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Novgorodian Regnal Lists: A Reconsideration*

In her *Kinship and Politics* Nancy Kollmann has offered an important insight into how genealogies functioned in Muscovite society. The genealogies of boyar families appeared as late as the end of the fifteenth century only when those families needed a documentary proof for safeguarding their high status. Furthermore, the pedigrees of boyars were not intended to be full records of biological descent. Rather, they established Muscovite “political families,” i.e. clans that served the prince of Moscow. Earlier ancestors, who performed service to other princes, were usually ignored.¹ To what extent do these observations apply to the genealogies of the ruling clan? In the second half of the sixteenth century Muscovite rulers engaged the idea of dynastic power or dynasticism, which was an extension of kinship. Muscovite tsars were so preoccupied with their pedigree that it may seem that the cult of the ruling clan was timeless. Indeed, many historians have argued that the veneration of ancestors among the East Slavs even predated the baptism of Rus’.²

The history of royal genealogies, however, casts doubts on this sweeping generalization. On the basis of a textual analysis this paper will argue that the genealogies of the East Slavic ruling clan are late and suited, like the pedigrees of boyar families, the ideological needs of various interest groups. In East Slavic literature, the earliest texts offering an explicit dynastic perspective on the history of Rus’ are regnal lists and royal genealogies that appear in several fifteenth-century chronicles.³ They cover over fifteen generations of various princes of Moscow, Tver’, Kyiv and Novgorod, linking them with the semi-mythical Riurik and other early rulers. The lists organize the names of princes using repetitive formulas intertwined with genealogical and historical notes.

I will examine here a set of two genealogies, a list of princes with indicated lengths of their reigns, and a dual list of princes of Kyiv and princes of Novgorod that can be found in the *Younger Redaction of the Novgorodian First Chronicle (Mladshaia redaktsiia Novgorodskoi*

* I would like to thank Tetiana Vilkul, Valerie Kivelson and Michael Flier for their comments on this paper. I alone am responsible for all interpretations and remaining errors.

¹ Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics. The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), 26, 27, 57.

² For a classical statement of this thesis, see V. L. Komarovich, “Kul’t roda i zemli v kniazheskoi srede XI–XIII vv.,” in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*) 16 (1960), 84—104.

³ A list of Kyivan rulers in the Primary Chronicle lacks any genealogical information. See V. P. Adrianova-Perets and D. S. Likhachev, eds., *Povest’ vremennykh let*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1996), 12.

Pervoi letopisi, hereafter N1Y) and two related chronicles, the *Chronicle of Avraamka* (*Letopis' Avraamki*, Avr) and the *Tver' Collection* (*Tverskoi sbornik*, hereafter Tv) (fig. 1).⁴

The Commission copy of N1Y (N1Y-C), which contains the most extended collection of regnal lists, was created during the 1440s–1450s, probably in the Khutyn' Transfiguration monastery in the suburbs of Novgorod.⁵ The *Chronicle of Avraamka*, which consists of parts dating to different periods, features a set of lists similar to those found in N1Y. The lists are at the end of the oldest part of Avr (late 1460s–early 1470s), which textually depends on N1Y. In 1495 this section received a continuation written by a scribe called Avraamka in Smolensk.⁶ The *Tver' Collection*, which includes a similar (though not fully identical) corpus of lists, is a compilation with a complex structure. Tv took its present shape in the first third of the seventeenth century, probably in the region of Kyiv. Correspondingly, its existing copies are quite late (seventeenth century).⁷ This explains why students of the regnal lists usually ignore the versions of the lists in Tv. At the same time, A.G. Kuz'min and more recently V. Iu. Aristov have argued that Tv contains a better variant of at least one of the lists.⁸

The textual history of Tv lends support to the view that that chronicle should be included in an analysis of regnal lists. Tv reflects (via two intermediate chronicles) the First Novgorodian chronicle, which included entries through 1255. However, the regnal lists that came from the Novgorodian chronicle and can be seen now in Tv were not necessarily compiled before the middle of thirteenth century. The copy of the Novgorodian chronicle that was utilized in Tv dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century and included, in addition to entries ending in 1255, some later material.⁹

⁴ List inside N1Y: *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter PSRL), v. 3 (Moscow: lazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), 160–163. Lists at the beginning of N1Y: PSRL 3: 465–471; Avr: PSRL 16 (Moscow: lazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), cols. 307–315; Tv: PSRL 15 (Moscow: lazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), cols. 11–16. In N1Y and Avr the collection is supplemented by a text verging on the edge of a regnal list and a chronicle account of church building and miracles (“And These Are the Princes of Rus’,” А се князи русьстии). This text is beyond the scope of this study, but see remarks in the conclusion of this paper.

⁵ A. G. Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi XV veka* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2001), 73–74.

⁶ B. M. Kloss, “Predislovie k izdaniiu 2000 goda,” in PSRL 16: iv–v. The second part starts in the middle of a tale (from fol. 436, PSRL 16: col. 319) that follows the set of regnal lists.

⁷ Ia. S. Lur'e, “Letopis' Tverskaia,” *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhosti Drevnei Rusi*:

<http://www.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4297> (accessed 17 July 2016); B. M. Kloss, “Predislovie k izdaniiu 2000 goda,” in PSRL 15: vii–viii.

⁸ A. G. Kuz'min, “K prochteniiu teksta vvodnykh statei Komissionnogo spiska Novgorodskoi Pervoi letopisi,” in *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1970 god* (hereafter AE) (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 90–91; Vadim Aristov, “O predpolagaemom protografe chasti perechnia kniazei ‘Kto koliko kniazhil’,” *Vos'maia mezhdunarodnaia letniaia shkola po russkoi literature. Stat'i i materialy* (Kaukolempiälä: Svoe izdatel'stvo, 2012), 136–145.

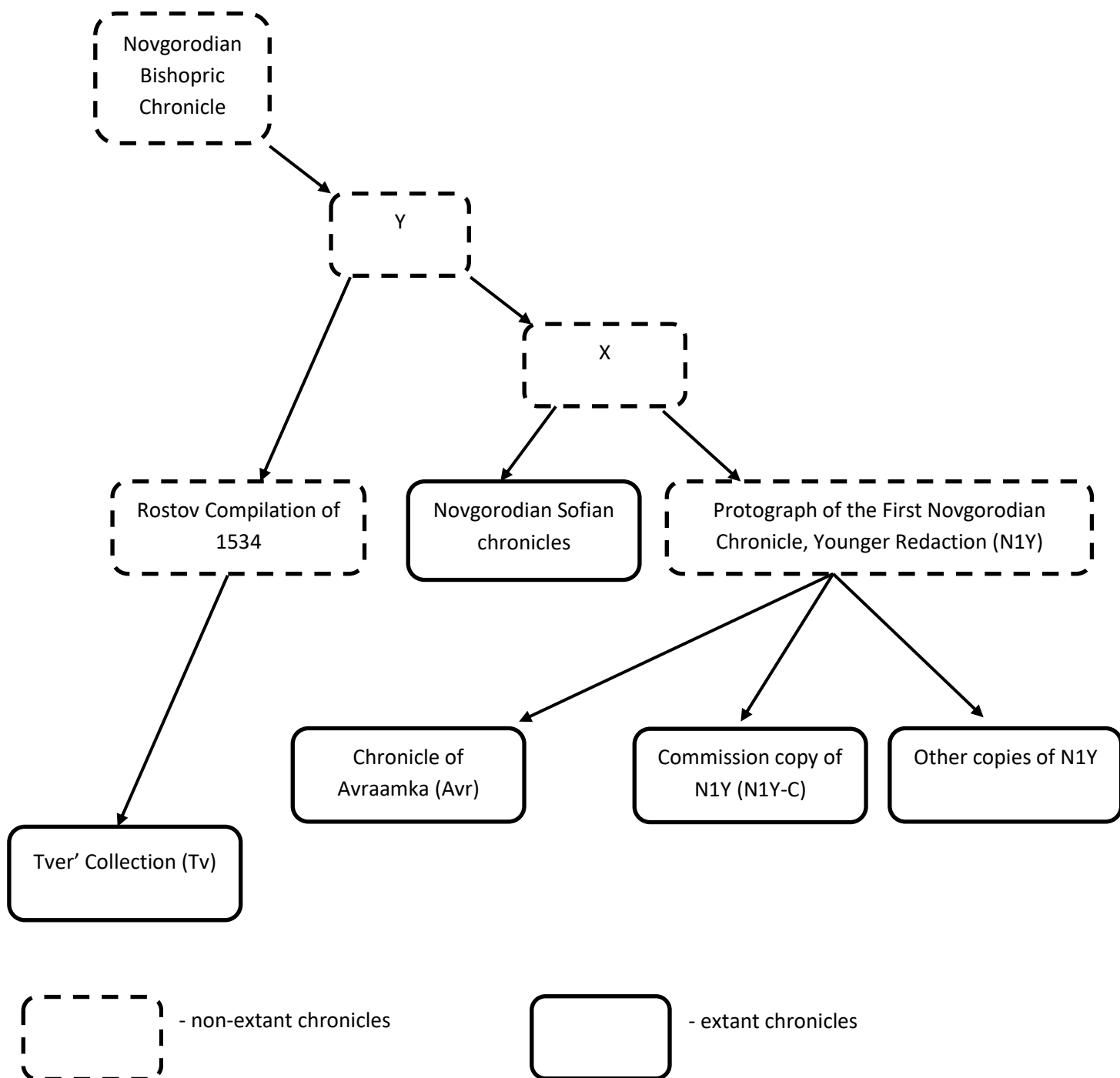
⁹ A. A. Shakhmatov, *Istoriia russkogo letopisaniia*, v. 1, bk. 2 (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2003), 37, 38 n. 1; T. V. Gimón, “Redaktirovanie letopisei v XIII–XV vv.: Raznochteniia mezhdru spiskami Novgorodskoi I letopisi,” *TODRL* 57 (2006): 115, 119; Gimón himself leaves Tv out of his study of regnal lists. See also A. A. Gippius, “Do Aleksadnra i Isakiia: K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii mladshogo izvoda Novgorodskoi pervoi letopisi,” *Drevniaia Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki* 1 (43) (2011): 24.

Scholars have offered two approaches to the dating of regnal lists. A. A. Shakhmatov pioneered textual studies of these documents on the basis of several assumptions. In his view, the last royal name mentioned on a list automatically indicates that the list was created during the reign of that ruler. He also argued that the present lists utilized earlier lists that have not survived. These lost lists can be reconstructed on the basis of changes in the structure of extant lists: places where such changes occur mark the end of one lost list and the beginning of another. These reconstructions are essential for Shakhmatov's overall theory of chronicle writing because he correlated reconstructed lists with hypothetical reconstructions of larger chronicle texts, now also lost.¹⁰ Other scholars see the compilation of the extant regnal lists as a one-off event, which V. L. Ianin dates to 1423 and Aleksei (Oleksi) Tolochko to the reign of Vasiliĭ II (1425–1462), the tenures of Metropolitan Gerasim (1432–1435) and Archbishop Evfimii I of Novgorod (1424–1429).¹¹

¹⁰ Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, 1, 1 (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2002), 143–144, 179. See also A. S. Shchhavelev, "K datirovke protografa perechnei kniaziei 'Kto koliko kniazhil'," in *Vostochnaia Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e. Rannie gosudarstva Evropy i Azii: Problemy politogeneza* (Moscow: Institut vseobshchei istorii RAN, 2011), 332–337; T. V. Gimon, "Sobytiia XI–nachala XII v. v novgorodskikh letopisiakh i perechniakh," in *Drevneishie gosudarstva Vostochnoi Evropy. 2010 god. Predposylki i puti obrazovaniia Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow: Universitet Dmitriia Pozharskogo, 2012), 584–703; T. V. Gimon, *Istoriopisanie rannesrednevekovoi Anglii i Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow: Universitet Dmitriia Pozharskogo, 2012), 277–291.

¹¹ V. L. Ianin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury, 2003), 37–38; Aleksei Tolochko, *Kratkaia redaktsiia Pravdy Russkoi: Proiskhozhdenie teksta* (Ruthenica. Supplementum 2, Kyiv, 2009), 70 note 150.

Fig. 1. Novgorodian and Related Chronicles¹²



¹² Adopted after Gimón, "Redaktirovanie" and Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*.

Dual List: “On the Kyivan Princedom” and “The Princes of Novgorod”

The dual list, which contains the names of princes of Kyiv and Novgorod, was the brainchild of a Novgorodian bookman. This is apparent from the title of the list of Kyivan princes (as per Tv) which shows that Kyiv was an alien place for the compiler (“On the Kyivan Princedom and *Their* Princes”). The location of the dual list varies in different chronicles. In the Commission copy of N1Y it appears in two places, at the beginning of the chronicle text and under the year of 6497. The Academy (1440s) and Tolstoy (mid-eighteenth century) copies of N1Y feature the list only in one place, in the entry for 6497. In Avr the list is placed after the chronicle’s oldest text, whereas in Tv it appears at the beginning of the chronicle.

The list has two large sections (see Appendix). The first includes the princes of Kyiv. The Tv version of the list starts with the first prince of Kyiv, Igor. Christian rulers are listed in Tv under the subtitle “After Baptism” (*по крещеніи же*). The versions of the list in N1Y and Avr omit the pre-Christian princes of Kyiv. All versions of the list of Kyivan princes end with Rostislav Mstislavich (r. 1159–1167). The second section of the list contains the princes of Novgorod. In all versions it starts with Vysheslav Vladimirovich, son of Vladimir I Sviatoslavich. In Tv that part abruptly ends in the middle of an entry about Mstislav Iziaslavich. The versions of the list at the beginning of N1Y-C and Avr end with Vasiliı I Dmitrievich of Moscow. The version in N1Y-C’s entry for 6497 continues the list through his son Vasiliı II Vasil’evich of Moscow.

Like the location of the list, the format of its entries varies depending on the chronicle (see Appendix). Tv version operates with simple and consistent formulas.¹³ Practically every entry starts with the word “after MN” (*по*), “after the death of MN” (*по смертї*) or simply “then” (*потом*). None of the entries indicates the lengths of individual reigns. The format of entries in the N1Y and Avr versions is much more diverse. The structure of entries in the list of Kyivan princes and at the beginning of the list of Novgorodian princes is generally similar to Tv. However, starting from the first reign of Mstislav Vladimirovich in Novgorod in the first half of the 1090s through the first reign of Mstislav Rostislavich the Blind (*Bezokii*) in Novgorod (1160–1161) the compilers of N1Y and Avr provide the length of reign for each prince (Appendix, N21). This cluster of chronological entries is followed by entries whose format is again similar to that in Tv (“and then MN [sat on the throne]”) with no length of reigns indicated apart from two occasional entries (Appendix, N23).

¹³ In formulas below MN=male name; different names are differentiated by subscripts. I am employing here a modified version of formulas for genealogical lists proposed in Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1977), 57 n. 2.

There are various explanations for the diversity of formulas in N1Y-C and Avr. On the basis of a comparative analysis of formulas in N1Y-C, in particular the entry about the second reign of Sviatoslav Rostislavich in Novgorod (1161–1167, Appendix N22) Shakhmatov linked the creation of the regnal list with a hypothetical chronicle compiled in Novgorod in 1167 (*Svod 1167 goda*). According to Shakhmatov, it was the creator of that archbishopric compilation who prepared the list.¹⁴ T. V. Gimon takes Shakhmatov's method of reconstructing lost lists further by arguing that the earliest part of the list of Novgorodian princes in N1Y-C (through N20 in Appendix) was compiled in 1095.¹⁵

Shakhmatov did not apply to the dual list his observations about the relationship between the existing copies of N1Y and Tv. In particular, he noticed that Tv utilizes a version of N1Y that is reflected not in the Commission copy of N1Y, but in the Academy and Tolstoy copies of the chronicle.¹⁶ What is important is that the version of the dual list in Tv is also textually linked with the variants of the list found in the Academy and Tolstoy copies of N1Y and Avr, but differs from the Commission version. As mentioned above, the end of the Tv list has been lost, and now it abruptly ends with an entry about the defeat of Mstislav Iziaslavich, grandson of Iaroslav Vladimirovich, by Vseslav Briachislavich of Polatsk at the Cherekha River in 1066. The entry is incomplete, but what has survived of it is closer to the full version of the entry that has been preserved in the Academy and Tolstoy copies of N1Y and in Avr. All these chronicle texts contain various forms of the pronoun *him*, which is missing from both versions of the N1Y-C list.

Table 1: Different Versions of the Dual List of the Princes of Kyiv and Novgorod

Tv (PSRL 15: col. 16)	Academy and Tolstoy copies of N1Y (PSRL 3: 161 note 11–11)	Avr (PSRL 16: col. 313)	N1Y-C, main text (PSRL 3: 161)	N1Y-C, beginning of the chronicle (PSRL 3: 470)
Изяславъ Ярославичъ изъ Кіева посади сына своего Мьстислава, и	Изяславъ посади сына своего Мьстислава; и побѣдиша <i>и</i> на Черехъ	Изяславъ посади сына своего Мьстислава и побѣдиша <i>и</i> на	Изяславъ посади сына своего Мьстислава; и побѣдиша на	Изяславъ посади сына своего Мьстислава, и побѣдиша

¹⁴ Shakhmatov, *Istoriia* 1, 1: 144, 179. For subsequent elaboration of this view, see Gippius, “K istorii,” 47; S. M. Mikheev, *Kto pisal ‘Povest’ vremennykh let’* (Moscow: Indrik, 2011), 131–133.

¹⁵ Gimon, “Sobytiia,” 597, 604–606. For a critique of this method, see Tolochko, *Kratkaia redaktsiia*, 70, n. 150.

¹⁶ A. A. Shakhmatov, “Razbor sochineniia I. A. Tikhomirova ‘Obzrenie letopisnykh svodov Rusi Severo-Vostochnoi’,” in *Otchet o sorokovom prisuzhdenii nagrad grafa Uvarova* (Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po Istoriko-filologicheskomu otdeleniiu, v. 4, no. 2 (1899): 201–204. Cf. A. N. Nasonov, “Letopisnye pamiatniki Tverskogo kniazhestva: Opyt rekonstruktsii letopisaniia s XIII do kontsa XV v.,” pt. 1, in *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR. VII seriia. Otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk* (hereafter *IzAN-VII*), no. 9 (1930): 712, 723, 724; *ibid*, pt. 2, in *IzAN-VII*, no. 10 (1930): stemma after p. 772.

побѣдиша его...		Черехы	Черехи	на Черехи
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The Tv version of the dual list therefore has a textual connection with the Academy, Tolstoy and Avr versions, in contrast to the N1Y-C version. At the same time, the Academy and Tolstoy copies of N1Y and Avr were not among the sources of Tv. The Academy and Tolstoy copies lack many regnal lists that appear in Tv. These lists can be found in Avr, so one may assume that Tv borrowed from that chronicle. But Tv did not utilize Avr either. This is obvious from a textual analysis of the historical and genealogical notes about the son of Iaroslav the Wise and father of the above-mentioned Mstislav, Iziaslav (Appendix, T7 and N4). Various versions of the dual list employ different words for describing Iziaslav's genealogical seniority among his brothers (*болшии, вятшии*). As we can see from Table 2, the wording used in Tv differs from Avr and, like the passage analyzed in Table 1, coincides with the wording of the Academy and Tolstoy copies (and this time, also with N1Y-C's entry for 6497).

Table 2. Various Versions of the Dual List on Iziaslav Iaroslavich

Tv (PSRL 15: 15)	Academy and Tolstoy copies, N1Y-C's entry for 6497 (PSRL 3: 160 main text and notes)	The beginning of N1Y-C (PSRL 3: 469)	Avr (PSRL 16: 313)
Взя болшій Изяславъ Кіевъ, и Новгородъ	И взя бол(ь)шии Изяславъ Кыевъ и Новъгород	И взя вятшии Изяславъ Кіевъ и Новгород	И взя вятшии Изяславъ Кіевъ и Новъгородъ

Taken together, the textual analysis of the dual list indicates that Tv has passages in common with other versions of the list, but without consistently following any particular version. Tv therefore contains an early version of the dual list that was later utilized in the Commission, Academy and Tolstoy copies of N1Y and Avr.¹⁷ This observation calls for a reassessment of the relationship between different versions of the list. In fact, the structure of entries before and after the entries with chronological calculations in N1Y generally corresponds to the structure of the Tv list with its frequently occurring connection "after" (Appendix). This suggests that the protograph of the list contained simple formulas that we can now see in the Tv version. The compiler of N1Y reworked the protograph by adding chronological calculations in some places. This is corroborated by the fact that chronological

¹⁷ Tv version is not free from later errors, like the haplographical duplication in Appendix, T11 and T12 and the omission of Iziaslav Davydovich between T14 and T15.

information utilized in the N1Y-C version of the list can be found in the First Novgorodian Chronicle.¹⁸

The Tv version of the dual list of Kyivan princes logically starts with the first prince of Kyiv, Igor, whose existence is attested by various sources (Appendix, T1). This entry is followed by entries about other princes, including the reign of Vladimir Sviatoslavich before and after the conversion of Rus'. At the same time, the N1Y (both variants at the beginning and inside the chronicle) and Avr open with the statement "after baptism the first Christian prince was *again* Vladimir" (*по крещении пакы первыи князь христианьскыи Володимерь*, Appendix, N1).¹⁹ The word *again* (пакы) implies that the chronicle utilized a fuller list with an entry about the reign of Vladimir prior to his conversion similar to the one we can see now in Tv. The compiler of N1Y did not merely copy the regnal list, but reworked it for his account of the baptism of Rus' under Vladimir Sviatoslavich. This subject required amendments to the structure of the original full list, which now lost its beginning with entries about pre-Christian princes. The revision was also necessary because the original list of Kyivan princes as reflected in Tv reports that Vladimir Sviatoslavich ascended the throne by killing his brother Iaropolk.²⁰ This awkward detail of power struggle had to be erased from dynastic memory because it did not fit the elevated image of Vladimir Sviatoslavich as the baptiser of Rus' in N1Y.

Tv and N1Y versions also differ in their treatment of the history of succession after Vladimir Sviatoslavich. The Tv list of Kyivan princes neutrally mentions Vladimir's son Sviatopolk without giving him any characteristics and ignores his famous half-brothers, Boris and Gleb. At the same time, N1Y calls Sviatopolk Vladimirovich the Accursed (*Оканьши*) and clarifies that Sviatopolk's rivalry and successor Iaroslav Vladimirovich was a brother of Boris and Gleb (Appendix, N2, N3). From the perspective of the list's purpose of providing the names of the princes of Kyiv this genealogical detail is superfluous because neither Boris nor Gleb occupied the Kyivan throne. But all these additions indicate that the list of princes in N1Y was affected by texts associated with the cult of SS Boris and Gleb, a feature typical of N1Y in general.²¹ On the whole, the compiler of the N1Y list is much more generous with epithets and nicknames than the creator of the Tv version.²² Historiographical notes explicating the deeds of historical characters are typical of later reworking of lists of kings in various

¹⁸ Gimon, "Sobytiia," 605.

¹⁹ N1Y: PSRL 3: 469. See also Avr: PSRL 16: col. 312.

²⁰ Tv: PSRL 15: col. 15.

²¹ Tat'iana Vilkul, "Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis' i Nachal'nyi svod," *Palaeoslavica* 11 (2003): 11.

²² The Tv list contains three sobriquets: Vladimir Sviatoslavich the Great, Vladimir Vsevolodivch Monomakh, Iurii Vladimirovich Long Arm (*Долгорукій*). The list in N1Y-C gives us seven nicknames: Sviatopolk Vladimirovich the Accursed (*Оканьши*); Vladimir Vsevolodovich the Great (*Великыи*, should be Monomakh); Mstislav Rostislavich the Blind (*Безокуи*); Iaroslav Mstislavich the Handsome (*Красныи*); Mstislav Rostislavich the Brave (*Храбрыи*); Vsevolod Iur'evich the Great (*Великий*, commonly known as Vsevolod Big Nest); Aleksandr Iaroslavich the Brave (*Храбрыи*), commonly known as Aleksandr Nevskii.

cultures.²³ Numerous epithets and nicknames reveal late attempts to “create” the individualities of past princes in N1Y.

Like the genealogies of boyar families, regnal lists were not intended to be fully impartial reference works. Rather, as a genre, they validated existing political arrangements.²⁴ This is why regnal lists became subject to manipulation as early as they appeared in ancient Mesopotamia. The beginning and ending of a regnal list were particularly fluid. The opening entries of regnal lists usually linked their narrative with the origin myths of particular community. The Tv version of the dual list offers a dynastic perspective on the princes of Kyiv and Novgorod by tracing their origin to Prince Igor. As we have seen, the compiler of N1Y reworked the beginning of the dual list to bring forward a transformative event in East Slavic history, the conversion of Rus’.

The concluding entries of a regnal list often expressed the political preferences of its compiler. Lists could focus on historical kings and omit contemporary rulers when the compiler did not recognize their legitimacy.²⁵ Historians have already argued that the ending of the Kyivan section of the dual list with the name of Rostislav Mstislavich was also a literary instrument which the chronicler used for political purposes. According to V. Ia. Petrukhin, who dates the compilation of the Novgorodian chronicle, and thus the dual list, to the thirteenth century, the reference to Rostislav Mstislavich was a tool for controlling the chronicle narrative. Petrukhin notes that the list of Kyivan princes ends with Rostislav Mstislavich because his son Riurik sacked Kyiv in 1203, a dramatic event that the chronicler likened to the taking of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204.²⁶

In my view, for the compiler of the dual list, Rostislav Mstislavich was important as the founder of the Smolensk princely house. Novgorodians employed princes from neighboring polities, including Smolensk and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to protect the north-western borders of Novgorod’s lands. Princes from Smolensk and Lithuania performed service in Novgorod simultaneously until 1399 when Lithuania denounced its alliance with Novgorod. This move resulted in the monopoly of the princely family of Smolensk on Novgorodian service until 1407. Attempts to restore the system of parallel service of Smolensk and Lithuanian princes in Novgorod resulted in a military conflict with Lithuania in 1412.²⁷ A. G.

²³ Mary R. Bachvarova, “From ‘Kingship in Heaven’ to King Lists: Syro-Anatolian Courts and the History of the World,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 12, no. 1 (2012): 100.

²⁴ On regnal lists as a literary genre, see David M. Dumville, “Kingship, Genealogies, and Regnal Lists,” in P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood, eds., *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1977), 85; Wilson, *Genealogy*, 193–194; Piotr Michalowski, “History as Charter: Some Observations on the Sumerian King List,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983), no. 1: 237–48; T. V. Gimon, “Perechni letopisnye,” in E. A. Mel’nikova, V. Ia. Petrukhin, eds., *Drevniaia Rus’ v srednevekovom mire. Entsiklopediia* (hereafter *DRVSM*) (Moscow: Ladomir, 2014), 596.

²⁵ Wilson, *Genealogy*, 106. See also below on genealogical lists.

²⁶ V. Ia. Petrukhin, “Drevniaia Rus’: Narod, kniaz’, religiiia,” in V. Ia. Petrukhin, comp., *Iz istorii russkoi kul’tury*, 1 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul’tury, 2000), 73.

²⁷ On Smolensk princes in Novgorod, see Atsuo Nakadzava, *Rukopisanie Magnusha. Issledovanie i teksty* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), 112–113; V. Ia. Ianin, “Kniaz’ia novgorodskie,” in V. Ia. Ianin, ed. *Velikii*

Bobrov has already demonstrated that the prominent presence of Smolensk princes in Novgorod from 1397 to 1413 affected local chronicle writing.²⁸ This important observation should be extended to the dual list of princes. The memory of Rostislav Mstislavich brought together Novgorod and two East Slavic cities recently annexed by Lithuania, Kyiv (conquered in c. 1362) and Smolensk (occupied in 1395).²⁹ The appearance of Rostislav Mstislavich at the ending of the list of Kyivan princes suggests that the list originated from the circle of pro-Smolensk Novgorodian bookmen between 1397 and 1413. Trying to repulse the expansionist plans of Vytautas of Lithuania, the princes of Smolensk actively sought the support of Moscow, hence the interest of the compiler of the dual list in the Muscovite ruling house.

Other elements of the dual list as reflected in Tv also point to its compilation in the early fifteenth century. The Tv version of the list features the nickname of Iurii Vladimirovich, Long Arm (*Долгорукій*), which does not appear in the sources before the fifteenth century.³⁰ The accompanying list of Novgorodian princes in Tv contains a historical note about Iaroslav Vladimirovich the Wise giving the Novgorodians a judicial charter and instructing them to obey it. As Tolochko has noted, Iaroslav's instructions contain the formula "follow this charter" (*по сей грамотѣ ходите*) which appeared in the late fourteenth century and remained in use throughout the fifteenth century, though its popularity somehow declined after the death of Metropolitan Cyprian in 1406.³¹ All this suggests that the dual list of the princes of Kyiv and Novgorod was compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Its early version has come down to us in Tv. The compiler of N1Y-C (or its protograph) reworked the list by providing the length of some reigns and genealogical details and introduced individual characteristics and additional personages using texts associated with the cult of SS. Boris and Gleb.

Genealogical and chronological lists

Novgorod: Istorii i kul'tura IX–XVII vekov. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' (hereafter *VNIK*) (St. Petersburg: Nestor-istoriia, 2007), 243; V. L. Ianin, "Kniaz'ia novgorodskie sluzhilye," in Ianin, *VNIK*, 243. On Rostislav Mstislavich, and his descendants, see A. M. Stepanov, "Rostislav Mstislavich," in Ianin, *VNIK*, 424; A. G. Gushchin, "Rostislavichi smolenskie," in Mel'nikova, Petrukhin, *DRVSM*, 689.

²⁸ Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 108–110.

²⁹ On the complexities surrounding the exact date of the taking of Kyiv by Algirdas of Lithuania, see S. C. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending. A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295–1345* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 108.

³⁰ *PSRL* 15: col. 16; V. A. Kuchkin, "Iurii Dolgorukii," *Voprosy istorii*, 1996, no. 10: 55 note 4; Evgenii Pchelov, "Genealogiia sem'i Iurii Dolgorukogo," *Ruthenica* 3 (2004): 71.

³¹ *PSRL* 15: col. 16; Tolochko, *Kratkaia redaktsiia*, 54–56. Gimón rejects this observation by noting that Tolochko himself quotes similar expressions from an earlier period. Gimón, "Sobytiia," 600. However, such similarity is irrelevant here because legal texts require precise formulas. It is therefore important when the exact expression 'follow this charter' appeared.

The above-mentioned dual list of princes of Kyiv and Novgorod is accompanied in the chronicles by two genealogies and a chronological list. The first genealogy, “This Is How the Great Princes of Rus’ Are Related” (*Сице родословятся велицѣи князи русьстии*, hereafter “This is How”), is a listing of princes based on the biblical formula “MN₁ begat MN₂” with short narrative comments about the achievements of some princes, like the baptism of Rus’ by Vladimir Sviatoslavich and the restoring of law and order under Ivan Danilovich Kalita.³² The second genealogy, ‘Another Genealogy of the Same Princes’ (*Ино родословіе тѣхъ же князеи*, hereafter “Another Genealogy”) expands the first pedigree by listing the sons of every prince using the formula “sons of MN₁: MN₂, MN₃, MN₄.”³³ It corrects some errors of the first genealogy and occasionally provides information about female members of the Muscovite princely family. Entitled “Who Reigned for How Long” (*Кто колико княжилъ*, hereafter “Who Reigned”), the third list adds a chronological perspective to the royal genealogies by means of the formula “MN₁ reigned for X years, MN₂ reigned for Y years” with genealogical and narrative comments.

The textual history of “This Is How” reveals how prince lists functioned as an instrument of dynastic politics. The ending of the list in most copies (N1Y-C, Avr, the *Compilation of Bishop Pavel*) points to the reign of Vasilii I (1389–1425) as the time of its compilation.³⁴ At the same time, the Trinity copy of N1Y contains another version of the list, which ignores Muscovite rulers after Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi, who is called autocrat (*samoderzhets*). The reason why the Trinity list extolls Dmitrii, but omits subsequent members of the Muscovite princely line is that the list ends with Dmitrii’s son Iurii of Galich, who challenged the succession of his nephew and Dmitrii Donskoi’s grandson Vasilii II.³⁵ This pro-Iurii version of the prince list apparently appeared during his short tenures as grand prince in 1433 and 1434.³⁶

“Another Genealogy” elaborates on the pedigree outlined in the above-mentioned list. Judging by its title, the compiler of “Another Genealogy” conceived his list as a supplement to “This Is How.” The earliest ending of “Another Genealogy” can be found in N1Y and the *Compilation of Bishop Pavel*, where the list ends with Vasilii I’s son Vasilii Vasilievich, but does not mention him as ruler. “Another Genealogy” should thus be dated to the second half of the reign of Vasilii Vasil’evich’s father Vasilii I Dmitrievich, more precisely to the

³² This correct title appears in N1Y and Avr. *PSRL* 3: 465; *PSRL* 16: col. 307. Tv erroneously gives *славятся* instead of *родословятся*. *PSRL* 15: col. 13

³³ The full title, “Another Genealogy of the Same Princes” has survived in Tv: *PSRL* 15: col. 14. The title in N1Y and Avr has lost the first word *another* (*ино*) and it looks a bit strange in the context of the previous list which also contains a genealogy of Rus’ princes: *PSRL* 3: 465; *PSRL* 16: col. 307. The *Compilation of Bishop Pavel* features a different title, “How Many Sons the Princes of Rus’ Had” (*Колико сыновъ у русских князей было*). See Shakhmatov, *Istoriia* 2: 507.

³⁴ On the *Compilation of Bishop Pavel*, see Shakhmatov, *Istoriia* 2 (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2011), 507 n. 4; A. G. Bobrov, “Letopisanie Velikogo Novgoroda vtoroi poloviny XV v.,” *TODRL* 53 (2003): 101–105 (study), 109–121 (publication of the chronicle’s text, though without the lists of princes).

³⁵ *PSRL* 3: 465 (N1Y-C), 561 (Trinity copy)

³⁶ Shakhmatov, *Istoriia* 2: 280–281.

period between 1415, when Vasilii Vasil'evich was born, to 1425, when he ascended the throne of Moscow.³⁷

The list “Who Reigned,” which provides the lengths of reigns starting from Riurik, is a more complicated case. Kuz'min and Aristov correctly assume that a copy of the list in Tv is closer to the lost protograph of the list than its other existing copies. The location of the list in Tv reveals its original function: placed at the beginning of Tv, the text of “Who Reigned” (without a title) continues a similar list that originates from the Primary Chronicle. Taken together, both lists create an image of uninterrupted continuity from Adam through the Byzantine Emperor Michael III, through Riurik and pre-Christian rulers of Rus' to the north-eastern principalities of Rus' (Suzdal', Moscow, Tver'). As for N1Y-C, it contains the most corrupt version of “Who Reigned.”³⁸ The copy of “Who Reigned” in N1Y-C lost its original context and became a chronological supplement to the genealogies of East Slavic princes. The text of the list was seriously garbled during the process of reassigning the function of the list in N1Y-C. In particular, N1Y-C reports that “baptized princes reigned for 127 years” (Table 3). This passage did not fail to attract the attention of scholars, who surmised that it points to the date of the list's protograph, which was allegedly based on a lost chronicle. By adding 127 years to the year of 988, when Rus' was baptised, they concluded that that hypothetical chronicle ended in 1115, which is also the date of the hypothetical protograph of the list.³⁹

As Tv shows, the entry in N1Y is in fact a contaminated combination of two entries, one about 127 years of reigns of princes before baptism and the other about the reign of Vladimir Sviatoslavich before and after baptism.⁴⁰ An intermediary stage of contamination is reflected in Avr, where the list has already lost the division of Vladimir Sviatoslavich's reign into two parts, but still retains the entry about the total length of reigns of pagan princes prior to baptism (in a slightly modified form, it gives 123 years as opposed to 127 years in Tv).⁴¹ The collection of the lists of princes in Avr comes not from N1Y-C, but from its protograph N1Y (see fig. 1), that is, from the time before the compiler of the N1Y-C made the list “Who Reigned” completely incomprehensible. The corruption also affected the entry

³⁷ Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, 2: 507 note 5; Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 237.

³⁸ Kuz'min, “K prochteniiu,” 90; Aristov, “O predpolagaemom protografe,” 136, 144–145.

³⁹ M. Kh. Aleshkovskii, “K datirovke pervoi redaktsii Povesti vremennkh let,” in *AE za 1968 god* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), 71–72; M. Kh. Aleshkovskii, *Povest' vremennykh let. Sud'ba literaturnogo proizvedeniia v Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 120; Shchavalev, “K datirovke,” 335.

⁴⁰ Tv's entry about pagan princes ruling for 127 years reflects the peculiar chronology of the Novgorodian chronicle which dates the invitation of Riurik to 862 and the baptism of Rus' to 989 (as opposed to 988 in the Primary Chronicle). See Kuz'min, “K prochteniiu,” 91.

⁴¹ Scholars believe that the compiler of the text represented in Avr received 123 years on the basis of arithmetic calculations using figures from N1Y-C. Shchavalev, “K datirovke,” 335; Aristov, “O predpolagaemom protografe,” 140–141. However, the structure of the entry in Avr is generally similar to that of corresponding entry in Tv: both mention the total number of years for the reigns of princes before the baptism of Rus' followed by the length of Vladimir Sviatoslavich's reign (see Table 3). None of them, unlike N1Y-C, gives the total number of years for the reigns of baptized princes. This suggests that the protograph of Avr utilized not entries reflected in N1Y-C, but those that can be found now in Tv.

about the reign of Vladimir I's predecessor, Iaropolk Sviatoslavich, which includes now a passage about someone's reign after baptism, a passage originally referring to Vladimir Sviatoslavich. As a result, the lists in Avr and N1Y-C give the false impression that it was Vladimir Sviatoslavich' predecessor Iaropolk Sviatoslavich who reigned after baptism for some time.⁴²

Table 3. Lengths of Reigns before and after Baptism in "Who Reigned"

Tv (PSRL 15: col. 12)	Avr (PSRL 16: col. 308)	N1Y-C (PSRL 3: 466)
А Ярополкъ княжилъ 8 лѣтъ... А всего княженіа до крещеніа 127 лѣтъ. А по крещеніи Володимеръ княжи 27 лѣтъ, а до крещеніа 8 лѣтъ.	Ярополкъ 8 лѣтъ, а во крещеніи княжилъ 17 лѣтъ; а некрещеніи князи княжили 123 лѣтъ; Володимеръ княжилъ 35 лѣтъ.	Ярополкъ 8 лѣтъ. А въ крещеніи княжи 17 лѣтъ. А крещеніи князи княжили 127 лѣтъ. Володимеръ княжи 35 лѣтъ.

The list in N1Y-C also features a garbled entry about Vladimir Monomakh that contains first the length of the reign by somebody called Vladimir (21 years) and then the length of another reign by a certain Volodimerich Monomakh (12 years). Again, Tv gives here a perfectly clear entry about the reign of Vladimir Monomakh, whereas Avr is similar to N1Y-C (Table 4).

Table 4. "Who Reigned" about the Reign of Vladimir Monomakh

Tv (PSRL 15: col. 12)	Avr (PSRL 16: col. 309 note 2)	N1Y (PSRL 3: p. 466)
Володимеръ Всеволодичъ	Володимеръ 21 лѣтъ. Володимирич Мономах	Володимеръ 21 лѣтъ. Володимеричъ Мономахъ

⁴² Shchhavelev uncritically accepts N1Y's and Avr's information about Iaropolk Sviatoslavich's baptism. Shchhavelev, "K datirovke," 335–336. In fact, the indicated length of Iaropolk Sviatoslavich's alleged reign after baptism, 17 years (instead of the correct length of his rule, 27 years) is an error that could have occurred for various reasons. Having detected a similar error (18 instead of 28 years) in the entry about the reign of Sviatoslav Igorevich, Aristov has plausibly assumed that a copyist, whose text can be seen now in Avr and N1Y, tended to err in the numbers of decades. Aristov, "O predpolagaemom protografe," 139. It is also possible that the seventeen-year reign of Iaropolk mentioned in Avr and N1Y is a haplographical error resulting from the same length of Riurik's reign, which opens the list.

Манамахъ княжи 12 лѣтъ	княжилъ 12 лѣтъ.	княжи 12 лѣт.
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Students of “Who Reigned” tried to make sense of the list’s entry about Vladimir Monomakh on the basis of various conjectures and arithmetic calculations.⁴³ In fact, the entries about Vladimir Monomakh in Avr and N1Y are murky because their compiler was uncertain about that prince’s genealogy. Furthermore, entries about Vladimir Monomakh’s reign are corrupt not only in “Who Reigned,” but also in other regnal lists in Avr and N1Y, including “This Is How,” “Another Genealogy” and “And These Are the Princes of Rus’.”⁴⁴ All these lists make the same mistake by claiming that Vladimir Vsevolodovich had a son called Monomakh. This common mistake suggests that all these lists contaminated one another. It is obvious that the N1Y-C versions of the lists with the garbled genealogy of Vladimir Monomakh appeared long after his reign when the chroniclers already forgot his pedigree.

We should therefore be cautious about Shchavelev’s attempts to date the protograph of “Who Reigned” to the reign of Vladimir Monomakh. His dating is based on two peculiarities on the list in N1Y-C. First, Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh’s predecessor Sviatopolk Iziaslavich is called in the list by his Christian name Mikhailo. Second, prior to the entry for Sviatopolk-Mikhailo Iziaslavich the list’s entries are based on a standard pattern indicating the first name of a prince: “MN reigned for x years.” After Sviatopolk-Mikhailo Iziaslavich and Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh the list employs a new pattern of entry, which includes now the patronymic or nickname of a prince. Shchavelev concludes that the protograph was compiled during the reign of Sviatopolk Iziaslavich or the beginning of the reign of Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh. The list was then updated by adding the overall length of Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh’s reign and took its final shape between 1389 and 1425 (here Shchavelev follows V. L. Ianin’s observation that the list was compiled under Vasiliï I Dmitrievich because it mentions that prince, but does not provide the length of his reign).⁴⁵

As in the case of the dual list discussed above, Tv provides an important insight into the textual history of “Who Reigned.” To begin with, Tv shows that the list features patronymics in entries preceding the reign of Sviatopolk-Mikhailo Iziaslavich. Thus, his predecessor on the Kyivan throne Vsevolod Iaroslavich appears with his patronymic in Tv whereas N1Y-C

⁴³ Aleshkovskii, *Povest’*, 120; Shchavelev, “K datirovke,” 334. For a critical assessment of these views, see Aristov, “O predpolagaemom protografe,” 142–143.

⁴⁴ N1Y: *PSRL* 3: 465–467. Avr makes this error in “This Is How,” “Who Reigned,” “These Are the Princes of Rus’,” but still gives the correct genealogy of Vladimir Vsevolodovich in “Another Genealogy”. *PSRL* 16: col. 307 note 3, col. 309 notes 2, 6. These mixed entries about Vladimir Vsevolodovich confirm the above mentioned transitional characters of regnal lists in Avr, which reflect an early stage of corruption of original lists that have survived in Tv.

⁴⁵ Shchavelev, ‘K datirovke’, 334–336; Ianin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, 37. Gimon generally accepts Shchavelev’s theory. Gimon, “Sobytiia,” 594–595.

and Avr give only his first name.⁴⁶ The reign of Sviatopolk-Mikhailo Iziaslavich does not therefore mark a change in the entry format. As for his baptismal name, the reason why the list mentions it is also obvious from Tv. Tv gives the correct name of the prince, Sviatopolk, while both N1Y and Av erroneously call him Sviatoslav.⁴⁷ As we can see from Tv, the name of Sviatopolk-Mikhailo Iziaslavich closely follows the entry about another Sviatopolk, namely Sviatopolk Vladimirovich, the murderer of SS. Boris and Gleb. The compiler of the list apparently provided Sviatopolk Iziaslavich's Christian name to distinguish between the two Sviatopolks. That Christian name was readily available from the Primary Chronicle, and, correspondingly, could be borrowed any time after the compilation of the Primary Chronicle.⁴⁸ The mentioning of Sviatopolk Iziaslavich's baptismal name thus tells us nothing about the date of the list's protograph.

To date the list "Who Reigned," we need to look at its ending in existing copies. The list ends with entries about the twenty-seven-year reign of Dmitrii Donskoi of Moscow (1362–1389) in N1Y-C and with the thirty-one-year reign of Vasili III of Moscow (in fact, he reigned in 1505–1533) in Tv. One should prioritize N1Y-C here because in Tv the reigns following Dmitrii Donskoi were added later. This is apparent from the format of the entry about Dmitrii's successor Vasili I: it is preceded with the conjunction "and" (*u*), the only occurrence of that conjunction before the name of a prince on the Tv list. We can thus conclude that the protograph of the list ended with the reign of Dmitrii Donskoi as reflected in N1Y-C and was later continued in Tv (or one of its sources). The list surely existed by 1424-1425 as indicated by an entry in the copy of the list in N1Y-C counting 97 years from the campaign headed by the Tatar commander Turlak against Tver in 1327.⁴⁹

Ianin's dating of the protograph of "Who Reigned" from 1389 to the 1420s therefore remains valid. On the basis of the lists of church hierarchs that accompany the lists of princes in N1Y, Ianin has narrowed down the date of "Who Reigned" and other regnal lists to the period between June 1421 and September 1423.⁵⁰ But this precise dating, which suggests that all regnal lists appeared practically simultaneously, may be too narrow. Tv, which has preserved an early version of "Who Reigned," does not contain the above-

⁴⁶ Tv: *PSRL* 15: col. 12; N1Y-C: *PSRL* 3: 466; Avr: *PSRL* 16: col. 309.

⁴⁷ Tv: *PSRL* 15: col. 12; N1Y-C: *PSRL* 3: 466; Avr: *PSRL* 16: col. 309. Shchavelev noted the error in N1Y-C and Avr, but did not comment on that. Shchavelev, "K datirovke," 334.

⁴⁸ Adrianova-Perets, *Povest'*, 126. Shchavelev's assertion that the compiler of "Who Reigned" worked before the appearance of the Primary Chronicle and therefore could not utilize it is ill-advised. See Aristov, "O predpolagaemom protografe," 141.

⁴⁹ N1Y: *PSRL* 3, 467; Shakhmatov, *Istoriia*, 2: 250. Shakhmatov gave 1423, but Aristov has adjusted the date to 1424-1425 because the chronicler usually counted fully elapsed years. Aristov, "O predpolagaemom protografe," 144 n. 19.

⁵⁰ Ianin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, 37.

mentioned calculations of years elapsed from the Turlak campaign.⁵¹ Apparently, the entry about the campaign was added to the list in 1424-25 and later copied in N1Y.

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The summarise to above textual analysis, the collection of regnal lists studied in this paper originally included the dual list of princes of Kyiv and Novgorod, the royal genealogy “This Is How the Great Princes of Rus’ Are Related” and the chronological list “Who Reigned for How Long.” These lists date to the period from 1397 to 1413. Soon after 1415 the collection was supplemented with one more royal pedigree, “Another Genealogy of the Same Princes.” Prior to the compilation of the First Sofian Chronicle, whose protograph Bobrov dates to 1418, the enlarged collection of regnal lists was copied for a chronicle that is now part of Tv (see Fig. 1).⁵² Later the collection was expanded further with one more list (“And These Are the Princes of Rus’”) and reworked by the compiler of N1Y. The compiler of Avr copied the collection at some stage before it was further modified in N1Y-C.

East Slavic royal genealogies were not remnants of an ancient pre-Christian cult. Rather, the lists of princes performed functions similar to those of boyar genealogies: both types of genealogical texts were charters that created “political families” to serve the needs of various interest groups.⁵³ The royal lists and genealogies were generated by those factions of the Novgorodian elite that advocated an alliance with the princes of Moscow and Smolensk in response to the expansionism of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. To justify their choice of allies among princely families, the compilers of the royal lists and genealogies presented those families as timeless royal dynasties that traced their superior status back to Kyivan Rus’, Byzantium and all the way to the Biblical times. It may seem paradoxical that Novgorod, which did not have its own local dynasty, gave us the earliest example of a developed dynastic discourse. However, Jeroen Duindam reminds us that dynasticism was a complex system that resulted from interaction of many agencies.⁵⁴ The “political families” of East Slavic princes was a byproduct of Novgorodian politics.

⁵¹ Aristov, who correctly prioritizes Tv in his study of “Who Reigned,” overlooks the fact that Tv does not contain the entry about Turlak’s campaign when he dates the list to 1424-1425 on the basis of that entry. Aristov, “O predpolagaemom protografe,” 144 n. 19.

⁵² Bobrov, *Novgorodskie letopisi*, 149–160.

⁵³ On regnal lists as charters, see Michalowski, “History.”

⁵⁴ Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300–1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Appendix. Structure and Formulas of the Dual List of the Princes of Kyiv and Novgorod

Tv version	N1Y-C version (beginning of the chronicle) ⁵⁵
<i>On the Kyivan Princedom and Their Princes</i>	
<p>T1: Igor', <i>historical note</i>; T2: After him, his son Sviatoslav [sat on the throne]; T3: After Sviatoslav, his son Iaropolk [sat on the throne]; T4: Then Vladimir [sat on the throne], <i>historical note</i>.</p>	
<i>After Baptism</i>	<i>And This Is about the Kyivan Princedom after Holy Baptism</i>
<p>T5: After Vladimir, his son Sviatopolk [sat on the throne]; T6: After him, Iaroslav [sat on the throne], <i>historical note</i>; T7: <i>Historical and genealogical notes about the reigns of Iaroslav's sons Iziaslav, Sviatoslav, Vsevolod</i>; T8: After the death of [Vsevolod], Sviatopolk Iziaslavich sat [on the throne]; T9: After his death Vladimir Monomakh, son of Vsevolod, sat [on the throne]; T10: After him, his son Mstislav [sat on the throne]; T11: After the death of Mstislav, his brother Iaropolk [sat on the throne]; T12: After the death of Mstislav Vladimirovich (should be Iaropolk – SB), Vsevolod, son of Oleg sat [on the throne]; T13: Then Viacheslav and Iziaslav [sat on the throne]; T14: After the death of Iziaslav, Iurii Dolgorukii, son of Vladimir Monomakh [sat on the throne], <i>historical note</i>; T15: Rostislav Mstislavich sat [on the throne]</p>	<p>N1: After baptism the first Christian prince was again Vladimir; N2: After his death, his son Sviatopolk the Accursed [sat on the throne]; N3: <i>Historical note</i>, Iaroslav, son of Vladimir, brother of SS. Boris and Gleb, [sat on the throne]; N4: <i>Historical and genealogical notes about the reigns of Iaroslav's sons Iziaslav, Sviatoslav, Vsevolod</i>; N5: After the death of Vsevolod, his nephew Sviatopolk, son of Iziaslav sat on the throne; N6: After the death of Sviatopolk, Vladimir the Great (should be Monomakh – SB), son of Vsevolod [sat on the throne]; N7: After him, his son Mstislav [sat on the throne]; N8: After the death of Mstislav, his brother Iaropolk [sat on the throne]; N9: After the death of Iaropolk, Vsevolod, son of Oleg [sat on the throne]; N10: Then Viacheslav and Iziaslav [sat on the throne]; N11: After the death of Iziaslav, Georgii Vladimirovich [sat on the throne];</p>

⁵⁵ The structure of the list in N1Y-C's entry for 6497 and Avr is similar to that of the list at the beginning of N1Y-C.

	<p>N12: Then Iviaslav Davydovich [sat on the throne], <i>historical note</i>; N13: Rostislav Mstislavich sat [on the throne]</p>
<i>On the Princes of Novgorod Ruling after Vladimir the Great</i>	<i>And These Are the Princes of Great Novgorod</i> ⁵⁶
<p>T16: Vysheslav Vladimirovich was the first prince in Novgorod after the Baptism; T17: After him Iaroslav Vladimerovich [sat on the throne]; T18: <i>Historical and genealogical notes about Iaroslav's sons Il'ia and Vladimir</i>; T19: After the death of Vladimir Iaroslavich, his brother Iziaslav Iaroslavich established his son Mstislav [on the throne of Novgorod], <i>unfinished fragment of a historical note</i>.</p>	<p>N14: Vysheslav, son of Vladimir, was the first prince in Novgorod after the Baptism; N15: After him his brother Iaroslav [sat on the throne]; N16: <i>Historical and genealogical notes about Iaroslav's sons Il'ia and Vladimir</i>; N17: After the death of Vladimir (Iaroslavich), Iziaslav established his son Mstislav [on the throne of Novgorod], N18: <i>Historical and genealogical notes</i>; N19: Vsevolod (Iaroslavich) established his grandson Mstislav, son of Vladimir [on the throne of Novgorod], reigned for 5 years, <i>historical note</i>; N20: Davyd (Sviatoslavich) came to Novgorod, was expelled in 2 years, <i>historical note</i>; N21: MN sat [on the throne] for X years (<i>chronological entries with historical and genealogical details covering the period from the second reign of Mstislav Vladimirovich to the reign of Mstislav Rostislavich the Blind</i>) N22: <i>Historical entries about the reigns of Sviatoslav Rostislavich and Roman Mstislavich</i> N23: And then MN [sat on the throne] (<i>about fifty entries covering the period from the reigns of Riurik Rostislavich through the reign of Vasilii I</i>⁵⁷ <i>with historical and genealogical details</i>; two</p>

⁵⁶ The version under the year of 6497 in N1Y-C reads "And this is in Novgorod".

⁵⁷ Avr also ends with the reign of Vasilii I whereas the version in N1Y-C's entry for 6497 also includes the reign of Vasilii II.

	<p><i>chronological notes indicating the lengths of reigns with the formula</i> MN sat on the throne for Y years)</p>
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