

## THE ENIGMA OF THE ULICHY-TIVERTSY PEOPLE

1. *Preliminary Remarks.* In the Russian chronicles two names are mentioned of peoples or tribes which had lived along the rivers Dniester and Iuzhny Bug: the Ulichy and the Tivertsy. The first of these is also mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.<sup>1</sup>

Texts from Russian chronicles and other sources have been studied in the scope of determining the ethnic provenance of these peoples, and various hypotheses have been formed. Many of the authors of these, feeling probably the insufficiency of the arguments brought to support them, have qualified these peoples as “*enigmatic*,”<sup>2</sup> and P. N. Tretiakov expressed even his hope that future investigations would disclose *the mystery* of these peoples historical destinies.<sup>3</sup>

The enigma about these peoples lies in the fact that although they dwelt side by side with Russian tribes, they lived their own life, independent of that of the Russians.<sup>4</sup>

In the following an attempt is made to determine the ethnic character and the destinies of these peoples, penetrating in this way the secret of their existence.

The first and also the most important allusion to these peoples appears in the Russian chronicle “*Povest vremennyh let*” which makes part of the “*Lavrentievskaia*” chronicle.<sup>5</sup> The “*Povest*” was composed about the year 1110

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1. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*. Moravcsik-Jenkins, 1967 chap. 37, p. 168.

2. e. g. B. A. Rybakov, Ulichy. *Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta Materialnoi Kultury*, 1950, issue XXXV, p. 3.

3. P. N. Tretiakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*. Moscow, 1953, p. 251.

4. Explicitly acknowledged by S. M. Seredonin: *Istoricheskaya geographia*, 1916, p. 125.

5. *Letopis po Levrentievskomu spiscu*, 3rd. ed., The Archaeological Commission, St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 12: Ulichy i Tivertsy sediahu po Dniestru, prissediahu k Dunaijevi. Be mnozhestvo ih. Sediahu bo po Dniestru oli do moria i sut gradi ih i do sego dne. Da to zvaussia ot Grek Velikaya Skuph (Scythia).

and was included by the monk Lavrenti in his above named work which is dated 1377. The fragment reads thus:

And the Ulichy and the Tivertsy lived along the Dniester, their settlements stretching out to the Danube. They were a multitude; they dwelt along the Dniester even down to the sea and their towns have been preserved to our days.<sup>6</sup>

This fragment suggests the idea that at the beginning of the XIIth century, when the "Povest" was being composed, the Russian chronicler could no longer know them, at least under the old names; however, he knew that not long ago they had lived on the Dniester, and according to other chronicles — "also on the Bug."<sup>7</sup>

Let us note then the purpose of this first mention, and before we show the political position of these peoples and their destinies, let us investigate at length their ethnogeny, their names, and their dwelling places.

2. *Ethogeny.* The problem of the ethnic character of the Ulichy-Tivertsy and their ethnogeny has been treated in most different ways.

P. I. Schafarik, S. M. Soloviev and I. I. Szeznevsy were of the opinion that the Antsy whom they consider to have belonged to the eastern Slavs, have been transformed in Ulichy and Tivertsy, that is to say that the latter two names are just new denominations of the Antsy.<sup>7</sup>

In the opinion of P. N. Tretyakov the above definition reduces the scope of the problem, the Antsy being not only Ulichy and Tivertsy but a large and very widely extended mass.

Byzantine writers used to call the inhabitants of regions situated to the north of the Black Sea — "Scythians." Even as late as in the IXth century (in 860) Nicetas the Paphlagonian considered the "Rossians" (or Russians) a Scythian people. Leo the Deacon calls them "Tauro-Scythians." The author also explains that the military, political and economical interests of the Antsy were directed almost exclusively towards the Balkan peninsula. The expeditions of the Antsy towards southern countries were probably made by sea, along its western coasts. Following this route, the vessels of the "Rossians" (or Russians) made their way to Constantinople or Amastrida. But, says the author, the principal direction of the Antsys' expeditions lay much farther

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6. D. S. Lihachiov, commenting on the "Povest" confirms that in the Ipatievskaja and Pereyasavl-Suzdalskaja chronicles the words "and on the Bug" have been added. Whereas in the Radzivilovskaya and Moscow Academy chronicles the passage reads: "along the Bug and the Dniester" (instead of "along the Dniester"). D. S. Lihachiov, *Povest vremennykh let*, Leningrad, 1950, v. II, p. 226.

7. P. N. Tretyakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 2nd ed., Moscow, 1953, p. 212.

to the East: their principal highways were not only the Dnieper, but also the Don, the Avoz Sea, the Crimea, and later — the Volga and the Caspian Sea. In the Xth century Constantine Porphyrogenitus states that *the Russians dwell along the upper Dnieper*. This is a precious statement.<sup>8</sup>

In the XI-XII century the name of Rus was attributed to a relatively small region by the middle course of the Dnieper, that is the Kiev land, the land of the Poliany. The Antsy differ from the Russians, being "two waves of the great mass of eastern Slavs." The Antsy found themselves at the head of all the eastern Slavs, including in their numbers the Ulichy too. In the author's opinion the Ulichy and the Tivertsy represented a group of eastern Slavs which had joined the "Antsy association."<sup>9</sup> For all this the author is not too sure of his conclusions; as it has been cited at the beginning of the present study, he trusts that the "mystery" of the historical destinies of the Ulichy people would be solved in the future. *The idea of an Antsy association is absolutely fictitious*; no arguments exist to corroborate it. Even if an association of this sort had existed, it would be necessary to bring forth proofs of the Ulichy's and Tivertsy's participation in it. Since the author gives no such proof and does not even make any allusion to the existence of such, the hypothesis of the Ulichy and Tivertsy belonging to an "association of Antsy" appears completely unfounded.

Besides this, the author himself points out that the Antsy dwelt elsewhere from the Ulichy and Tivertsy, namely where their interests and expeditions bade them to be.

On the shores of the Black Sea various people were frequently met. The Ulichy and Tivertsy were present in the regions where the Petchenegues roamed, as it is to be gathered from Constantine Porphyrogenitus' testimony<sup>10</sup> in his "Description of the Black Sea shores, from the Danube to the city of Haza Ular Sarkel." All over this area the Petchenegues controlled the mouths of the Dnieper, the Dniester and the Danube. But the Russian chronicles say that the Ulichy-Tivertsy reached "down to the sea." Hence, the inherent co-existence of these peoples and the Petchenegues. The peaceful understanding between them did not involve the loss of their ethnic character.

In general, the hypothesis of a connection between the Antsy on the one side and the Ulichy and Tivertsy on the other side, must be completely aban-

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8. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *op. cit.*, chap. 42.

9. P. N. Tretyakov, *op. cit.*, p. 213-217 and especially p. 218.

10. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *ibidem*.

done, so much so for the reason that the problem is much more complicated than it is in the author's opinion.

In contradiction with those historians who affirm that the Antsy were eastern Slavs, G. Vernadsky, after a detailed analysis of the problem reaches the conclusion that the Antsy had not been a purely Slav, but a mixed people, a dominant tribe of Sarmats and their dwelling place had been the region along the river Oskol, an affluent of the river Donets.<sup>11</sup>

It is clear that once the theory of P. N. Tretiakov discarded, the theory of F. Brun falls too. The latter, starting from the premise that the Tivertsy are the Antsy, believes that the Antsy mingling with the Thervings (of Goth origin) came to be called Tivertsy, by analogy with the Ross people which, upon getting slavonized, transmitted its name to the Poliane; or with the southern Slavs who, mingling with the Bulgarians, got to be called by the latter's name.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the Tivertsy would seem to be half Goths, half Antsy (or Goths of a Slav colouring). The author brings forth no argument to corroborate his statements besides this analogy and the similarity of name.

It is well known that the Tervings are western Goths who have ruled over Valahia (Tsara Românească), the centre of their sway being Buzău. Later they moved on to the west under the pressure of the Huns. Thus the theory of a mingling with the Antsy has been used by F. Brun only to explain why these "western Goths" should have remained nevertheless on the territory adjoining the Dniester instead of driving on, westward.

There exist other theories concerning the name as well as the ethnic origin of the Antsy. It has been suggested that the origin of their name is Caucasian (P. Polak), Etruscan (B. Meriggi), Turkish. In the latter case it is suggested that the name had been given by the Avars to that part of Slavs who befriended these barbarians (F. P. Filin), being adopted later by Byzantine writers.<sup>13</sup> At the same time the author cited last rejects the idea of the Antsy's alliance with the Slavs, because there is no proof to sustain it.

Other Russian authors who have dealt with the problem of the Ulichy-Tivertsy rely mostly on the argument of these peoples' neighbourhood with the Russians, drawing from here conclusions as to their east Slav or Russian

11. G. Vernadsky, *The Spali of Iordanis and the Spori of Procopius. Byzantion*, v. XIII, 1938, p. 263-266.

12. F. Brun, *Chernomor'ye*, v. II, *Black Sea Goths* p. 206-207.

13. F. P. Filin, *Obrazovanie iazyka vostochnykh slavian*. Moscow, 1962 containing a short review of the different opinions on the subject (p. 59-62).

ethnic character. V. N. Tatishtchev,<sup>14</sup> N. M. Karamzin,<sup>15</sup> N. I. Nadezhdin,<sup>16</sup> I. Filevitch,<sup>17</sup> S. M. Seredonin,<sup>18</sup> I. Bromberg,<sup>19</sup> M. V. Levchenko,<sup>20</sup> A. V. Florovsky<sup>21</sup> and many others have proceeded in the same way.

A. Spitsyn does not express any definite opinion concerning the ethnogeny of the Ulichy and the Tivertsy, admitting only the fact of their possessing the six towns cited by Constantine Porphyrogenitus and placing the centre of their settlements in the Carpathians.<sup>22</sup>

Here is another version of the Ulichy — that of the Ukrainian historian V. Parhomenko.<sup>23</sup> Seeking an explanation for the name “Kuiaba” given by Arab writers to a group of eastern Slavs, the author surmises that this name comprises Drevlenes and the Ulichy (with the Tivertsy) who have formed properly speaking the nucleus of the Ukrainian people. Simultaneously he rejects the hypothesis of the Antsy being the ancestors of the eastern Slavs and the Ukrainians. Unfortunately, the hypothesis of the Ukrainian author as regards the Ulichy as well as the theories of the Russian authors lacks scientific basis.

Quite apart stands the opinion of D. Jlovaisky who affirms that the most southern Slav tribes who dwelt by the Dniester and the sea, the Ulichy and the Tivertsy, were Bulgarian tribes; he considers the name Tivertsy to be identical with that of the Tavroscythians. The latter dwelt, according to old writers, by the estuary of the Dnieper (?) and on the Kynburn tongue. In the Xth century, Leo the Deacon considers the Tavroscythians a Ross (i. e. Rus-

14. V. N. Tatishtchev, *Istoria*, v. II, foot-note 98, cited according to I. Filevich, (see note 17).

15. N. M. Karamzin, *Istoria gosudarstva Rossiiskogo*, v. I, notes 301 and 362.

16. N. I. Nadezhdin, O mestopoloženii drevnego goroda Peressechen, prinadlejavshego narodu Uglicham. *Zapiski Odesskogo Ob-va Istorii i Dreunostei*. v. I, p. 255.

17. I. Filevich, *Istoria drevnei Russi*, v. I, Warsaw, 1896, p. 294.

18. S. M. Seredonin, op. cit., 126.

19. I. Bromberg, Toponymical and historical miscellanies on medieval Dobrudja, Bessarabia and Moldo-Walachia, in *Byzantion*, v. XII, 1937, p. 451. Considers the “Ulichy and Tivertsy” to be East-Slav tribes of Bessarabia and thinks that the Ulichy’s town Peressechen was situated at Peresecina, in Bessarabia. N. I. Nadezhdin was of the same opinion.

20. M. V. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskih otnoshenii*. Moscow, 1956, p. 198.

21. A. V. Florovskii, *Chehi i vostochnye slaviane*, v. I. Prague, 1935, p. 167-168.

22. A. Spitsyn, Rasselenie drevne-russkikh plemion po archeologicheskim dannym. *Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosv.*, 1899, VIII, p. 325.

23. V. Parhomenko, Pochatok istorichno-derzhavnogo jittia na Ukraini. Ukrainian State edition (s. a. ), p. 11-15.

sian) tribe. But in our opinion, he is probably confounding the Russians with the Bulgarians who dwelt by Azov.

Jlovaisky considers the Russians identical with the Huns, while the Bulgarians are in his eyes pure Slavs. This theory, even at its appearance has met with most severe criticism on the part of Russian historians and has been almost unanimously rejected.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike other authors, F. P. Filin is of the opinion that the major part of the Ulichy and the Tivertsy have been amalgamated with the southern Slavs, while some part of them "could have entered" in the composition of the Greek population on the shores of the Black Sea. However, the author does not bring forth any proofs to sustain his hypothesis.<sup>25</sup>

Nearer to the truth are those who think that the Tivertsy got their name from Tyras — the ancient name of the Dniester. However, this does not prevent them nevertheless from considering these to be Russian tribes.<sup>26</sup> Only a few authors realise that dwelling by the Dniester, the Tivertsy were Tyragets, Gets, consequently Thracians.

Yet even this latter group of authors does not bring forth any proof to corroborate their opinion, except the connection with the Dniester.<sup>27</sup> Besides this, they only make an exception as regards the Tivertsy, and continue to consider the Ulichy a purely Russian tribe.<sup>28</sup> But by an erroneous interpretation they reduce all the same the Tivertsy to some completely slavonized Thracians.<sup>29</sup>

It is inexplicable why the authors who have studied the problem of the ethnogeny of the Ulichy-Tivertsy pay no attention to the chronicle "Povest vremennyh let." Three times in the course of his narrative does the Russian chronicler enumerate the Russian tribes and not once does he cite the Tivertsy among these.<sup>30</sup> Neither are they cited among the numerous peoples which were the Russians' (Poliany's) tributaries, certainly for the simple fact that they were a wholly independent people and lived a life which was different from that of the Russians. Thus it is to be clearly seen from this chronicle that the *Ulichy-Tivertsy were neither Slavs nor Russians*.

24. D. Jlovaiskii, *Razyskaniia o nachale Russi*, 2nd ed., Moscow, 1882, pp. 66-67, 285-288.

25. F. P. Filin, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

26. S. M. Seredonin, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.

27. B. A. Rybakov, *op. cit.*, p. 16. *Istoria Moldavsk. SSR*, Kishinev, 1965, p. 33.

28. B. A. Rybakov, *op. cit.*

29. The Ulichy and Tivertsy in archaeologic theory. See G. V. Fedorov's theory.

30. Lavrentienskaya chronicle, pp. 5, 10, 11-12.

The hypothesis which we intend to expose in the present study is based not on the simple fact of vicinity with Russian tribes, which is insignificant, but on historical realities. We shall attempt to prove that the Ulichy and Tivertsy are Thracians.

3. *The Name.*— In the Russian chronicles the name Tivertsy appears with a singular uniformity and only once the name is Tiverithy.<sup>31</sup>

The other name is given by different chroniclers in varied form: Ulichy, Ulutichy, Ulitsy, Lutichy, Liutichy, Lutchy, Sulichy, etc. The oldest chronicles, the Lavrentievskaya and the Ipatievskaya give the following forms: the former — Uluchy, the latter — Ulutichy and Ulichy.<sup>32</sup>

In the later chronicles, the Voskresenskaia and the Nikonovskaia belonging to the XVI century, in an entry relating to the year 914, the Ulichy appear under the name of Uglichy, Ugliche, Uglitse, a "g" being introduced in the name of this tribe, which suggests the idea that their name bears a connection to the word "corner" (in Russian: corner = ugol).<sup>33</sup>

This form has been considered to be the most appropriate by one of the first Russian historians — V. N. Tatishchev who, while using different names for the Ulichy prefers, nevertheless, in his notes this latter form, and connects the existence of the Uglichy with the river "Ugol" (Orel, an affluent of the Dnieper from the left side) on which he pretends to have found on an old map the town of Peressechen.<sup>34</sup> This spelling of the name of Uglichy is sustained by N. J. Nadezhdin<sup>35</sup> and all those authors who connect the name with the notion of "corner" (ugol).

Lambin goes still further affirming that the general name of this people was "Ulitsy," but those among them who dwelt in the bend of the Dnieper had also another name, that of "Uglichy."<sup>36</sup> We think that this interpretation is erroneous since the name reached the chroniclers of the XVI century already in a distorted form, being interpreted so as to give it a Russian sense, which the name "Ulichy" had not; or it may be that the later chroniclers themselves deformed the word Ulichy on their own initiative.

31. A. A. Shahmatov, *Obozrenie russkikh letopisnykh svodov*. Leningrad, 1938, p. 100 (Sofiiskaya I, Novgorodskaya IV, and Troitskaya).

32. Lavrentievskaya chronicle, p. 12. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopissey*, v. II (Ipatievskaya chronicle), p. 7, and under the year 885.

33. *Letopis zaniatii Archeograficheskoi Kommissii*, 1865-1866, v. IV. St. Petersburg, 1868 p. 67. Supplement p. 10 and *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopissey*, vol. VII, p. 277, vol. IX, p. 26-27.

34. V. N. Tatishchev, *ibidem*.

35. N. I. Nadezhdin, *op. cit.*

36. N. P. Lambin, *Slaviane na severnom Prichernomor'ye. Jurnal Min-va Narodn. Prosv.*, 1877, N. 5, 6. p. 53 and 1879, N. 12.

Besides the Russian chronicles, the Ulichy are alluded to, towards the end of the IX century, by the Bavarian Geographer. They were known to him under the name of Unlichy, dwelling to the north of the Danube.<sup>37</sup> He wrote: "Unlici populus multus civitates CCCXVIII." From the assertion that the Ulichy had 318 towns it is to be deduced that this people was very numerous. On the other hand the Russian chronicle also alludes to a "multitude," attributing this definition to both the Ulichy and the Tivertsy.

Consequently the Ulichy and the Tivertsy were no insignificant tribes but were peoples in the full sense of this word.

In the middle of the Xth century Constantine Porphyrogenitus alluded to the Ulichy calling them "Ultiny" (Οὐλτινοὶ) and locating them southward from the Drevlenes.<sup>38</sup>

The name of the Ulichy is of obscure origin. Some of the Russian authors seek to explain it, choosing from the different names of this people that of "Uluchy" which they consider as being derived from "luka" or "uluchie," which means a bend in a river's course and could be explained through the alleged dwelling place of this people (the bend of the Dnieper).<sup>39</sup> But this derivation is very dubious since the most prevalent name of this people is "Ulichy" and not "Uluchy."

As has been pointed out previously, the other name —: Tivertsy is put in connection by some historians with the antic name of the river Dniester — Tyras. In this way they become Tyragets, Gets, Thracians,<sup>40</sup> which is very possible.

For all that, there could be yet another explanation for their name. Is it not possible that the Russian chronicles should have misspelled the Thracians' name "Thraces," "Traices" or "Tausikes"<sup>41</sup> (the latter — a conjecture of P. Kretchmer, accepted by V. Georgiev), all of them based on the Indo-European radical "dher,"<sup>42</sup> arriving in this way to the spelling "Tivertsy"?

37. P. I. Schafarik, *Slavianskie drevnosti*. v. II, 3rd book, supplement XIX, p. 78.

38. *De Administrando Imperio*, chap. 37.

39. V. A. Rybakov, *op. cit.*, p. 14, S. M. Seredonin, *op. cit.* pp. 126-127.

40. Referring to Strabo and the elder Pliny, E. A. Rikman justly affirms that the territory along the Dniester was populated by the Thracian tribe of Tyragets (*Istoria M. SSR*, Kishinev, 1965, p. 33).

41. V. Georgiev, *Issledovania po sravnitelno-istoricheskomu jazykoznaniiyu*. Translated from Bulgarian. Moscow, 1958, p. 136.

42. I. I. Russu rejects in *Limba traco-dacilor*, Bucharest, 1967, p. 73, the formation "trausikes" as an archetype of the name Thraces.



The Russian chroniclers' habit of distortion of words is well known. Let us just mention a few examples: <sup>43</sup>

- 1) Mezia becomes Misia, Masia, Mosia
- 2) Saracens — Sarachiny, Sratsiny, Sariny
- 3) Avars — Obry
- 4) Mesopotamia — Misopotamisa
- 5) Torkmeni — Taumeni
- 6) Liubech — Liubesc
- 7) Slutsk — Sliucesk
- 8) Kolaksha — Kulachitza
- 9) Alta — L(i)to
- 10) Riazan — Erziany
- 11) Pskov — Pleskov
- 12) "Asighiton" ointment — is transformed in the Russian chronicle in "sunclit." <sup>44</sup>
- 13) In the Pushkinskaia chronicle the Bactrians are called "niktiriany" or "vrahmany." <sup>45</sup>

We note thus numerous alterations: metatheses, substitutions, additions and omissions which transform completely the original word.

The Russian chroniclers were familiar with the name of the Thracians, whom they called Thraky or Thratsy, their land being alluded to as "Thrach-ska zemlia" (zemlia = land). Since they put "tau" instead of "tork" at the beginning of the word "torkmen," and alluded to the Bactrians as Niktirians or Vrahmany, it would not be in the least surprising to find the Traces, Traices or Trausikes spelled "Tivertsy."

Whatever the origin of the names Ulichy and Tivertsy, it is most certain that they reached us in a distorted form, concealing probably denominations of some Thracian tribes.

4. *The Epithet "Tolcoviny."*— Many attempts have been made in order to define — or it would be perhaps more correctly to say guess — the ethnic character of the Tivertsy from an epithet applied in the Russian chronicles to these people on the occasion of their taking part in prince Oleg's expedition against the Byzantium in 907: the epithet is "Tolcoviny." The story of this word's interpretation is sadly full of fantastic explanations. All the same we

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43. Extracted for the most part from the Lavrentievskaya chronicle.

44. Lavrentievskaya chronicle, p. 228.

45. Pushkinskaya chronicle, a supplement of the Lavrentievskaya chronicle, p. 18.

are obliged to expose it with careful attention before we proceed to argue our own point of view.

The epithet appears not only in the Russian chronicles but also in the "The Tale of Igor's campaign," a writing of the XII century in which the prince of Kiev, Sviatoslav, is made to complain to his boyars that he had dreamed thus: "I was given blue wine mixed with bitter stuff and from the quivers of the pagan Tolcovinys big pearls were poured on my chest."<sup>46</sup> According to old Russian popular belief, dreaming pearls foreshowed tears. It follows from this that the Tivertsy who were Tolcoviny, are pagans, a people different from the Russian people, and their enemy.

F. Miklosich's work<sup>47</sup> has been the source of two hypotheses concerning the interpretation of the epithet "Tolcoviny," according to the two old Slav radicals cited by the author: 1) "tl-k" which would mean interpretation, and 2) "toloka" which means obligatory help, work executed under a mutual obligation of assistance.

According to these etymological explanations, "tolcovin" would mean 1) an interpreter, 2) an assistant, a man who could be used for various services.

The first of these hypotheses has been put forward by A. A. Potebnia<sup>48</sup> who, upon finding the term Tolcoviny in "The Tale of Igor's campaign," considered it to be derived from the verb "tolcovati" — to interpret, to translate, to explain. This opinion has been shared by A. A. Shahmatov<sup>49</sup> who considered the Tolcoviny a bilingual, mixed people. This theory has been emphasised by V. M. Istrin, who considered the Tolcoviny to be "a special class" of interpreters which were necessary for the Russians in their relations with the Polovcziny (Cumanes).<sup>50</sup>

D. Dubenski has been the first to suggest (in 1855) on the ground of the existence of the Carniol word (Tlaca), which means "belonging to the boyar," that the Tolcoviny were service men. This idea was later adopted by P. P. Via-

46. V. F. Rzhiga and S. K. Szhambinago, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, Moscow, 1959, p. 14 (Author's translation). It does not matter when this work has been written: in the XIIth century (D. S. Lihachiov, V. P. Andrianova-Peretts, R. Jacobson, etc), in the XVth or the XVIth century (Louis Leger), or in the XVIIIth century (Andr  Mazon, A. A. Zimin), the only thing which matters is that its author considered the Tolcoviny as a people *stranger* to the Russians.

47. F. Miklosich, *Etymologisches W rterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*, the word "tl-k".

48. *Slovo o pulku Igoreve*, 2nd ed., Klarkov, 1914, p. 90.

49. A. A. Shahmatov, *Vvedenie v kurs istorii russkogo iazyka*. Petrograd, 1916, p. 98.

50. V. M. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevnerusskoi literatury*, St. Petersburg, 1922. See under "Slovo" (Tale of Igor's campaign).

semsky who interpreted the word *tolcovin* in the sense of help,<sup>51</sup> as well as by V. I. Grigorovitch, who, in a short communication at the Third Archaeological Congress in Kiev in 1878<sup>52</sup> affirmed as follows: In the Ukraine the word "toloca," which means a simple reunion for a rapid harvesting or in general for assistance in any hard agricultural work, can be considered to be the root of the word "Tolcovin." In his opinion the Tolcoviny could have been people in relations of association, similarly to the "federate" people of Byzantium.

Likewise, M. Hrushevsky puts at the base of his explanation of the word *tolcovin* the word "toloca."<sup>53</sup>

This hypothesis has been adopted with some modifications by D. A. Rasovsky.<sup>54</sup> He repudiates as absolutely unfounded the opinion of those who would consider the Tolcoviny translators, seeing that the Russians were familiar with the Cumane language and had no need for such. In his opinion the Tolcoviny would be a subsidiary people who could be recruited from the ranks of pagans associated to the Russians, that is from the Pechenegues, Turks, Berendey and Couy.

In the Rumanian principalities the word *toloca* having a sense of assistance has not been known. In the modern Rumanian language *toloca* means virgin soil, abandoned, waste, uncultivated or unoccupied land (village, marketplace). In the Rumanian principalities there existed the word "claca," which is also known in the Rumanian villages in Hallicia, ruled under ancient Rumanian law (*jus valahicum*). There exists a Polish word "tloca," a Serbian word *tlaca*, a Bulgarian word *tleaca*. From B. P. Haşdeu<sup>55</sup> and M. Hrushevsky's<sup>56</sup> published works it follows that in Hallicia governed by the Poles there existed an obligation for the peasants, by coercion or consensus, to execute besides the usual obligatory works, three "clacas" a year, which were organized by the kneaz, leader of Rumanians. We read in one of the documents: "Item cmetones ad convocationem laboris dicti tloka convenire omnino debund."

51. Vjasemskii, *Zamechania na Slovo*, St. Petersburg, 1875, under the word "tolcoviny."

52. *Trudy Archeologicheskogo Congressa v Kieve*, 1878, v. 1, p. LII-LIII.

53. M. Hrushevskii, *Istoria Ukrainy-Russi*, v. II, 1923, p. 185, note 2.

54. *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, *Annales*, v. VIII, 1936, p. 307-313. The hypothesis has been adopted also by M. V. Levchenko: "Proizvedenia Konstantina Bagrianorodnogo, kak istochnik po istorii Russi v pervoi polovine X veka" in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, v. VI, 1953, p. 18.

55. *Arhiva Istorica*, v. IV.

56. M. Hrushevskii, *Materialy do istorii suspilno-politichnyh i ekonomichnyh vidnosin Zahidnoi Ukrainy*. Lemberg, 1906.

In Rumania, the claca was a service executed by the peasants on behalf of the boyars.<sup>57</sup> From the ancient tribal system there has survived a custom of mutual assistance on difficult occasions of village life.

In the Ukraine a toloca was a service of general participation for which the assistance did not receive any pay, but were generously entertained.<sup>58</sup>

But what is the connection between this ancient custom and the name of a people? The attempts at connecting the word tolcoviny with "toloca" are arbitrary and even senseless. *The theory of the existence of a very numerous people for the assistance of the Slavs has an egocentric Slav character.* On the other hand such a theory comes in contradiction with Svijatoslav's dream in "The Tale of Igor's Campaign" mentioned earlier, in which the Tolcoviny are represented as enemies of the Russians.

The other hypothesis which would derive the name of these people from their presumable function of interpreters and which was convincingly disproved by D. A. Rassovsky,<sup>59</sup> seems to be no less unfounded. It is not easy to conceive that a whole people should serve the Russians as interpreters, nor that it should form a special class of interpreters.

A more realistic attitude has been developed by those authors who consider that Tolcoviny meant "other than Russians or Slavs." For all that, their other affirmations are erroneous.

Thus, for example, O. Ogonovsky thought the Tolcoviny to be Polovcines (Cumanes). At the same time he considered verisimilar the opinion of M. Maximovitch, who speaks of some "vagrants" in the south of the Russian steppes.<sup>60</sup>

Other authors have considered that the people in question had been Petchenegues (R. Poggioli), and a tribe bearing the name of "talmac" constituted a part of these. This opinion is shared by I. Nemeth and R. Iakobson.<sup>61</sup>

The similarity of sounds is slight; on the other hand the Russian chronicler writing at the beginning of the XIIth century would not have used the word "Petchenegue" which was at this time meaningless, the Polovtsy (Cumanes) having taken their place.

57. G. Tashca, *Cum a evoluat claca de la inceputul înființării ei și pînă azi*. Bucharest, 1937, p. 2.

58. F. A. Brokhaus, *A. E. Efron. Encyclopedia*, v. 33, St. Petersburg, 1901, p. 439.

59. D. A. Rassovskii, *Polovtsy. Predely polia polovetskogo*. Annales de l'Institut de Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum), v. X, Praha, 1936, p. 155, etc.

60. O. Ogonovskii, *Slovo-poetichnii pamiatnik russikoi pismenosti XII viku*, Lvov, 1876, p. 81.

61. Renato Poggioli, *Cantare della Gesta di Igor. Epopea russa del XII secole*, Torino, 1954, see Svijatoslav's dream.

V. N. Peretts understood under the name of Tolcoviny tribes that were not Russian, or Slav tribes that were heathens.<sup>62</sup>

This want of precision is a sign of the failure of all the attempts made up to now in order to explain this mysterious word.

Naturally enough the historical and literary critics evolved towards a negative conception, *considering the Tolcoviny a tribe other than Russian*.

E. Ljatzky suggested the opinion that the word might mean men of another creed, of other, not Russian origin, whose language had to be translated, interpreted, in order to be understood by the Russians; in short, men of another stem, of another "tylc."<sup>63</sup>

In his early works (in 1950) D. S. Lihachiov considered the Tolcoviny to be translators, changing his explanation later (in 1953) for "*strangers to the Russian*" ("inosemtzy").<sup>64</sup>

In the "Reader for the history of the Russian language" by S. P. Obnorsky and S. G. Barhudarov, we find the same interpretation ("a tribe stranger to the Russians").<sup>65</sup>

This is consequently the phase which the interpretation of the word "tolcoviny" has reached: "the Tolcoviny" are a tribe *stranger* to the Russians."<sup>66</sup>

In other words, *the Russian historical and literary science has resigned to give a definite answer to the question who are the "Tolcoviny" from the ethnic point of view, since they are neither Russians nor eastern Slavs*.

Strictly speaking, the word "tolcoviny" is not of Russiav origin; its initial source is the Indo-European language in which there exists the word "tolc" or "tlc". As to the sense of this word, an explanation is furnished by the Thracian language into which it has passed in the form of "*talcas*." This word makes a part of the names of some of the Thracian kings: Roimitalkas (in Thracia and in Cimmerian Bosphorus) and Si-talces (Sithalkus).<sup>67</sup> Since it is added to the name proper of the kings it must have meant skilful, wise. In the ancient Slav language the word "tolc" has been preserved, having presumably the same sense.

62. V. N. Peretts, *Slovo o polku Igorevim* (Ukr. 1.) Kiev, 1926, pp. 248-249.

63. E. Ljatzky, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*. Kompozitsia. Stil. Praha, 1934, p. 206.

64. D. S. Lihachiov, *Povest vremennykh let 1950*, v. II, p. 263. D. S. Lihachiov, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1955, p. 73.

65. S. P. Obnorskii, and S. G. Barhudarov. Reader, foot-note on p. 393.

66. It does not result though, from any source, that they should be *nomads*, according to the affirmation of V. Rzhiga and S. Shambinago in *Slovo o polku Igoreve* Academic edition, see Sviatoslav's dream.

67. I. I. Russu, *op. cit.*, p. 124 and 118. V. Georgiev, *op. cit.*, p. 122 and 308.

However, in the course of time, words derived from it got another meaning. Thus "tolc" means sense, "tolcovanie" — interpretation, "tolcovati" — to discuss. Only the word "tolcovij" has preserved its Indo-European shade of meaning: skilful. There is no proof that this latter word should have been known to the Russian chronicler when he wrote his "Povest vremennyh let" and mentioned the Tivertsy in it. However, since some authors, as has been stated earlier, connected the name of the Tivertsy with Tyras — the ancient denomination of the river Dniester, on the banks of which they dwelt, and presume that they were Tyragets, Gets, i. e. Thracians, we can rightfully conjecture that the Russian chronicler could be quite familiar with the term "talkas" which must have been used by the Thracian Tyragets. Through usual distortions the word talcas took the form of "tolcoviny."

It remains beyond any doubt that "tolcoviny" did not mean translators or associates. Almost certainly it had the sense of the Geto-Thracian word "*talkas*" — *skilful*.

Seeing that this term is used in relating about the preparations for an expedition against the Byzantium, it is to be supposed that skilful conveys here the meaning of *military skill*.

5. *Dwelling Place*.— Last century, N. I. Nadezhdin, first Russian ethnographer, considering the Ulichy and Tivertsy to be Slav tribes, located them in the south of Bessarabia, in Bugiac, while he identified the village Peressechina in the district of Orhey with the Ulichy's town Peressechen.<sup>68</sup> At present his views are no longer shared by anybody, being in evident contradiction with the testimony of the Niconovskaia chronicle that the Ulichy were formerly settled along the Dnieper, where also their town Peressechen must have been situated.

On the ground of this indication, B. A. Rybacov has put forward a supposition that the Ulichy dwelt initially in the region of the bend of the Dnieper. The main body of them did not live by the sea-shore, but farther to the North, along the Dnieper, and only a part of them stretched southward down to the sea.<sup>69</sup> Under the pressure of the Petchenegues, the Ulichy moved northward, settling in the vicinity of the Drevlenes, and constructing — probably at the beginning of the Xth century — their town Peressechen, to the south of Kiev, between this city and Tripolye. After their defeat by Igor in 940 the Ulichy moved westward, settling between the river Bug and the Dniester, in the vicinity of the Tivertsy.

68. N. I. Nadezhdin, *op. cit.*, p. 254-256.

69. V. A. Rybakov, *op. cit.*, p. 6, 9, 3 etc.

From the archaeological point of view it is positively stated that no burial mounds of the Ulichy belonging to the IX-Xth century have been found, neither to the south of the river Ross, a tributary of the Dnieper, nor along the Dniester.

As regards the Tivertsy, the author presumes that their name "bears connection to the Dniester-Tyras" and it is possible that they are direct descendants of Strabo's Tyragets.<sup>70</sup>

Up to this point we could accept B. A. Rybakov's hypotheses, but not farther. The author affirms that the ancestors of the Ulichy had been the Uruhuns whom he names Uluhuns, changing the "r" in "l." Neither in this arbitrarily modified form does the name (Uluhuns) bear any resemblance to the name Ulichy (or Uluchy). In his desire to support his theory, the author changes the name Ulichy in "Uluchiany" and refers to the Arab writer of the Xth century Massudi, who, he recollects, mentioned a tribe "Ludana." In the author's opinion this must have been the Russian tribe Ulichy. In order to further sustain his theory, he adds that in the bend of the Dnieper sets of objects have been found which were characteristic of the equestrian mode of life of the population, also traces of incinerations.<sup>71</sup> These, however, do not present characteristics proper to the Uruhuns or "Ludana."

It is not surprising that another explorer of the remote past of Russia — A. N. Nassonov opposed the hypotheses of B. A. Rybakov.<sup>72</sup>

In his endeavor to define the notion of the "Russian Land" which was under the power of the Hosars, A. N. Nassonov states that the *Ulichy and Tivertsy, who settled along the Dniester, found themselves beyond the boundaries of the Russian Land*. If the Ulichy, as the (first) Novgorodskaia chronicle affirms, had been dwelling "along the lower course of the Dnieper" — that must have been *in a very remote period*. The Ulichy migrated not because of the seizing of their stronghold Peressechen in 940, since it is known that, from that date, they were obliged to pay tribute to Igor, which means that they continued to live in the same territory as before. Their migration westward must have been connected with the Petchenegues' invasion in the Pontic steppe towards the end of the IXth century. From the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenet, continues the author, the conclusion can be drawn that the Ulichy dwelt farther to the south from the Drevlenes, between the river Goryn, the upper courses of the Juzhny Bug and the Dniester. Or it may be that

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70. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

71. V. A. Rybakov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

72. A. N. Nassonov, *op. cit.*, p. 41-42.

between them and the Drevlenes the nomad Petchenegue group of Javdiertim roamed.

Besides this it is not to be conceived that the Ulichy town Peressechen, which Igor is said to have besieged three years in succession, should be situated in the vicinity of Kiev, in the heart of the Russian Land.

Indeed there is no indication in the chronicles that the Ulichy should have changed their dwelling place as a result of their defeat by Igor. And Peressechen may have existed in their ancient dwelling places without there remaining any trace of it up to our days.

It is interesting to note that the major part of V. A. Rybacov's theses had been already advanced in the last century by I. Filevitch, who considered that "the name Tivertsy was not used in popular, but only in written language, a Byzantine geographical term derived from Tyras, which designated the whole region of the Dniester."<sup>73</sup> The same author, deriving the name "Ulichy" from the word "luca" (bend) suggested that this people lived in the right part of the bend of the Dnieper. He appeals to the testimony of the Tverskaia chronicle and that of Tatishtchev in his "History." Later, the Ulichy (whom the author calls Uglichy) "changed their dwelling place from the lower course of the Dnieper to places situated between the Bug and the Dniester and *even beyond the Dniester, as far as the river Sireth, occupying the region contained between the arms of the Danube and the marshes and woods along the river Codyma.*"<sup>74</sup>

There is an important divergence between these two authors: while I. Filevitch considered the Ulichy and the Tivertsy to be one and the same people, B. P. Rybacov regards them as being *two* different peoples. The first of these two authors does not bring forth any arguments in favour of the existence of a single unity under two names. This deficiency is made up by S. M. Seredonin.

He sustains his affirmation concerning the unity of the Ulichy and Tivertsy by the following arguments:<sup>75</sup> 1) in their allusions the chronicles always put these two one beside the other, and even when only one name is mentioned, it is to be conjectured that the other is also included, 2) the chronicles indicate the same territories as dwelling place for both, along the Dniester down to the Black Sea; and with all that they were a *very numerous mass, no separate region is indicated as dwelling place for each tribe*; 3) both tribes

73. I. Filevich, *Istoria drevnei Russi*. V. I. (Territory and population), Warsaw, 1896, p. 303-304.

74. *Ibidem*, p. 302.

75. S. M. Seredonin, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.



fought Oleg. When the Russians undertook their expedition against the Byzantines in 907 advancing through the mouth of the Dniester and the Danube's arm Sulina, it was just natural that the Tivertsy should be mentioned (as dwellers along the Tyras); 4) when relating about the defeat of the Ulichy, the Tivertsy are not mentioned, whereas in 944, when enumerating the tribes which took a share in the expedition, the Tivertsy are listed but the Ulichy are not; 5) in the Synodal chronicle the Ulichy only are spoken of, the Tivertsy are never mentioned.

From this the author draws the conclusion that Ulichy (or Uluchy) is the general name of the whole people and Tivertsy — a partial name, denoting those of the Ulichy who were settled near the Dniester (Tyras or Tyra). Since the term "Scythia" reached the Russian chronicler, says the author, the terms "Tyra" and "Tyraget" could reach him likewise.<sup>76</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus as has been seen, deals with a single people — the Ulichy ("Ultiny").

Besides this it is interesting to note that in some of the Russian chronicles, for instance the Radzivilovskaia or the Troitskaia, when mentioning the Ulichy and the Tivertsy the two names are not connected by the conjunction "and."

Consequently we have to do with *a single people*, and a very numerous one, the Ulichy. A part of this people, settled along the Dniester, was also named Tivertsy (from Tyras).

6. *Relations with Russian Tribes.*— Surrounded as they were by eastern Slav tribes the Ulichy and Tivertsy followed, however, an independent policy. They were at war with the Russians from the period of the first Russian princes Askold and Dir.<sup>77</sup> The successor of these, the prince Oleg (879-912) compelled the Slovenes, Crivichy, Merea (a Finnish tribe), Derevleny, Severeny and Radimici to pay tribute to him. Only the "Ulichy and Tivertsy resisted him and he waged war against them."<sup>78</sup>

Oleg would not content himself with taking tribute from the neighbouring peoples, he conceived the idea of making the Byzantium pay tribute to him too. In the year 907 he set off on an expedition against this realm, with 2000 vessels and part of his (equestrian) host travelling by land. He united around him large numbers of Varyagheans, Slovenes, Tchude, Crivichy, Merea, Drev-

76. According to the chronicles, we may locate the Ulichy-Tivertsy in Bessarabia, says S. M. Seredonin, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

77. *Polnoe Sobranie russkikh letopissei*, v. VII Voskresenskaya chronicle, v. XV Tverskaya chronicle: entries under the year 862 in both.

78. *Ibidem*, v. II, under the year 885.

lenes, Radimichy, Severs, Viaticy, Horvats, Dulebs and Tivertsy. The motive of their action was lust for booty. The chronicler uses for the whole mass of participants to this invasion the denomination "Great Scythia," while he calls the Tivertsy also by the epithet "tolcoviny" which has been discussed earlier.<sup>79</sup>

The expression "Great Scythia" refers probably to all those peoples, including the Tivertsy, since the opposite term "Small Scythia" was used by the chroniclers and antique authors to denote the lower region between the Pruth and the Dniester, the Dobrogea and the northern part of the Crimea.<sup>80</sup> We cannot accept D. S. Lihachiov's contrary opinion that the term "Great Scythia" applies only to the Tivertsy.<sup>81</sup>

It is worth mentioning that in this expedition against the Byzantium, whole peoples did not partake, but only those scattered elements which were inclined towards spoil and enrichment.

Consequently, in Oleg's time (871-912) the Ulichy and the Tivertsy preserved their independence.<sup>82</sup> Prince Igor (912-945) succeeded as a result of waging war against the Ulichy and capturing their town Peresechen to force them to be his tributaries. Among the nations which paid tribute to the Russians were neighbouring Slav peoples (as for instance the Drevlenes) as well as other peoples of other than Slav origin. The Polians, Derevlenes, the Novgorod and Polotsk people, the Dregovichy, Sever and the Buzhane spoke the Slav language (and the chronicler affirms on this occasion that the Slav and the Russian language are one and the same).<sup>83</sup> Whereas the following were obliged to pay tribute to the Russians: the Tchude, Mereva, Vess, Muroma, Tcheremissy, Mordva, Perm, Petchera, Iam, Litva, Zimigola, Kors, Neroma, Lib;<sup>84</sup> Hence, a large number of foreign peoples who were tributaries of

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79. *Ibidem*, v. II, pp. 29-31 and 32. The major part of Russian and Soviet historians consider the expedition of 907 as nonexistent, referring the whole narrative concerning it to the year 911. D. S. Lihachiov and V. A. Romanov, "*Povest vremennykh let*," edited by V. P. Adrianova-Perets, 1950, vol. II. Comment by D. S. Lihachiov, p. 227. Also: M. V. Levchenko. *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*. In this work the history of the controversy concerning the expedition of 907 is fully exposed (chap. II, p. 91 and following pages). We consider that the expedition has taken place in the year 911, while through the chronicler's error the text of the narrative concerning the expedition has been divided to appear under two chronological dates: 907 and 911.

80. V. A. Rylakov, *op. cit.*, p. 4, refers to Strabo in *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, 1947, N. 4, p. 205.

81. D. S. Lihachiov, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 227.

82. *Lavrentievskaya letopis*. p. 23.

83. *Ibidem*, p. 28.

84. *Ibidem*, p. 10.

the Russians (or Polianes). In other words, the fact that the Ulichy were obliged to pay tribute to Igor is no proof of their being Slavs. According to the chronicle, among those who took part in the expedition against the Byzantium in 907, there were not only Slavs but also Tivertsy, Varyagheans, Tchude, Merea, in sum — peoples clearly not of Slav origin.<sup>85</sup>

Besides that, the story of the war between Igor and the Ulichy bears the stamp of a legend. This is recognised by some of the Russian writers too.<sup>86</sup> Here is the fragment extracted from the chronicle in which this event is dealt with (in translation):<sup>87</sup>

"Igor ruled Kiev, wielding power and carrying war with the Drevlenes and Ulichy, and he had a military leader by the name of Sventeld (in other chronicles — Sveneld) who forced ("premuchi") the Ulichy and enforced a tribute over them, which they delivered to Sventeld; but a town named Peressechen did not yield, and he stood by it 3 years and was hardly able to capture it. And the Ulichy dwelt along the lower Dnieper, moving thereafter (into the region) between the Bug and the Dniester, and they settled there. And he (Igor) gave the Drevlene's tribute to Sventeld."

Hence, Igor unable to win the war, summoned the Varyaghean leader Sventeld who defeated the Drevlenes and the Ulichy receiving by reason of this (probably by an agreement with Igor) for his benefit the tribute of the Drevlenes as well as that of the Ulichy.

The report about such a long siege (937-940) gives rise to strongest doubts. It is hard to believe that the defendants of this town could have endured a three years' siege surrounded by Igor's warriors. The story ought to be completely rejected, the more so since *the older chronicles, as the Lavrentievskaya and Ipatievskaya composed in Kiev, the nearest place to the scene of this event, do not mention it at all.*<sup>88</sup>

85. Ibidem p. 29.

86. e. g. S. M. Seredonin, *Istoricheskaya geografia*, Petrograd, 1916, p. 125.

87. The fragment concerning the defeat of the Ulichy reads thus: Igor zhe sediashe v Kieve Kniazha i voyuya na Dreviany i na Ugliche, i be u nego voyevoda imenem Sventeld, i premuchi Uglitsy, i vozlozhi na nih dan. Igor i vdast Sventeldu; i ne vdashassia edin grad imenem Peressechen i sede okolo ego 3 leta i edva vzia i. I besha sediashe Uglitsy po Dniepru vniz; i po sem prudosha mezhi (B-g) Dniestr, i sedosha tamo. I dast zhe dan Derevskuyu Sventeldu. "Voskressenskaya" chronicle in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopissei*, v. VII, p. 277. See also: "Sofiiskaya", *op. cit.*, v. V, p. 97, "Nikonovskaya", *op. cit.*, v. IX, p. 41, "Tverskaya", *op. cit.*, v. XV, p. 47. Also: *Novgorodskaya pervaya Letopis starshego i mladshego o izvodov*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, p. 109. The word "primuchi" means to conquer, to force, to subdue, see: S. P. Obnorski and S. G. Barhudarov, *Hrestomatia*, p. 383.

88. Some authors, e. g. K. Bestuzhev-Riumin ("O sostave russkikh letopissei do kontsa

Nevertheless, without accepting the absurd term of three years, let us admit that Igor succeeded in obtaining tribute from the Ulichy and seizing their town Peressechen.

But as is well known in historical science, paying tribute did not involve loss of independence. In the past history of peoples there exist numerous examples when they were forced to pay tribute without being subdued. Rome paid so-called subsidies to the neighbouring barbarian peoples. Likewise Byzantium paid at times tribute to the Russians. This does not imply that Rome submitted to the barbarian nations or the Byzantium to the Russians. In the XVth century Stephen the Great, ruler of Moldavia, paid tribute to the Turks but his country was not subjected or included in Turkey.

Historians from the Moldavia Soviet Socialist Republic sustain that Igor incorporated the Ulichy and the Tivertsy in the Kiev state: "The territories by the Danube and the Dniester," according to them, "had been definitely included in the composition of the Kiev state and the territory which lies between the Pruth and the Dniester had become an organic part of Kiev Russia."

This opinion is in flagrant contradiction with the affirmation of other Russian and Soviet historians, for example that of A. N. Nassonov which has been cited earlier, or of S. M. Seredonin. The latter writes:

"In the historical epoch, considering this from the Xth century, the boundaries of the Russian state which was in forming, as well as those of the south — western states — Kiev, Volhynia and later Halych — never reached the Black Sea and the Danube. Some of the princes (namely Ivanco Rostislavich) succeeded to control for short periods towns along the Danube, but never did the territories situated along the lower courses of the Dnieper, the (Southern) Bug, the Dniester and the Danube constitute component parts of the Russian states."<sup>89</sup>

Historians from eastern Moldavia do not take into account the unsteadiness of intertribal, relations in this epoch, neither the fact, (stressed by B.

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XIV veka "in *Letopis zaniatii Archeograficheskoi komissii*, 1865-1866, No. IV, St. Petersburg, 1868, p. 67) in order to sustain the hypothesis of Igor's war against the Ulichy, refer to his warriors complaints (Ipatievskaya chronicle, under the year 945) that "Sveneld's men have received arms and clothes while these have got nothing." They prompted Igor to march against the Drevlenes once again. From the context of the chronicle it is clear that this allusion refers to the tribute taken from the Drevlenes and does not refer to the Ulichy.

89. *Istoria Moldavii*, Kishinev, 1951, v. I., p. 57 and *Istoria Moldavskoi SSR*, 2nd ed., Kishinev, 1965, v. I, p. 68. G. V. Fedorov has also inclined towards interpreting the Tivertsy in the Kiev state in three successive phases, considering them first as allies, later as "incomplete subjects" and at last "complete subjects." (G. V. Fedorov, in the collection of articles *Posledam drevnih kultur*, Moscow, 1953, p. 124). S. M. Seredonin, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

D. Grecov),<sup>90</sup> that the relations between the Kiev state and the tributary territories could never be of a lasting character.

Besides this, most of the Soviet historiographers, contrary to Russian historiographers belonging to the period preceding the October Revolution of 1917, do not recognize the quality of "state" of the so-called Kiev principality, considering the Russian princes of the Xth century as chiefs of fighting squads, military leaders in predatory wars. N. O. Rozhkov, a Marxist historian, regards Kiev Russia as a barbarian society,<sup>91</sup> whereas M. N. Pokrovsky affirms flatly: "There did not exist here any premise for a unitary state or in general for a state in the actual sense of this word."<sup>92</sup> Another well-known Soviet historian, S. B. Bahrushin, affirms that the political body which concluded commercial treaties with the Byzantium (for the princes Oleg and Igor and for Sviatoslav) was not yet a state. "Even Sviatoslav (957-272) was a chief of a wandering troop. The purpose of these princes lay in the plunder of the population."<sup>93</sup> The formation of a state properly speaking, as a unitary organism scarcely begins at the end of the Xth century."<sup>94</sup>

N. L. Rubinstein says that the Kiev state "does not constitute a period in the history of the Russian land, but only a certain moment of transition from the tribal system to a feudal class society." This moment lasted some 30 years in the period of rule of Vladimir I (978-1015). Whoever thinks that the Kiev state dates 200 years is mistaken and returns to the obsolete ante-Soviet conception about the "decomposition of the developed unitary Kiev state."<sup>95</sup>

Lastly, A. N. Nassonov considers the first Russian principalities to be "semi-states," which existed each one separately and could not be centralized.<sup>96</sup>

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in chapters 4, 5 and 6 of his work "De administrando Imperio" explains why the Byzantium appreciated its friendly re-

90. B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus.*, 1939, p. 232.

91. N. O. Rozhkov, "Russkaya istoria v szavnitelno-istoricheskom osveshchenii" cited according to S. V. Jushkov, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo kievskogo gossudarstva*, Moscow, 1949, p. 73.

92. M. N. Pokrovskii, *Russkaya istoria s drevneishih vremion*, v. I, 1920, p. 81.

93. S. B. Bahrushin, *Derzhava Riurikovichei in Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, No. 2(3), 1938, p. 95.

94. By the same author: *Nekotorye voprossy istorii Kievskoi Russi*, in *Istoriik-Marxist*, III, 1937, p. 168.

95. N. L. Rubinstein, *Pamiatniki istorii Kievskogo gossudarstva*, a review in *Istoriik-Marxist*, I, 1938 in the preface to "Lectures on Russian history," by A. E. Presniakov.

96. A. N. Nassonov, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

lations with the Petchenegues of whom the Russians were in fear and characterizes the Russians and the Hungarians as plunderers.<sup>97</sup>

By the way, the idea that the so-called Kiev state had been from its beginning no other than a barbarian organization (for plunder) has been expressed also by Karl Marx who compares the empire of the Riurikovichy with German barbarians, the invaders of Europe.<sup>98</sup>

We could extend the number of citations from Soviet historiography in order to prove that the idea of incorporation is incompatible with historical realities of the period of Oleg, Igor and Sviatoslav. We think though that what has been exposed earlier is sufficient for demonstrating that the historians from Eastern Moldavia are not sufficiently in the know of Soviet historical science and documentation concerning this problem.

After 940, the year of the defeat of the Ulichy, there exists no mention of them in the Russian chronicles. Whereas the Tivertsy are mentioned once again under the year 944, when prince Igor organizes an invasion of the Byzantium, gathering around him numerous warriors: Varyagheans, Russians, Poliany, Slovens, Crivichy, Tivertsy and Petchenegues. With the latter he concluded an agreement and took hostages from them since he did not trust them.<sup>99</sup>

7. *The Ulichy and Tivertsy in archaeological theories.*— Attempts have been made of late to found the theory of the Slav-Russian origin of the Ulichy-Tivertsy people on archaeological data.

The author of one of these attempts is B. P. Rybakov whose opinions have been described previously and whom we consider to be in the wrong.

Another attempt is due to G. V. Fedorov. He sustains his affirmation that the Ulichy-Tivertsy make part of the Slav population on the ground of excavations of sites of ancient towns in Bessarabia, called "gorodishchés," namely at Mashcauts, Alchedar, Ekimauts, Lukashevka, Poiana etc.<sup>100</sup> On the ground of objects found in these places, he declares himself convinced that the Tivertsy are Slavs, in spite of their name's origin being drawn from Tyras, the ancient name of the Dniester.

97. Moravcsik-Jenkins, p. 50-52.

98. Karl Marx, *Secret diplomacy in the XVIII century*, chap. V.

99. *Lavrentievskaya chronicle*, p. 44.

100. G. V. Fedorov, *Slaviane Podniestroviiya*, in the collection of articles entitled *Posledam drevnih kultur*, Moscow, 1953, pp. 121-155. "Nasselenie Jugo-zapada SSSR v. I, i v. nachale II tyssiacheletii n. e." in *Sovetskaya Etnografia*, 1961, № 5, pp. 80-106. *Drevnie slaviane v Moldavii. Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1954, No. 12, pp. 35-73. *Drevnie slaviane v Moldavii. Izvestia Moldavskogo filiala Akademii SSSR*, 1955, No. 5 (25), p. 73, etc.

There have been found in Ekimauts, together with other objects, 100 longish conical arrows not of Slav design; their provenance is unknown. They are Getic though.

Excavations carried out at Lucashovka in former Bessarabia revealed traits common with Daco-Getic burial-grounds.

However, let us leave the archaeologists to identify the character of the objects in the finds, concentrating our attention on the analysis of the author's conclusions. In spite of the well-established fact that the territory between the Pruth and the Dniester is recognized as the dwelling-place of the Gets, Carps and other Thracians, the author firmly sustains that the Dniester is an old Slav river and the Pruth-Dniester territory is also Slav.<sup>101</sup>

In the authors conception this territory constituted an integral part of the Kiev state until the XIIth century, while in the XIIth and XIIIth century it made part of the Hallician state.

From the beginning of the VIth century till the beginning of the XIIth century the Slav material culture has been predominant in the Pruth-Dniester territory. The Gets have adopted this culture and were to a considerable extent assimilated by the Slavs.<sup>102</sup> In the Xth century the territory along the Dniester formed a part of Kiev Russia, consequently — the author concludes — there took place a complete assimilation by the Slavs of all non-Slav peoples, including the Daco-Gets.<sup>103</sup> In the same treatise it is affirmed that towards the VIth century the assimilation by the Slavs of non-Slav elements in the Dniester territory had been completed.<sup>104</sup>

In this case the appearance of the Moldova with her specific character completely different from the Russian is totally unaccountable. The author attributes the effect of her appearance to the influence of the romanized population migrating from the West.<sup>105</sup>

But if the assimilation of the Gets by the Slavs had ended towards the VIth century and continued to strengthen in the course of six centuries (VI-

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101. In the first of the works cited, p. 134 and 136.

102. In the second of the works cited, p. 88 and 91. It is interesting to note that contrary to the author's opinion as to the Slav character of the objects excavated in Ekimauts and Alchedar, in the first edition of the *History of Moldavia* published in Kishinev in 1951 we read in p. 53 that these objects "probably belonged to the Tivertsy." It is also affirmed that the names of Igor's warriors cited under the years 944: Adul, Gomol, Raul, Lidul, are of Roman origin.

103. In the third of the works cited above, p. 37.

104. *Ibidem*, p. 41.

105. In the first of the works cited above, p. 106.

XII), how could the Slavs between the Pruth and the Danube get denationalized in the course of a single century, the XIIth? We cannot understand how the prolonged, complete assimilation of the Daco-Getic population by the Slavs could have been supplanted by its reassimilation by the Romans in such a short time.

These questions which arise quite naturally when reading G. V. Fedorov's articles are answered by the Rumanian archaeologist I. Nestor who describes the results of excavations in the localities Dridu (in the district of Urzicheni) and Bucov (in the district of Ploiești)<sup>106</sup> in Rumania. The author established the penetration of a material culture which he names conventionally Dridu, in lower Moldova (the so-called proto-Dridu culture) and an evident influence of the proto-Dridu and Dridu cultures over the Slav environment of the rest of Moldavia. The Dridu culture is hypothetically the culture of the proto-Rumanians.<sup>107</sup> The elements of the Dridu culture are not of Slav or proto-Bulgarian origin.<sup>108</sup> The bearers of this culture were probably the Carps<sup>109</sup> who gave their name to the Carpathian mountain range.

The Sarmatians had a minor role on Rumanian soil.

*The Slav culture of the VIth and VIIth centuries appears on Rumanian territory always contaminated with native background. In Moldavia, the Slav culture of the VIth-VIIth century extended into the IXth-Xth century being, however, steadily influenced by the local culture.*<sup>110</sup>

For the last phase of the formation of the Rumanian people (between the VIth and the Xth century) a proto-Rumanian-Slav symbiosis is characteristic, in which "Slav" means "Bulgarian." These Slavs have not created (directly or indirectly) the Dridu material culture, but have only taken part in the symbiosis. The Bulgarians have predominated to the south of the Danube, whereas the Rumanian element predominated to the north of it.

The Dridu culture extends over the whole geographical space where the Rumanians have been present from Eastern Slovakia and Chernautz to the Balkan mountains and from Bihor to Tiraspol.

In this interpretation the problem of the formation of the Rumanian people and that of the Eastern part of Moldavia becomes clear, as well as the character of this people's symbiosis with the Slavs. *It is not the Slavs who*

106. I. Nestor, Les données archéologiques et le problème de la formation de peuple roumain. *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, 1964, No. 3, pp. 383-420.

107. *Op. cit.*, pp. 406-407.

108. *Op. cit.*, p. 410.

109. *Op. cit.*, p. 388.

110. *Op. cit.*, p. 402-403 and 412 (Underlinings belong to the author).



*assimilated the Gets (especially the Carps or the Carpodacs), but inversely, the latter assimilated the Slavs.*

Let us endeavour to integrate I. Nestor's conception, demonstrating from what direction the Rumanian territory received the excess of population which enabled the local sedentary population to overcome from the culture point of view the invasion of the Slavs in the Balkan peninsula in the VIth and VIIth centuries.

8. *Thracians and Cimmerians.*— It is meaningful that the Ulichy after leaving the region of the lower Dnieper settled first to the south of the Drevlenes, that is to say roughly along the river Teterev, more precisely conform the indications of Nassonov, between the river Goryn, a tributary of the river Pripyathi and the upper courses of the Southern Bug and of the Dniester.

It is exactly in these dwelling-places of the Ulichy that the Thracian people lived in the neolithic epoch. From Cucuteni (near Jassy) to Tripolye (near Kiev) excavations reveal the presence of the Thracian material culture. The Thracian character of this culture is acknowledged by the majority of the historians and archaeologists. It appears that E. R. Stern<sup>111</sup> was the first to recognize its Thracian characters. Archaeologists and Indo-European linguists explain to us the phenomenon of the persistence of this culture.

Towards the IIIrd millenium B. C. the Thracians occupied — according to B. V. Gornung — a vast territory: the greater part of the Balkan peninsula, the middle course of the Danube up to the Carpathian Mountains and from the Carpathians eastward to the Bug and the Dniester (the zone of extension of the Tripolye material culture.)<sup>112</sup>

The Tripolye culture with its centre at Cucuteni in Rumania (near Jassy) which is also ascertained in Ariuzhd, Habasheshty and Izvoare II in Rumania, is a particular culture completely different from all other cultures established on the territory of the USSR.<sup>113</sup> No attempt has been made by anybody to

111. E. R. Stern, *Doistoricheskaya grecheskaya kultura na juge Rosii*. Trudy XIII Archeolog. Siezda, 1905, v. I, p. 40. Also: *Istoria Moldovskoi SSSR*, Kishinev, 1965, a study by G. D. Smirnov and E. A. Rikman, p. 27 etc. One of the first investigators of the Tripolyan culture, V. V. Hvoiko thinks, in "Kamennyi vek srednego Pridnieprovia" *Trudy Archeolog. Siezda*, 1899, Kiev, v. I, p. 802, that the Tripolye culture belonged to a branch of the Arian tribe, the proto-Slavs. This opinion has been definitely discarded long ago.

112. A. I. Briusov, K voprossu ob indoevropeskoi probleme. *Sovetskaya Archeologia*, 1958, No. 3, pp. 22: B. V. Gornung, *Problema rasprostraneniya indo-evropeiskoi rechi v doistoricheskuiu epochu* (Theses presented to the Historical section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, in 1956).

113. R. Vulpe, Problema neoliticului carpato-niprian în lumina săpăturilor la Izvoare,

connect this culture with other neolithic cultures existing in this territory.<sup>114</sup> This culture has been named after Tripolye, a village on the Dnieper where it was first discovered in the course of excavations. However, it has been proved that Tripolye is almost the extreme point of spread of this material culture, its centre being Cucuteni, from where it extends southward and is revealed in Bulgaria and Greece.

T. Passek, who made the results of the excavations in the zone of extension of the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture the object of his special studies, defines in the following way the geographical limits of this culture (from which we exclude its last — in fact Cimmerian phase established in Ussatovo - Odessa near the Black Sea and the lower Dniester): 1) northward — to the upper parts of the river Pripyat's affluents Sluch, Goryn, Styr and the upper part of the Southern Bug; 2) southward — to the middle course of the Dniester, the Bug, the Dnieper (where it adjoins the Cimmerian culture); 3) to the east — the river Dnieper, though there exist some vestiges of it on its left bank too, near the rivers Dessna, Oster and Supoy; 4) to the west — the Danube and the south of the Balkan peninsula.<sup>115</sup>

There exist over 50 settlements of the early Tripolye, situated along the rivers Sereth, Pruth and its affluents Bistritsa and Moldova, on the middle courses of the Dniester, in the basin of the Southern Bug and near the upper parts of the river Ross.

All the investigators of the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture have stressed its relations with the Mediterranean and Asia Minor<sup>116</sup> which accounts to a great extent for their relatively rapid Romanization.

In the period of the decomposition of the Indo-European linguistic unity, i. e. approximately at the beginning of the IIIrd millenium B. C., a large part of the Thracians broke away from their principal stem and crossed into Asia.<sup>117</sup> A millenium and a half later, that is in the middle of the IIrd millenium B. C., they returned in Europe under the new name of Cimmerians, settling on the northern shores of the Black Sea, the Crimea, along the lower

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*Studii și cercetări de istorie veche*, v. VII, No. 1-2, Bucharest, 1956. H. Dumitrescu, *Hăbiășezzi*. Bucharest, 1954, and others.

114. A. I. Briussov, *Ocherki po istorii plemion evropeiskoi chasti SSSR v neoliticheskuiu epochu*. Moscow, 1952, p. 228.

115. T. Passek, *Periodizatsia tripolskikh posselenii (III-II tyysiacheletia)*. *Materialy i issledovania po archeologii SSSR*, 1949, No. 10.

116. T. S. Passek, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

117. A. I. Briussov, "Ocherki . . .", p. 254 and V. Georgiev. *Issledovania po sravnitel'no-istoricheskomu jazykoznaniiyu* (Translated from the Bulgarian), Moscow, 1958, p. 276 and 283.

courses of the Dnieper, the Southern Bug and the Dniester. The "Cimmerian" Thracians' life in Asia went on in new geographical conditions, wholly distinct from those under which they had lived in Europe, time of a millenium and a half (the IIIrd millenium, and half of the IIInd millenium B.C.). That is why there exists a difference of culture between the European and the Cimmerian Thracians.

T. Passek considers the Cimmerian culture to be the last phase of the Tripolye culture. But A. I. Briussov, O. A. Grakova, O. Lagodovska and, in Rumania, H. Dumitrescu have rightfully objected against the identification of the Cimmerian culture with that of Tripolye.

H. Dumitrescu enquires: how could the evolution of culture bring about the degradation from spacious dwellings raised on platforms to dug-outs, or from polychrome ceramics to cord ceramics (Schnurkeramik) and to burial mounds with stone circles? Whereas O. A. Grakova has demonstrated that this phase of the middle of the second millenium B. C. belongs to a new culture, namely the Cimmerian culture.<sup>118</sup>

Consequently, the Cimmerians are also Thracians, but they are Thracians come from Asia where they had led a life more primitive in comparison with that of their principal stem.<sup>119</sup> The majority of historians and archaeologists consider the Cimmerians as Thracians. The fact of their settling between the Dnieper and the lower part of the Dniester explains the characteristics of the culture discovered at Ussatovo, near Odessa. This locality coincides with the necropolis of the Cimmerian Kings in the form of tumuli found along the lower Dniester, and seen by Herodotus. This writer knew, besides, the place of the ford where the river could be traversed (the Cimmerian ford), the Cimmerian rampart and the region "Cimeria." Strabo (XI, 2, par. 4) knows "Chimeria" and "Chimerida" situated on both shores of the Bosporus (VII, 3 par. 6). According to Assyrian sources the Cimmerians are a numerous and bellicose people.<sup>120</sup>

118. T. S. Passek, *ibidem*. A. I. Briussov, *Ocherki* . . . (cited above), p. 233, etc. H. Dumitrescu, *Hăbăşeszti*, Bucharest, 1954, p. 534 and 536. O. A. Grakova. *Alekseievskoe posselenie i mogilnik*, *Trudy In-sta materialnoi kultury*, XVII, 1948 (cited according to A. I. Briussov, *Ocherki* . . . , p. 257). O. Lagodovska, *Problema ussatovskoi kultury*. *Naukovi Zapisky Inst. Istorii i Archeologii Ukrainy*, 1943, p. 1 (Ussatovo—an independent culture).

119. A. I. Sobolevskii is completely wrong in his opinion that the Thracians migrated from the Greek South. ("Russko-Skifskie etudi" in *Izv. Otdelenia russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti*, v. XXVII, 1922, p. 305).

120. L. A. Elnitskii, "Kimmeriitsy i Kimmer. kultura" in *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, 1949, No. 3, p. 17. Since the Cimmerians are Thracians, I. Nestor speaks of a "Thracio-Cimmerian" civilization: "Ein thrako-kimmerischer Goldfund aus Rumänien" in *Eurasia Septentrionalis*

M. I. Rostovtzev has published an article with regard to Thracian proper names in the Bosphorus kingdom. He recurred to the same theme in his book about the Iranians and Greeks, demonstrating that the Thracian names in the Cimmerian Bosphorus kingdom get their explanation from the fact that the Cimmerians were Thracians. The Thracian population of the Bosphorus founded the Spartocid dynasty which governed the land. The aristocracy of the Bosporian cities was also Thracian. The Cimmerians are Thracians; they migrated from Asia and settled in the Pontic steppes, occupying incidentally the estuary of the Dnieper, the coast of the Black Sea and the estuary of the Danube. Strabo identifies them with Trerians who were real Thracians. Herodotus confirms the vast expansion of the Cimmerian empire. In the VIIth century B. C. when the Scythians made their appearance in Europe, a stubborn struggle began between the Cimmerians and the Scythians.<sup>121</sup>

E. Minns also recognizes the existence of a section of Geto-Thracian population in the south of Russia.<sup>122</sup>

Max Ebert states that the Thracian population extended up to Olbia and farther to the east, even to the Boristenes (Dnieper).<sup>123</sup>

G. G. Mateescu, V. Pirvan and I. I. Russu have identified a large number of Thracian names in the south of Russia.<sup>124</sup>

At present the problem of the Thracians is well elucidated by the works of W. Tomaschek, P. Kretschmer, G. I. Kazarov, Decev, I. Andrieșescu, V. Pirvan, O. Schrader, Vl. Georgiev, I. I. Russu and others.

*Antiqua*, 1934, IX. See and D. Berciu in *Buletinul Comisiei monumentelor istorice*, 1934, p. 34 (concerning the valuable contribution of the Cimmerians in Dacia).

121. M. I. Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922, p. 226 (also pp. 13, 39, 67 etc.). Also an article on the same theme published in *Izv. Archeolog. Kommissii*, Petrograd, LXIII, 1917, pp. 38-41, 106, etc. F. F. Gaidukevich sees in the name of the Bosporian kings the name of the Odrysian dynasty, which entitles him to suppose that the Spartacids had come probably from Balkan Thracia. I. I. Russu considers the connection between the Spartacids and the Odrysians to be fictitious. The Thracian population was very numerous in the Bosphorus. I. F. Gaidukevich, *Bosporskoe tsarstvo*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, pp. 56-57, I. I. Russu, *Elementele tracogetice în Scitia și Bosporul Cimmerian*, în *Cercetări de istorie veche*, 9, 1958, No. 2, p. 310. Besides F. F. Gaidukevich, the opinion about the Spartacid's coming over from (Balkan) Thracia, was shared by G. G. Mateescu, while M. I. Rostovtsev, E. Minns, V. Pirvan, I. I. Russu and others, reveal the autochtonism of the Bosphorus' kings and of the Thracian population of the Bosphorus state.

122. E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge, 1913, p. 38.

123. M. Ebert, *Südrussland in Altertum*. 1921, pp. 352-353.

124. G. G. Mateescu, *Nomi traci nel territorio scito-sarmatico*, in *Ephemeris Daco-romana*, v. II, 1924, pp. 223-237. V. Pirvan, *Getica*, 1926, pp. 243-246. I. I. Russu, *Elementele traco-getice în Scitia și Bosporul Cimmerian*, în *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche*, 9, 1958, No. 2, pp. 303-335.

The Thracians numbered more than 100 tribes. According to Strabo (VII, 305) they spoke the same language as the Gets and the Dacs. The ancient historians affirm that the Gets and Dacs of the Roman Empire belonged to the Thracian family of peoples.<sup>125</sup> There were Gets who dwelt also beyond the boundaries of Dacia and lower Mesia.

Herodotus has left a description of the Thracians (V, 3) which seems to be perfectly truthful.

"Their kin was the most numerous of all after the Inzi. Had they been united under a common leader there would be none to oppose them. This is, however, impossible to realize and for this cause they are weak."

Only three big political formations of the Thracians are known: the state of the Odrisae under king Teres, which extended from the Danube to the Aegean in the Vth-IVth century B. C.; Buerebjsta's Daco-Get empire in the first century B. C.; and finally the kingdom of Decebal in the first century of the Christian era on the actual territory of Romania.<sup>126</sup>

Scattered as they were, the Thracians have not been able to resist the impact of other peoples and submitted to assimilation, first by the Scythians (beginning from the VIIth century B. C.), later by other barbarian peoples, and finally by Slavs and Romans. Names of persons began to change, being replaced by new names, whereas the toponymy has been in its greater part supplanted by Slav toponymy, undergoing later in the northern part of the territory, along the lower course of the Danube, Turkish, Hungarian, Cumane-Petchenegues and other influences.<sup>127</sup> *In other words, a struggle took place (not with arms) between the Scytho-Slav and the Thraco-Roman cultures, which the Slav and Roman elements were to win.* The Scythians and the Thracians lost their ethnic identity. However, in the Thracians' struggle for their ethnic existence, two relatively vast Thracian regions continued to preserve a considerably long time their ethnic character: 1) the territory between the Sireth (affluent of the Danube) and the Dnieper, and 2) East Crimea, the Taman peninsula and the shores of the Sea of Azov.

The Thracians who expanded to the East of the Sireth were free Gets, Carps, Carpodacs, Costobocs, Harps, Carpians, Biessies and Tyragets. The

125. G. G. Tocilescu, *Dacia înainte de Romani*. Bucharest, 1880, pp. 197, 257, etc.

126. I. I. Russu, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

127. I. I. Russu, Dispariția limbii și a populației traco-dace, în *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche*, 1957, 8, No. 1-4, pp. 255-59. I. I. Russu, Elementele traco-getice în Scitia și Bosporul Cimmerian, *ibidem*, 1958, 9, No 2, p. 304.

city of Tyras (Cetatea Alba) at the arm Chilia, on the sea shore Arpis-polis, and to the east of the Sireth the localities: Zarghidava, Tamashidava, Piroboridava were known to Ptolemaeus (III, 10, 5-8). Along the river Tyras, Thracian names of localities as Moccas, Zures and Suzos are conspicuous, and beyond the Dniester-Clepidava (in Podolia).

The names of persons on the west of Black Sea between the Dniester and the Dnieper were Thraco-Getic.

9. *Repetition of hydronyms*.— It is well known that the repetition of rivers is proof of the identity of the population living in their vicinity.<sup>128</sup> The following interesting case of hydronymy is revealed by V. Georgiev. The old name of the Thracian river Ibr has been preserved in the Bulgarian (Jb-p) and in the Serb (Jbr) languages and is identical with the name of the river Ibar, affluent of Eastern Morava in Yugoslavia, as well as with the name of the (left) affluent of the river Teterev which discharges into the Dnieper westward of Kiev. The Bulgarian scholar writes: "The Ukrainian river Ibr flows through the zone of prevalence of the Tripolye culture, which according to the opinion of many scientists may be considered Thracian. The other two rivers Jb-r and Jb-ar flow through old Thracian regions. Consequently the name of the afore-mentioned three rivers is of Thracian (Daco-Mysian) origin."<sup>129</sup>

The name of the river Sireth is repeated four times: as a tributary of the Danube, of the Dniester, of the Somesh and of the Don (between Tihaya Sosna and the Hoper).<sup>130</sup>

Very characteristic are the names of the river Nemolodva in the former province of Chernigov, the village Molodova (between the Pruth and the Dniester) and the river Moldova, tributary of the Sireth.

The name of the river Homor (affluent of the river Sluch) in the former Volhinskaia province in Russia, at the northern boundary of the land of the Bolohovenes is repeated in the name of the river Homor, tributary of the Moldova.

It is very interesting to note the existence in the Kursk region of two names of rivers which repeat the names of two rivers in Moldova: the Pruth—tributary of the Danube, and the Reuth—tributary of the Dniester. In the

128. A. Sobolevskii rightfully explains the identity of rivers' names by the identity of the population of the respective regions. A. I. Sobolevskii, *Russko-skifskie etudy*, in *Izv. Otdelenia russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, v. XXVII, 1922, p. 259, 265, 271, etc.

129. V. Georgiev, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

130. A. Sobolevskii, *ibidem*. Syreth is a Thracian name. V. Pyrvan, *Getira*, 1926, p. 11.

Kursk region, Pruth and Reuth are tributaries of the river Seim (tributary of the Dnieper from the left side), their mouths being adjacent. It is to be seen in the map attached to this study that the Pruth discharges into the Seim from the north-east and the Reuth, from the south.

In the region of the upper Reuth there are two villages: the Upper Reuthetz (Reuthețul de sus) and the Lower Reuthetz (Reuthețul de jos) at a short distance one from the other, both their names having Rumanian diminutive suffixes of Slav origin.<sup>131</sup>

The repetition of these geographical names indicates clearly that both banks of the Dnieper have been inhabited by the same people whom we find in Moldavia. This observation is enforced by the fact that *all the repetitions of names of rivers converge to Moldova*, gathering there and suggesting the idea that it is the ancestors of the Moldavians, the Thracians, who lived formerly upon the territories through which these rivers flow.

10. *Thracian enclaves*.— As has been demonstrated above, the greater part of the Thracian people has been deethnicized. However, in spite of the vicissitudes of their history, part of this people survived under the form of enclaves. The first of these was constituted by that part which broke off from the Thracian stem about the beginning of the second millenium B. C. migrating into the south of the Balkan peninsula, where they have kept their own name. Subsequently, a part of the population of this Thracia crossed over to Asia (the Phrygians, later Bithyns).<sup>132</sup>

Another enclave was Thracia to the north-east of the Dniester, although it appears under other names. In the Xth-XIth centuries (O. E.) these Thracians were known under the name of *Ulichy-Tivertsy*. Whereas about the middle of the XIIIth century there appears the "land of the Bolohovenes" (Bolohovskaia zemlia) which was according to all probability peopled with the Ulichy.

Between the upper courses of the rivers Styr, Sluch, Teterev, Bug and Dniester, that is to say between the Russian principalities Kiev, Volyn and Halich a "land of the Bolohovenes" is known to have existed, which followed an independent policy from that of the Russian principalities. It has been at first allied with the Hungarians against Hallich: later being in a conflict

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131. *Gramatica limbii române*, v. I., Ed. Academiei RSR, 1954, p. 36 and 160. The name of the river Pruth is Thracian. V. Pyrvan, *op. cit.*, p. 8. The Scythians called it: Porata, the Greeks: Pyretos, the Petchenegues: Bouratos. The origin of the name of the river Reuth cannot be traced, it is probably Iranian.

132. I. I. Russu, *Limba traco-dacilor*, Bucharest, 1967, p. 30.

with Boleslav of Mazovia, it had been rescued by the Hallichian princes Daniel and Vasilko, with whom it had an agreement. On the other hand it supplied cereals to the Tatars — an action which annoyed the prince Daniel. In 1257 it was conquered by Daniel and his sons<sup>133</sup> and from that epoch its name has never been mentioned again in historical sources. According to the testimony of Russian chroniclers, the capital of this country was the city of Bolohov situated at half way between Hallich and Kiev, probably on the actual site of the locality Bolosovtsi, on a northern tributary of the Bug, to the West of Hmelnik.

Other Bolohovite towns have been hypothetically identified by different authors, namely I. D. Beliaev,<sup>134</sup> N. P. Barsov and others. I. D. Beliaev cites 15 Bolohovite towns.

In the vicinity of three of these towns, Derevich, Gubin and Cudinka, there remain to our days ruins of fortifications and earthen ramparts.

There are two names of localities which constitute further proof of the Ulichy and Tivertsy having dwelt on the territory of the Bolohovenes' land or near it. One is the village Chivertsy in the former Russia's province Volhyn, situated on the right side of the river Styr, in the vicinity of the town of Lutsk. The other is that of the village Luchiniky between the Polyane villages and Bronniky, on the right bank of the river Goryn.

N. P. Barsov mentions also Tivry, a locality in the Vinnitsa district, deriving its name from Tivertsy.<sup>135</sup>

The name of the Land of the Bolohovenes suggests by itself that the country was Voloh or Valah. This is recognized by a Hallician author A. S.

133. Ipatievskaya chronicle, p. 194.

134. I. D. Beliaev, *O geograficheskikh svedeniyah drevnei Rosii. Zapiski Imper. Georg. Obshchestva*, v. VI, St. Petersburg, 1852, p. 149. The Bolhovenes' towns are identified in the following way: Derevichi is identified with Derevichi on the river Derevichica at its confluence with the Sluch; Gubin with Gubin in the district Staro-Constantinov; Kobud with Butovtsy in the district Novograd-Volhynski; Kudin with Kudinka, Bozhsk — with Bozhikovtsy in the district Letichev on the rivulet Bozhsk; Diadkov — with Diakovtsy in the district Litinski; Corodesc — on an affluent of the Teterev from the left side, Zhidicev — with Zhitomir; Mezhibozhie — with the village Mezhibozh; Semots to the East of Bolohov; Beloberezhie at the confluence of the Homor with Sluch; Cherniatin — with Chernihovo, to the north of Zhitomir in the district of the same name; Vozviag, — with Novograd - Volhynsk (see Schematic Map).

135. N. P. Barsov, *op. cit.*, p. 96. Without any argument to sustain his assertion Chisvasi-Comsha does not hesitate to consider the Tivertsy an East-Slav tribe, undermining, in this way the value of his conclusions (Eastern Slavs on Rumanian territory and the penetration of the Roman element in Moldavia based on archaeological data, in *Studii și Cercetări de istorie veche*, 1958, v. 1, p. 73-89).



Petrushevich, Fr. Miklosich-Kaluzniatsky and I. A. Linnitchenko. The Bolohovenes are considered Valahs in the Rumanian historiography (D. Onciul. A. Boldur).<sup>136</sup> The "Land of the Bolohovenes" is situated in the area of the ancient Cucuteni-Tripolye culture, and the Bolohovenes' traces are encountered in historical sources even as late as the XVth century.<sup>137</sup>

11. *Toponymic traces of the Ulichy-Tivertsy people in Rumania.*— N. P. Barsov demonstrates that the Ulichy people has spread in the whole Moldavia including the actual territory of the Moldavian SSR and Muntenia. Signs of their presence here are preserved in the toponymics of the regions along the Pruth, the Calmutsuy and the Jamomitza. Thus: in the district Hotin by the Pruth there is *Zaluci*, to the south-east of Botoshani there is *Sulici*; in the south-east of Braila there is *Luciu*, on the Calmutsuy, and *Uluitsi* on the Jalomitza. In the vicinity of these localities we find the villages *Prezicheni* and *Presichina*, which remind us of the Peressechen of the chronicles.<sup>138</sup> Under the pressure of the barbarians from the steppes this people turned northwards along the Dniester towards the Carpathian Mountains in the boundaries of actual Rumania, Hallicia and north-east Hungary.

To the localities cited above we can add the following: the village *Sulitsoie* in the district of Botoșani; the village *Luchieni* in the district of Dîmbovitsa, and *Ulichei*— a village on the lower course of the river Olt.<sup>139</sup> All these names are very old.

Joining the great mass of Thracians settled on the territory which later

136. For the "Russian" version: M. P. Dashkevich, *Bolohovskaia zemlia i znachenie eio v russkoi istorii* in: *Trudy III Archeolog. Siezda*, Kiev, 1878, v. II, p. 69-129. Supplement by the same author in *Kievskie Universitetskie Izvestia*, 1884, v. 5 and 1899, v. I. For the "Rumanian" version: I. A. Linnichenko, *Cherty iz istorii soslovii v Jugo-zapadnoi Galitskoi Russi XIV-XV vekov*, Moscow, 1894, p. 117, and communication (by the same author) at the Archaeological Congress, Vienna. A. S. Petrushevich, articles in *Zoria Bukovinskaia*, 1870, No. 12, and in *Przeglad archeologiczny*, I, 1882. E. Kaluzhniacki, *Rumänisches ... im kleinrussischen und polnischen* (in Fr. Miklosich, *Über die Wandlungen der Rumänien in den Dalmatischen Alpen und der Karpathen*, Wien, 1871, p. 39 etc. A. Boldur, *Românii și strămoșii lor în istoria Transnistriei*, Iasi, 1943, p. 15-36. D. Onciul, *Opere complete*, v. I, 1946, p. 291. For the "Polovcin" (*Kuman*) version (without any argument): J. Szaraniewicz, *Istoria Galitsko-volodimerskoi Rusi*, Lyow (Lemberg), 1863, p. 104; D. Zubritsky, *Istoria drevnego galichsko-russkago kniazhestva*, Lyow, 1852, vol. I, p. 138.

137. M. Hrushevskii, K. voprossu o Bolohove. *Chtenia v Istoricheskom Ob-ve "Nestora letopistsa,"* book the VIIth, 1893, Kiev, pp. 4-5.

138. N. P. Barsov, *Russkaia istoricheskaia geografia. Geografia letopissi Nestora.* Warsaw, 1885, pp. 99-100.

139. Dimitrie Frunzescu, *Dicționar topografic și statistic al României*, Bucharest, 1872, pp. 467, 271, 498.

became Moldavian, the *Ulichy* and *Tivertsy* contributed to the acceleration of the political crystallization and the appearance of the first Moldavian political formations: in the XIIth century—*Tsara Tighechiului*<sup>140</sup> and *Tsara Byrladului*, in the XIIIth century—*Tsara Brodnichilor*, at the beginning of the XIVth century—*Tsara Shepenitsului*, all of which to be included towards the middle of the century in the state of *Moldavia*. However, the problems concerning the appearance of the states *Moldavia* and *Tsara Românească* should constitute the subject of a separate study.

## 12. CONCLUSIONS

1) The *Ulichy-Tivertsy* people are mentioned in the Russian chronicles, also by the Bavarian Geographer and Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

2) *Ulichy* and *Tivertsy* are two names of one and the same people.

3) The ethnogeny of the *Ulichy-Tivertsy* is dealt with by different authors in various ways: they are considered to be eastern Slavs, Antsi, a mixture of Antsi and Tervings (of Gothic origin), Bulgarians, Russians, Ukrainians. According to the affirmations of the author of the primary Russian chronicle "*Povest vremennyh let*" the *Ulichy-Tivertsy* are neither Slavs nor Russians. Proofs are brought forward to demonstrate that they are Thracians.

4) The origin of the name *Ulichy* is obscure. Many authors acknowledge that the name *Tivertsy* is derived from the ancient name of the Dniester-Tyras, which is quite possible. On the other hand, another explanation is not to be discarded, that of the distortion by the chroniclers of the name of the Thracians: *Traces*, *Traices*, *Trausikes*.

5) Attempts to define the ethnic character of the *Tivertsy* on the ground of the epithet "*tolcoviny*" given to them, which was interpreted by some as "*translators*" and by others as "*associates*" have failed. Later statements seem to point to the notion that they were "*not Slavs*." Actually they are Thracians, and the epithet "*Tolcoviny*" derives from the Thracian word "*Talcas*" which means (presumably): *skilful*.

6) The *Ulichy* dwelt initially (in the IXth century) near the upper course of the Dnieper, migrating later, in the Xth century, towards the upper courses of the rivers *Styr*, *Goryn*, *Sluhi*, *Southern Bug*. The *Tivertsy* occupied both banks of the Dniester down to the Black Sea, as well as the space between the *Pruth* and the Dniester.

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140. *Tigheciu* is a Thracian name (*Ti-gaies*). I. Russu, *Limba* . . . , p. 136 and 134.

7) The [dwelling place of the Ulichy-Tivertsy (in the Xth century) coincides with the zone of expansion of the material culture Cucuteni-Tripolye of the neolithic epoch (of Thracian character) which entitles us to suppose that the Ulichy-Tivertsy are survivors — descendents of the population of Cucuteni-Tripolye.

8) In the lower parts of the Dniester remains are found of the Cimmerian culture which is also Thracian, but belongs to those Thracians who came over from Asia.

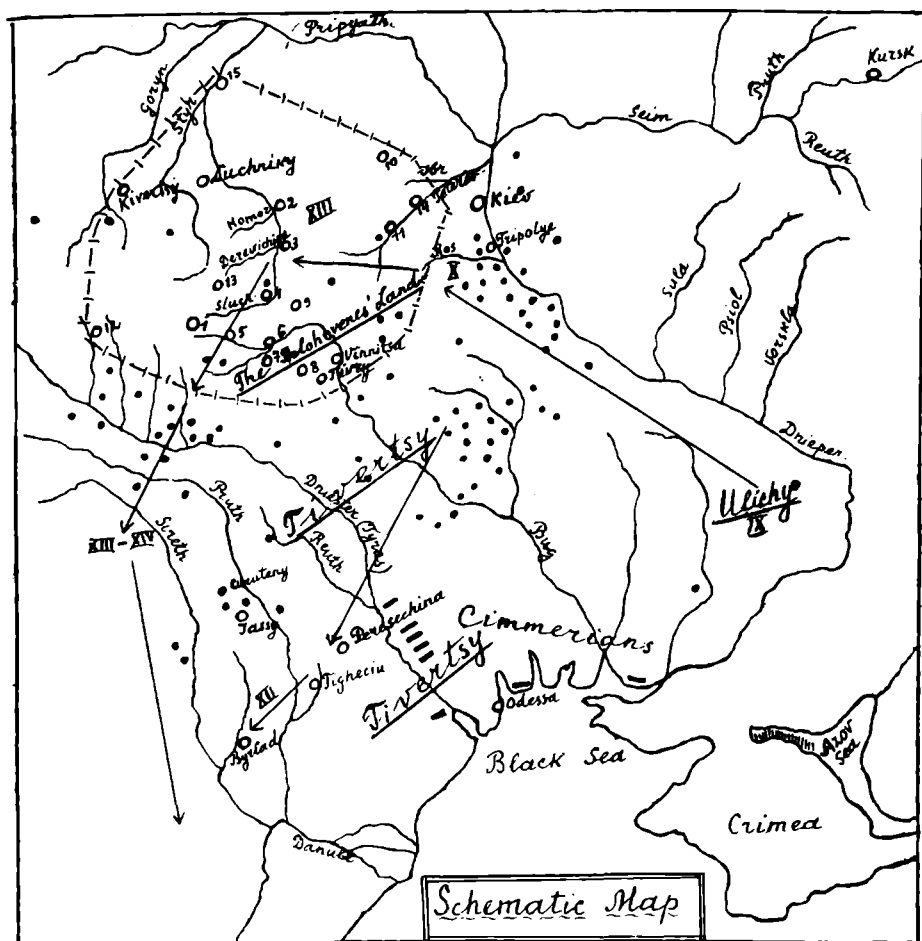
9) Thracian names in the south of Russia and the repetition of hydronyms, all of them converging to Moldavia, prove that a part of the population of this country had lived a long time ago in the zone of the Pontic steppes and the Russian forest-steppe region.

10) Exactly in the dwelling places of the Ulichy, there appears in the XIIIth century the Land of the Bolohovenes (Bolohovskaya Zemlya) considered by many authors to be Voloh or Valah (i. e. Moldavian). It is probable that it is the Ulichy who made their appearance here under the name of Bolohovenes.

11) The Ulichy receded into the boundaries of the Rumanian territory (in the first place that of Moldavia), where their toponymic traces are established, and lent their contribution to the birth of the first Rumanian political formations (Tighechi, Byrlad, Brodnic, Shepenits).

Bucarest

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•••• = Extension of Cucuteni-Tripolye culture, according to T. Passek and History of Rumania, v. I, 1960, p. 34

○ ○ numbered = Presumable position of Bolohovenes towns, according to Beliaev and Barsov in the north-western part of the territory occupied in B.C. by the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture. The Bolohovenes' towns were situated (in the XIII century O.E.) between the principalities Volhyn, Halich and Kiev (actually Podolia). Towns:

01 Bolohov	06 Mezhibozhie	011 Zhidichev
02 Beloberezhie	07 Kudin (Kudinca)	012 Gorodets (Grudsk)
03 Dererich	08 Diadkov (Dianovtsi)	013 Kobud (Bukovtsi)
04 Gubyn	09 Sematz	014 Gorodetsk
05 Borzhsk	010 Cherniatyn (Chernihovo)	015 Vorvialxgl

-|-|-|-|- = The frontier of the Bolohovenes' Land

== = The setting of Cimmerians

IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV = Roman ciphers indicate centuries O.E.