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THE GOLDEN AND DARK HORDE: UNEXPECTED DISCOVERIES IN RUSSIAN EPIC TALES

Annotation. The aim of this article is to describe the set phrases containing a color component: *Golden Horde* and *Dark Horde*. The objectives are: 1. To define and describe the characteristics of the *Golden Horde* concept. 2. To define and describe the characteristics of the *Dark Horde* concept. The study focuses on the Onega bylinas (epic songs) recorded by Alexander Fyodorovich Hilferding in the summer of 1871 and published in three volumes by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg between 1894 and 1900. This epic corpus reveals unexpected meanings behind the names of the historical regions corresponding to the *Golden Horde* and the *Dark Horde*. According to the byliny, the Dark Horde is identified with Lithuania, while the Golden Horde is located northwest of Kyiv. In the texts of Russian North epic poems (known as *stariny*), the Golden Horde is the "dark horde," also referred to as the Sorochin Land.

Keywords: oncept, ethnohermeneutics, linguoculture, linguistic worldview, bylina, epic discourse, Golden Horde, Dark Horde, historical semantics, colour term.

Introduction

The aim of this article—to describe the fixed phrases containing a color component, *Golden Horde* and *Dark Horde*—is achieved through an analysis of relevant contexts in Russian bylinas (epic poems). The article's significance lies in synthesizing the results of an analysis regarding the underlying meanings of these two historical concepts within the epic tradition. The study offers scholarly novelty by addressing a topic that has not previously been explored in academic literature.

Materials and methods

The study draws upon Russian-language dictionaries and bylinas (Russian epic poems); the specific object of study consists of the Onega bylinas recorded by Alexander Fedorovich Hilferding in the summer of 1871 (in three volumes) [1]. The epic poems reveal two additional meanings of the word *орда* (orda)—meanings "overlooked" by dictionaries: "land" and "Lithuania." Cf. the classic epic formula used when questioning a stranger encountered on the road—whether *богатырь* — a bogatyr (hero), a boyar's son, or *поляница* — a polyanitsa (warrior maiden): "Whence come you, bold and gallant youth? From what land, from what *horde* (Lithuania), from what city?" The primary research methods employed are descriptive, conceptual, and interpretative analysis, alongside an etymological analysis of the concept's main language representative.

Research results and discussion

When addressing the description of the word орда—orda (horde), we encounter the issue of cognitive stereotypes. O.N. Trubachev, in his analysis of the etymology of the word *родъ*—rod (kin/clan), points to the Indo-European form *-ord-*, which—as a result of Slavic metathesis [2, p. 205]—yields the word familiar to us (see [3] for details). Such stereotypes are also evident when examining dictionary entries for *орда*—orda in dictionaries of modern Russian.

Horde. 1. Name for large Turkic and Mongol feudal states and confederations of nomadic tribes during the Middle Ages; the armies of such entities. *The Golden Horde. The Astrakhan Horde* // A nomadic encampment; the headquarters or seat of a khan. 2. Fig., colloq. A disorderly, unorganized crowd or mass of people. ◊ Referring to a swarm of insects or a flock of birds. 3. Fig., pejorative. An enemy army. *A fascist horde. Hordes of mercenaries* [4, pp. 88–89].

Орда—orda (pl. орды). 1. A union of several nomadic tribes under the rule of a single khan (among Turkic and Mongol peoples); a Tatar army in ancient Rus'. *The Golden Horde. The Astrakhan Horde*. ‖ A nomadic encampment; the khan's headquarters or seat. 2. Fig. A disorderly, unorganized crowd or mass of people [5, cols. 1011–1012].

The axiological aspect of the word *орда*—unusual to modern speakers—is noteworthy: it is positive. In epic poetry (byliny), *орда*—orda is accompanied by the epithet Mother (matushka); other epic epithets for the *орда*—orda include "great," "vast," "distant," and "wealthy."

The word orda (horde) is synonymous with zemlya (land), strana (country), and Litva (Lithuania) in Russian bylinas. The land is associated with the rod-orda (the clan-horde, or father and mother) in this context:

И роспустилъ ёнъ народъ по своимъ ***землямъ****,*
По своимъ онъ землямъ, по своимъ ***ордамъ****,*
По своимъ ***отцамъ****, по своимъ* ***матерямъ*** (Три поездки Ильи Муромца. 287).

Lithuania is referred to as a zemlya—that is, a "country":

– Да й скажи-тко, поляница, попровѣдай-ко,
Ты коёй ***земли*** *да ты коей* ***Литвы*** (Илья Муромец и дочь его. №77).

In the bylinas (epic poems), Lithuania is explicitly referred to as an "horde" or a "land."

Let us examine this synonymy in greater detail.

I. Land. The division of states was different in the Old World (comprising Europe, Asia, and Africa). Countries were referred to as "lands." This administrative division has persisted in European countries—for instance, in Germany, which is composed of 16 federal states (Bundesländer). The term "land" signifies a country In the byliny.

The word *ukraina* serves as an additional synonym for the words *zemlya* (land) and *orda* (horde). *Orda = ukraina* (in epic poems, it is written with a lowercase letter). *Ukraina* denotes a borderland—lands situated far from the center:

Мимо ѣдутъ-де гости карабельщики,
Да развозятъ тѣ перьица по всѣмъ ордамъ,
По всѣмъ ордамъ по всѣмъ украинамъ (Дюк. №225).

Which lands or countries are mentioned in Russian epic poems (bylinas)? The list is extensive:

Russian: <…> *король Бахметъ Турецкіе, Воевалъ онъ на* ***землю Россійскую*** (Авдотья Рязаночка. 260).

Turkish: *Онъ повёлъ-де въ свою* ***землю Турецкую***… (Авдотья Рязаночка. 260).

Cossack (from Tikhiy Don “The Quiet Don”): *Со **тихого Дону** есть донской **казакъ**, Да Данило сынъ Игнатьевичъ* (Данило Игнатьевич. 278).

Italian: <…> *Есть я родомъ изъ земли да изъ **Тальянскою*** (Илья Муромец и дочь его. №77).

Smolenskaya: *И надо ѣхать Добрынюшкѣ во эту **землю во Смоленскую*** (Святогор и Добрыня. №118).

Galichskaya:

Сталъ Владыміръ князь у Дюка повыспрашивать:
«–Ты скажи откуль, удалый добрый молодецъ? <…>
«–Ай ты славный князь Владыміръ стольне-кіевской!
*Есте я изъ **Галичи** проклятоей,*
Да изъ тою со Индѣюшки богатою,
Да со славнаго богата съ Волынъ-города,
Молодой бояринъ Дюкъ Степановичъ» (Дюк. №85).

Danish:

А й молодой Добрыця сынъ Микитиничъ
*Енъ съѣзжаетъ съ земли съ **земли** съ **Датскіи**…* (Добрыня и Алёша. 217).

Greek:

*Да была **шляпа** на главы **земли греческой*** (Илья Муромец в Цареграде. 220).

Volhynia is described using the epithets "faithless" and "wealthy." It became wealthy during the period of its unification with Halych, which resulted in the formation of the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia: *Изъ Волынца города изъ **Галица**, Изъ **Волынъ-земли** невѣрные, Изъ той Корелы изъ упрямые* (Илья Муромец и голи кабацкие. 249).

Polish: *– И я жилъ-тоя во **земли во Польскіе**. А й у короля у Жимана у Польскаго* (Дунай. 272).

The king of the Polish land is referred to at times as the King of Poland and at others as the King of Lithuania (referring to the Polish-Lithuanian realm): *И пріѣхали во **землю во Польскую**, И ко Жіману ко **ко́ролю Литовскому*** (Дунай. 272).

Kyiv pays tribute to certain lands. There is a mention that the Prince of Kyiv pays tribute to the Lithuanian land every twelve years: *А й ты съѣзди-тко во **землю** въ **Политовскую**,Къ королю-то къ Чубадѣю къ Политовскому* (Добрыня и Змей. №79).

Kyiv pays tribute to the Sorochin land: ***Задолжалъ**-то я ко ко́ролю-то Ботіяну Ботіянову Да во тые дальніе во **земли Сорочинскіе.** Кого же мнѣ послать туды **отвезти дани** выходы За двѣнадцать годъ да й съ половиною Къ королю-то къ Ботіяну Ботіянову, А двѣнадцать лебедей, двѣнадцать креченей, А 'ще грамоту да и повинную?»* (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. №80).

The tribute included not only a monetary component but also young women and men. The swan serves as an epithet for a young woman in epic poems:

Cf.: *А **возьми**-тко за себя да **лебедь бѣлую**. <…> Лебедь бѣлую да одинакую дочь* (Хотен Блудович. 277).

Gyrfalcon – an epithet for a gallant youth, a boyar's son: *Не ясёнъ соколъ тамъ пролётывалъ, Да не бѣлой **кречетко** вонъ выпорхивалъ <…>* (Дюк. №225).

This was the essence of the amanat (Arabic: amāna) tradition. An amanat was a hostage serving as a guarantee for a treaty; he was entitled to be treated with care and to return to his homeland and family upon reaching a certain age.

Prince Vladimir collects tribute from Swedish lands in person every twelve years, dispatching his bogatyrs there to carry out this task:

«–Ай ты старыя казакъ да Илья Муромецъ!
*А ты съѣзди-тко во **землю**-ту во **Шведскую*** <…> (Добрыня и Змей. №79).

Two color-based epithets for the Horde appear: "Golden" and "Dark" in Russian epic poems. Information regarding the former can be found in textbooks and dictionaries; nothing is known about the latter.

II. The Dark Horde—Lithuania is referred to as a dark horde in epic poems. The Sorochin Land is referred to as the Dark Horde. Prince Vladimir sends the bogatyrs there to deliver tribute:

*– **Отвести**-то надо **дани** за двѣнадцать годъ,*
За двѣнадцать годъ да съ половиною,
*Да й **во дальніи во земли въ Сорочинскіи**,*
*Да во ту во саму во **темну орду*** (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. №80).

A king rules over the land of Sorochin. His name is Boteyan Boteyanov (variant: Botiyan Botiyanov):

*Да й пріѣхали во **земли Сорочинскіи**,*
***Къ королю-то Ботеяну** на широкой дворъ* (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. №80).

The Sorochin land is none other than Lithuania. It is there that King Botiyan Botiyanov rules:

*Обыгралъ его **король** да вѣдь **литовскіи***
Ботіянъ да Ботіяновецъ (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. №80).

Tatars serve this king:

***Говорилъ король своимъ** онъ **слугамъ** вѣрнымъ:*
«–Ай же вы мои да слуги вѣрныя!
Вы подите-ко на погребъ на глубокія,
А й несите-тко мой королевской лукъ, <…>
А й несутъ они да королевской лукъ,
*А и три ихъ четыре **татарина*** (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. №80).

The bylinas contain a mention that a Prussian king rules in Lithuania:

*Ъздилъ молодецъ изъ **земли въ землю**,*
*Гулялъ удалой **изъ орды въ орду*** <…> (Молодец и королевна. 263).

Ya.Ya. Grishin, who studied the settlement patterns of the Tatars, wrote that the Lithuanian Tatars (known as "Lipky Tatars") constitute a unique Turkic Muslim community that migrated to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the 14th and 15th centuries. They arrived from the Golden Horde and the Great Horde (Lower Volga region), as well as from the Crimean Khanate and the Great and Nogai Hordes, at the invitation of Grand Duke Vytautas (Vitold). They are descendants of Turkic and Mongol tribes [6; 7; 8]. Their ancestors belonged to various ethnic groups and spoke Kipchak languages. After settling in the region, they lost their native language by the 16th century, adopting local languages—Polish, Belarusian, or Lithuanian—yet they preserved their faith (Sunni Islam) and culture. They are known as loyal warriors who served in the border guard. Initially, they settled around Vilnius, Trakai, and Grodno, receiving land in exchange for military service: "Lithuanian Tatars live in a dispersed manner in the cities of Vilnius, Alytus, Kaunas, Trakai, and others, and in concentrated communities in the villages of Nemėžis and Keturiasdešimt Totorių (Forty Tatars) in the Vilnius district, and the village of Raižiai and the town of Butrimonys in the Alytus district" [9]. Lithuanian Tatars do not resemble the local inhabitants. They are giants:

Во плечахъ-то у татаръ *есть* ***велика сажень,***
А й ***между глазами у татаръ*** *есть* ***велика пядень,***
А й ***головушки*** *на плёчахъ* ***какъ пивной котелъ*** (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. №80).

The velikaya sazhen (or kosaya sazhen) measures 2 meters 48 centimeters. The velikaya pyaden measures 22–23 centimeters. For comparison, the interpupillary distance of an average person is 5.4–7.4 centimeters. Lithuanian Tatars are distinguished by more than just their height; they possess immense strength (the word velikiy—meaning "great"—directly alludes to the "greatness" or giant stature of these figures):

Вы ***съ татарама*** *моими поборится,*
У нихъ ***силушки великой*** *пріотвѣдайте»* (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. №80).

The heroic warriors of Holy Rus'—Dobrynya Nikitich and Vasily Kazimirov—defeated the retainers of King Boteyan Boteyanov according to the bylinyas. The King of Lithuania himself was required to pay tribute to Prince Vladimir in the same amount:

– И пойдемте-тко въ полаты бѣлокаменны
Къ ***королю-то ко Ботеяну къ Ботеянову,***
Получать*-то будемъ* ***дани*** *за двѣнадцать годъ.* <…>
Платить*-то славному-то* ***князю*** *и* ***Владыміру,***
Да й платить-то надобно вѣкъ по вѣку (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. 80).

The text of the bylina specifies the amount of tribute to be paid. The tribute comprised not only gold, silver, and seed pearls but also swans and gyrfalcons—specifically, one swan and one gyrfalcon per year (as hostages).

There are white-stone chambers, not tents in the Horde of Lithuania. Lithuania is characterized by the epithets "glorious" and "brave," indicating a positive assessment of the country:

А сѣдлали добрыхъ коней богатырскіихъ,
А поѣхали роздольицемъ чисты́мъ полемъ
А во ***славную*** *въ эту въ* ***хоробру Литву****.* <…> (Дунай. №81).

Why is Lithuania referred to as a "dark horde"? In 1816, the historian Tadeusz Czacki published the results of a discovery in the Vilna Weekly: he had found a document in the archives—a petition from Polish-Lithuanian Tatars—in which members of the Jagiellonian dynasty were referred to as "White Khans." The Polish-Lithuanian Tatars preserved the memory of their lineages. For instance, "only two clans—the Ostrynskis and the Puńskis—held the title of Sultan" [10]:

Славный вы русьскіе могучіе богатыря!
Да й побьютъ-те насъ татары ***во темной орды,***
Положить намъ будетъ здѣсь буйни головушки,
Не бывать намъ больше на ***святой Руси*** <…> (Добрыня и Василий Казимиров. №80).

The stereotype regarding appearance—that Tatars are dark-complexioned—does not hold true. Kazan Tatars are described as fair, while Crimean Tatars are called dark in common parlance. The Lithuanian king’s daughter has a light-brown braid:

– А во той ли ***во славной въ хоробро́й Литвы,***
У того ли-то ***у короля Литовскаго,***
Есть прекрасна ***дочь*** *Опраксья королевична*
<…> По тому-то терему злату верху
А ***Опраксія*** *королевична похаживаётъ*

А въ одной тонкой рубашкѣ безъ пояса,
А въ однихъ тонкихъ чулочкахъ безъ чоботовъ,
У ней ***русая коса*** *пороспущена* (Дунай. №81).

The epithet "dark" is likely contrasted with the epithet "holy" (derived from the word for "light"); saints were depicted on icons with glowing halos above their heads.

Relations between Kyiv and Lithuania were cemented by a dynastic tie: Prince Vladimir sought the hand of—and subsequently married—Opraxia, the daughter of the King of Lithuania.

The practice of amanats—where a ruler's son was taken to foreign lands as a hostage and raised there until reaching adulthood—is a fascinating one. A case in point is the story of Luka Petrovich, who was taken to Lithuania as an infant from Kryakov (modern-day Kraków):

<…> Со того подворья богатырскаго,
Молодой ***Лука Петрович королевской сын****.*
Увезен был маленьким робеночком*:*
Увезли *меня* ***татара****-ты поганый,*
Да й во ту во славну ***в*** *хоробру* ***Литву*** <…> (Королевич из Крякова. №80).

Faith and customs differ between Kyiv and Lithuania. The forms of address used for the ruler and the established rules at the royal court vary: *<…> Бьет челом, поклоняется: Здравствуй* ***батюшка***, ***король*** *хороброй Литвы*! (Дунай. №94).

Just as the prince in Kyiv is addressed as "Father," the Lithuanian king is addressed in the same way. The two linguocultures share a common ancestral code.

III. The Golden Horde. The Golden Horde is the name of the state known as the Ulus of Jochi according to stereotypes. However, in Russian epic poems (bylinas), the Golden Horde is situated in regions other than the East: the ruler of this land is not a khan, but a king. One interpretation suggests that the epithet "Golden" emphasized the opulence of the khan's headquarters (the tent where the ruler sat). The epics contain no mention of tents, nor do they provide a basis for the color-related component of the name.

According to Russian epic poems, the Golden Horde is located:

b) to the west of Kyiv: *Я изъ* ***западнихъ странъ***, ***изъ Золотой орды*** <…> (Илья Муромец и сын его. 226).

b) north of Kyiv: *Я есть* ***сиверной страны да золотой орды***,*Да есть дѣвицы Сиверьянична* (Илья Муромец и сын его. 226).

The Galician land lies within the Golden Horde, which in epic poems is called fabulously wealthy India: *А й во* ***Волынь-земли да въ Золотой орды***, *А й что во той* ***Индѣи пребогатый***, ***Во Волынцѣ городи во Галицѣ*** <…> (Дюк. №218).

The Golden Horde is also known by other names—Sarachin (from the word "Saracens"?) and India. The city of Halych is located in the land of Volhynia:

Изъ ***Волынъ-земли*** *изъ богатые,*
Да изъ той Карелы изъ упрямые,
Да изъ той ***Сорочины*** *изъ широкіе,*
Да изъ той ***Индѣи*** *богатые,*
Молодой-де боярской Дюкъ Степановичъ» (Дюк. №225).

Santal (Sultan)—referred to as Tsar—rules in the Golden Horde: *Самъ* ***Санталъ убѣжалъ во Золоту орду*** <…> (Вольга и Микула Селянинов. №195).

The Golden Horde pays tribute to Kyiv and Prince Vladimir (not the other way around!). The tribute is collected every twelve years:

Говоритъ Владиміръ стольне-кіевской:

<…> А кого мы ***пошлёмъ во Золоту орду***

Выправлять*-то* ***даней*** *выходовъ <…>* (Добрыня и Алёша. №198).

This tribute is collected by bogatyrs who serve the Prince. Most often, Dobrynya Nikitich is the one sent on this mission:

«–А ты всё Владиміръ надо мной надсмѣхаешься.

Да теперь я ***выправилъ изъ Золотой орды****,*

Выправилъ дани *и выходы*

За старыи годы за новый.<…> (Добрыня и Алёша. №198).

The Kyiv cycle of epic poems links Prince Vladimir with the Golden Horde. The Prince's godchildren take women from the Golden Horde as wives, thereby forging kinship ties with it:

Молодой Иванушко Годиновичъ

Похотѣлъ-то онъ да поженитися,

Похотѣлъ во славной ***Золотой Орды***

На прекрасноёй Настасьи Митріёвичной.

Говорилъ ему Владыміръ князь да стольнё-кіевской:

«–Ай же крестничекъты мой любимый!

Хочешь ѣхать пожениться въ ***Золоту Орду****?»* (Иван Годинович. №83).

The inhabitants of Kyiv and the Golden Horde are distinguished by their faith: Christianity had already been adopted in Kyiv, whereas the Horde held a different faith. Children born of such a marriage belong to the father's lineage:

<…> Я свезу тобя на славну на святую Русь,

Я достáвлѣю тебя во ***вѣрушку крещоную****,*

А 'ще будешь ты у насъ да ***роду вѣрнаго*** *<…>* (Иван Годинович. №83).

Lithuania is often referred to as poganaya (impure/heathen) precisely because of its faith in bylinas (epic poems). The English word *pagan* means "heathen" (non-Christian), "unbeliever," or "atheist":

Обошла Москву ***Литва поганая*** (Скопин. №88).

One more important fact should be noted. The Kiev bogatyrs are referred to as Cossacks. The Cossacks were a warrior estate living at outposts—on the borders of the lands. Cossacks took as wives young women of other peoples and faiths:

–Ай же ты Настасья Митріёвична!

Ты куда умъ клала и замужъ пошла?

Какъ будешь ты во городѣ во Кіевѣ

Казачихою *у князя у Владыміра…* (Иван Годинович. №83).

As evidenced by the contexts found in bylinas (epic poems), the Golden Horde is identified in many respects with the "dark horde." Kinship ties link the Horde and Kyiv.

Conclusion

As previous research has shown, the word *orda* is not a Turkic loanword—as many dictionaries claim—but the result of metathesis of the word *rod* (kin/clan). Color-related vocabulary is widely represented in the bylinas (e.g., white swan, black raven, golden treasury, sable-black brows, clear-falcon eyes, snow-white body, radiant sun, red gold). Color is indicated in the names of two entities: the Golden Horde and the Dark Horde. While many sources mention the Golden Horde, the Dark Horde is not mentioned. The Dark Horde is Lithuania, referred to in epic tales as the Sorochin Land. The Golden Horde is called Sarachin or Sorochin—possibly also the Sorochin Land. The territories of both the Golden Horde and

the Dark Horde extended into the European part of Eurasia—specifically, the lands lying northwest of Kyiv.

Let us make two assumptions regarding the name "Dark Horde": 1. It arises from a religious contrast: Kyiv had embraced Christianity, whereas Lithuania was seen as ignorant and unenlightened (a metaphor implying an intellectual and religious judgment); 2. "Dark Horde" refers to a force that inflicts evil and harm (a metaphor carrying a moral and ethical connotation). These metaphors highlight differing moral standards and value systems—distinct ways of evaluating the actions and character traits of people inhabiting these different lands. Despite enduring ancestral ties, the peoples of Kyiv and Lithuania were divided along religious lines.

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АЛТЫН ЖӘНЕ ҚАРАҢҒЫ ОРДА: ОРЫС БЫЛИНАЛАРЫНДАҒЫ КҮТПЕГЕН ЖАҢАЛЫҚТАР

Аңдатпа. Мақаланың мақсаты – түс компоненті бар тұрақты тіркестерді – Алтын Орда және Қараңғы Орда ұғымдарын сипаттау. Зерттеудің міндеттері: 1. Алтын Орда концептісінің белгілерін анықтау және сипаттау. 2. Қараңғы Орда концептісінің белгілерін анықтау және сипаттау. Зерттеу нысаны – Александр Федорович Гильфердинг 1871 жылдың жазында жазып алған және 1894–1900 жылдары Санкт-Петербург қаласындағы Императорлық Ғылым академиясында үш том болып жарық көрген Онега былиналары. Эпикалық қор Алтын Орда мен Қараңғы Ордаға сәйкес келетін тарихи аймақтар атауларының күтпеген мағыналарын ашады. Былиналарға сәйкес, Қараңғы Орда Литвамен сәйкестендіріледі, ал Алтын Орда Киевтің солтүстік-батысында орналасқан. Орыс Солтүстігі былиналарының (стариналар деп аталатын) мәтіндерінде Алтын Орда мен Қараңғы Орда бір ұғымды білдіреді және ол басқаша Сорочин жері деп аталады.

Кілт сөздер: концепт, этногерменевтика, лингвомәдениет, әлемнің тілдік бейнесі, былина, эпикалық дискурс, Алтын Орда, Қараңғы Орда, тарихи семантика, түс атауы.

Пименова М. В.

ЗОЛОТАЯ И ТЕМНАЯ ОРДА: НЕОЖИДАННЫЕ ОТКРЫТИЯ В РУССКИХ БЫЛИНАХ

Аннотация. Цель статьи – описать устойчивые сочетания с цветовым компонентом – *Золотая орда* и *тёмная орда*. Решаемые задачи: 1. Определение и описание признаков концепта *Золотая орда*. 2. Определение и описание признаков концепта *тёмная орда*. Объект исследования – Онежские былины А. Ф. Гильфердинга: записано в 1871 г., издано в 3-х томах в Императорской АН г. Санкт-Петербург в 1894-1900 гг. Эпический фонд раскрывает неожиданные смыслы имён соответствующих исторических областей *Золотой орды* и *тёмной орды*. Согласно былинам, *тёмная орда* идентифицируется с Литвой, *Золотая орда* располагается к северо-западу от Киева. В текстах былин Русского Севера (называемых *старинами*), Золотая орда и есть тёмная орда, называемая по-другому Сорочинской землёй.

Ключевые слова: концепт, этногерменевтика, лингвокультура, языковая картина мира, былина, эпический дискурс, Золотая Орда, тёмная Орда, историческая семантика, цветообозначение.