THE KORSUNIAN LEGEND ABOUT THE VOLODYMYR'S BAPTISM: AN ANALYSIS OF THE TREATISE BY O. O. SHAKHMATOV

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Abstract: This paper analyses O. O. Shakhmatov's treatise "The Korsunian Legend about the Volodymyr's Baptism". O. O. Shakhmatov proves that the legend about the baptism of Prince Volodymyr in Korsun (Chersonese), preserved in chronicle and consecrated by tradition, does not correspond to reality, since it does not withstand textual criticism. According to the Shakhmatov's hypothesis , the chronicler had to coordinate and fuse three independent sources into a single outline, removing too obvious contradictions. Thus, a) according to the first source, Prince Volodymyr was baptized in Kyiv, being convinced by a Greek missionary who criticized the faith of Western Christians, Muslims and Jews and substantiated the exclusivity of Eastern rite Christianity; b) according to the second source, Prince Volodymyr was baptized in Kyiv after he sent his delegates to different countries to "test the faith" and the delegates, amazed by the splendor of the Greek worship, gave preference to Eastern rite Christianity; c) finally, according to the third source, Prince Volodymyr took the city of Korsun (Chersonese) and, threatening to take Constantinople, forced emperor to spouse his sister Anna to him in exchange for baptism. However, when Anna arrived in Korsun, Volodymyr refused to be baptized and suddenly became blind. Nevertheless, eventually he was baptized and miraculously restored his sight. The existing chronicle is a compilation of the three sources. The following chapters of O. O. Shakmatov's work are dedicated to finding the sources of these three legends and reconstructing their original form. This article thoroughly analyses O. O. Shakhmatov's treatise, reviews the works of the researchers mentioned by O. O. Shakhmatov, and examines the primary sources used by him in his treatise.

Keywords: Prince Volodymyr, baptism, Korsunian legend, chronicle, O. O. Shakhmatov

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Introduction

The baptism of Rus by Prince Volodymyr is a significant milestone in the history of the peoples of Eastern Europe and one of the main elements of the image of the Orthodox Church on its territory; at the same time, this issue, on the one hand, is the subject of a prolonged scientific dispute and a deep historical research, and on the other hand, it is a dangerous tool of political struggle and propaganda, which has been used for more than one century. From this follows the relevance of this article, because the subject of its research is precisely the circumstances of the baptism of Prince Volodymyr in Korsun- Chersonese (the so-called "Korsunian legend"), and the object is historical documents and other sources that provide information about these events, as well as O. O. Shakhmatov's treatise The Korsunian Legend about the Volodymyr's Baptism (original (Russian): Корсунская легенда о крещении Владимира, hereinafter – The Treatise) in the 1906 edition. The purpose of the study is to summarize, to carry out analysis and a critical review of O. O. Shakhmatov's arguments denying the authenticity of the "Korsunian Legend", his theses that the "Legend" is a compilation of three different versions artificially connected by the chronicler, and attempts to establish the origin of the "legend" with the help of primary sources and the materials referred to in his treatise. The main sources used, in addition to the above-mentioned treatise, are The Tale of Bygone Years (Old East Slavic: "Повѣсть времѧньныхъ лѣтъ") and The Novgorod First Chronicle, (Ukrainian: "Новгородський перший літопис") on the basis of which O. O. Shakhmatov derives the so-called Primary Code (Ukrainian: "Найдавніший літописний ізвод", Russian: "Начальный свод"), "Memory and Praise to Prince Volodymyr" (Old East Slavic: "Память и похвала князю русскому Володимеру") by Iakov Mnikh (Chernorizets) according to lists of the XV-XVII centuries and The Tale about How Volodymyr was Baptized, Having Taken Korsun (Old East Slavic: "Повесть о том, како крестися Владимир, возмя Корсунь"), based on lists of the XV-XVII centuries, in the context of the five hagiographies of Volodymyr (Ancient Hagiography – "Древнее житие", Ordinary Hagiography – "Обычное житие", Prologue Hagiography – "Проложное житие", The Chudov Manuscript of Vladimir's Hagiography – "Чудовской список жития Владимира" and The Hagiography of Volodymyr of the Special Composition – "Житие Владимира особого состава"); apart from them the work is based on folk tales and legends related to the baptism and matchmaking of Volodymyr, including the works of M. I. Kostomarov, related works of O. I. Sobolevsky, M. K. Nikolsky, I. M. Zhdanov, and M. I. Khalansky, as well as other written sources which O. O. Shakhmatov refers to in his treatise.

1. Formulation of the problem

Due to the historical weight and the lack of a sufficient number of incontrovertible historical facts, the question of the baptism of Rus has become overgrown with

many conjectures and legends, which provide a basis for speculation and create a mythological rather than a realistic aura of the history of the beginning of ancient Russian statehood in the 10th century. In particular, the description of the baptism of Prince Volodymyr in Korsun, presented in the Tale of Bygone Years, has become part of a tradition over time despite a number of contradictions, which academician O. O. Shakhmatov was one of the first to point them out. In his treatise, he assures that "the Korsunian legend shows its composite and ... compilative nature" (1906, Article 1), and the compiler of the Tale of Bygone Years – the source of the legend – Nestor the Chronicler, used a number of older documents, each of which contained its own version of events; the traditional "Legend" arose as a result of Nestor's efforts to reconcile these divergent versions (1906, p. 5). In addition, the initial thesis in Shakhmatov's research was that Nestor's version became the most important primary source for a number of other related documents, such as The Tale of How Volodymyr was Baptized, Having Taken Korsun (1906, p. 36), but was also itself a compilation of data from various documents that have not survived to modern days. According to O. O. Shakhmatov, among them was the theoretical Primary Code (XI century) and a document that is the primary source of the ancient and prologue hagiography of Volodymyr. A number of researchers, such as Rev. Makariy and E. E. Golubinsky, saw the source of the chronicle version in the hagiographies, but Shakhmatov himself, referring to the works of O. I. Sobolevsky and M. K. Nikolsky, supports the opposite opinion and believes that the later editions of Volodymyr's hagiographies, especially their final parts, were greatly influenced by the Chronicle-based Tale of Russian Writing System (Russian: "Сказание о грамоте русской") dated back to 1477 (1906, p. 11). At the same time, it is obvious that the Ancient and Prologue versions of the hagiography have the least traces of chronicle influence, and therefore, are based on the same hypothetical primary source from which the compiler of The Primary Code (the basis of The Tale of Bygone Years and The First Chronicle of Novgorod) drew information.

Returning to the traditional version presented in The Tale of Bygone Years, it can be presented as follows. The first episode is the arrival of missionaries from Western Christians, Khazar Jews and Muslims to Kyiv in an effort to convert Volodymyr to each one's faith. After them, a Greek philosopher arrives, who makes an impression on the prince with the description and image of the Doomsday. However he does not insist on converting the prince into his faith. Volodymyr hesitates ("I will wait a little more time...") (Nestor, 1908, p. 91). The second episode: Volodymyr, hesitating, "wants to test all those faiths" (Nestor, 1908, p. 91), so he sends his boyars to the lands of the Western Christians, Khazars, Muslims and Greeks. O. O. Shakhmatov sees a discrepancy herein (1906, p. 3), because the prince had already hosted representatives of these religions.

Having returned, the boyars evaluate the Greek faith to be the best, so Volodymyr convenes a meeting and asks a question: "where will we be baptized?" to which he receives an answer: "where you want" (Nestor, 1908, p. 92). Shakhmatov notes that

these two episodes were based on independent testimonies about the baptism of Volodymyr in Kyiv and in Vasyliv respectively. But due to the presence of the third version about the baptism of the prince in Korsun, the chronicler decided to deprive the first two of their endings and turn them into an introduction to the eventual Korsunian final (1906, p. 6). So, the third episode is Volodymyr's military campaign on Korsun, wherein the prince vows to be baptized if the city falls before him; the Greek Anastas from Korsun helps him to break the resistance of the townspeople. However, having won, Volodymyr forgets his vow and, threatening, demands the Greek kings to give him the princess as a consort. The Greeks put forward a counter-demand that Volodymyr must be baptized before he could marry her. The prince agrees, but when the princess arrives, he refuses to be baptized again. Because of this, he is struck with a "disease", which he manages to get rid of only with being baptized on the advice of the princess (Nestor, 1908, p. 95).

Summing up this "triune" legend, Shakhmatov notes the illogicality of Volodymyr's behaviour in the third episode after the first two (1906, p. 7 et seq.). Upon his arrival in Korsun, the prince must have already had certain sympathies for the Greek faith, because, firstly, he was fascinated by the Greek philosopher from the first episode, and, secondly, he took the initiative and sent the boyars to the Greeks himself. It follows that the first two episodes existed separately from the third. Therefore, O. O. Shakhmatov defines the task of his research as searching the sources of the third episode and the reasons why the compiler of The Primary Code (the original source of The Tale) gave priority to the Korsunian version over the versions about the baptism in Vasyliv and Kyiv, respectively (1906, p. 10). At the same time, the academician believes that the only way to single out the most archaic parts of the legend is to compare the texts of the chronicle and the hagiographies of Volodymyr, which are based on a common primary source, as well as of The Tale about How Volodymyr was Baptized, Having Taken Korsun. The last one, along with the Chronicle, is supported by another, unpreserved source (see above).

2. Analysis of sources

2.1. Analysis of five hagiographies of Volodymyr

2.1.1. The Ancient Hagiography

Under the name of The Ancient Hagiography of Volodymyr lies a document older than the time of formal canonization of Volodymyr in 1240, which had survived to the beginning of 20th century in two versions: separately (which is rarer), and in combination with Iakov Mnikh's Memory and Praise (Old East Slavic: "Память и похвала") (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 16 et seq.), which is more common. Due to the

presence in the latter version of phrases, which do not make sense to be considered as later insertions, missing in the former one O. O. Shakhmatov concludes that the hagiography from Memory and Praise is more complete than its separate version (1906, p. 18).

However, in both cases, the problem of The Ancient Hagiography is a chronological inconsistency of one of its passages: the description of Volodymyr's campaigns against neighboring tribes also includes his campaign to Korsun, however, without mentioning his adoption of Christianity there. The purpose of this campaign, according to it, was to acquire the Greek clergy and marry Princess Anna, and therefore, the prince should have already been baptized. The hagiography also notes that Volodymyr was baptized 10 years after having murdered his brother Yaropolk, lived for 28 years after having been baptized, and "took Korsun in the third year" (Тисяча років української суспільно-політичної думки, p. 229). This directly contradicts the information from The Primary Code and other sources, which refer to the baptism of Volodymyr in Korsun, and therefore it can be assumed that The Ancient Hagiography was subjected to rearrangements and alterations. In particular, the part about the prince's campaigns is perhaps a later insertion, because of which the entire text underwent changes, which is indicated by an anachronism of the reports about the prince's campaigns and the illogicality of placing the text, displaced by the insert about Korsunian campaign, in the end of the document instead of its middle section. The origin of this later insertion, according to O. O. Shakhmatov, should be sought in documents older than the hagiography, since it mentions that Volodymyr lived another 28 years after having been baptized, and the same detail can be found in The Tale about How Volodymyr was Baptized, Having Taken Korsun. Based on this, Shakhmatov assumes the existence of a special story about the baptism of Volodymyr in Korsun (1906, p. 20).

The rest of the hagiography, according to O. O. Shakhmatov, comes from the chronicle, which is indicated by the accuracy of the historical dates and the facts given in it. Moreover, the form of chronology in this initial document, different from the methodology of the Greek chronograph and based on counting years from one or another event ("on the second, third year after the baptism…"), indicates, according to O. O. Shakhmatov, that this chronicle is older than the Tale of Bygone Years , Novgorod's first chronicle and their original source, the Primary Archive. This gave the scientist a reason to believe that the latter was based on an even older document, The Oldest Chronicle Tale (Old East Slavic: "Древнѣйшее лѣтописное слово"), which was also referred to by the author of the ancient hagiography of Volodymyr (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 22 et seq.).

Thus, Shakhmatov concludes that in The Oldest Chronicle the tale of Volodymyr's baptism was not linked to the Korsunian campaign, and the insertion in The Ancient Hagiography was designed to create this link, based on the hypothetical Tale of Volodymyr's Baptism in Korsun.

2.1.2. *The Ordinary Hagiography*

Researchers distinguish two versions in which The Ordinary Hagiography has been preserved to the beginning of the 20th century: a short and a long one, of which the first is more common and has been preserved in a number of chronicle collections and compendiums ("торжественники") of the 15th-17th centuries, and the second one has been only in some collections of the 15th century (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 24 et seq.). Regarding the similarity between these two versions, the researcher cites the arguments of other scientists, in particular M. K. Nikolsky and O. I. Sobolevsky, that the long version of Volodymyr's Ordinary Hagiography originates from the short one with borrowing elements of The Tale of the Creation of the Russian Writing System ("Сказаніе о сложеніи грамоты русской") and the hagiography of Boris and Gleb by Iakov Mnikh. The antiquity of the short version is also proved by the fact that at the beginning it coincides with The Prologue Hagiography (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 25).

Therefore, in order to establish the origin of The Ordinary Hagiography, Shakhmatov immediately resorts to the analysis of its short form and notes the identity of the story presented in the hagiography with the legend of The Tale of Bygone Years, which makes the latter a potential source of the former. Like The Tale, the biography shows three stages of Volodymyr's baptism. However, as Shakhmatov notes, its author tried to improve the transitions between these stages. Nevertheless, he did not succeed and only deepened the gap between the first and the second stages. When designing the transition between the second and the third stages, the author of the hagiography used materials from The Ancient Hagiography, and at the end – from Hilarion's Sermon on Law and Grace. The rest of the hagiography has similarities with The Prologue Hagiography, and also refers to another unknown source, the existence of which Shakhmatov assumes based on the presence in the hagiography of details of the Korsunian campaign and the subsequent baptism of Volodymyr, missing in The Tale of Bygone Years (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 27-28). For example, there is a description of the construction of a church in Korsun, the overthrow of the Volos idol, and bringing of the Korsunian craftsman by Volodymyr to build the church of the Holy Mother of God (Virgin Mary). The researcher considers this unknown source to be independent from The Primary Code and The Tale, and also traces certain references to it in further related documents (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 29).

2.1.3. *The Chudov Manuscript of Vladimir's Hagiography (2nd half of 16th century)*

The Chudov Manuscript of Vladimir's Hagiography is the reworked Ordinary Hagiography (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 29). It differs from it by using of a unique additional

source, possibly compiled by a Greek author (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 34). This can be seen, in particular, from the Greek names of Kyiv toponyms found in the manuscript, such as "he built a church on the hill of St. Basil on the mountain called Licothros", as well as from the naming of the Korsun priest Anastas as a bishop.

Shakhmatov considers an additional source of The Chudov Manuscript to be a hypothetical story about the baptism of Volodymyr, written by a Greek author, which will also be referred to by the authors of the following sources analyzed in his treatise (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 36).

2.1.4. *The Prologue Hagiography*

According to some scientists, in particular, O. I. Sobolevsky, The Prologue Hagiography of Volodymyr is a derivative of The Ordinary Hagiography, but Shakhmatov, sharing the opinion of E. E. Golubinsky, considers it to be independent, and he explains the similarity of some elements of the story to The Ordinary Hagiography by its greater antiquity. Thus, the author of the treatise sees a source of The Ordinary Hagiography in The Prologue Hagiography, but at the same time The Ordinary Hagiography bears a trace of influence of the chronicle and of another unknown source (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 30). One of the arguments in favour of the primacy of The Prologue Hagiography is its greater elaboration and the presence of features missing from The Ordinary Hagiography, which would be illogical for later scribes to insert, but without which the text narrows on its leading narrative.

In the version of The Prologue Hagiography, contained in the 15th-century compendium ("торжественник") "Torzhestvennik", the description of Volodymyr's Korsunian campaign acquires new details. Thus, instead of the priest Anastas, the hagiography portrays Varangian Zhdbern to be the Korsun traitor, to whom the prince gives the daughter of the Korsun ruler he killed after having raped her, and whom, together with another warlord, Oleg, he sends to Constantinople with threats to the emperor. The prince's demand is to give their sister for him. It is obvious that this episode has a more coherent structure and is more vividly saturated with details than its depiction in all the above-mentioned sources, although it partially contradicts them (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 32).

The document also describes the prayer of the emperors, sending clergymen to Volodymyr, and has a more elaborate insert about the construction and consecration of the temple of the Holy Mother of God than it is in The Ordinary Hagiography. According to

O. O. Shakhmatov, all the data in the expanded inserts come from an unknown source, shared with The Hagiography of the Special Composition (see below) or from this hagiography, and the rest of the information is derived from the chronicle and The Prologue Hagiography (1906, p. 33).

2.1.5. *The Hagiography of the Special Composition*

This hagiography is known for its unique details from the history of Volodymyr's Korsunian campaign. To the beginning of the 20th century it has survived in two version: as a separate document from a 17th century compendium The Dormition of the Equal-to- apostles Grand Prince Volodymyr, the Autocrat of the Russian Land, Called Vasyl in the Holy Baptism, which was kept in a private collection of the Pligins, a merchants family, and accordingly received the name of The Pligin Compendium, and in an abbreviated form in the chronicle compendium from the public library of the 17th century, which is presented in the description of I. M. Zhdanov and M. I. Khalansky in the works The Excursions to the Field of Ancient Manuscripts and Old Printed Editions (1902) and To the History of the Poetic Tales of Oleg of Novgorod (1902). In his treatise, Shakhmatov resorts only to the analysis of the text of The Pligin Compendium, considering it to be older and more authentic, and the chronicle version to be inconsistent and saturated with numerous inserts from other later sources (1906, p. 45).

In accordance to the text of the legend according to the Pliginsky collection, Volodymyr had twelve wives and about eight hundred concubines before his baptism, but he sent his prince Olga to Korsun with a request to the local ruler to give Volodymyr his daughter in marriage as well. He ridiculed the prince's ambassador. In response, Volodymyr marched on Korsun and besieged it for six months. The traitor in this version, as in the prologue version, is not the Greek Anastas, but the Varangian Zhbern (Izhbern), who shoots an arrow from the city walls towards the Volodymyr camp with a message that he is a supporter of the prince and instructions to cut off the supply routes city with water and provisions. Having taken Korsun, Volodymyr rapes the daughter of the Korsun ruler and his wife in front of them, after which he gives the former to Zhbern, and kills the latter. Using it as an intimidation, he again sends Oleg (but this time with Zhbern) to Constantinople, demanding from the emperors the hand of their sister Anna, "if… you don't give it for me, then I will create a city for you like Korsun". The emperors do not want to give their sister for a pagan, as evidenced by their prayer transmitted in hagiography, but they yield to the prince's ambassadors on the condition that Volodymyr accepts baptism. Therefore, Anna arrives in Korsun, where she is met by the local clergy; Volodymyr's baptism is being prepared. However, he forgets his oath, due to which he is attacked by blindness and "scabs". According to Anna's advice, only baptism helps him to cure his illness. Not only the prince himself is baptized, but also his entire army. After that, the emperors presented Vladimir with holy relics and sent Metropolitan Larion with him. Returning to Kyiv, the prince "excavated" the temples and burned the idols of pagan gods, ordering all Kyiv residents to be baptized in the Dnipro river the next morning, on pain of death. After Kyiv, Zalissia, Murom, Suzdal lands and Pereyaslav are baptized. After accepting baptism, according to the Pliginsky collection, Volodymyr lived for 23 years.

Comparing the texts of the collection with the chronicle version, Shakhmatov notes that the latter has signs of the influence of some additional source, which could be the "Chronograph" of 1512 (1906, p. 51). Having separated from the chronicle version those parts that are identical to the "Chronograph", Shakhmatov obtains in an approximate form the original type of hagiography of a special composition, which served as the basis for both of its later versions. Using it, he makes a number of corrections to the hagiography from the Pliginsky collection, and also recognizes the fact that after his baptism, Volodymyr lived for 23 years, and not the traditional 28 years, derived from a later edition, and not the original one (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 52) .

Having restored an approximate ascending version of the hagiography of a special composition, Shakhmatov tries to calculate its origin. He does not deny the influence of the Tale of Bygone Years on him (1906, p. 53), but admits that this influence, most likely, was later than the text of the hagiography itself, because it is manifested in elements that do not violate the integrity of its main narrative. Again, an important proof of the independence of both versions of the hagiography from the Story is the indication that Volodymyr lived for 23 years after his baptism: it is directly present in the "Pligina" version of the hagiography and is absent in the version from the annals, but the chronology of the latter assumes that the author precisely from information about 23 years, calculating the year of Volodymyr's death (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 54).

Rejecting the annals as the main primary source of hagiography, Shakhmatov compares it with a prologue hagiography, which contains a very similar form of exposition of the Korsun legend. Both hagiographies already existed as of the 15th century, and therefore, they cannot be considered a later invention (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 57 et seq.). The information contained in the biography is also authentic, in particular the name of the Varangian Izhbern (Zhdbern in the prologue hagiography) is clearly of Old Germanic origin, and the people of the "black Bulgars" mentioned as a component of Volodymyr's army during the Korsun campaign (and, in both hagiographies), is found, apart from this, only in Igor's treaty with the Byzantines from 945. All this points, firstly, to the antiquity of the primary source of both documents, and secondly, on the authenticity of the main part of the narrative during many editions. At the same time, Shakhmatov has absolutely no doubt that the story of Volodymyr's Korsun campaign with all its details is a fiction, although the campaign itself took place (1906, Article 58).

2.2 Analysis of epics and legends about the baptism of Volodymyr.

Based on the story handed down in the hagiography of Volodymyr of a special composition, Shakhmatov makes the assumption that initially it was not a written

source at all, but rather represents the imposition of several Russian folk tales and songs on real historical facts with the aim of tying the Korsun campaign of Volodymyr – a historical event - before, firstly, his wedding with the Byzantine princess Anna, and secondly, the baptism of himself and all of Rus (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 75).

The plot of Vladimir's wooing is very common and even found its reflection in folk carols, in which, according to Kostomarov, the most valuable (as a prize) is the beauty itself. He presents a conventional matchmaking plot, which in one form or another appears in various epics and songs and found its reflection in the "Korsun legend" (Kostomarov, 1847): a good man asks the father of the bride to give her to him, but is refused; angry, the young man takes his father's city and takes the bride by force. In some cases, the acquisition of a bride is accompanied by her public dishonor, as, for example, happened in the legend of Rognida or the "Korsunian legend".

O. O. Shakhmatov, referring to Kostomarov, believes that the legend about Rognida was not the basis of the legend about the matchmaking of Vladimir to Anna, since the author of the latter hardly dared to so clearly replace Polotsk (the city that, according to the legend, Vladimir took in order to win Rognida) with Korsun , and Rognida herself as the daughter of the ruler of Korsun, or Queen Anna. In the similarity of the two legends about the matchmaking of Volodymyr Shakhmatov, rather, he sees the attempt of the creator of the "Korsun legend" to present a well-known historical fact - the marriage of Volodymyr to Anna - in the folk and household entourage of Russia of the 10th-11th centuries, where the image of the proud princess won and dishonored by Volodymyr was particularly popular (1906, Article 64).

Shakhmatov notes that the legend of Vladimir's matchmaking to Anna had an independent character and purely folklore roots, which is why it contained so many common elements with the legend of Rognida's matchmaking. At the same time, the academician assumes that in the original form of the legend, the prince (and, in some versions, it was not Volodymyr, but Oleg, who anachronistically acts as Volodymyr's voivode in the hagiography of the prologue and the hagiography of a special composition; the source of this assumption is the legend about the siege of Constantinople by Prince Oleg the Prophet) wooed the princess right away, and when she refused, he took Tsaregrad (Constantinople), killed the emperors and took Anna by force. Despite its popularity, such a legend did not correspond to historical facts, so the compiler of the "Korsunian legend" decided to add another "maiden" - the daughter of the Korsun rulers. It is her that Volodymyr acquires and dishonors, as folk tradition dictates to him, and Anna, paying tribute to historical reality, gets to him through diplomatic means. So, the Korsun "maiden" is only a transition to Anna, and in order to get rid of her, the author of the legend "gives" her to Izhbern, a Varangian who helped Volodymyr win Korsun (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 65).

As for the Korsun origin of Volodymyr's baptism, Shakhmatov links this nuance to the name of the metropolitan whom Volodymyr took with him to Russia in Korsun. Based on the "Chronograph" of 1512 and the charter of St. Volodymyr from "Tsvetnyk" beginning 16th century, Shakhmatov proves that the name of Metropolitan

Larion, which appears in the hagiography of Volodymyr of a special composition, appeared there later, perhaps during the time of Yaroslav. In the original, with a high degree of probability, the name of the first metropolitan of Russia was Mykhailo, which is confirmed by a number of historical sources (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 68). At the same time, the academician expresses doubt that a metropolis was created in Kyiv under Volodymyr, and with reference to the Novgorod Chronicle, suggests that the metropolis was created under Yaroslav in 1036, and the first metropolitan was named Theopempt. The first mentions of Mykhailo, as the first Metropolitan of Kyiv, are not earlier than the 13th century. (1906, Article 69). Next, Shakhmatov cites data from the charter of St. Volodymyr and the annals that connect Metropolitan Mykhailo with the Ecumenical Patriarch Photius. However, the next problem lies in this - Photius held this position more than a hundred years before Vladimir's baptism, namely, until 867 and in 877-891. Shakhmatov considers the fact that Mykhailo could indeed have been a metropolitan under Photius, but in Korsun, and he did not baptize Rus (Scythians), but Tauro-Scythians (or Taurian Rus) as a possible explanation for such dissonance. His relics were given to Volodymyr during his baptism, after which they were kept in the Desiatynna Church, Anthony's Caves and the Lavra, and his name was persistently associated with baptismal activity, so perhaps in ancient legends and tales, it was he, not Volodymyr, who bore the title of "Baptist of Korsun" (Shakhmatov, 1906, p. 74 et seq.). Therefore, it is quite logical that the compiler of the "legend", aiming to connect the name of Volodymyr with the mass conversion of the Rus, used a combination of the legendary image of Mykhailo the Baptist and the city in which he lived - Korsun - to consolidate this image in the folk in memory of Volodymyr.

2. The origin of the "Korsun legend".

In his treatise, O. O. Shakhmatov is inclined to the opinion that the "Korsun legend" was invented and compiled partly from historical facts, and partly from epic-legendary material of Kievan Rus of the X-XI centuries. (see above). At the same time, looking for an explanation of the reasons for the creation of this legend, the academician refers to the review of Nestor I.D. Belyaev's annals.

In this work, I. D. Belyaev defends the opinion that the compiler of the "Korsun legend", as it follows from the chronicle version of Volodymyr's hagiography, was a Greek. In particular, he points out that the entire "legend" is told from a predominantly Greek point of view, and the facts presented in it were more interesting to the Greek audience of the time than to the Russian one. The description of the sad departure of Princess Anna to the "bad" Volodymyr could hardly have belonged to the pen of a Russian author who grew up in a cultural environment where the fury and cruelty of the Kiev prince were celebrated in heroic songs. In addition, the chronicle version of the hagiography contains a number of purely Greek words that had their

natural counterparts in Russian; Belyaev cites the use of the Greek word "kubara" instead of the Russian "ladya" (1847) as the most striking example.

The next researcher to whom O. O. Shakhmatov refers in this matter is I. M. Zhdanov, who in his university study from 1872 claims that the description of the episode of Volodymyr's siege of Korsun is based on Korsun traditions and legends (from for example, the image of the traitor who told the prince how to cut off the city from the supply of water and food comes from them). Despite this, Zhdanov also confirms the opinion about the synthesis of Russian and Greek folklore material in the "legend" with its subsequent superimposition on real historical facts confirmed by Byzantine sources. According to Zhdanov, the "Korsun legend" was brought to Russia by Korsun priests, and it acquired its final form already in the twelfth century (1872).

O. O. Shakhmatov makes his own analysis of this issue (1906, p. 82) and comes to the conclusion that the compiler of Volodymyr's Hagiography was a Greek-Korsun who lived and wrote in Kyiv in the 11th century.

Results

So, the main information about the "Korsun legend" of the baptism of Volodymyr is primarily derived from the most important annals of the Russian era - Tales of Bygone Years and the Novgorod Chronicle, on the basis of which O. O. Shakhmatov infers the existence of a theoretical primary source annal called the "Initial Collection" written over several years to the Tale of Bygone Years, roughly at the end of the 11th century. in Kiev. The "Korsun legend" is already present in this Compendium, and therefore its sources should be sought elsewhere.

Another important source of information about Volodymyr's baptism in Korsun is his hagiography. As of the beginning of the 20th century, when Shakhmatov wrote his treatise, five versions of Volodymyr's hagiography were classified, of which he considers the most important for his research: the ancient, prologue hagiography and the hagiography of a special composition. Analyzing the latter (in a chronicle form), he singles out the epic, hagiographic and historical and everyday components, with the help of which he locates the point of its composition in geographical and chronological space.

The epic component, partly borrowed from local Korsun legends, but mainly derived from the Russian epic epic, allows us to clearly establish the place and time of creation of the legend - Kyiv, 11th century.

The historical and domestic component, visible, first of all, in the author's attention to the city of Korsun, his knowledge of the local topography and the order and organization of Byzantine society, as well as the informational and ideological focus of the story – "for the Greeks" – indicate the Greek and, undoubtedly, Korsunian origin of the author.

The hagiographic component, manifested in the detailing of the prayers of the emperors and other actors, the vivid description of the emotional experiences of Princess Anna when she was sent to Volodymyr, and the hyperbolization of the influence of secular, military, and diplomatic events on the religious history of Russia and Byzantium, indicates the purpose of the work: to connect the Korsun campaign with the global Christianization of Russia by Prince Volodymyr, to turn Korsun into a historical center and source of Russian Orthodoxy and to emphasize the leading role of Byzantium in the civilizational processes that took place during the period of formation of Russian statehood in the X-XI centuries.

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Тисяча років української суспільно-політичної думки. У 9-ти т. (Том I), 2001, Київ.