estonian city Reval/Tallinn as *Kolyvan'*, a designation derived from *Kalev*, the name of the hero of the epos *Kalevipoeg* (e.g., Novgorodian I Chronicle). The transmitters of this information were apparently Old Rus'ians of Estonian (Chudian) ancestry, since people of Estonian (*Chud'*) origin played important roles in Novgorod and Kiev as early as the 1060s and 1070s. A boiarin by the name of Mikula Chiudin is mentioned in the *PVL* as one of the seven codifiers of the *Pravda Rus'skaia* (ca. 1072), apparently because of his familiarity with the various municipal codes then in use in the sphere of *Mare Balticum*. His palace, or *dvor*, in Kiev

and his brother Tuky (died 1078), a military commander, are mentioned in the *PVL*.⁵¹ Furthermore, in Great Novgorod there was a *Chiudin' tseva* street (*ulitsa*)⁵² and a *Chudin'tsevy* gate (*vorota*).⁵³

Estonia entered history in the Birca period (770 to 975), when East-West trade relations were established in the North. Estonia then became the gateway between the emerging cultures of *Mare Balticum* and Eastern Europe and the Muslim world beyond, a world in which the very shape of the country itself would be determined by its relation to international commerce. A system of trade routes and marketplaces on fallow land strips and Birca "Birch" islands came into being. Harbors and ports were constructed, and rural castles and burghs near great lakes dotted the landscape of the country. These developments were paralleled by the emergence of an Estonian high culture and a complex, decentralized government system.

As Estonia became integrated into the network of international trade routes, a network which passed through the lands of *Mare Balticum* and extended to the Volga basin and beyond, her colonies east of the mainland, along with the Vepsian (*Ves'*) and Slavonian (Wendish) towns, became embroiled in the power struggles of the international trading companies and charismatic clans of the Baltic North. About the year 1000 the town of Reval (Lyndanise) a colony of "Gotland," rose to a position of economic and political preeminence. During this period Estonia turned West as her trade relations were mediated by the international merchants stationed in Gotland.

At the end of the Birca period, parts of Estonia became incorporated for some period into the realm of Great Novgorod. This began with the suzerainty of Volodimer Sviatoslavich over Estonia, which was of unknown duration. Then, in 1030, Iaroslav Volodimerovich captured Tarbata (Tartu) and built a Rus'ian town there, which survived for thirty years until it was burned by the Estonians in 1060. Iziaslav Iaroslavich exacted tribute from Osilia. Swedish and Danish rulers, whose influence extended as far as Old Ladoga (Aldeigjuborg) in the East, also attempted to subdue parts of Estonia. Finally, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Estonian pirates and slave traders continued to pose a serious threat both to Swedish and Danish charismatic clans and to the Rus'ian principalities of Novgorod and Pskov. In the first quarter of the thirteenth century, after a struggle which lasted for twenty years (1208-1227), German and Danish crusaders put an end to Estonian independence.

The Finnish Takeover of Finland

(1) *The Kainuans*

There were three main settlements of ethnic Finns in Finland. The first was centered along the Kokemäki River, and its settlers were called *Kainuans* (Kainuu: OE *Cwenas*, ON *Kvaenir*).⁵⁴ This designation, which the Germanic peoples understood as "woman" (< *kon-/kuen-*; hence *Terra Feminarum* and Amazons in Finland), was not a tribal or national name, but rather a corporational one. The *Kainuans* (Finnish *Kainulaiset*), whose name meant "the inhabitants of Low-

lands”⁵⁵ (or so Finnish linguists assume), were an organization of fur trappers (*asejärjestö*)⁵⁶ similar to the later *Bircarli*⁵⁷ (Finnish Pirkkalainen, ca. AD 1300-1500). They were oriented towards the west, i.e., the Gulf of Bothnia, and they operated primarily within the triangle Kokemäki River–Lake Näsä–Kyrö River (in the north).⁵⁸ However, they also roamed the Lappish north, where they often met with the Karelians and frequented the Norwegian Hålogaland. Their base was the fur-trading center of western Finland, Pirkkala, named after the famous Uppland town of Birka. It was located near the present-day city of Tampere, on the right bank of the Kokemäki River before it joins Lake Näsä.⁵⁹ Both corporations, the Kainuans and the Bircarli, were connected with the trading center of Birka in the Swedish Upplands (about 800-975), ethnically and through nomenclature (< *Birca/Pirkka*). In the territory of Kainuans (on the Eura and Kokemäki), forty-four Arabic dirhams were found, mainly from the tenth century.⁶⁰

Alfred the Great (d. 899) preserved some data on the Kainuans (*Cwenas*). It was because of their activity that he called the Gulf of Bothnia *Cwensae* in his interpolations to Orosius.⁶¹ It is noteworthy that the Old Rus’ian form for the Arctic Sea in the text of the Nöteborg Treaty (1323) was *Kaiano more*, or the Sea of the Kainuans. After 1242 the Novgorodians called their Finnish Kainuan neighbors by their “own” name, *Sum’*, which goes back to the Baltic Fennic **soome-* (Finnish *suomi*, Estonian, Votian *soome-*, Livian *suom-* > Latvian *sām-s*, “inhabitant of Saaremaa”), whose origin remains unclear.⁶²

(2) *The Tavastians/Hämeans*

The territory of the second Finnish ethnic element was called *Tavastaland* (al-Idrisi in 1154: *arḍ Ṭabast* id.) in Old Swedish,⁶³ and *Hämä* in Finnish.⁶⁴ The Finnish term supposedly goes back to the older form **sämä*, which is in turn a Baltic loanword, from the Lithuanian *žemė*, meaning “land.”⁶⁵ Tavastaland contains a system of lakes from Roinevesi-Pälkänevesi-Vanajavesi and Längelmävesi, stretching from Lake Päijänne to the Kymi River. The commercial activity of the Tavastians was oriented towards the Gulf of Finland. Their old center was conquered in 1249 by Earl Birger, who constructed on that site the castle *Tavastehus* (1249) or *Tavastykymä* (1540), also called *Portus Tavastorum* (Ericus Olai, 1500).⁶⁶ It was located by Lake Vanajavesi and is today the site of the city of Hämeenlinna. Thirty-four “Arabic” dirhams have been found there, among them two Sasanian *drachmas* (dating from 616 AD and 625 AD).⁶⁷

The designation *Hämä* is the basis of the Old Rus’ian form *Iam’*, which appears in the introductory part of the *PVL*,⁶⁸ as well as in the text of that chronicle, s.a. 1042, in the story about the unsuccessful expedition of Volodimer Iaroslavich against the Tavastians.⁶⁹ In the Novgorod I Chronicle, *Ėm’* or *Em’* appear beginning with the year 1142.⁷⁰ The Swedish colonization of Tavastaland started after the Second Crusade (Bishop Thomas) in 1236-1249, especially after Earl Birger’s expedition against what later became Tavasthus,⁷¹ which later became the center of a new Swedish province; today, as noted above, it is

the city of Hämeenlinna.

(3) *The Karelians*

The third ethnic Finnish settlement was that of the *Karelians*⁷² (ON *Kirjala*, *Karjala*; *Kirjalaland*), well-known from Old Norse written sources (Runic inscriptions; sagas, especially the *Egils saga*). The Novgorod I Chronicle calls this branch of the Finns *Korela* (first s.a. 1143).⁷³ Some scholars, judging by toponymic data, assume that these settlers were originally emigrants from the western shores of Finland proper who passed along the lake route from the Kokemäki River to Lake Ladoga.⁷⁴ Their new settlements, when they arrived ca. 800,⁷⁵ were concentrated on the northern, northwestern, and western shores of Lake Ladoga; however, their trading ventures later extended to Novgorod and the Gulf of Bothnia (along the waterway Lake Ladoga-Pyhäjärvi-Orivesi-Pielisjärvi-Oulujärvi-Oulu River). Most probably, the time of the Karelians' arrival on the shores of Lake Ladoga was not accidental: this most active Finnish element decided to seek its luck in the newly emerging Eastern trade (Bulghār-on-the-Volga-Birka in Uppland). It was as a collective popular memorial to this period of the Karelians' "Sturm und Drang" that the national epic *Kalevala* was composed.

In contrast to the Westfinns (from Finland proper, Satakunta, and Tavastaland), who cooperated with the Swedes, the Karelians very early entered into a symbiosis with their new neighbors, first with the Vepsians and later with the Novgorodian Rus' (first documented in 1137). The alienation between the two branches of Finns became so great that the Vepsians, with the Karelians following their example, use the common-Finnish word meaning "Swedes" for the Suomi-Finns (Karelian, Vepsian *ruots*),⁷⁶ thus identifying the Western Finns with the Swedes. The Karelians supported the Novgorodians in their campaigns against Sweden, the most famous being the expedition against Sigtuna in 1187. Incidentally, the Karelians also started to adopt the Orthodox faith. After Earl Birger's expedition to Tavastia (1249), the Germans and the Swedes tried to secure influence in Karelia. By the Nöteborg Treaty (1323), Great Novgorod surrendered to the Swedes the three westernmost Karelian districts: Savo (later the province of Savolax), Jääski (to the south of Lake Saimaa), and Äyräpää (the isthmus between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga).

The Problem of the Cori (Kuri) and Livs

The oldest historical source for Courland is Rimbert's "Vita Anskarii" (ca. 865-876). It says that the "Sueones" (who were, according to archaeological evidence, "Gotlander" [Frisian-led international] merchants and the Uppland Swedish military forces) were driven out of Courland ca. 800.⁷⁷ They may have begun journeying to Courland in the seventh century. The "Vita Anskarii" says that the "Dani" vainly tried their luck in Courland in 852, while the next year the "Suenones" renewed their efforts, with some success. Apparently, however, the "Sueones" could not establish themselves permanently (confirmed by ar-

chaeological evidence from Grobina and Apuole), despite the efforts of Eiríkr Emundarson of Uppsala (d. 882).

Courland's defenders in the ninth century are called *Cori* in the "Vita Ans-karii." These people were the driving force in not only Courland but in all the territories which comprise present-day Latvia, as well as in the maritime regions of Lithuania and Prussia, until their conquest by the Germans in the first half of the thirteenth century. The latter was accomplished after a fierce struggle between the *Cori* and the Germans which was waged in three stages: during 1230-1231, 1243-1244, and 1260-1263.

Of all existing hypotheses about the origin of the *Cori* (Kurs) and the Livs,⁷⁸ that proposed in 1939 by the late Paul Johansen, the renowned authority on Baltic history, most deserves our careful attention.⁷⁹ According to Johansen, the medieval history of the maritime Eastern Baltic lands can be divided into three periods: 1. c. 650-800: the supremacy of the Germanic Vikings; 2. c. 800-1236: the hegemony of the united Estonians (especially the Osilians) and the Livs; 3. from 1236 on: the rules of the Germans. Johansen writes:

The Estonians and their kin, the Livonians, followed the path of the Vikings, soon developing into their competitors and worst enemies. Step-by-step they drove the Vikings away from the Eastern Baltic territories and deprived them of an outpost they had held in Courland for almost two hundred years (650-800)—the Gottlandish-Uppland and Swedish colony of Grobin (Grobina).

They fought the Vikings with their own kinds of weapons. They took over their [the Vikings'] administrative and trading traditions and robbed them of their wives as well as of their precious cultural goods, which now became the property of the Estonians and the Livs.

Thus there developed a strong type of Eastern Baltic man (*Herrenmensch*) whose rich northern cultural heritage can be seen by the graves of the Livs.

The consequence for Courland was the four-hundred-year (AD 800-1236) hegemony of the united Estonians (especially the Osilians) and Livs over the Baltic *Kuri* (*Cori*). A mixed culture evolved, in which the old was maintained alongside the new. The *Cori* defended their heritage vigorously. Because of the naval power of the Osilians, the entire coast from the Memel River to the Western Dvina remained in the hands of the Estonians and the Livs.⁸⁰

The question of where the Livs lived before coming to Courland Johansen answered on the basis of linguistic data, especially toponymy, and political and military terminology. This he found to be akin to that of the present Livian language, whose closest relative is the southern Estonian Werro (Võru) dialect.⁸¹ The penetration of the Proto-Livs from their home to Livonia and Courland went along the rivers Gauja (Livländische Aa), Ogra (Oger), and Aiviekste (Ewst). The westward migration of the Livs began in the fifth century AD.⁸²

Some small additions to Johansen's very enlightening picture can be suggested. Recent linguistic studies have proved beyond doubt that the Baltic peoples originally did not live in the coastal areas: all their fishing, maritime, and navigational terminology is of Fennic, or, to be more precise, Livian and Estonian origin.⁸³ Therefore, I suggest that we not concern ourselves with the original *Kuri* (*Cori*), who linguistically may have been Balts. In any case, the linguistic background of the pre-Fennic population of Courland is irrelevant to our question,

since these people remained ahistorical. I do not see the so-called “Kurische Frage” as a vital historical problem. The ruling strata of Courland, beginning with the sixth and seventh centuries, were the historical *Cori* (*Kuri*) who, like the Osilians, were Nomads of the Sea and, using an Estonian dialect as their lingua franca, were busy organizing and developing their military and maritime power on the territories from the estuary of the river Memel to the large Estonian islands. Like the Estonian Osilians, the *Cori* acquired their new political name from the territory they conquered. In contrast to them, the Livs, another group of newcomers from southern Estonia, but one which was not active in empire-building, preferring to engage in long-distance trade, retained their old name.

Wends and Iranians

In AD 558-568 a small group of gifted organizers and empire-builders from Inner Asia, youths of the Hunnic people called Var and Khunni, appeared on the eastern and northern frontiers of Byzantium. Initially, they made some arrangements with the Byzantine government. Soon they crossed the Danube and established their nomadic Pax, which had its center in Pannonia. Like every nomadic Pax, the Avars—or, to be more precise, the Pseudo-Avars—had two main sources of income: raiding and blackmailing a sedentary empire (in this case, Byzantium), and conducting international trade.

The imperial hordes (charismatic clans, in the terminology used here) of the Pseudo-Avars engaged primarily in running the Pax and maintaining its military strength. Their commercial operations were in the hands of professional long-distance merchants from Inner Asia, mainly of Iranian and Tocharian origin (Serbs, Croats, *Obotriti*, *Vilti*). A balance between the two groups and their activities was maintained, according to the traditional pattern of cooperation between nomads and faring merchants.

The Avars must have been very successful in their endeavors, for during the 232 years that their Pax existed in East-Central Europe (568-800) they amassed great riches. Charlemagne’s biographer, Einhard (ca. 817-830), wrote the following after the capital of the Avars had been taken: “All the money and treasure that had been years amassing was seized, and no war in which the Franks have ever engaged within the memory of man brought them such riches and such booty.”⁸⁴ The Avars blocked the Scandinavians’ route to Byzantium, causing the pauperization of the peninsula. Also, until 800, the Avars were the primary concern of the two major European powers, Byzantium and the Franks, especially since they shared common borders.

Since there were comparatively few Avars (they appeared in Europe as fugitives), they had to rely on the peoples they conquered, particularly the Slavs, for additional manpower. They trained their male slaves, who were basically of Slavophone origin, to serve two purposes: to be “swordfodder” during their military campaigns through Europe, and to be suppliers of bread. The Avars organized a sophisticated and efficient system to implement these purposes.

It was in this way that the Avars fostered the beginning of the so-called Slavic migrations. The Slavs (or Sclavi, to use the better, neutral term) now began to colonize the territories abandoned by the Germans.

However, the Avars did not forsake their Inner Asian connections; not only did they continue to trade with the area, but, as archaeological data indicate, they received a steady if small stream of newcomers from that area between 630 and 700. Among the Iranian peoples within the Avar Pax who, we assume, were primarily merchants, there were the *Serbi* (*Surbi*, *Sorabi*), *Khorbati* (*Croati*), *Abotriti*, and *Vilti/Welatabi*. These groups were apparently granted economic control over the territories between the Elbe and Oder, and, after 626, some of them entered into cooperative agreements with Frankish merchants.

Three Iranian "merchant-tribes" lived outside the Elbe-Saale-Oder basin. The *Khorbati* (Croats) were one of the two ruling "tribes" in Bohemia during the tenth century, since they and the *Surbi*/Serbs controlled the Danube-Adriatic region. If one accepts the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (ca. 948; *De Administrando Imperio*, chapter 33), the ruling Polish dynasty was also of Iranian origin ("unbaptized Serbs"). In this connection one must keep in mind that there never existed a "Common Serbian" or "Common Croatian" Slavonic language; only the Serbs and Croats of the given region adapted the local Slavic idiom.

The *Elbe-Abotriti* were called the *Nort-Abtrezi* by the "Geographus Bavarus," who distinguished them from the *Oster-Abtrezi*, also called *Praedenecenti*.⁸⁵ They controlled the crossroads near and in Braničevo, the important trading and mining center in the Danube region located near the estuary of the river Morava into the Danube. After the fall of the Avar Pax the Danube Bulgars occupied this territory. The *Oster-Abtrezi*, desiring to be under Frankish protection (as were, at that time, their "relatives" the *Nort-Abtrezi*), sent several missions to Emperor Louis I Debonnaire (in 818 to Heristad, in 823 to Frankfurt, and in 824 to Aachen). The matter was finally agreed upon, and in 827 an open Frankish-Bulgarian conflict broke out. The war over the Avar succession lasted until 845 and was not fully resolved until 864, when a treaty was signed at Tulln on the Danube. This was also the time (860s) when the Slavic mission of Cyrill and Methodius started, which succeeded in creating the Slavonic rite. The latter, after some misfortunes in Moravia, made a historic career (bringing Slavization) as a factor unifying (Danubian) Bulgaria and Rus', the successor of the Khazar empire.

The general impression which one gets from studying the history of the political organizations of the *Surbi*, the *Welatabi*, the *Abotriti*, and later that of their successors, the Czechs and the Poles, is that there was no strong connection between the dynasty of the superior kings and the *reguli* and *primores* of the basically Slavic tribal-territorial organizations. While the superior kings readily accepted Christianity as a necessary step in evolving a higher civilization (i.e., a Christian monarchy), the *reguli* and their tribes were against such an innovation. While the kings were successful in Bohemia and Poland, the Baltic Wends (*Obo-*

triti, *Vilti*) mobilized all their resources in a belated revival of the unproductive pagan religion and the development of a kind of anti-Christianism (in praxis, it was an anti-German movement), with the result that by the twelfth century they disappeared from history.

For the purposes of our main theme, let me make some summarizing statements:

1. The realms of the *Surbi*, *Wilti/Welatabi*, and *Abotriti* (originally Iranians, later Slavophones) were commercially oriented. Evidence of these activities are the hoards of Kufic coins and other artifacts and treasures discovered on their territory, as well as the indisputable early existence along the western Baltic coast (from the seventh to eighth century) of marketplaces and ports. It is reasonable to assume that the Danish-*Abotriti* conflict of 808-809 concerning the *emporium* of Reric was a struggle for hegemony in the Baltic after the collapse of the Avar Pax.

2. The three realms had their own charismatic clans, interested in expansion, which were recognized as partners by the Franks and the Scandinavian dynasties.

3. The members of the realms' charismatic clans bore—as did the Rus' dynasty—names from different cultural-linguistic spheres, depending on the political situation, e.g., Iranian (e.g., Wacan, *fl.* 789), Germanic (Godeleibus, *fl.* 808; Ceadrag, *fl.* ca. 820; Sigtryggr, *fl.* 950; Guthscalculus, d. 1066, etc.), or Slavic (Slavomir, *fl.* 817-823; Goztomuizl, d. 844; Mistui, d. ca. 990, etc.).

4. Since the realms in question did take a direct part in Oriental trade, members of their charismatic clans may be expected also to have made careers in Eastern Europe. Such occurrences can be substantiated: in the mid-tenth century Mal"ik" Liubechanin, a native of the *Abotriti* town of Lubika,⁸⁶ stayed in Novgorod and later became the maternal grandfather of Volodimer the Great (d. 1015).

The cultural development of mankind began in Mesopotamia and soon spread to the lands around *Mare Nostrum*, the Mediterranean Sea (for practical reasons China must be excluded from this overview). Until the eighth to tenth century AD, human (European) history was the history of the lands around the Mediterranean. At that time, rightly called the Viking Age, a shift to the North started to take place. First, the lands bordering the North Sea and then the lands around *Mare Balticum*, the Baltic Sea, were included in history. This was the most significant result of the activity of the Vikings.

But the Old Norsemen were not the ones to establish hegemony in Central and Eastern Europe. Due to specific developments (the adoption and adaptation of the former state- and culture-building experiences), West and Central Europe became culturally Slavic. Its eastern wing (the Rus') was rooted in the Khazar achievements, while the Western (the Czechs and the Poles) became the successors to the Avars. For this reason, my overview began with the Eastern Slavic group and has ended with the Western group of the Slavs.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

- G. Décsy, *Einführung = Einführung in die Finnisch-Ugarische Sprachwissenschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1965).
- B. Granberg, *Förteckning = Förteckning över kufiska myntfund i Finland* (Helsinki, 1966).
- J. Jaakkola, *SH = Suomen Historia*, vol. 2-3 (Porvoo-Helsinki, 1956-1958).
- P. Johansen, *Nordische Mission = Nordische Mission. Revals Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland* (Stockholm, 1951).
- KSIA = Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii*, Moscow.
- KSIIMK = Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury*, Moscow-Leningrad.
- A. N. Nasonov, *Russkaia Zemlia = "Russkaia zemlia" i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1951).
- NPL = Novgorodskaiia pervaiia letopis' starshego i mladshhego izvodov*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950).
- PSRL = Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh letopisei* (St. Petersburg/Leningrad-Moscow).
- PVL = Povest' vremennykh let*, ed. D. S. Likhachev, 2 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950).
- SSS = Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* (Warsaw, 1961- ; in progress).
- M. I. Tikhomirov, *Goroda = Drevnerusskie goroda*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1956).
- Y. H. Toivonen, *SKES = Y. H. Toivonen, E. Itkonen, A. Joki, Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*, 6 vols. (Helsinki, 1955-1978).
- M. Vasmer, *REW = Max Vasmer, Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1953-1958).

- 1 *NPL*, 78 (s.a. 1242). Cf. *Kniga Bol'shomu Chertezhu*, ed. K. N. Serbina (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), 153-55; cf. M. Vasmer, *REW*, III, 352.
- 2 M. Vasmer, *REW*, III, 352.
- 3 N. N. Cherniagin, *Dlinnye kurgany i sopki [Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR, vol. 6]* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1941); S. A. Tarakanova, "Dlinnye i udlinennye kurgany," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia*, 19 (1954), 47-110; F. D. Gurevich, "O dlinnykh i udlinennykh kurganakh," *KSIIMK*, 72 (1958), 54-65; V. V. Sedov, "Krivichi," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* (1960), No. 1, pp. 47-62.
- 4 Sedov, "Krivichi," 47-62; cf. review of that article by Krystyna Musianowicz in *Rocznik Białostocki*, 3 (1962), 465-66; V. V. Sedov, *Slaviane verkhnego podneprov'ia i podvin'ia* (Moscow, 1970), 71.
- 5 Birger Nerman, "Archeologische Untersuchungen bei Izborsk," *Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft* (1924), 52-73; V. V. Sedov, "Izborskaia ekspeditsiia," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1972 goda* (Moscow, 1973), 39-40; V. V. Sedov, "Raskopki izborskoii ekspeditsii," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1973 goda* (Moscow, 1974), 31-32.
- 6 I. K. Labutina, "Okhrannye raskopki v Poskove," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1972 goda*, 20-21; K. M. Plotkin, "Raskopki gorodishcha Kamno pod Pskovom," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1973 goda*, 28; cf. also A. L. Mongait, *Arkheologiia v SSSR* (Moscow, 1955), 362; M. I. Tikhomirov, *Goroda*, 389-90.
- 7 Sedov, "Raskopki izborskoii ekspeditsii," 31-32.
- 8 As presented in the seventeenth-century chronicles, the town's old name was supposedly *Slovensk*, since its founder had the name Sloven; see M. Kh. Aleshkovskii, *Kamennye strazhy* (Leningrad, 1971), 104.
- 9 Labutina, "Okhrannye raskopki," 21.
- 10 Concerning the *piatiny* see A. N. Nasonov, *Russkaia zemlia*, 117-26; concerning the *Shelonskaia piatina*, see pp. 118-20; on the *Vodskaiia piatina*, see pp. 120-21.
- 11 *NPL*, 507.

- 12 Ibid., 17; further references are on pp. 54, 78, 89, 95, 253, 295, 321, 337, 446, 450.
- 13 Ibid., 28; further references are on pp. 78, 215, 295, 297, 349, 424, 450-51.
- 14 The name *Vatland* occurs first ca. 1164-1181 in the *bull*a of Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) to Stephan, bishop of Uppsala (1164-1185); see *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, ed. J. D. Liljegren, (Stockholm, 1829), I, 257; *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. F. G. Bunge, III (Reval, 1857), no. 169a (13 April 1241).
- 15 *Hanserezesse*, First division (Leipzig, 1870), 7, no. 568, § 7.
- 16 The *bull*a of Pope Gregory IX to the bishops of Uppsala and Linköping on 9 January 1230: "pagani Wathlandiae"; see *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, I, no. 154; cf. S. S. Gadziatskii, "Votskaia i Izhorskaia zemli Novgorodskogo gosudarstva," *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 6 (1940), 103-04.
- 17 M. Vasmer, *REW*, I (1953), 213; G. Décsy, *Einführung*, 240.
- 18 V. V. Sedov, "Etnicheskie sostav naseleniia severo-zapadnykh zemel' Velikogo Novgoroda (IX-XIV vv.)," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiya*, 18 (1953), 209-10; A. N. Nasonov, *Russkaia Zemlia*, 118; E. N. Nosov, "Istochniki po slavianskoi kolonizatsii Novgorodskoi zemli," *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, (Leningrad, 1974), 212-41.
- 19 Mongait, *Arkheologiya v SSSR*, 362-64.
- 20 See Paul Johansen, "Novgorod und die Hanse," *Gedächtnisschrift für F. Rörig* (Lübeck, 1953), 121-48.
- 21 Cf. E. A. Rydzevskaia, "Kholm v Novgorode i drevne-severnyi Hólmgarðr," *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury*, II (Petrograd, 1922), 105-12. On the town Slovensk, the alleged predecessor of Great Novgorod, see also M. N. Tikhomirov, *Goroda*, 23-24, 378.
- 22 *Þjalar Jóns saga*, ed. L. F. Tan-Haverhorst (Harlem, 1939), 12.
- 23 First attested to in the *NPL* (s.a. 1195), 41. As to the etymology, see Johansen, "Novgorod und die Hanse," 129.
- 24 M. I. Zaitseva and M. I. Mullonen, *Slovar' vepsskogo iazyka* (Leningrad, 1972), 302-03; cf. Johansen, "Novgorod und die Hanse," 129.
- 25 *NPL*, 17; cf. S. S. Gadziatskii, "Votskaia i Izhorskaia zemli," 102.
- 26 A. N. Nasonov, *Russkaia Zemlia*, 80-81. The *Vod'* first appear as a component part of the Novgorodian army in 1270; see *NPL*, 89.
- 27 Aleshkovskii, *Kamennye strazhy*, 59-60; cf. A. N. Kirpichnikov, *Drevnerusskoe oruzhie*, I (Moscow-Leningrad, 1966), map on p. 50; II (1966), maps on pp. 24 and 34.
- 28 *Getica*, ed. E. Ch. Skrzhinskaia (Moscow, 1960), p. 150 (text) and pp. 265-66 (commentary).
- 29 Ibn Faḍlān, ed. A. P. Kovalivs'kyi (Kharkiv, 1956), facsim. pp. 206 a; 207a; 208 a; generally on the topic see V. Minorsky, *Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* (London, 1942), 34, 112-14; B. N. Zakhoder, *Kaspiiskii svod svedenii o Vostochnoi Evrope*, II (Moscow, 1967), 59-69.
- 30 *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, IV, 19, in *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. XI, ed. W. Trillmich (Berlin, 1961), 458.
- 31 V. L. Iarin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy russkogo srednevekov'ia* (Moscow, 1956), 101, 120, pl. 1, pl. 2.
- 32 B. A. Kolchin, *Novgorodskie drevnosti. Dereviannye izdelia* (Moscow, 1968), 5-10.
- 33 *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik (Budapest, 1949), 56.
- 34 I. M. Trotskii, "Vozniknovenie Novgorodskoi respubliki," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR*, ser. 7 (1932), no. 4, 271-91; no. 5, 349-74.
- 35 Mongait, *Arkheologiya v SSSR*, 362; L. A. Golubeva, "Raskopki v Beloozere," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1965 goda* (Moscow, 1966), 174-76; L. A. Golubeva, "Amfory i krasnoglinitiane kuvshiny Beloozera," *KSIA*, 135(1973), 101-04; cf. also S. I. Kochkurkina, *Iugo-vostochnoe Priladozh'e v X-XIII vv.* (Leningrad, 1973); L. A. Golubeva, *Ves'i Slaviane na Belom ozere X-XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1973).

- 36 *PVL*, I, 132; cf. A. N. Nasonov, *Russkaia Zemlia*, 100-04.
- 37 *PSRL*, I, ed. E. F. Karskii (Leningrad, 1927), col. 302; cf. A. N. Nasonov, *Russkaia Zemlia*, 90; M. N. Tikhomirov, *Goroda*, 418.
- 38 M. Vasmer, *REW*, I, 331.
- 39 *NPL*, 97.
- 40 Tadeusz Lehr-Spławirski, "Dźwina," *SSS*, I, 2 (1962), 443.
- 41 Cf., e. g., M. Vasmer, *REW*, I, 331.
- 42 D. V. Bubrikh, *Proiskhozhdenie karel'skogo naroda* (Petrozavodsk, 1947), 28; V. I. Lytkin, "Iz istorii slovarnogo sostava permskikh iazykov," *Voprosy iazykoznanii* (1953), No. 5, p. 64; cf. H. Kirkinen, *Karjala idän kultuuripiirissä* (Bysantin ja Venäjän yhteyksistä keskiajan Karjalaan) (Helsinki, 1963), 36; Martti Haavio, *Bjarmien vallan kukoistus ja tuho: Historiaa ja runoutta* (Porvoo, 1965).
- 43 V. L. Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy*, 101 and pl. 1.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 120 and pl. 1.
- 45 See O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, I, (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 27, 169, 171, 523, 527.
- 46 See Gerard Labuda, *Źródła, sagi i legendy do najdawniejszych dziejów Polski* (Warsaw, 1960), 51-58.
- 47 Gerard Labuda, "Ostsae-Bałyk w opisie Króla Alfreda i jego informatorów," in *Źródła, sagi i legendy*, 58-71; A. Gätters, "Osti und Ostsee," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 5 (1954), 244-48; K. Malone, "King Alfred's North," *Speculum*, 5(1930), 156-57.
- 48 Ed. Gerard Labuda, *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie* (Warsaw, 1961), p. 54 (phototyp. edition), p. 69 (text).
- 49 P. Johansen, *Nordische Mission*; Paul Johansen, *Die Estlandliste des Liber Census Daniae* (Tallinn-Copenhagen, 1933); Paul Johansen, "Der altnordische Name Ösels als verfassungsgeschichtliches Problem," *Festschrift Karl Harff* (Innsbruck, 1950), 95-110; Lauri Ketunen, *Etymologische Untersuchungen über estnische Ortsnamen* (Helsinki, 1955).
- 50 M. Vasmer, *REW*, III, 352. Cf. R. A. Ageeva, "Ob etnonime Chud' (Chukhna, Chukhar)," *Etnonimy* (Moscow, 1970), 193-203.
- 51 *PVL*, I, 40 (s.a. 945), 114 (s.a. 1068), 121 (s.a. 1072), 132 (s.a. 1078); II, 210-11; *NPL*, 111, 177, 189, 197. Cf. M. I. Tikhomirov, *Goroda*, 162-63.
- 52 *NPL*, 35 (s. a. 1175), 71 (s.a. 1231), 351 (s.a. 1340), 361 (s.a. 1348), etc.
- 53 Cf. D. S. Likhachev, in *PVL*, II, 211.
- 54 Cf. Kustaa Viikuna, *Kainuu-Kvenland. Missä ja mikä?* (Helsinki, 1957).
- 55 Y. H. Toivonen, *SKES*, I, 142-143. Concerning the Kainuans see J. Jaakkola, *SH*, II, 302-33 (especially chapter 24): "Mitä olivat muinaiset Kainulaiset"; the map of Kainuu names is given there on p. 303. The name *Kainuu* still exists in Lappish; see Eliel Lagercrantz, *Lappischer Wortschatz* (Helsinki, 1939), 258 (no. 2044): *kajnelača* "Bauer nicht Lappischer Rasse . . . Finnländer . . . Finne aus Kainuu."
- 56 J. Jaakkola, *SH*, II, 312.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 334-46 (Chapter 26: "Muinaisen pirkkalaisliikkeen alku"). The routes of the Bir-carli and the sphere of their activities are discussed on pp. 296, 338.
- 58 *Ibid.*, map on p. 296.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 277.
- 60 B. Granberg, *Förteckning*, 174-86.
- 61 J. Jaakkola, *SH*, II, 306-10.
- 62 *NPL*, 77; cf. p. 81 (s.a. 1256). Concerning the etymology of *Suomi*, see G. Décsy, *Einführung*, 238; M. Vasmer, *REW*, III, 45; Y. H. Toivonen, *SKES*, IV, 1114-1115.
- 63 Concerning *Tavastaland*, see J. Jaakkola, *SH*, II, 193-203.
- 64 Concerning *Hämä*, see J. Jaakkola, *SH* II, 204-11. The old history of the Tavastaland is given in vol. 1 of *Hämeen historia. Esihistoria ja keskiaika*, edited by the Hämeen Heimoliitto (Hämeenlinna, 1955), especially 402-21.

- 65 Y. H. Toivonen, *SKES*, I, 97.
- 66 J. Jaakkola, *SH*, II, 196-200.
- 67 B. Granberg, *Förteckning*, 186-209.
- 68 *PVL*, I, 10, 13.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 103.
- 70 *NPL*, 26.
- 71 J. Jaakkola, *SH*, III, 189-281.
- 72 *Ibid.*, II, 212-70; Kirkinen, *Karjala idän kulttuuripiirissä*.
- 73 *NPL*, 27.
- 74 J. Jaakkola, *SH*, II, 218-27 and the map on p. 221. Cf. also D. V. Bubrikh, *Proiskhozhdenie karel'skogo naroda*; V. N. Bernadskii, I. I. Smirnov, Ia. A. Balagurov, *Ocherki istorii Karelii*, I (Petrozavodsk, 1951), esp. 42-43.
- 75 J. Jaakkola, *SH*, II, 239-49; E. Jutikkala (with K. Pirinen), *A History of Finland* (New York, 1969), 12.
- 76 G. Décsy, *Einführung*, 238.
- 77 *Vita Anskarii*, ed. W. Trillmich in *Adam von Bremen* (Berlin, 1961), 94, 96.
- 78 J. Endzelīns, "Über die Nationalität und Sprache der Kuren," *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, 12(1912), 50-72; V. Kiparsky, *Die Kurenfrage* (Helsinki, 1939); Ed Šturms, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Liven," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, 10(1936), 35-53.
- 79 P. Johansen, "Kurlands Bewohner zu Anfang der historischen Zeit," *Baltische Lande*, I (Leipzig, 1939), 270-306.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 303-04.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 304.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 304-05.
- 83 Valdis J. Zeps, *Latvian and Finnic Linguistic Convergences* (Bloomington, 1962), 84-97.
- 84 Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magno*, ed. G. H. Pertz and G. Waitz, (Hannover, 1905), 14.
- 85 "Geographus Bavarus," ed. Erwin Herrmann, in *Slawisch-Germanische Beziehungen* (Munich, 1965), 221; the name *Praedenecenti* occurs in the "Annales Regni Francorum," s.a. 822 (= Herrmann, *Slawisch-Germanische Beziehungen*, 92) and s.a. 824 (= Herrmann, *Slawisch-Germanische Beziehungen*, 94: legatos Abodritorum, qui vulgo Praedenecenti vocantur).
- 86 *PVL*, I, 49.

Note: I received four relevant recent books only while reading the proofs of this study; thus, I could not refer to them here. Fortunately, their data and concepts do not change my general picture and analysis. The publications in question are: Wolfgang H. Fritze, *Frühzeit zwischen Ostsee und Donau* (Berlin, 1982); C. F. Meinander, ed., *Finno-Ugri et Slavi 1978* (Helsinki, 1980); V. V. Sedov, *Vostochnye slaviane v. VI-XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982); Jerzy Strzelczyk, ed., *Słowiańszczyzna połabska między Niemcami a Polską* (Poznań, 1981).