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To cite this article: Peter P. Tolochko (2018) The Myth of the Judeo-Khazar Founding of Kiev, Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia, 57:4, 294-305, DOI: [10.1080/10611959.2018.1536635](https://doi.org/10.1080/10611959.2018.1536635)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10611959.2018.1536635>



Published online: 04 Dec 2018.



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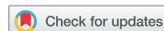
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PETER P. TOLOCHKO

The Myth of the Judeo-Khazar Founding of Kiev

This article critiques the idea that the Judaic Khazars of the late 8th - first half of the 9th cc. founded Kiev. That hypothesis was formulated almost a century ago, but was never taken seriously. Wide-scale archaeological investigations in Kiev have since confirmed that the concept of Khazar foundations lost validity even from the point of view of historiography. However, this “original” idea was revived by N. Golb and O. Pritsak in their publication on Judaic Khazar documents of the 10th century. Quite unexpectedly it was presented by these scholars as “widely spread”. Then M. Goldelman, following them, defined it similarly in his entry on the Khazars in “Brief Judaic Encyclopedia”. The authors mentioned have no new documents in their disposal suggesting the outdated supposition that Khazars founded Kiev. A Hebrew letter from Kiev, even if genuine, may be the only evidence of the existence in 10th -century Kiev of a Judaic Khazars’ community. This in no way reveals when and by whom the town was founded. Philological considerations mention a Khazar vezir named Kuia, believed to have been the founder of Kiev, as well as a Khazar tribe called Kavars (Kopyrs), who are thought to have inhabited one of the Kiev’s districts. However, these are purely abstract and do not correspond to the archaeology and historical topography of Kiev. Thus, in the book by N. Gold and O. Pritsak, the reader encounters a myth

English translation © 2018 Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, from the Russian text © 2001 “Rossiiskaia arkheologiia.” “Mif o Khazaro-Iudeiskom osnovanii Kieva,” *Rossiiskaia arkheologiia*, 2001, no. 2, pp. 38–42.

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Translated by Stephan Lang.

concerning the foundation of Kiev by the Judaic Khazars that has nothing in common with historical reality.

Keywords: *Khazars, Kiev, Mythology, Debates, Kievan Hebrew Letter, 8-10th centuries*

The immediate motive for writing of this article was V.S. Flërov's information about the "Khazars" colloquium (Jerusalem, 1999) and the *Kratkaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* [Brief Judaic Encyclopedia] entry on the Khazars, mentioned in his *Rossiiskaia arkhologiiia*, 2000, no. 3 pp. 229–34 article. In it, the author cites with perplexity M[ichael, Menashe] Goldelman's assertion, contained in his expansive encyclopedia article "*Khazary*," that according to a "prevalent opinion in historical scholarship, Kiev was founded around 830 as a Khazar trading center."^a

One might think that M. Goldelman had had the good fortune to uncover the memorial stone [*zakladnoi kamen'*] of the capital of Rus'. Had he ascertained the prevalence of this opinion in our time, he would have had to limit himself to two authors, N[orman] Golb and O[meljan] Pritsak, in their monograph *Khazaro-evreiskie dokumenty X v.*¹ This served as the source of M. Gol'del'man's patriotic inspiration, although it did not rouse him to take up his own archeological or historical searches.

Having read the [Golb Pritsak] monograph, I examined its extravagant conclusions. These went far beyond the researchable source opportunities afforded by the so-called Kievan Hebrew Letter. The groundlessness of many of the assertions, it would seem, had released the scholarly community from any serious critical analysis.² But now, when Golb and Pritsak's conclusions have unexpectedly acquired "canonical" sacrosanctity, one can no longer treat them as philological mischievousness.

First, about the letter itself. Even if one were to agree with its authenticity (about which there is not total certainty) and the notion that it was written in Kiev in the first decades of the tenth century, it authorizes the conscientious researcher simply to assert the existence in Kiev at this time of a Judaic Khazar community, likely a trading colony. Nothing new—let alone sensational—is contained in the letter. That there was a Khazar colony in early Kiev is known from the Primary Chronicle.^b A "Kozary" district [*urochishche*] is mentioned in it. Also confirming a Khazar presence in Kiev is archeological material, albeit

insignificant (Karger 1958, pp. 92–104; Tolochko 1983, pp. 18–33). But even the Kievan Letter does not indicate that Kiev had a large Judeo-Khazar community. It was incapable of amassing forty coins among Kievan fellow-tribespeople in order to free its comrade from debt bondage to a non-Christian (apparently a Slav). They were forced to appeal for financial aid beyond the confines of Rus’.

In a notation to Golb’s and Pritsak’s monograph, V.Ia. Petrukhin rationally notes that no evidence of Khazar overlordship is contained in the letter itself. If anything, the dependence of the Jewish [*evreiskoi*] community members on people of other faiths [*inovertsev*] bears witness, on the contrary, to the overlordship in Kiev of Rus’ [*ruskikh*] princes.^{3.c}

A prosaic explanation for the presence of Khazar Jews [*iudeev*] [as traders] in the Slavic Kiev of the beginning of the tenth century did not interest Golb and Pritsak. Instead, they are devising a complex framework for Khazar antecedence [*prioriteta*] in its founding and early history.

We cite several of the most characteristic assertions. N. Golb: “In accordance with a broadly prevalent view, Kiev was founded by Khazars in the VIII century” (Golb and Pritsak 1997, p. 36). Cited in an informational reference is the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. 7 (New York, 1904), as well as G[eorge] Vernadsky’s work *Ancient Russia* (New Haven, 1943). This is scarcely a convincing confirmation of the broad prevalence of views about a Khazar Kiev.

O. Pritsak: “It is obvious that Kiev was governed by Khazars until it was conquered by Rus’.” (Golb and Pritsak 1997, p. 64). The “obviousness” of the historical fact, it seemed to Pritsak, released him from any obligation to substantiate his assertion and references to predecessors.

Asserting the Judeo-Khazar founding of Kiev with enthusiasm, Golb and Pritsak diverge somewhat in the determination of its timing. According to Golb, this is the end of the eighth century. Pritsak gives two dates: first he insists that Kiev was built no earlier than the first half of the ninth century, after which he relegates this event to the eighth century. For some reason, M. Goldelman preferred a precise date—830, pulled out of who knows where. It is not in the written sources.^d

The content of the monograph presents O. Pritsak as the ideologist of the Judeo-Khazar founding of Kiev. Having previously published articles on this topic he has devoted considerable effort to proving the Khazar origin of the Polianians [*polian*] of the chronicle. The logic of his reasoning is simple: the name “Polianians” shows that it was understood in Rus’ as being connected with *pole* [field]. Pritsak suggests that

since in the vicinity of Kiev fields [steppe] is rare and mountains and forests are predominant, it can be assumed that until coming to the banks of the Dniepr, the Polianians had lived in the steppes to the east of it (Golb and Pritsak 1997, pp. 68, 69). Why to the east, and not the west? There are fields there as well, including the famous Perepetovo Field [where in 1151 battle two Rus' princes vied to control Kiev], forty kilometers to the south of Kiev. But of course Khazaria was located to the east of the Dniepr.

No other written sources besides the Primary Chronicle resolve the question of who the Polianians were and where they came from. Not by chance, it is specifically its testimony that is used by Pritsak to substantiate his conclusion. And selectively, testimony that does not fit his narrative is explained as more recent inventions of the chronicle's editor.

It appears to Pritsak that in two cases the Polianians are named in the same group as the Severians and the Vyatichi. He concludes therefore that they were left-bank southern neighbors of the Severians and the Vyatichi, that is, Khazars. To build such a major and important historical conclusion on the basis of nothing more than the proximity of the Polianians to other Eastern/Slavic tribes in the chronicle cannot be done, of course. Further, the Polianians appear significantly more often as the neighbors of the Drevlians and the Severians, not at all of the Vyatichi. In several places, the chronicler unites the Polianians and the Drevlians into one group, juxtaposing them to another group comprised of the Radimichi and the Vyatichi.

“ Thus the Polyanians, who belonged to the [Slavic] race, lived [apart], as we have said, and called themselves Polyanians. The Derevljans, who are likewise [Slavs], lived by themselves and adopted this tribal name. But the Radimichians and the Vyatichians sprang from the Lyakhs” (*Povest'* 1950, p. 14 [Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, p. 56]).

There is no need to cite all the testimony from the chronicle that the Polianians were the immediate neighbors of the Drevlians and the Severians. There are many such [references] and they all indicate the Slavic background [*slavianstvo*] of the Polianians. “While some Slavs were termed Polyanians, their [speech was still] Slavic, for they were known as Polyanians because they lived in the fields. But they had the same Slavic language” (*Povest'* 1950, p. 23 [Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, p. 63]).

Pritsak did not declare that this assertion of the chronicler's was also an invention, but following his preconceived notion about the Khazar

background [*khazarstve*] of the Polianians, he unexpectedly concluded that besides the Polianians who spoke a Slavic language, there were also Polianians who did not speak Slavic. On what this assumption is based is unknown; the chronicler gives no data for it. On the contrary, he regards the Polianians as being in the ranks of those Slavs who had lived on the Danube, and subsequently settled in other lands.

“[There was at the time but one Slavic race including the Slavs who settled along] the Danube and were subjugated by the Magyars, as well as the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs, and the Polyanians, the last of whom are now called Russes” (*Povest’* 1950, p. 21 [Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, p. 62]).

Pritsak disposed of the Polianians’ tribute to the Khazars even more decisively. Indeed, if the Polianians were Khazars, it is illogical for them to be paying tribute to those same Khazars. If that is the case, this tribute did not exist at all: all this is a more recent composition from the editor of the Primary Chronicle. But Pritsak did not explain why a Slav, a descendant of the ancient Polianians, felt it necessary to insult the Khazars like this, and at the same time to display his own distant ancestors in an unflattering light.

The Polianians’ tribute to the Khazars is referred to three times in the chronicle: in an undated part and in the 859 and 862 articles. Let us analyze these reports and see whether they provide grounds for accusing the chronicler or the editor of the Primary Chronicle of deliberate invention.

The text from the undated part: “After this [time, and subsequent to the death of the three brothers] [Kiy, Shchek, and Khoriv—P.T.] [in Kiev, the Polyanians] were oppressed by the Derevliaus and [other] neighbors of theirs. Then the [Khazars] came upon them as they [lived] in the hills [and forests, and demanded] tribute from them. After consulting among themselves, the Polyanians paid as tribute one sword per hearth, which the Khazars bore to their prince and their [elders]” (*Povest’* 1950, p. 16 [Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, p. 58]).^e

What perplexed Pritsak in this article was apparently the swords that the Polianians had presented as tribute to the Khazars. According to him, this is not a Polianian tradition, but a Russian one. The sword, judging from the data of Arab geographers, played an important role among the Rus’. This would be among the Rus’ and other Slavs, but not among the Khazars, whose weapon was the saber. If the Kievan Polianians were Khazars, they should have given a saber, not a sword, as a symbolic tribute.

An earlier 858 article indicates: “In [6367] in 337 Varangians from beyond the sea imposed tribute upon the Chuds, [the Slavs,] the Merians, [the Ves’, and the Krivichians.] But the Khazars imposed it upon [the Polyanians, the Severians, and the Vyatichians], and collected a white squirrel-skin from each hearth (*Povest’* 1950, p. 18 [Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, p. 59]).

Here, the mention of squirrel-skins in the capacity of tribute seems suspicious to Pritsak. Squirrel-skins were collected as tribute not by the Khazars in the south of Eastern Europe (where this animal does not range), but by the Variags in Northern Europe (Golb and Pritsak 1997, p. 68). In actuality, squirrels did range widely in the forests of Eastern Europe, and squirrel-skins were a traditional means of payment among the Slavs. This was attested to by the twelfth-century Arab traveler Abu Hamid al-Ghamati. However, the accusation of invention made against the editor of the Primary Chronicle is deflected even more convincingly by the point that an analogous tale about Khazar tribute is contained in the Novgorod Chronicle as well, which allows it to be dated to the time of the initial compendium.

The 862 article [notes] “They were informed that three brothers, Kiy, Shchek, and Khoriv, had once [built] the city, but that since their deaths, their descendants [were living] there as tribute-givers of the Khazars” (*Povest’* 1950, p. 18 [Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, p. 60]). Thus did the Kievans reply to the question posed by Askold and Dir, who had come to Kiev by boat, as to “whose town it was.” From the context of the reply, it is clear that the Kievans of the 860s perceived themselves as the descendants of the kindred [*roda*] of Kiy, whose kin came to be subject to tribute by the Khazars.

Pritsak considers the account contained in the Hypatian Codex [also Ipatiev Chronicle] to be unreliable and contrasts it with the article in the Laurentian Chronicle: “And we [live] paying tribute as their kin, to the Kozars” (I my siedim” platiache dan’ rodom” ikh, Kozarom”) (Lavrent’evskaia letopis’ 1962, col. 21. The only argument in favor of the greater reliability of the Laurentian Chronicle is its earlier editing. If what was referred to were editions of the Ancient Rus’ [*drevnerusskogo*] period, this assertion would make sense. But both the Laurentian and the Hypatian compendia of chronicles were compiled in the Late Middle Ages. Thus we have no guarantees that the fourteenth-century compiler had a more ancient and reliable protograph than did the fifteenth-century compiler.

The relevant article in the Laurentian Chronicle is internally contradictory. A literal reading implies that the ninth-century Kievans are

a completely alien population in relation to Kiy and his kindred. But these are the natives, paying tribute to the Khazars. There is no opportunity, nor any great need, to reconcile the testimony of this article. Researchers of the chronicles long ago concluded that a more correct reading is found in the Hypatian Codex. A.A. Shakhmatov proposed the following improved [*utochnennuiu*] wording [in modern Russian] of this article: “And we are living, their [Kiy’s and his brothers’—P.T.] kin, and paying tribute to the kozars” (*A my sidim, rod ikh, i platim dan’ kozaram*).

In sum, concerning the Polianians’ tribute to the Khazars, the information in the Primary Chronicle on the whole faithfully reflects historical realities. The Khazars had no other relation to Kiev and to the Polianians besides the point that at a certain stage in history, apparently in the second half of the eighth century, they managed to extend tributary subordination to them.

Now let us turn to Pritsak’s arguments about the building of the city of Kiev by Khazars no earlier than the first half of the ninth century. Theoretically, such a variant is quite possible. Having conquered a Slav population center, the Khazars could have transformed it into a fort and even a city. It is another matter whether there are convincing data for this.

Pritsak builds his vague narrative about early Kiev as a Khazar garrison center on two main premises. First, an archeological one. Citing V.P. Petrov, he asserts that Kiev as a city was founded on the Dniepr no earlier than the first half of the ninth century and this supposedly is based on archeological excavations. Second, a geographical-political one. By this time, as claimed by Pritsak, the Khazar border in the west passed along the Dniepr. Consequently, Khazaria unavoidably had to build frontier garrison and trading towns along the border for security.

As concerns the archeological argument, in practice it turns out to be untenable, due above all to its inappropriateness. In the article that Pritsak cites, V.P. Petrov advances an idea about the uninterrupted existence of Kiev bridging a divide between old and new eras. At the stage of the sixth through ninth centuries, it represented a tribal Slavic center, and after that, in the tenth century, it turned into the capital city of the Ancient Rus’ State [*Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*] (Petrov 1962, pp. 14–21). V.P. Petrov simply did not write about the foundation of Kiev in the first half of the ninth century being corroborated by archeological excavations.

Even less convincing is the “borderland” argument. It goes without saying that Pritsak does not have data about how the western border of Khazaria passed along the Dniepr. Even if it did exist, this does not confirm anything. Kiev, after all, arose not on the “Khazar” bank, but on the Slav one. If anything, Kiev would have been a frontier fortress of the Slavs. Indeed, this is exactly what its role was in relation to the nomads of the steppes over its entire medieval history (Tolochko 1999).

News about the construction of the Sarkel fortress on the Don in 833 by Byzantine engineers suggested to Pritsak that Kiev too was probably fortified in this same time or not long afterward (Golb and Pritsak 1997, p. 70). Supposedly this is corroborated by the point that a real Kievan fortification near Berestov [*Berestovo* in Russian; *Berestove* in Ukrainian] is called “Ugorskoe” [*Uhors’ke* in Ukrainian]. This name, obviously, originates from the Onogur garrison (Golb and Pritsak 1997, p. 71).

The cited assertion evokes bewilderment, at the least. The author uncovers neither knowledge of Kievan archeology, nor historical topography. The Ugorskoe site stands at a distance of nearly three kilometers from the central part of ancient Kiev, making it a distant outskirt even in the period when the city was flourishing in its prime. Further, no one has uncovered any “real” fortifications there. And if “Ugorskoe” is Kiev in the ninth century, what was the fort on Starokievskaiia [*Starokiivs’ka* in Ukrainian] Hill [Kiev’s Upper City, also called Old Kiev Hill]—which did exist—called then? Archeological materials that would give even the faintest opportunity to assume the existence of a Khazar garrison in the ninth century at these designated sites have not been uncovered.

Substantiating his own idea of the constructing of Kiev by Khazars, Pritsak asserts that it has a typical Central Asian model: (1) Citadel, mountain; (2) an inner city, Kopyrev konets [*Kopyriv kinets’* in Ukrainian] and (3) a suburb, Podol [*Podil* in Ukrainian]. The archeological data testify that the Kiev citadel existed from the eighth century through the eleventh, the inner city appeared toward the beginning of the tenth century, while the Podol suburb begins to exist at least by the beginning of the tenth century (Golb and Pritsak 1997, pp. 77, 78).

Every one of the assertions here is an epiphany stemming from a lack of knowledge of historical topography and archeological chronology. There is no way that Kopyrev konets can lay claim to being the inner city, since it was found at a distance of one kilometer from the Kiev

citadel, while situated between them there was still a fortified town [*kromnyi hrad*]. This appears in the literature under the name of “Yaroslav’s City.” Nor was Podol a suburb; in actuality, it played the role of Kiev’s artisanal and trading quarter and, in essence, abutted the citadel.

The constructing of Kiev by the Khazars on the Central Asian model would assume the practical simultaneity of its structural parts. However, Pritsak himself outlines their consecutive appearance. True, in so doing he does not particularly concern himself with the accuracy of chronological references and does not even maintain consistency with his own assertions. Having declared at the beginning of the research description that Kiev could not have been built earlier than the first half of the ninth century, he concludes that the existence of the Kiev citadel was in the eighth century. Kopyrev konets as a city district took shape not at the beginning of the tenth century, but more likely at the end of it, and maybe even at the beginning of the eleventh century. As concerns Podol, new archeological excavations allow its practical concurrence with the settlement on Starokievskaiia hill to be assumed. In the ninth century through the beginning of the tenth, Podol was already accumulating in an orderly manner log buildings, as corroborated by the dendro dating [wood analysis] of a series of structures: 887, 900, 901, 903 (Sagaidak 1981, pp. 449, 450).

Of course, there was no Central Asian model in the building of Kiev. It arose and developed as a typical Slav center—at first political-administrative, and afterward artisanal-and-trade as well.

Yet another important argument in favor of a Khazar Kiev, according to Pritsak, is the name Kopyrev konets. It supposedly originated from the ethnonyms Sabar (Savar) and Kabar (Kavar), universally known in the Khazar state, seen as convincing evidence that the inner city of Kiev (the *shahristan*) was initially populated by Khazar Kavars (Kopyrs) (Golb and Pritsak 1997, pp. 78, 79). The mention in the chronicle in the twelfth century of “Jews” [*zhidov*] has allowed Pritsak to come to another series of major and important conclusions. It turns out that the Kievan Kavars (Kopyrs) professed Judaism, while Kiev, through them, likewise had a connection with this religion (Golb and Pritsak 1997, p. 79).^f

It is hard to judge just how convincing Pritsak’s etymological investigations are. However, to an historian they seem extremely inadequate for a conclusion about the occupation of Kopyrev konets by Kopyr Khazar Jews [*iudeiami*]. Archeological materials that would corroborate

them are needed. Pritsak understood this, deeming that serious archeological research may lead to the finding here of the remains of Jewish religious structures.

In recent decades, Kopyrev konets has on numerous occasions been subjected to sustained excavations. They have yet to live up to Pritsak's expectations. Found here were archeological strata from the sixth through seventh centuries with typical Slav ceramics, as well as Ancient Rus' ones—from the end of the tenth century through the thirteenth. Analogous materials are being uncovered as well during required antiquity preservation work during the laying of various underground utility lines. And nowhere on the entire forty-hectare area of ancient Kopyrev konets has a single building or object of Saltovo cultural appearance been identified. Without this, talk about a Judeo-Khazar Kopyrev konets in ancient Kiev is worthless.

The most convincing argument for the “Khazarness” of Kiev, as Pritsak deems, is its name. It appeared not long before the end of the ninth century and originates from the proper name of the Khazar vizier Kuy (Golb and Pritsak 1997, p. 75). Relevant sources say nothing about this vizier, let alone about his building of Kiev. But Pritsak makes up for this shortcoming with his own inferences. In the 930s–940s, when al-Masudi was putting together his work, the Khazar vizier was Ahmed ben Kuya [Ahmad ibn Kuya]. Since the positions of ministers in nomadic empires were hereditary, one can assume that Kuya had been Ahmad's predecessor. This assumption leads to the following logic: “It was specifically Kuya who fortified the fort in Berestov and stationed an Onogur garrison there.”

Further logic becomes even more audacious: “Nothing hinders us from deeming that the Khwarezmian Kuya, who served as the prototype of the Kiy of the chronicles, was in fact the founder (or the builder) of the Kiev fort” (Golb and Pritsak 1997, p. 77). In such a manner, Pritsak is already proposing a third date for the founding of Kiev—the end of the ninth century.

In conclusion, if one adopts Pritsak's style, one can note that if “nothing hinders him from supposition,” then the same kind of “nothing” should not allow him to fantasize. The sources have documented the building of Sarkel in 833, so why then did they not mention with a single word the building of Kiev? A fort at Berestov, where Kuya supposedly sited an Onogur garrison, simply never existed. Probably, had Kiev been built at the end of the ninth century by Khazars, or all the

more so by Khwarezmians, this event would not have remained unnoticed by Oriental authors. It is they who all consistently speak of Kiev in the ninth through tenth centuries as a city of the Slavs and of Rus', but not of the Khazars.

One could continue discussing Pritsak's outrageous constructions concerning a Judeo-Khazar Kiev were there no Kievan archeology. It makes such discussion superfluous. The materials extracted from nearly two hundred years of excavations convincingly demonstrate that Kiev's antiquities of the sixth through tenth centuries belong to the circle of Slavic-Russian [*slaviano-russkikh*] ones. One might debate [the question of] when Kiev acquires the status of an urban hub. However, the dispute about its historical-cultural affiliation is simply senseless.

Notes

1. The book first was published in 1982 in English [Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982)]. In 1997, it was republished in Russian by the Jewish publishing house "Gesharim." Norman Golb and Omel'ian [Omeljan] Pritsak, *Khazaro-evreiskie dokumenty X v. Nauchnaia redaktsiia, posleslovie i kommentarii V.Ia. Petrukhina* (Moscow/Jerusalem: Gesharim, 1997).

2. A short commentary on individual statements by Pritsak was part of my article: P.P. Tolochko, "Spornye voprosy rannei istorii Rusi," in *Slaviane i Rus'* (v *zarubezhnoi istoriografii*) (Kiev, 1990), pp. 104–08.

3. See commentaries in my article (Tolochko 1990, notes to pp. 96, 217).

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Editor's Notes

a. The author seems unwilling even to cite the offending encyclopedia article by Michael Goldelman: M. Gol'del'mann "Khazary" *Kratkaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia* 1999. See also Michael (Menashe) Goldelman "On the Location of the Khazarian City of Al-Bayda." *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1998-99, Vol. 10. For some of the Jerusalem symposium papers, see Peter Benjamin Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, Andras Róna-Tas, eds. *The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2007, Handbook of Oriental Studies 17). For more of V.S. Flërov's views, see his articles in each issue on our Khazar theme in *Anthropology and Archeology of Eurasia* 2018 Vol 57, nos. 3, 4.

b. See Samuel Hazzard Cross (author, editor, translator), Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (editor, translator), *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 2012 [1930 original]).

c. The author, despite his Ukrainian background, seems to be on dangerous linguistic ground here, since the original Russian implies "Russian" as opposed to Rus' hegemony at this time in Kiev, before Russian and Ukrainian ethnic differentiations were valid. I have neutralized this by referring to geographically correct Rus' princes.

d. For an idea of why this date was chosen, see the work of Igor G. Semenov in this issue and the previous one.

e. On paying tribute to the Khazars, see S.P. Shchhavelev's article in this issue. The translation of the *Primary Chronicle* used by Stephan Lang is the accessible Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, eds., and its relevant pages are indicated here. However, Stephan Lang points out that the original *Primary Chronicle* had first person and more colorful nuances. For example, in this passage, the Khazars were said to have come and directly said: "Pay us tribute."

f. The Chronicle use of the word "zhid" for Jew was not necessarily derogatory, although precisely this term came to be an ethnic slur in later Ukrainian and Russian usage.