The Ritualisation of Political Power in Early Rus' (10th-12th centuries)

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Preface

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration where specifically indicated in the text. No parts of this dissertation have been submitted for any other qualification.

Statement of Length

This dissertation does not exceed the word limit of 80,000 words set by the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages.

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the ceremonies and rituals involving the princes of early Rus' and their entourage, how these ceremonies and rituals are represented in the literature and artefacts of early Rus', the possible cultural influences on ceremony and ritual in this emergent society, and the role of ceremony and ritual as representative of political structures and in shaping the political culture of the principalities of early Rus'. The process begins by introducing key concepts and historiographic considerations for the study of ceremony and ritual and their application to the medieval world. The textological survey that follows focusses on the chronicles of Rus', due to their compilatory nature, and discusses the philological, linguistic, and contextual factors governing the use of chronicles in this study. This examination of the ceremonies and rituals of early Rus', the first comprehensive study of its kind for this region in the early period, engages with other studies of ceremony and ritual for the medieval period to inform our understanding of the political culture of early Rus' and its influences. The structure of this dissertation is dictated by the chronology of ceremonies and rituals that structure the reigns of Rus' princes in literary sources. The first chapter investigates—both comparatively and locally—the development of enthronement rituals depicted in textual sources and on coins. The second chapter focusses on rituals of association that are represented as mediating relations between princes in a non-central functioning dynastic culture. Oath-taking (and breaking) and association through commensality—dining and gift-giving—are examined in terms of historical context and the internal categorisation of associative acts in textual sources from Rus'. The final chapter builds on recent studies of ritualised warfare in early Rus' and examines the ritualisation of princely movement—the most common action associated with the princes of Rus' in textual sources—in times of war. The celebration of triumph and princely entry along with ritualised invocations for intercession in war are acts examined—both in textual sources and iconographic artefacts—as rituals of triumphal rulership reflecting both Byzantine and wider medieval culture. This study concludes with a discussion of the themes explored in its three chapters and offers further considerations about the influence of the Church and monastic culture inherited from Byzantium (and developed in Rus') on the preservation, creation, and promulgation of ritualised political power.

In Memoriam Alexander Vukovic

Contents

Supplementary Material

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AR	*Analecta Romana*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJS	*American Journal of Sociology*
BJS	*British Journal of Sociology*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*
Bonn	*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr et al. (Bonn, 1828-1897)
BS/EB	*Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines*
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
ByzF	*Byzantinishche Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CMRS	*Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*
CSP	*Canadian Slavonic Papers*
CSS	*Canadian Slavic Studies*
DGTSSSR	*Drevneishie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR*
DGVE	*Drevneishie gosudarstva Vostochnoi Evropi*
DR	*Drevniaia Rus'*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
EMC	*Échos du monde classique*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
Erzählungen	eds. D. I. Abramovich and L. Müller, *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb*
HUS	*Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
Izbornik	ed. V. S. Golyshenko
JGO	*Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JMS	*Journal of Medieval Studies*
JUS	*Journal of Ukrainian Studies*

Kniga Palomnik"	Kh. M. Loparev (ed.), *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii sbornik*, vol. 17.3
NB	*Numismatique byzantine*
NPL	*Novgorodskaia Pervaia Letopis'* [*PSRL*, 3]
OSP	*Oxford Slavonic Papers*
Paterik	D. I. Abramovich (ed.), *Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters* (Munich: Eidos Verlag, 1963-1964).
PG	*Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857-1866)
PVL	*Povest' vremmenykh let*
PSRL 1	*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izd. vostochnoi literatury, 1928/1962) [Laurentian Chronicle]
PSRL 2	*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Izd. vostochnoi literatury, 1908/1962) [Hypatian Chronicle]
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RCS	*Revue canadienne des slavistes*
REA	*Revue des études augustiniennes*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RL	*Russian Linguistics*
RN	*Revue numismatique*
RH/HR	*Russian History/Histoire russe*
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SZB	*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*, ed. A. M. Moldovan (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1984)
SEER	*The Slavonic and East European Review*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
TODRL	*Trudy otdela revnerusskoi literatury*
Uspenskii zbornik	eds. O. I. Kniazevskaia, et. al. (Moscow: Izdat. Nauka, 1971)
VI	*Voprosy istorii*
VV	*Vizantiiskii vremennik*

INTRODUCTION

The Ritualisation of Political Power in Early Rus' (10th-12th centuries)

Medieval historians have long understood the importance of rituals in communicating the sacredness of ruling offices. Ceremonies of enthronement, anointings of rulers by bishops, and the entries of a ruler into a city or a monastic complex, were all meant to edify, promote, and render visible the authority of the ruler and that of the Church. In the medieval period, such ceremonies and rituals were attended with processions, liturgical invocations, and lauds that transformed the ceremonial space into the sacred image of heavenly Jerusalem and the ruler into the figure of the triumphant Christ.[1]

In a compendium of essays on rituals and how they represented and created new cultural forms, Frans Theuws writes that in the early medieval period, rituals were an important means of asserting power for newly-installed dynasties.[2] The emendation of extant rituals as well the integration of ideologically valuable ritual elements transmitted from the late Roman Empire, by the intermediary of the established Church, all contributed to create systems of power.[3] The use of social science theories and methodologies has expanded the lexical and ideological horizons for the study of medieval ceremony and ritual by introducing the study of symbols, structures, and critical analysis of source material produced by distant cultures. The French historian, Jacques Le Goff, framed new arguments for the study of systems of power in the Middle Ages by introducing the concept of symbolic action and by examining the underlying ideological systems of interpretation of events,

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[1] See: G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor. Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 77-103. For the latest studies of ritual and ceremony in the medieval world, see: L. Roach, "Public rites and public wrongs: ritual aspects of diplomas in tenth- and eleventh-century England," *Early Medieval Europe* 19 (2011): 182-203; 182-184, esp. notes 1-5; and A. Beihammer, S. Constantinou, and M. Parani (eds.), *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[2] F. Theuws, "Introduction: Rituals in Transforming Societies," in *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, (ed.) F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1-15. However, certain ruling groups such as the Merovingian kings, in Gerd Althoff's view, made fairly limited use of ceremonial and ritual in their exercise of power, see: *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrshaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2003), 32-38.

[3] See: S. Gasparri, "Kingship Rituals and Ideology in Lombard Italy," in Theuws and Nelson, 95-114, see: 116-117 for a particularly evocative example of 'Summer of the Dead' and the 7th century integration of late antique Roman rituals for the enthronement of the Lombard king, Adaloald, in Milan.

both real and imagined. Le Goff proposed the study of the contextual and ideological frameworks within which medieval narratives were developed:

> Toute société est symbolique dans la mesure où elle utilise des pratiques symboliques et où son étude peut relever d'une interprétation de type symbolique. Mais ceci est d'autant plus vrai de la société médiévale que celle-ci a renforcé la symbolique inhérente à toute société par l'application d'un système idéologique d'interprétation symbolique à la plupart des ses activités.[4]

The methodological limits proposed and elaborated by the *Nouvelle Histoire* movement have been discussed amongst medieval historians. Most recently, Philippe Buc and Gerd Althoff have produced works dedicated to the study of medieval ceremony and ritual, but with different conclusions and appreciations for the application of social scientific methodology to medieval sources.[5] The present study on the ceremonies and rituals of the princes of early Rus' engages with much of what has come before it, in terms of intellectual frameworks and methodologies for working with sources and evaluating their content.[6] This study places Rus' within the wider medieval cultural context and examines, broadly, the evolution of the political culture of Rus' not as derivative or mimetic, but as dynamic and informed by the cultural environment of the central Middle Ages.

Studies of early Rus' history and culture have examined Rus' culture and society in terms of its cultural production, historical formation, relations with Byzantium, and role in international trade. The political culture for early Rus' has been examined in studies about the formation of social groups[7] and political categories;[8] while the exercise of power in early Rus' has been examined in terms of historical context[9] and constitutive themes of rulership.[10] The role of ceremony and ritual

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[4] J. Le Goff, "Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité," in *Un autre Moyen Âge* (Paris: Gallimard, 1999), 349-415, 349.

[5] For the debate about the reconstruction of ritual based on narrative sources, see: Althoff (note 2), and Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 256-257; For responses, see G. Koziol, "The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?," *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002): 367-388; J. L. Nelson, "Review of Buc, 'Dangers of Ritual'," *Speculum* 78 (2003): 847-851; along with P. Buc, "The Monster and the Critics: A Ritual Reply," *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007): 441-445.

[6] The majority of studies on medieval ceremony and ritual have focussed on the high Middle Ages. Relatively few have focussed on the early Middle Ages (before the 9th century) and central Middle Ages. See: J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986); P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 88-157; and C. Pössel, "The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual," *Early Medieval Europe* 17.2 (2009): 111-125.

[7] See: T. Vilkul, *Liudi i kniaz' v drevnerusskikh letopisiakh serediny XII-XIII vv.* (Moscow: Kvadriga, 2009).

[8] I. S. Chichurov, *Politicheskaia ideologiia srednevekov'ia: Vizantiia i Rus': k XVIII Mezhdunarodnomu kongressu vizantinistov* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990).

[9] For example, P. P. Tolochko, *Drevniaia Rus'. Ocherki sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii* (Kiev: Nauk. dumka, 1987); or M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov, 1146-1246* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[10] A. P. Tolochko, *Kniaz' v drevnei Rusi: vlast' sobstvennost' ideologiia* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1992); and O. M. Rapov, *Kniazheskie vladeniia na Rusi v 10-pervoi polovine 13 v.* (Moscow: Izd. vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1977).

in communicating the exercise of power in the absence of a legal framework, and reflecting the formation of a political culture in early Rus' has been discussed by Francis Dvornik in his study of Byzantine political ideas in early Rus',[11] and was evoked by Jonathan Shepard in his doctoral dissertation,[12] several articles,[13] and his collaborative historiographic work on the beginnings of early Rus' history and culture.[14]

Chichurov, Dvornik, and Shepard emphasise the importance of ritual culture and Byzantine ritualised rulership in providing a setting for the exercise of power, both conferring and perpetuating legitimacy. The present study is an extension of what has come before it by examining the ways in which Byzantine notions of cosmic order and transcendental hierarchy formed the representation of ritualised rule in the chronicles of Rus' and other artefacts.[15] Beyond the context of the Christianisation of Rus' in the 10th century, modes of rulership in Rus' need to be examined in their historical and local contexts, as they are represented in the chronicles of Rus' and other sources, such as iconographies of rulership, and the built landscape of Rus'. The evidence for ceremony and ritual in the medieval period is largely text based. Medieval authors were aware that plural interpretations of events were possible and this awareness led them to seek to control interpretations of events and to, possibly, influence or even orchestrate ceremonies themselves.[16] Medieval authors also articulated contemporary ideologies in their shaping of information, placing events in a neotestamentary framework where the outcomes of actions are governed by providence and legitimised through divine sanction.

The standardisation of ritual in the chronicles of Rus' is central to the creation, maintenance, and representation of a unified culture, at least at the elite level, beginning in the mid-11th century.

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[11] F. Dvornik, "Byzantine Political Ideas in Kievan Russia," *DOP* 9 (1956): 73-121. Walter Hanak produced a study along similar themes. However, Hanak's study tends to overdetermine the source material and the former suffers from a disregard for the textology of the *Povest' vremennykh let*, see: *The Nature and the Image of Princely Power in Kievan Rus', 980-1054. A Study of Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2014);

[12] J. Shepard, "Byzantium and Russia in the eleventh century: a study in political and ecclesiastical relations," (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1974).

[13] J. Shepard, "Rus'," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, (ed.) N. Berend, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), ch. 9; and J. Shepard, "The Viking Rus and Byzantium," in *Viking World*, (eds.) S. Brink and N. S. Price (London: Routledge, 2008), 496-516.

[14] S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus', c. 950-1300* (London and New York: Longman, 1996).

[15] The sequence of dynasties in Constantinople was reflected in constantly changing methods and tools employed by emperors and their partisans in maintaining their grasp on power and their control of the dominant political factors. These changes were part of an evolutionary pattern of the Byzantine imperial concept in the context of the empire's changing political culture, see: G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), for the first study of the succession principles and the sacrality of the emperor's self-representation. See also: A. Beihammer, "Comnenian Imperial Succession and the Ritual World of Niketas Choniates' *Chronike Diegesis*," in Beihammer, Constantinou, and Parani, 159-202.

[16] Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 4-5.

The main focus of this study is the 12th century, after the period of Christianisation and the consolidation of power under Iaroslav Sviatoslavich (d. 1054), since the chronicles of Rus' provide more detailed information about nascent and maturing principalities and the princes who ruled there for this period. To be part of the princely clan, according to the chronicles, was to understand, accept, and partake, in the correct manner, in ritualised encounters and exchanges. The chronicles construct the ritualised personalities of princes according to set precepts that reflect medieval ideals of rulership. By delineating the rituals that, according to the chronicles of Rus', created, established, and mediated the time of princely rule, I will examine the types of rituals that were attributed to the elite, how these rituals were formed, and how they reflected political culture, while also exploring what consciousness the producers of these symbols had of them.

Succession and rituals of inauguration suggest procedure and rationalised systems of attributing or recognising power and authority.[17] Rituals of inauguration depend on historical circumstances, ideological principles, political strategies, and public or publicising enactments.[18] The narrative presentation and interpretation of these events in the sources of early Rus' betrays a paucity of information regarding the structural elements of inauguration. However, models are discernible when the narratives of inauguration are examined individually, and changes in the shaping of information yield insights into norms, structures, and patterns of succession in conjunction with a common moral framework.[19] Narratives of elevations to the throne of Kiev and to the thrones of northern principalities give definition to succession configurations, while narrative strategies provide a context for the inclusion and exclusion of certain princes and certain branches of the dynasty over others. Beyond narratives and the identification of ritual elements of inauguration, the provenance of enthronement will be discussed as pre-dating the Christianisation of Rus'. The evolution of this local practice, represented according to local ideas of governance and invested with Byzantine symbols of authority, is the central topic of the first chapter.

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[17] See: A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy. Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

[18] In a documentary on the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, *The Queen's Coronation: Behind Palace Doors* (2008), the event was reinvented to reflect the sensibilities of the period (e.g. the BBC was allowed to film, thereby lifting the "mystery" of the coronation and making a private ceremony accessible to a global audience). The Duke of Edinburgh stage-managed the ceremony, engaging new technologies to disseminate images of the coronation and each segment of the procession to the public, and coordinating the movements, gestures, and attitudes of participants to correspond more closely to the desires of the viewing public and to impress upon them the immutability of the event. See: D. Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, (eds.) T. Ranger and E. Hobsbawm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 101-164.

[19] See: B. Weiler, "Crown-giving and king-making in the west ca. 1000-ca. 1250," *Viator* 41.1 (2010): 57-88.

The wealth of source material about oath-taking, dining rituals, and gift-giving rituals allows for a broader examination of association in early Rus' and, more widely, medieval Christian culture. The second chapter explores the multiple means of creating association and concord through personal exchanges of oaths, collective dining, and the ostentatious exchanging of gifts. The subversion of the rituals of association, namely, oath-breakings, begs the question of whether the performance of ritual took precedence over belief in that ritual's capacity to impose a set of relations. The chronicles as well as edificatory, homiletic, and hagiographic literature of Rus' all provide disquisitions and interdictions on oath-taking, all attesting to the centrality of practices of building allegiances and securing dynastic stability through oaths and other political rituals. According to the chronicles, promissory and associative rituals figure most prominently in the politico-social representation of princely power, both internally and externally. This chapter explores the parameters of creating concord, its meaning, and possible subversive messages of oath-taking within a context of competing opportunities for the polities of Rus'. The chronicles provide a script for political relationships and encode the customs, gestures, and attitudes observed for diplomatic relations and the integration of foreigners into the political sphere of early Rus', particularly in the conflicts of the 12th century.

The final chapter discusses rituals of itinerancy and intercession in war and in victory. The first section deals with princely entries and celebrations of victory in Rus'. The creation of an urban landscape mirroring that of Constantinople included the symbols of Constantinopolitan authority and symbols of power, of which the Golden Gates were the entrance to the capital and beginning of the processional route in celebrations of victory. The role of the built landscape in intercession and victory will be discussed along with the concentration of symbolic authority around specific parts of Kiev to the exclusion of others. The exclusion of viewers and promotion of an inward-facing ideology for rituals of itinerancy raises the question of why a public ritual would be so exclusive. Intercession in war and conflict is shaped rhetorically in the chronicles of Rus' to favour certain princes over others, rendering it a proleptic argument that designates certain princes for success in dynastic conflicts. It further serves to streamline the narrative of the chronicles in order to support particular princes over others within the context of conflicts between princes of the same dynasty. Rituals of itinerancy and intercession shift the focus to the individual prince and provide an ideological context for rulership in Rus' based on martial success and itinerant kingship, reflecting both received ideas about ritualised rulership and the ritualisation of local political practice.

The main witnesses to ritual and ceremony in early Rus' are texts and a critical study that relies on medieval textual material must take into account medieval textual practices and the difficulties

arising from limited textual material.[20] The rituals and ceremonies discussed in this study: inauguration, association, and itinerancy and intercession do not provide a definitive list of ritual categories in early Rus'. Rather, these rituals exemplify the political system of early Rus' and the transformative, demonstrative, and performative acts that convey the ideology of rulership in the chronicles of Rus' and other sources. Rituals can be a complicated point of entry into medieval political culture because of the importance medieval societies attached to solemnities and the highly crafted rhetoric attached to ritual acts.[21] The application of methodologies derived from social scientific theory, to the study of medieval ritual and ceremony can overdetermine interpretation of practices known only through textual and iconographic representations. The following discussions provide parameters and definitions of ritual and ceremony and the application (and its limits) of social scientific methods to the study of history.

i.   Ritual: The Transformative Aspect

The meaning and definition of ritual has long been debated by anthropologists, creating competing lines of thought and inquiry, without reaching an accepted definition.[22] Many studies on the subject have focussed on transformation: the changing from one being or state into another. The transformative aspect of ritual delineates ritual acts from other social actions: an action that is simply repeated does not necessarily signify a ritual act.[23] Ritual is invested with an active aspect because it initiates a process that causes change and transformation from one role into another. The concept of distinction and its creation is raised through these observations, since the transformative element provides the process that distinguishes an actor from within their social group.[24]

According to the anthropologist Victor Turner, rituals express and make "sensorily perceptible", in the form of symbol, for the "purposive action of society". Turner provides the Ndembu term *ku-*

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[20] See discussions in: P. Buc, "Ritual and interpretation: the medieval case," *Early Medieval Europe* 9.2 (2000): 1-28; and K. Ashley and P. Scheingorn, "An Unsentimental View of Ritual in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6.1 (1992): 65-85.

[21] M. McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," *JÖB* 35 (1985): 1-21; and Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, 129.

[22] V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969); J. La Fontaine (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ritual* (London: Tavistock, 1972); C. Kluckhohn, "Myths and Rituals: A General Theory," *Harvard Theological Review* 35 (1942): 45-79; S. J. Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979): 113-169; S. Falk Moore and B. Myerhoff (eds.), *Secular Ritual* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977); and E. Leach, "Ritual Studies: Two Models," *Religious Studies Review* 2.4 (1976): 13-24.

[23] F. W. Clothey, *Rhythm and Intent: Ritual Studies from South India* (Bombay: Blackie and Son, 1983), 1-5.

[24] On processes of distinction for creating group identity, see: P. Bourdieu, *La Distinction: critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979); and W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.), *Strategies of distinction: the construction of ethnic communities, 300-800* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

solola, "to make appear, or reveal" as the purpose of ritual, which gives definition to a process or a state that is already present, but is made evident through a ritual act.[25] For Turner, a symbol is regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought.[26] Within this paradigm, ritual is a system of meanings, Turner writes: "I came to see performances of ritual as distinct phases in the social processes whereby groups became adjusted to internal changes and adapted to their external environment."[27] Through the performance of ritual, according to Turner, the structure and properties of a symbol become those of a dynamic entity.[28]

Transformation is a point of departure since it renders visible or "sensorily perceptible" a change of status, thereby demonstrating the efficacy of ritual. However, transformation also describes a broader conception of political action as the exercise of power in society and as a "system of social relations".[29] Dynamism in ritual can occur while appearing static. This is particularly the case when ritual and ceremony promote certain modes of governing, while keeping certain modes off limits.[30] The active ordering and organisation of society, as authoritative and God-given, can occur precisely while rituals and ceremonies relate immutability. Rituals are not immutable; instead ritual variability and modification can suit changing political circumstances. However, within a recognisable framework of cultural convention, modifications are never arbitrary, as Lewis observes: "In ritual as in art, he who devises or creates or performs is also spectator of what he does; and he who beholds it is also active in the sense that he interprets the performance. The value of ritual lies partly in this ambiguity of the active and passive for creator, performer, and beholder."[31] It is notable that, from this perspective, the enactment of ritual or the

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[25] V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 25.

[26] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, 176-177.

[27] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 20.

[28] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, 19-25.

[29] See: H. Arendt, *Qu'est-ce que la politique?*, (trans.) C. Widmaier, et al. (Paris: Le Seuil, [1995] 2014).

[30] See: D. Cannadine and S. Price (ed.), *Rituals of Royalty Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), introduction.

[31] G. Lewis, *Day of Shining Red: An Essay on Understanding Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 38.

shared knowledge of ritual is meant to provide a degree of unity within a structure of variation and disunity and to create or convey the unifying culture.[32]

ii.   Ritual: The Performative Domain

The performance of a given ritual involves the circumstances of its creation and the intent of the ritual performers. It also involves the elaboration of ritual media:[33] symbolic language of an ideal type that is interpreted or performed through the enactment of the ritual,[34] and involves the physical and material means of representation.[35]

Ritual has the primary role of rendering public the legitimate exercise of political authority.[36] The anthropologist David Kertzer laid the theoretical foundation for understanding rituals as mechanisms producing and maintaining solidarity through a constant process of renewal engendered by people acting together. On a functional level, he argues, rituals serve as symbolic tools enabling individuals to identify with political regimes and supporting rulers to legitimate themselves and to maintain their grasp on power.[37]

Externalisation through performance makes visible the invisible and gives definition to symbolic systems through their social enactment.[38] Normative performances that integrate various

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[32] For the obverse, see: J. L. Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and Primacy of Performance," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, (eds.) J. Watson and E. Rawski (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 1-19. Ritual variation within unity in Imperial China is demonstrated by disparate cultural elements in local burials that are instrumentalised by elites through media and enforced standardisation.

[33] R. Schechner and M. Schuman (eds.), *Ritual Play, and Performance. Readings in the Social Sciences/Theatre* (New York: Seabury Press: 1976), iv-xviii; Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, Turner writes that ritual symbols should be studied in a time series in relation to other events. Thus, the properties of a dominant ritual symbols can, simultaneously include an entity regarded "by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought" (19) as well as present the possibility of new meanings divorced from the immediately observable environment, since symbols are dynamic entities and can provoke "adjustment" to internal socio-political change by groups.

[34] See: P. Buckley Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[35] On the use of Ritual objects, see: J. Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), the Kuba, the Luba, and the Lunda empires; J. Tollebeek and M. Derez, *Mayombe: Ritual Sculptures from Congo* (Leuven: Lannoo Publishers/Racine, 2011). Both of these studies demonstrate the use of ritual objects in externalising a concept or ideology. Thus the object is not a likeness of the thing represented, rather, it is an interpretation by physical representation of the spirit of a common thing.

[36] Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale*, 19-20.

[37] See: D. I. Kertzer, *Rituals, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), and the review of M. S. Kimmel, *AJS* 94 (1989): 1272-1274.

[38] See: S. Price, "From noble funerals to divine cult: the consecration of Roman Emperors," in Cannadine and Price, 56-105. Price demonstrates that imperial funerals made evident and gave definition to a combination of pre-existing symbolic systems.

ritual elements display the notion of permanence and provide the scheme for ritual "correctness". The sociologist Mary Ann McGrath defined four basic factors that form the ritual arena: the use of ritual artefacts, the ritual script (written or oral), the ritual norm (a pedagogical model or an example), and the ritual meaning (the reason or importance of a ritual act or performance).[39] McGrath suggests that the efficacy and stability of the ritual are governed by these four factors and that the deviation or elimination of a "basic factor" leads to the subversion of an old ritual and the invention of a new ritual.[40] Subversion of ritual does not presuppose a conscious act and may respond to shifting historical, social, political, and economic circumstances, or it may represent an evolution due to appropriation of new symbols of power.

The performative dynamic has been criticised by Pilippe Buc whose appreciation of performance, based on the German intellectual tradition,[41] is that social units create or form through self-presentation in ritual. The suggestion here is that cultural practices involve a degree of consciousness and are a self-reflexive commentary on society as it really is.[42] There is a tension in the applicability of these methodologies to texts that produced imagined performances and relied on the creativity of medieval authors.[43] Buc strongly implies that the study of ritual is illegitimate, because of levels of reflexivity that govern the production of texts about medieval ritual practices as well as the study of these texts by modern historians.[44] In cultures that are only known to us through written and iconographic sources, access to ritual practices is limited. However, in opposition to Buc's assertions, by taking into account that we are working with a representation based on the

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[39] C. Otnes, M. Nelson, M. A. McGrath, "The Children's Birthday Party: A Study of Mothers as Socialization Agents," *Advances in Consumer Research* 22 (1995): 622-627.

[40] Otnes, Nelson, and McGrath, "The Children's Birthday Party," 627.

[41] Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, 228-229 and 253-255 on the influence of performance discussed by Ernst Kantorowicz and Clifford Geertz on Anglo-American medievalists. See also: A. Boureau, "Les cérémonies royales entre performance juridique et compétence liturgique," *Annales ESC* 46.6 (1991): 1253-1264.

[42] On reflexivity in social scientific theory, see: P. Bourdieu, *Invitation to a Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); V. Turner, "Dramatic Ritual/Ritual Drama: Performative and Reflexive Anthropology," *The Kenyon Review* 1.3 (1979): 80-93; and *idem*., "Social Dramas and Stories about Them," *Critical Inquiry* 7.1 (1980): 141-168. Clifford Geertz offers a discussion of ritual reflexivity in which ritual both reflects and acts, ritual both creates a model for society and creates society. Performance of rituals provides the image of a higher reality that reproduces downward, through mimesis, the social models, which rituals construct and represent, see: C. Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 3-30, esp. 27-30; *idem*., "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, (ed.) M. Banton (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 1-46; and V. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 117: "All rituals have this exemplary, model-displaying character; in a sense, they might be said to 'create' society."

[43] See the discussion on the "cultural 'givens' of the anthropologist [which] are all variables in the perspective of historians..." E. S. Rawski, "A Historian's Approach to Chinese Death Ritual," in Watson and Rawski, 20-37, esp. 20-21.

[44] For example, Bourdieu describes texts as already modelised (or models) meaning that structure acts as a smokescreen that shields practices from being apprehended, P. Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1980), 34-35, 135-142, 162-163.

cultural and political motivations of those who produced texts—and their relationships with the society they depicted—contextual elements gain relief and conclusions can be drawn about the political context in which these representations were produced.

iii.   Ritual: The Ideological Domain

The analysis of medieval texts and images requires the ideological shift from a position of contemporary modes of interpretation to the appreciation of different frameworks for cultural production. The role of ideology in both the production of medieval texts and images and the study of medieval artefacts is central in reconstructions of historical contexts in which literature and visual culture may have mirrored local practices/beliefs, or not at all.[45] Therefore, discerning medieval political culture, as evidenced by ritual and ceremony—which are categories elaborated by social-scientific theory and whose study largely derives from social-scientific methodologies— requires the limitation of overdetermined analysis, forced harmonisation with social-scientific models, the attribution of reflexive mentalities, and the decoupage of medieval source material to respond to pre-determined categories of analysis.[46]

The internal ideology of medieval sources also limits the interpretation of the symbolic as reflective of social and political realities. For example, Janet Nelson cautions the reader of the early medieval *ordines*, which should be dealt with as a series of symbols that express the continuity and integration of society through kingship because of their highly prescriptive and hieratic nature rather than as "juristic texts" that provide arguments about real conflicts between hierocratic and theocratic claims.[47] Medieval authors were not anthropologists and did not simply record what they observed. In producing historiographic texts,[48] medieval authors demonstrated a degree of invention in the retelling of events, while adhering to the boundaries of literary genre as well as the prescribed norms for the treatment and shaping of information about historical events and their protagonists. Geoffrey Koziol writes about the depiction of the ritual of supplication and observes that texts were forces in the practice of power since they interpreted political realities and endowed them with

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[45] Ideology is central in the debate about medieval Orthopraxy vs. Orthodoxy, see: P. Buc, "Political Rituals and Political Imagination in the Medieval West, 4th-11th centuries," in *The Medieval World*, (eds.) J. Nelson and P. Linehan (London: Routledge, 2001), 189-213.

[46] See: P. Buc, "Political Ritual: Medieval and Modern Interpretations," *EME* 9.2 (2000): 183-210; and *idem., Dangers of Ritual*, 226-227.

[47] J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 329-339.

[48] Although this can also be true for hagiographic, epideictic, edificatory, and homiletic texts depending on the context of their production.

meaning.[49] Texts written even a little after the events they represented provided proleptic arguments, and sought to shape the past in response to current demands—those of a favoured camp—or to create coherent narratives in order to demonstrate that events followed a providential path and/or to respond to a political imperative.[50] The texts of early Rus' are not outliers to these observations and present the same ideological problems based on the culture that produced them. However, the specific conditions of textual production in early Rus', particularly the annalistic chronicles of Rus', require a digression before this study proceeds to a critical evaluation of their content.

iv.   Textological survey of sources

The chronicles of Rus' are the first historiographic documents to relate the historical development of Rus' polities in the form of a compilation of annalistic entries of heterogenous character and varying provenance. The chronicles of early Rus' are assembled in compendia of textual sources that contain divergent narratives based on their geographical focus. Within these compendia, chronologically determined sections are formed based on convention, context, and distinction rather than authorship. For example, the *Povest' vremennykh let* (*PVL*), contained in both the Laurentian and Hypatian manuscripts, provides documentation about the internal affairs of the Rus' principalities, contacts between Rus' and various local tribes, and international relations between Rus' and its neighbours. In annalistic form, the *PVL* traditionally covers history from Biblical times to the 9th century (relying on the Slavonic translation of Byzantine chronographic material)[51] and the period from 852 to the second decade of the 12th century. The chronological limit of the *PVL* is constructed based on the textual divergence in the first decades of the 12th century at which point, after the year 1110, the Laurentian manuscript includes a document known as the *Pouchenie Vladimira Monomakha*[52] followed by a narrative known as the Vladimir-Suzdalian Chronicle because of its geographic emphasis on the north-eastern principality of Vladimir-Suzdal'. The Hypatian manuscript diverges from the Laurentian at the year 1113 when it

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[49] Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, 305-307.

[50] See: R. McKitterick, "The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals," *English Historical Review* 460 (2000): 1-20, discussing the limits of Carolingian accounts of papal involvement in the dynastic change of 751-54; and Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 242.

[51] See: V. M. Istrin, *Khronika Georgia Amartola v drevnem slavianorusskom perevode* (Leningrad: Akademii Nauk, 1920-1922), 348-363.

[52] A. Gippius, "Sochinenia Vladimira Monomakha. Opyt tekstologicheskoi rekonstruktsii," *Russkii iazyk v nauchnom osveshchenii* 2 (2004): 144-169.

continues with an extensive narrative of the 12th century competition for the throne of Kiev with some excursus to events in Novgorod and Vladimir-Suzdal' after the mid-12th century.[53] At the year 1200, there is significant narrative shift to events occurring in the region of Galicia-Volhynia during the Mongol incursions.[54] The *PVL* is unique in that it includes the fullest account of the "origins" of Rus' and is initially structured according to Byzantine notions of chronography.[55] The regional chronicles are generally more restricted in breadth, detail, and chronology.[56] The *PVL* is perhaps the most complex of the chronicles in terms of narrative breadth, intertextuality, and textology.

The chronicles of Rus', particularly the *PVL*, have been the objects of linguistic, textological, and historical analyses, and yet they still pose a problem to those who wish to employ them as historical witnesses due to their compilatory and heterogenous form and the posteriority of their earliest manuscript witnesses. This thesis relies heavily on the chronicles of Rus' as the basis for the historical narrative and cultural representations of the 11th and 12th centuries in early Rus'. The following overview discusses the study of early Rus' chronicles and presents my approach to working with the chronicles as historical documents.

All manuscript copies of the chronicles are part of larger chronicle compilations. Consequently, the earliest publications of individual chronicles were derived from larger chronicle compilations. There are five main chronicle recensions of the *PVL* (if the Nikon Chronicle and Voskresenskii Chronicle are accepted as being derivative):[57]

1. Laurentian (RNB. F.IV.2), dated to 1377 (*Laur*, L): includes the *PVL* and Vladimir-Suzdalian chronicles;

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[53] See: O. P. Likhacheva, "Letopis' Ipat'evskaia," in "Issledovatel'skie materialy dlia 'Slovaria knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi' (drevenrusskie letopisi i khroniki)," *TODRL* 39 (1985): 123-128; see also: V. Iu. Franchuk, *Kievskaia letopis': sostav i istochniki v lingvisticheskom osveshchenii* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1986).

[54] O. Pritsak, *The Old Rus' Kievan and Galician-Volhynian chronicles: the Ostroz'kyj (Xlebnikov) and Četvertyns'kyj (Pogodin) codices* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), introduction; and D. Worth, "Linguistics and Historiography. A Problem of Dating in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle," *Indiana Slavic Studies* 3 (1964): 173-185.

[55] See: C. Mango, "The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography," *HUS* 12/13, Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine (1988/1989): 360-372.

[56] For example, the Pskov Chronicle, which covers the 13th century in Pskov, but is probably a later production with, at least, the second half of the chronicle clearly being a later interpolation, see: H.-J. Grabmüller, *Die Pskover Chroniken: Untersuchungen zur russischen Regionalchronistik im 13.-15. Jahrhundert*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975); for another view: D. S. Likhachev, V. L. Ianin, and Ia. S. Lur'e, "Podlinnyie i mnimyie voprosy metodologii izucheniia russkikh letopisei," *VI* 8 (1973): 194-203. The question of later interpolation will come up later, but it is a complex issue since texts that are clearly later productions include amplified narratives for the early period that are tempting to use to flesh out scantier early chronicles. However, this temptation should be avoided since such amplified narratives often provide more information about the period of their production than the period they recount, for example, the narrative of the Nikon Chronicle. See the comments of Ostrowski in *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304-1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 147-149.

[57] See: D. Ostrowski, "The Nacal'nyj Svod Theory and the *Povest' vremennykh let*," *RL* 31 (2007): 269-308.

2. Radziwill (BAN, 34.5.30), datable to the 1490s (*Radz*, R);

3. Academy (RGB, MDA 5-182), dated to end of 15ᵗʰ cent. (*Acad*, A);

4. Hypatian (BAN, 16.4.4), dated to ca. 1495 (*Hypa*, H): includes the *PVL*, Kievan, and Galician-Volhynian chronicles;

5. Khlebnikov (RNB, F.IV.230), dated to the 16ᵗʰ cent (*Khle*, Kh);

6. Pogodin (RNB, Pogodin 1401), dated to the early 17ᵗʰ cent. (*Pogo*, P);

7. The three copies of the younger redaction of the Novgorod Chronicle (Novg.1) are: 1. Commission (Komissionyi) (*Comm*, K); 2. Academy (Akademicheskii) (*NAca*, Ak); 3. Tolstoi (Tolstovoi) (*Tols*, T)

The compilation and copying of chronicles after the medieval period occurred under Peter the Great in 1722 and was taken up by Gerhard Friedrich Müller (*Sammlung russicher Geschichte*) in 1732. The publication of the Radziwill (Königsberg) Chronicle was undertaken in 1761 and August Ludwig Schlözer worked on a German edition of the chronicles in his *Probe russischer Annalen* (in Bremen and Göttingen) in 1768. In 1834, the *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (*PSRL*) was begun and its first volume appeared in 1846, constituting the first edition of the complete Laurentian text through to the year 1305. The presentation of the chronicle and the choice of temporal and narrative breaks have been a matter of debate amongst philologists and editors of the chronicle. Donald Ostrowski outlines successful attempts at an edition of the chronicles in Russia in the introduction to his *paradosis* of the *PVL*.[58] He mentions Berednikov's 1946 edition of the Laurentian text—divided between the *PVL*, through 1110; and the continuation of the Laurentian Chronicle, after 1110—as an effective division of the narrative of the *PSRL*.[59] In 1864, Vakhilevich's published text of the *PVL*, known as the "Chronicle of Nestor" included the text of the *PVL* up through the year 1113, following the Hypatian line.[60] Vakhilevich created a composite text based on the various copies of the chronicle without providing the principles for his editorial decisions.[61] In 1926, Karskii provided a second edition of the first volume (of the Laurentian copy) for the *PSRL*. He maintained Berednikov's repartition for the division of the text into *PVL* and non-*PVL* sections. Shakhmatov, in his 1908 (second) edition of *PSRL* incorporated the Hypatian copy in its full text,

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[58] D. Ostrowski, "Introduction," in *The* Povest' vremennykh let *An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis*, (eds.) D. Ostrowski, D. Birnbaum, and H. Lunt, xxi-xxv.

[59] Berednikov altered his edition based on all of the extant copies of the text in order to create a "pure" version.

[60] A. A. Shakhmatov, "Predislovie," *PSRL* 2, 2nd edn, iii–xvi, li-liii.

[61] Ostrowski, "Introduction," xxi.

without separating the *PVL* from the non-*PVL* sections. Furthermore, Shakhmatov assigned an independent value to the Hypatian branch.[62] Likhachev revised Shakhmatov's methodology in 1950, describing it as "mechanistic textology" and adopted the methods of Bychkov and Karskii, using the Laurentian branch as the copy text, and altering it according to the Academy and Radziwill copies.[63] The 1926 edition of the *PSRL* (edited by Karskii) is considered—in all probability—as the best printed edition of the Laurentian text, although Müller's *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik* demonstrates that many of the potential readings of this text were not recorded or was recorded incorrectly leaving literally thousands of problematic readings for the base text of the *PVL*.[64]

Shakhmatov and Likhachev developed stemmata to show the relationships between the different copies of the *PVL*, but not to determine the primacy of readings found in the various copies of the chronicle.[65] Shakhmatov proposed a stemma with three redactions of the *PVL* and suggested, rather contentiously, that none of the existing manuscripts followed the primary (or base) redaction of the *PVL*. Shakhmatov had previously postulated two redactions (one from 1116 and another from 1118) deriving directly from the primary redaction composed of textual material from Kiev and Novgorod.[66] In his 1940 stemma (see below), Shakmatov prioritised readings of the Laurentian-Radziwill-Academy copies over the Hypatian-Khlebnikovski-Pogodin copies of the chronicle.[67] Shakhmatov determined that the Laurentian-Radziwill-Academy copies contain material from which the third redaction is derived, but testify more closely to second redaction material, which is closer to the primary compilation of the chronicle. The Hypatian-Khlebnikovski-Pogodin copies, which more closely abide by the third redaction, were treated as derivative. Shakhmatov's approach was to compare the readings of *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'* (*NPL*) and the Compilation of 1448

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[62] Shakhmatov, "Predislovie," lii-lix. Adopting readings from both the Laurentian and the Hypatian lines, he followed Bychkov's methodology and employed the Academy and Radziwill texts as the control copies closest to the Laurentian text (favouring the Laurentian over the Hypatian branch).

[63] Priority is here given to the Academy and Radziwill copies over the Hypatian copy as a basis for modifying the Laurentian copy text.

[64] See: J. Fennell's observations in his review of the work in *SEER* 57.1 (1979): 123-124. See also: L. Müller, (ed.), *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, vol. 5 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1977–1983).

[65] D. Ostrowski, "Principles of Editing the *PVL*," *Paleoslavica* 7 (1999): 5-25; "Textual Criticism and the *PVL*: Some Theoretical Considerations," *HUS* 5 (1981): 11-31.

[66] See: A. A. Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnikh svodakh* (Petrograd: M. A. Aleksandrovna, 1908), 530-538.

[67] See: Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol. 1, 330-334.

in order to determine the composition of a lost text, which he called the *Nachal'nyi svod* (the primary or base compilation) of the text of the *PVL*.[68]

Figure 4. Shakhmatov's Stemma
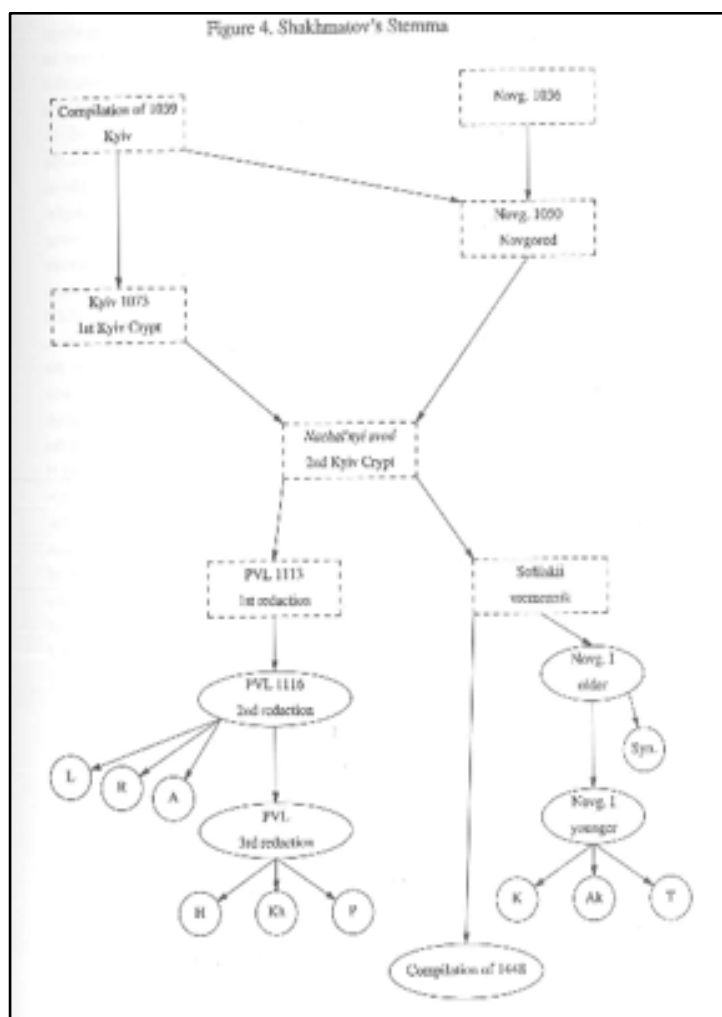
Shakhmatov devolved the *PVL* into its constituent parts and he presented the *NPL* as containing the oldest version of the *PVL* because of the relative lack of references to extraneous (Byzantine) material. Shakhmatov, in his introduction to the *PVL*,[69] which I will summarise here, traces the textual history of the *PVL* back to a hypothetical compilation dating from 1095 (*Nachal'nyi svod*). Shakhmatov believed that the establishment of the Kiev metropolitanate in 1039 inspired the composition of a chronicle text that he designates as the "drevneishii kievskii svod". This version of the chronicle included sources based on local traditions preserved in the *byliny* and other texts of local interest.[70] It is only from the reign of Iaroslav Vladimirich (after 1039) that the text of the *PVL* is based on reliable sources prepared at the Kievan Caves Monastery. The 1073 text constitutes the *pervyi Kievo-Pecherskii svod*, considered to have been a copy of the 1039 text, to which the account of Vladimir Iaroslavich's expedition against Byzantium (1043) was added. The later section, beginning with the account of the death of Iaroslav (1054), represents an account based on

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[68] D. Ostrowski, "Textual Criticism and the *Povest' vremennykh let*: Some Theoretical Considerations," *HUS* 5 (1981): 11-31, 15-20; and Ostrowski's comments on Shakhmatov's stemma in: "Introduction," xxxiv-xxxvi.

[69] Ostrowski, "Introduction," i-xxx.

[70] This is entirely hypothetical since it is impossible to prove that a significant amount of "native" or "local" literature was lost in Rus' before the first redaction of the *PVL*. V. M Istrin, based on a derivation of Shakhmatov's theory, believed that George Hamartolos's text (until the year 948) provided the constituent material for the first years of the *PVL* (until the reign of Iaroslav). See: *Khronika Georgia Amartola*, 348-363.

contemporary data produced by the compiler.[71] Shakhmatov's *Nachal'nyi svod* of 1095 imposed a primacy of readings based on the homogeneity of branches and the primacy of the Laurentian branch along with the *NPL* as a control text. The *Nachal'nyi svod* theory has several contemporary partisans, most notably, Gippius,[72] Nazarenko,[73] Timberlake,[74] Tvorogov,[75] and Müller;[76] while others, such as Vilkul[77] and Ostrowski have questioned this methodology and Ostrowski has proposed an alternate stemma.[78]

Partisans of the *Nachal'nyi svod* theory base their stemmata on the agreements between the Laurentian text with the Younger Redaction of the *NPL*, since this reading derives from the archetype of the *PVL* and, by extension, of the *Nachal'nyi svod*. Ostrowski contends that the Novgorod redaction contaminates the Laurentian branch and that the Hypatian branch is, in fact, contaminating the Radziwill-Academy branch. These considerations are based on a reading of scribal errors from intermediary copies and raises the methodological query as to whether scribes copied text blindly or consciously edited as they copied. Timberlake writes that a chronicler could edit the existing text or add texts from various other sources.[79] Furthermore, Timberlake assumes that the scribe would have been an individual invested with the task of compiling the chronicle and acted not only as an annalist, but as compiler and copyist as well.

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[71] Shakhmatov, *Istoriia russkogo letopisaniia*. Shakhmatov attributes to Nikon authorship of the article on the foundation of the Caves Monastery appearing in the Laurentian copy under the year 1051. He considers, however, that in the text of 1073 this article appeared under 1062, the year in which the monastery was actually founded, though in later redactions the item was shifted back to 1051 to connect it with the death of the metropolitan Ilarion. The redaction of 1073 was later supplemented by the familiar account of the death of Theodosius and by annalistic accretions that carry its content to 1093.

[72] A. A. Gippius, "O kritike teksta i novom perevode-rekonstruktsii 'Povesti vremennykh let'," *RL* 26 (2002): 63–126.

[73] A. V. Nazarenko, "Novyi trud izvestnogo slavista. K vykhodu v svet nemetskogo perevoda *Povesti vremennykh let* L. Mjullera," *Slavianovedenie* 2 (2002): 128–139.

[74] A. Timberlake, "Redactions of the Primary Chronicle," *Russkii iazyk v nauchnom osveshchenii* 1.1 (2001): 196–218. Provides a simplified stemma.

[75] O. V. Tvorogov, "Povest' vremennykh let i Nachal'nyi svod. Tekstologickeskii kommentarii," *TODRL* 30 (1976): 3-26; and *idem*. (ed.), "Povest' vremennykh let," in *Pamiatniki literatury drevnei Rusi. Nachalo russkoi literatury XI–nachalo XII veka* (Moscow: Khudozh., 1978), introduction.

[76] Müller, *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, vol. 2, iii-vi.

[77] T. Vilkul, "O proiskhozhdenii obshchego teksta Ipat'evskoi i Lavrent'evskoi letopisi za XII v. (predvaritel'nye zametki)," *Palaeoslavica* 13.1 (2005): 21-80.

[78] Ostrowski, "Introduction," xxxviii-xxxix, fig. 7. Closer to Bugoslavskii's stemma.

[79] Timberlake, "Redactions of the Primary Chronicle," 196–198.

The methodological divergence between Ostrowski—shared with Picchio[80] and Goldblatt[81]—and Shakhmatov and his proponents, is the evaluation of the conditions of compilation that would be determinant in establishing a primacy of readings. Shakhmatov evaluated the genesis of the various branches of the *PVL* in terms of four "editorial events" from the 1090s to the 1110s. An "editorial event" corresponds to the action of either compiling or actively contributing to the set text of the chronicle. These "editorial events" were "punctual events in which editorial operations were applied to self-contained texts: a single lineage of text might be edited (redaktsiia) or heterogeneous source texts might be compiled (svod)."[82]

Timberlake has suggested that chronicle passages could have been composed, edited, compiled, interpolated, or copied over the course of the same editorial event or redaction by a chronicler or scribe, thereby converging writing and copying.[83] Picchio draws attention to writing activity as an act separate from authorship and emphasises that Slavonic scribes had the freedom to make any change to any text thereby creating an "open tradition" of textual transmission.[84] Only texts connected with a widely respected *traditio auctoris* or *traditio auctoritatis* were copied with no intentional alteration (for example, Holy Scripture, the works of the Fathers of the Church and other sacred texts related to Christian revelation).[85]

v.   *Tekstologiia* or *Textkritik*? A short note on editing practices

In his introduction to the *PVL*, Ostrowski wrote that the main obstacle to editing a base text for the *PVL* has been the divergent principles governing textology and its practices.[86] The two principal methods of text editing were defined as *tekstologiia* (textology in the sense put forth by the

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[80] R. Picchio, "Compilation and Composition: Two Levels of Authorship in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition," *Cyrillomethodianum* 5 (1981): 1-4.

[81] H. Goldblatt, "Confessional and National Identity in Early Muscovite Literature: The Discourse on the Life and Death of Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi," in *Culture and Identity in Moscovy, 1359-1584*, (eds.) A. M. Kleimola and G. D. Lenhoff (Moscow: ITZ-Garant, 1997), 84-119.

[82] Timberlake, "Redactions of the Primary Chronicle," 196.

[83] Timberlake, "Redactions of the Primary Chronicle," 196-197.

[84] Picchio, "Compilation and Composition," 3.

[85] Picchio, "Compilation and Composition," 3; and W. Veder, "Elementary Compilation in Slavic," *Cyrillomethodianum* 5 (1981): 49-66. The basic textual units from larger compilations were useful because of their "segmentability." Early compilations provided the possibility of extricating components and applying them elsewhere. Therefore, early compilations contained a large number of collated pieces of information that could be redistributed in other texts based on the needs of an author.

[86] Ostrowski, "Introduction," 29.

formalist critic Tomashevskii and Likhachev's use of it in defining Russian literary criticism) and textual criticism (tekstkritik).[87] The principles of textology (applied to the editing of the *PVL*), which were elaborated and applied in Russia (imperial, Soviet, and post-Soviet), have a different genealogy from textual criticism developed during the Renaissance when the Humanists sought to determine the base texts for Greek and Roman writers.[88] The techniques used by the Humanists in setting a base text for classical works that had been preserved according to various manuscript traditions and translated into various languages over centuries, largely drew their methods from the work of scholars who sought to establish the text of the Bible.

Russian and Soviet scholars, in their attempt to create readable text, did not necessarily report all substantive textual variants. Therefore, the editions they produced allowed no contention of the text presented by the editor, as there was neither any discussion of the principles of text editing nor a presentation of textual variants from other manuscript traditions. The edition of a text was, in effect, a hypothetical exemplar. Likhachev argued that the concept of a copy text (osnovnoi tekst) had been misunderstood by his contemporaries, and that the copy text had often been confused with the source text. This meant that the artificially determined copy text (the manuscript from a single tradition determined to be the best exemplar of the fictitious base text) was presented as the source reading of a chronicle.[89] Likhachev stated that the selection of a copy text is made based on its content (po sostavu); however, he did not expound on the appropriate procedure in cases where the editor would have to choose the substantive readings of a passage, such as where an author's meaning, orthography, punctuation, word-division, and the formal presentation of a passage was affected by multiple readings.[90] For example, the Laurentian branch presents an idiosyncratic orthography reflecting the archaising tendencies of copyists,[91] while the Hypatian branch includes interpolations and expansions that deviate from the artificially determined base text for the

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[87] See: D. S. Likhachev, "O nekotorykh neotlozhnykh zadachakh spetsial'nykh filologicheskikh distsiplin," *Vestnik AN SSSR* 4 (1976): 64-72, 69.

[88] See: G. P. Norton (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism: The Renaissance*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 66-77. The transmission of Horace's *Ars poetica* examines the shift from commentary to textual criticism through the study of textual interrelation (Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, and Aristotle). The methods employed by humanist scholars such as Johannes Strum (1576) evolved from the explanatory mode of grammarians to "analytical and categorising methodologies", leading to the development of specialist techniques.

[89] D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiia na materiale russkoi literatury X-XVII vv.*, 2nd edn (Leningrad: Nauka, 1983), 495–496. See: Ostrowski, "Introduction," 39-40. Ostrowski objects to Likhachev's assertion by stating that Likhachev himself confused his copy text with the source text by making changes to the text of the Laurentian copy. In Ostrowski's opinion, Karski's edition and the lithographic reproduction of 1872 are much closer to the true text of the Laurentian copy than Likhachev's edition.

[90] Likhachev, *Tekstologiia*, 86.

[91] R and A include a late 15th cent. spelling, Kh includes 16th cent. spelling and H reflects the spelling of 1425 (the year it was copied and reworked), see: Likhachev, *Tekstologiia*, 51, 176–177.

chronicle. However, through the identification and examination of these modifications, it has been demonstrated that the text presented by the Hypatian branch is not entirely derivative and may include textual deviations that represent the source text of the chronicle, which were subsequently removed or modified.[92]

There are many considerations that should be taken into account when dealing with the textual sources of early Rus'. The case of the chronicles gains particular relief due to the geographical diversity of manuscript copies, divergent principles of copying, and historical distance between manuscript witnesses and "authorial texts". However, by bearing in mind certain principles of editing, the content of the stemma, the confluence (or contamination) of later interpolations, and the choice of control text in relation to cited examples, a textual reading can be provided on the basis of critical and philological considerations.[93] In my opinion, the assumption that "correct" readings can be derived is erroneous; rather, "more correct" or "more plausible" readings can be deduced where variants are in evidence and where there is disagreement between readings due to contextual elements. These are the principles that I have applied to the passages I have edited for this study. Since this study mainly cites from the Kievan Chronicle and Vladimir-Suzdalian Chronicle, which have fewer manuscript witnesses, the circumstances of major textual corruption, variation, and interpolation are somewhat mitigated. I attempt to note where the text is marked by possible interpolation and present parallel passages or note alternate readings where varying accounts are provided. If variant readings of a passage alter its context and meaning, I present the variants; and where textual variants obviously provide a more grammatical reading of the text, they are noted along with their manuscript witness. To allow for better comprehension and presentation, I have

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[92] A. A. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie russkikh letopisnykh svodov XIV-XVI vv* (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1938), 93–94; and Bugoslavskii, "'Povest' vremennykh let' (spiski, redaktsii, pervonachal'nyi tekst)," in *Starinnaia russkaia povest': Stat'i i issledovania*, (ed.) N. K Gudzii (Moscow and Leningrad: Izd. Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1941), 7–37, esp. 21-28. Bugoslavskii writes that when confronted with the longer reading of a section that exists as a shorter reading elsewhere, the shorter reading should be favoured since the antigraph provides the basis on which to create extensions of the text. This position is confronted by Alan Timberlake who suggests that it is entirely possible for "a textual tradition to enrich an inherited text", but that Bugoslavskii's examples present passages and phrases that are usually lost in transmission rather than added on by a scribe. See: Timberlake, "Redactions of the Primary Chronicle," 214. This line of reasoning correlates with Ostrowski's principles for copying probabilities in the transmission of the *PVL*: a longer reading should be selected over a shorter reading in cases of scribal haplography, evidence of unintentional deletion, and intentional deletion due to dittography; and in cases where the common longer reading is attested to in diverse geographic areas. However, Ostrowski disagrees with Timberlake regarding his evaluation of Bugoslavskii's examples. See: Ostrowski, "The Nacal'nyj Svod Theory," 292-293. Meanwhile, Gippius disagrees with the principle that, when no other factors are involved, shorter readings are to be preferred to longer readings. He argues that in chronicle copying the copyists equally expanded and contracted the text: "Кажется очевидным, что к летописям этот принцип критики библечских текстов не применим: летопись - не Священное писание, и текст ее был в равное степени подвержен сокращениям и распространениям при переписке и редактуре." Gippius, "O kritike teksta," (120).

[93] See methodological considerations of: Vilkul, "O proishozhdenii obshchego teksta Ipatievskoi i Lavrentievskoi letopisi," 172; and D. Ostrowski, "Scribal Practices and Copying Probabilities in the Transmission of the Text of the *Povest' vremmenykh let,*" *Palaeoslavica* 13.2 (2005): 48-77, esp. 48-49.

updated the orthography and introduced a modern system of punctuation. My catalogue of translated passages is found in the supplementary material; footnotes referring to a translation in the catalogue are indicated by bold font as are all figures referring to the catalogue of images. Five comprehensive genealogical tables of the branches of the Riurikid Dynasty are provided in the supplementary material and the princes of Kiev are highlighted in bold font. Finally, any mistakes with regards to the parsing, editing, and translation of the passages I cite, are purely my own.

CHAPTER I

Ceremonies of Inauguration

abusua bako mogya bako (one clan one blood)
Ashanti kinship proverb

The literate clergy of Kievan Rus' portrayed ceremonies of inauguration in the chronicles of Rus'. The chronicle accounts suggest that such ceremonies were made visible to other princes, the people of Kiev and the subjects of other polities, the clergy, and foreign dignitaries through processions to the church of St. Sophia—along with analogous churches in other cities—where the prince was enthroned on his "ancestral" seat. The enthronements of new rulers are represented in the chronicles of Rus', beginning in the 11th century.[94] These enthronements differ from the highly structured ceremonies of inauguration at Constantinople[95] and from the circumscribed rituals elaborated by the Church for the emergent societies of the post-Roman world.[96]

Historians have largely focussed on the theoretical system(s) of succession in Rus', to make sense of increasingly complicated configurations for the succession of princes to the throne of Kiev, *inter alia*. The two parameters of this question have been: firstly, a historical focus on defining a

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[94] For the 11th century, the main sources are: the *NPL* and the *PVL*. The main source for the 12th and 13th centuries in Rus' is the Hypatian Chronicle, which is the base text for this chapter. The text used is that of *PSRL* 2, cols. 264-715; the much shorter Laurentian Chronicle (*PSRL* 1, cols. 289-437) is also employed where it adds to or differs from the text of the Hypatian.

[95] For a brief introduction, see: G. A. Ostrogorskii, "Evoliutsiia vizantiiskogo obriada koronovaniia," in *Vizantiia iuzhnye slaviane i Drevniaia Rus' zapadnaia Evropa. Iskusstvo i kul'tura. Sbornik statei v chest' V. N. Lazareva*, (eds.) V. N. Grashchenkov, T. B. Kniazevskaia, et al., (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), 32-43; P. Yannopoulos, "Le couronnement de l'empereur à Byzance: Rituel et fond institutionnel," *Byzantion* 61 (1991): 71-93; D. M. Nicol, "*Kaisersalbung*. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *BMGS* 2 (1976): 37-52; and A. Beihammer, "Comnenian imperial succession and the ritual world of Niketas Choniates' *Chronike Diegesis*," in Beihammer, Constantinou, and Parani, 159-202.

[96] For an overview see: J. L. Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, (ed.) J. L. Nelson (London: Hambledon, 1986), 259-283; and A. J. Duggan (ed.), *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe* (London: Kings College Press, 1993).

system of succession and the political order that it legitimates[97] and, secondly, an anthropological analysis of the system of succession with a focus on possible Turkic or Steppe influences.[98] The studies in the previous category have all sought to provide a basic order to the increasingly complicated dynastic configurations, constantly evolving and adapting succession conventions, and the contentions that arose. Attempts to determine a political ideology have focussed on the role of "testaments" and "princely councils" in rationalising succession.[99] Occasionally, the problem of defining "regular succession" in early Rus' has led to an overdetermined analysis of certain chronicle accounts, such as the so-called "Iaroslav's Testament" of 1054[100] or the so-called Liubech "conference" of 1097.[101] Reconstructions of the Riurikid system of succession have focussed on genealogical seniority and its eminence in the resolutions of internecine conflicts in the 11th and 12th centuries. Seniority provided the basis for the theory of "collateral succession" wherein men passed the throne from brother to brother, then across to cousins, before moving to nephews in the next generation so that princes would succeed collaterally from the eldest eligible line to the youngest.[102] However, with the proliferation of descendants, dynastic branches, younger nephews, cousins, and second cousins, the system either encountered opposition from within, or it adapted to a changing political environment in the 12th century.[103] Any attempt to rationalise a veritable "system of succession" in early Rus' encounters problems due to cultural overdetermination of source material, omitted or contradictory information in the chronicle accounts, *ex post facto* legitimisation of succession outcomes, and the chronicles' focus on certain ancestral seats and the exclusion of

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[97] See: S. Solov'ev, "O rodovykh otnosheniiakh mezhdu kniaz'iami drevnei Rusi," *Moskovskii uchenyi i literaturnyi sbornik* 1 (1846): 203-215; A. D. Stokes, "The System of Succession to the Thrones of Russia, 1054-1113," in *Gorski Vijenac*, (eds.) R. Auty, L. R. Lewitter, and A. P. Vlasto (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 268-275.

[98] See: A. V. Nazarenko, "Rodovoi siuzerenitet Riurikovichei nad Rus'iu (X-XI vv.)," *DGTSSSR* (1986): 149-157; P. Golden, "'Ascent by Scales': The System of Succession in Kievan Rus' in a Eurasian Context," in *States, Societies, Cultures: East and West. Essays in Honour of Iaroslav Pelenski*, (ed.) J. Duzinkiewicz (New York: Ross Publishing, 2004); D. Ostrowski, "Systems of Succession in Rus' and Steppe Societies," *Ruthenica* 11 (2012): 29-58; and O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, vol. 1. *Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 25, 28, 582.

[99] D. E. Collins, "Early Russian *topoi* of deathbed and testament," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, (eds.) M. Flier and D. Rowland (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 134-159; M. Dimnik, "The "Testament" of Iaroslav "The Wise": A Re-examination," *CSP* 29.4 (1987): 369-386; A. V. Nazarenko, "Vladimir Monomakh i kievskoe stolonasledie: traditsiia i popytka reformi" *DGVE* 9 (2004): 383-403, A. S. Shchav'lev, "K voprosu o pervom s"ezde kniazei Riurikovichei," in *Iaroslav Mudryi i ego epokha*, (eds.) I. N. Danilevskii and E. A. Mel'nikova (Moscow: Indrik, 2008), 68-78; and I. N. Danilevskii, "Zarozhdenie gosudarstvennoi ideologii v Drevnei Rusi," in *ibidem*., 134-153.

[100] *PVL* 1, 170-171, see: Franklin and Shepard, *Emergence of Rus'*, 245-248.

[101] *PSRL* 1, col. 164, see: T. Vilkul, "Izvestie "Povesti vremennykh let" o Liubechskom sneme 1097 g.: Interpretatsii i oshibochnye chteniia," *Slavianovedenie* 2 (2009): 16-24.

[102] A. P. Tolochko, *Kniaz' v drevnei Rusi: vlast' sobstvennost' ideologiia* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1992), 22-66.

[103] N. S. Kollmann, "Collateral Succession in Kievan Rus'," *HUS* 14 (1990): 377-387.

others. An unsatisfying observation that can be safely made about succession, based on chronicle accounts, is that certain polities developed and maintained a form of collateral succession that functioned until the 13th century, such as Kiev; while others developed a loose form of lineal succession, such as Vladimir-Suzdal' and Galicia-Volhynia. Finally, competition for the throne of Kiev dominates the narrative of the Kievan Chronicle, but it becomes apparent that the central place of Kiev was contested by nascent centres of power in the north-east and south-west by the mid-12th century.

Besides formal analysis of the institutionalisation of succession to the throne of Kiev and other princely seats, analysis of the political vocabulary of early Rus' has led to the question of titulature. The meaning and use of the title *kniaz* and that of *veliki kniaz* have been extensively studied, discussed, and contested.[104] The titulature of the princes of Rus' remains stable in the chronicles and, with the exception of the use of *kagan* for Vladimir Sviatoslavich,[105] and the use of the honorific *veliki kniaz* as a rhetorical embellishment,[106] *kniaz* is indiscriminately attributed to all princes in the sources of early Rus' regardless of where or whether they had been enthroned. Therefore, if a hierarchy of principalities did exist, it was not reflected in the titulature of the princes of Rus'. Likewise, the ambivalent use of *kniaz*, attributed to all princes of the Riurikid dynasty, demonstrates that if a change of status—of seniority or of prestige—did occur at the time of enthronement in Kiev (or elsewhere), it was not reflected through titulature.

By contrast, the ritual elements of the inaugurations themselves (when they are described) have not been substantially analysed even though some studies suggest that such rituals were a

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[104] On titulature in early Rus', see: I. Isaievych, "On the Titulature of Rulers in Eastern Europe," *JUS* 29.1-2 (2004): 219-244; V. Vodoff, "Remarques sur la valeur du terme 'tsar' appliqué aux princes russes avant le milieu du XVe siècle," *OSP* 11 (1978), 1-41; V. Vodoff, *Princes et principautés russes: Xe-XVIIe siècles* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989).
   For the translation of the title *kniaz* in other languages in the Medieval period, see: E. Patlagean, "Nommer les russes en grec, 1081-1204," in *Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo: Nuovi Studi Storici* 17 (Rome: S. W. Swierkosz-Lenart, Nella Sede Dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1992), 123-143; A. V. Soloviev, "'Reges' et 'Regnum Russiae au Moyen Âge," *Byzantion* 36 (1966): 144-173; and for a revisionist perspective on the modern understanding of the title *kniaz*, see: C. Raffensperger, "The Forgotten Kingdom of Rus': A Modern Revision to Medieval Titulature," (forthcoming).

[105] There are two known references to the title *kagan* for Vladimir: one is from the encomiastic portion of Ilarion's sermon, see: *Slovo*, 91 (fol.184b); the other is grafitto from the Kievan St. Sophia, see: S. A. Vysotskii, *Drevnerusskie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoi XI-XIV vv., vypusk* 1 (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1966), no. 13, 49-52.

[106] Tolochko, *Kniaz' v drevnei Rusi*, 127-135; A. Poppe, "On the Title of the Grand Prince in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*," *HUS* 3-4.2 (1979-80), 684-689. The outlier is Martin Dimnik who suggests that the title was used regularly by the ruler of Kiev from Iaroslav the Wise forward. M. Dimnik, "The Title 'Grand Prince' in Kievan Rus'," *Mediaeval Studies* 66 (2004), 253-312. There is substantial scholarship on this matter, covered by Tolochko and Poppe. Tolochko suggests that the title referred to the senior member of the kindred, utilising non-chronicle sources, while Poppe believes that the title had a panegyric value, see: Tolochko, *Kniaz' v drevnei Rusi*, 133; and Poppe, "On the Title of the Grand Prince," 684-685.

constituent part of the political culture involving the princes of Rus' in the earliest period.[107] George Majeska portrays the schema of a Kievan enthronement, in comparison with that of Dimitrii Ivanovich in 1498, thusly: "Prince (or Grand Prince) *blank* came to *blank* and sat (*sede*) on the throne of his forefathers."[108] Though not as pithy as Majeska claims, the enthronement ceremonies of early Rus' received none of the *ordines* or theoretical exegeses that defined and embellished those of Byzantium and the medieval Latinate kingdoms.[109]

The chronicles of Rus' include details about ceremonies of inauguration. The relative consistency of depictions of inauguration through enthronements at the church of St. Sophia in Kiev or at analogous churches in other polities suggests that such ceremonies carried a social and political value in designating a new prince and investing him with seniority (in the case of sole rule) or a higher status (in the case of co-rule with a senior prince). Representations of Church prelates, monks, notables, lay people, and foreign dignitaries as participants and witnesses to the enthronements of certain princes of Rus', suggests that the authors or compilers of the chronicles of Rus' were concerned with the externalisation of the symbols of authority for the benefit of an acquiescent public.[110]

From this perspective, the ritual elements of the enthronement ceremony would represent, as Maurice Godelier writes "... des 'faits sociaux totaux' en ce sens qu'ils résument et expriment— donc totalisent en un moment exceptionnel, en une configuration particulière de la vie sociale—les principes de l'organisation qui sous-tend ce mode de vie."[111] Enthronement could thus externalise the principles of succession, as the visual translation of an ideology made available to the

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[107] See: Dvornik, "Byzantine Political Ideas in Kievan Russia," 73-121; A. V. Nazarenko, "Vladimir Monomakh i kievskoe stolonasledie: traditsiia i politka reformy," 279-283; Tolochko, *Kniaz' v drevnei Rusi*, 35-67, 127-150. See also: M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), provides some analysis of enthronements in Kiev as ceremonies. See also: Chichurov, *Politicheskaia ideologiia srednevekov'ia*, Chichurov provides the ideological basis for understanding the ceremony within the context of 11th and 12th century political thought in Rus'. On the pre-Christian origins of the rite of sitting, see: F. Androshchuk, "K istorii obriada intronizatsii drevnerusskikh kniazei ("sidenie na kurganakh")," in *Druzhnni starozhitnosti tsentral'no-skhidnoi Evropi VIII-X st. Materiali Mizhnarodnogo pol'ovogo arkheologichnogo seminaru* (Chernihiv: Siverians'ka dumka, 2003), 5-10.

[108] G. Majeska, "The Moscow Coronation of 1498 Reconsidered," *JGO* 26.3 (1978): 353-361; 355.

[109] See: Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West," 259-283.

[110] As discussed in the introduction, Althoff's appreciation of the role of the public or audience in determining the significance of a ritual and framing its objectives, see: Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter*, 98-127, 233; and Buc, "Ritual and Interpretation," 1-128.

[111] M. Godelier, *L'idéel et le matériel. Pensée, économies, sociétés*, 2nd edn (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 66. See also: D. de Coppet (ed.), *Understanding Rituals* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992). On "total social acts" based on public performance. Adler and Turner discuss that sometimes a private ritual (coutume secrète) can produce the same effect and represent a "real" incarnation of authority and articulate social order while excluding wider participation. Adler's study describes the "usage magico-réaliste ou magico-ritualiste" of these acts as perpetuating the idea of monarchy amongst the Moundang through mystery: A. Adler, *La mort est le masque du roi. La royauté sacrée des Moundang du Tchad* (Paris: Payot, 1982), 381; and Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 4-27.

interpretation and appropriation by its designated public. The externalisation of cultural forms and ideas requires a methodology that encompasses textual sources and those of material culture, as well as the visual rhetoric of iconographic representations of the princes of Rus' alongside biblical, historical, and mythical figures.[112]

Enthronement in Rus' took place, according to the chronicles, from the early-11th century onwards. The shaping of information about enthronement rituals reflects, on the one hand, the tendency of chronicle writers to buttress the claims of certain branches of the Riurikid dynasty (and certain claimants) over others and, on the other hand, the changing political climate of the principalities of Rus' throughout the 12th century. The first and second sections of this chapter examine the mechanics of succession, symbolic interpretations of rulership expressed through ritual, and the context for inauguration. Inaugurations in Rus' included symbolic elucidations of what constituted, representationally, legitimate rulership, to wit: succession through precedent, belonging to Riurikid clan, belonging to the Christian *oikoumene*, and establishing peace and consensus. The inauguration rituals of early Rus' brought all elements of ideology together in a coherent paradigm. Different aspects of the Byzantine ideology of rulership and the avenues of its influence on the modes of representation of rulership in early Rus' (and later) have been explored;[113] and this study attempts to provide a context within which these ideologies were expressed and communicated through iconographic and textual representations. Finally, the question of a perceived audience arises: was this ritual represented as an inward-facing ideology? Was an ideological system so transparently designed to promote members of a single dynasty meant to engage the loyalty of those who did not rule? Within a context of internecine conflict, did ceremonies of inauguration globally legitimate succession, and did the addition or lack of symbolic elements confer or detract legitimacy?

Chronicle accounts provide representations of enthronements as do early iconographies on the coins of the first rulers of Rus'. Enthronement as a ritual act was widely practiced and the third section considers the ritual elements of inauguration from the perspective of historical anthropology to examine discrete ritual elements in terms of their cultural production and reproduction. What local elements can be discerned in the rhetorically constructed representations of enthronements in

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[112] See: L. Coon, *Sacred fictions. Holy women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, P. A.: University of Philadelphia Press, 1997), ch. 3. Coon investigates the inconsistencies between the rhetoric of material culture and archaeological findings.

[113] See: Chichurov, *Politicheskaia ideologiia srednevekov'ia: Vizantiia i Rus'*, 127-151; for a discussion of rulership: B. A. Uspenskii, *Tsar i patriarkh: kharizma vlasti v Rossii: vizantiiskaia model' i ee russkoe pereosmyslenie* (Moscow: Shkola iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 1988), 30-107, 114-135.

the chronicles of Rus'? This section examines a mixed cultural heritage for the ritual act of enthronement.

Plastic translations of chronicle depictions of rulers and the ideology of rulership are the topic of the final section, which examines the evolution of iconographies on the coins struck during the reigns of Vladimir Sviatoslavich, Sviatopolk Vladimirich, and Iaroslav Vladimirich. Representations on coins, miniatures, seals, and frescoes convey the emblematic significance of the ruler. Coins depict the enthroned prince as a local leader associated with Byzantine symbols of rulership and religious hegemony. An examination of the symbols and constructed realities of images of rulership yields a nuanced interpretation of how the Rus' sought to represent themselves as legitimate rulers, in conjunction with how legitimate rulership may have been visually interpreted in early Rus'.

Enthronement ceremonies in Kiev

To facilitate this study, a chart of enthronements from the time of Iaroslav the Wise of Kiev (c. 1019-1054) to the reign of Riurik Rostislavich (ending in 1202) is provided.[114]

Princes of Kiev	Enthrone-ment	Procession	Participants	Divine approbation	Succession principles	Oath-taking	Co-ruler(s)
Sviatopolk (1015-1019) [Col. 128]	*седе в Киеве*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iaroslav the Wise (1019-1054) [Col. 133]	*седе в Киеве*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iziaslav of Kiev (1054-1068, 1069-1073, 1076-1078) [Cols. 151/ 163/190]	1. *седе в Киеве* 2. *седе Изяслав на столе* 3. *седе в Киеве*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vseslav of Polotsk (1068-1069)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sviatoslav (1073-1076) [Col. 173]	*седе в Киеве*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vsevolod (1078-1093) [Col. 195]	*седе Киеве на столе отца своего и брата своего переем всю власть Рускую*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sviatopolk (1093-1113) [Col. 209]	*седе на столе отца своего и стрыя своего*	-	The Kievans	-	Dynastic principle invoked (the ancestral throne)	-	-
Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125) [Col. 276]	*седе на столе отца своего и деде своих*	Unknown	The Metropolitan Nicephorus, the bishops, the Kievans	-	Dynastic principle invoked (the ancestral throne)	Unknown	None

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[114] The first date given is based on the Kievan Chronicle, the Hypatian recension. The second date is based on the revised chronology for the events of Rus' in the 12th century based on N. G. Berezhkov, *Khronologiia russkogo letopisaniia* (Moscow: Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), s. 2, ch. 2-3.

Princes of Kiev	Enthrone-ment	Procession	Participants	Divine approbation	Succession principles	Oath-taking	Co-ruler(s)
Mstislav Vladimirich (1125-1133) [Cols. 289-290]	*седе на столе в Киеви*	None: possibly a procession to St. Sophia for enthrone-ment	Unknown	Both the reign of Mstislav and military successes are ordained by God, St. Michael, and the ancestors	Kiev presented as father's patrimony and the "pious root" or the Riurikids	Possible alliance between Iaropolk and Mstislav	None
Iaropolk Vladimirich (1133-1139) [Col. 294]	None	None: entry into Kiev	Unknown	None	Brother to Mstislav	Possible alliance between Iaropolk and Vsevolod Mstislavich, but the land grant is taken by Iurii Vladimirich	None
Viacheslav Vladimirich (1139) [Col. 302]	None	None: entry into Kiev	Unknown	None	Brother to Iaropolk	None	None
Vsevolod Olgovich (1140-1146) [Col. 303]	None	None: Entry into Kiev *с частью и славою великою*	Unknown	None	None	None: agreement is represented as a tacit promise made by Viacheslav	None
Igor Olgovich (1146) [Col. 320]	None evoked although Igor possibly resides in Iaroslav's palace	Entry into Kiev via Hungarian Gates in the *Podol*	People of Kiev and his brother Sviatoslav Olgovich	None: Possibly an ill omen in form of a shooting star	Based on Mstislav Vladimir-ich's designation of brother as successor	1. Iziaslav - 1 oath to Vsevolod 2. Kievans - 4 oaths 3. Davidovichi - 2 oaths 4. Vyshgorodians - 1 oath	Possibly: Sviatoslav Olgovich based on popular assent of Kievans
Iziaslav Mstislavich (1146-1149, 1151-1154) [Cols. 327-328]	*седе на столе деда своего и отца своего*	Entry into Kiev: procession to St. Sophia and pays homage to the Mother of God	Kievans, abbots, monks, priests in vestments, possibly other princes of Rus'	Previously, Iziaslav is blessed at the Church of St. Michael, after ascension, God, the Mother of God, and St. Michael are invoked	Kiev presented as father's and grandfather's patrimony	Invocation of the "life-giving Cross" and oath imposed on Sviatoslav Olgovich (Iziaslav's sister's son)	Viacheslav I Vladimirich (1151-1154), most senior prince of the oldest extant generation

Princes of Kiev	Enthrone-ment	Procession	Participants	Divine approbation	Succession principles	Oath-taking	Co-ruler(s)
Viacheslav Vladimirich (1151-1154) [Cols. 418-419]	*седе на столе деда своего и отца своего*	Procession to St. Sophia followed by enthrone-ment	Iziaslav Mstislavich, Kievans, Hungarian king and his retinue	None	Kiev presented as father's and grandfather's patrimony	Consensus through dining, Iziaslav, Kievans, and Hungarians are invited to dinner	Iziaslav II Mstislavich (1151-1154), whose rule he legitimates
Iurii Vladimirich (1149-1151, 1155-1157) [Cols. 383-385, 478-479]	*сина Володимиря Мономаха внука Всеволожа правнука Ярославля пращюра великаго Володимира крестившаг о всю землю Рускоую ... седе на столе отца своего*	Possibly: a procession involving Iurii's partisans to St. Sophia(?) where he is enthroned	1. Kievans, Vladimir Davidov-ich of Chernigov 2. Kievans	Previously, Iurii is exalted by God's grace and he is described as praising God at enthrone-ment	Kiev is explicitly presented as Iurii's father's, grand-father's, and thrice-great grandfather's patrimony	Oaths of fidelity from Vladimir Davidovich and Sviatoslav Olgovich; repartition of principalities amongst the princes of Rus'	None
Iziaslav Davidovich (1154-1155, 1157-1158, 1162) [Cols. 476, 490, 516]	1. *седе на столе* 2. None 3. None, but he "pardons" the Kievans at St. Sophia	Possibly, but no details	1. Kievans and Bishop Damian of Kanev 2. Unknown 3. Unknown	Enters Kiev May 19th, of the Pentecost	None: the throne is vacant and the Bishop of Kanev and the Kievans invite him	1. None 2. With Mstislav Iziaslavich and Sviatoslav Vladimirich	None - succession conflict with Rostislav I Mstislavich and the Iurevichi
Rostislav Mstislavich (1154, 1159-1168) [Col. 471]	Rostislav is enthroned by the people of Kiev and he distributes alms at Iaroslav's palace	Possibly: a procession of enthrone-ment goes along with the funeral of Viacheslav and distribution of gifts amongst retinue and Kievans	Kievans, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich	None	1. Principle that Rostislav is succeeding his brother Iziaslav 2. Principle that he is succeeding his father Viacheslav	1. Homage by Sviatoslav Vsevolod-ich (sister's son) 2. Alliance with brother against the Iurevichi	None - succession conflict with Iziaslav III Davidovich and the Iurevichi
Rostislav Mstislavich (1160, second enthrone-ment) [Cols. 503-505]	*седе на столе деда своего и отца своего сии благоверныи князь Ростислав*	Prince rides from Smolensk to Kiev and enters the city on Easter Sunday; the people of Kiev greet him and he is received	Kievans, later Sviatoslav Olgovich	Exaltation of prince's piety on Easter Sunday, parallel between the Resurrection and enthrone-ment of the prince	Kiev is presented as his father's and grandfather's patrimony	Oath-taking is not explicit by implied in exchange of gifts, dining, and context for the meeting between Rostislav and Sviatoslav Olgovich	None

Princes of Kiev	Enthrone-ment	Procession	Participants	Divine approbation	Succession principles	Oath-taking	Co-ruler(s)
Mstislav Iziaslavich (1169-1170, 1172) [Cols. 535, 548]	*седе на столе Ярославли и отца своего и деде своих*	Entry into Kiev and possible procession to St. Sophia	1. Unknown 2. Unknown	None	Kiev is presented as Iaroslav's, his father's and ancestor's patrimony	1. Cross-kissing at the Caves Monastery with Vladimir Mstislav-ich whose plot against the prince of Kiev was uncovered 2. Oath-taking with brothers to preserve authority	1. None 2. Perhaps: treaty with Mstislav-ichi, Galich, Vsevolodk ovich, the Kievans
Gleb Iurevich (1171, 1172) [Col. 545, 550/554-555]	1. *посади стрыя своего Глеба Киеве на столе* 2. *седящю... в Киеве на столе отчине и дедине*	None	1. His uncle, Mstislav Andreev-ich 2. Unknown	1. None 2. Through a miracle at the Tithe Church in Kiev (probably in reference to victory against the Polovtsi)	1. None 2. Kiev is the ancestral patrimony of his fore-father's and ancestor's (Riurikid dynastic principle)	1. None 2. With the Polovtsi in order to restore peace	None
Vladimir Mstislavich (1173) [Col. 566]	*седе Володимер Киеве на столе*	None	Unknown	None	Succession principle revoked, succession based on Andrei Iurevich's approval	None	None
Iaroslav Iziaslavich (1174-1175) [Cols. 577-578]	*седе на столе деда своего и отца своего*	Possible, entry into Kiev and procession to St. Sophia(?)	Unknown	Andrei Iurevich incurs divine sanction and the Rostislavichi are celebrated as the princes of Kiev	Succession principle based on ancestry and patrimonial inheritance through Rostislav Mstislavich	Amongst the Rosislavichi; violated "kissing of the Cross" with Sviatoslav in 1174	None, if not the Rostislavichi and dispute with Sviatoslav Vsevolodich
Roman Rostislavich (1174, 1175-1177) [Cols. 567-568, 600]	*седе на столе отца своего и деда*	Entry into Kiev via Golden Gates(?); met by Kievans, abbots, princes, archimand-rite of Caves, metropolitan and procession to St. Sophia for enthrone-ment	1. The metropol-itan, archimand-rite of the Pechersk, abbot and other abbots, Kievans, his brothers (with crosses) 2. Kievans	None	Succession principle restored by approval of Andrei Iurevich	Possibly since Roman Rostislavich is met by princes and prelates "with crosses" however main affiliation is to Andrei Iurevich	None (if not Andrei Iurevich) 1174 - 5 weeks, Vsevolod Rostislavich [Col. 570]

Princes of Kiev	Enthrone-ment	Procession	Participants	Divine approbation	Succession principles	Oath-taking	Co-ruler(s)
Sviatoslav Vsevolodich (1174, 1177-1180-1194) [Cols. 578/604/621]	1. 1174 (2nd time): *седе на столе деда своего и отца своего* 2. *вниде в Киев* 3. *веха в Киев*	1. Entry into Kiev (twice in 1174) 2. Unknown 3. Unknown	1. Unknown 2. Unknown 3. Unknown (brothers)	None	Dynastic principle (first time)	1174 (2nd time) with Iaroslav Iziaslavich 1180 (3rd time) with Riurik II Rostislavich who submits to Sviatoslav's seniority by kissing the Cross [Cols. 623-624]	1. Possibly his brothers(?) 2. Possibly with Riurik Rostislav-ich after 1180 [Col. 630/662]
Riurik Rostislavich (1174, 1180, 1194-1202) [Cols. 570-571/616/681-682]	1. *седе на столе отцы своих и деды своих* 2. *седе на столе деда своего отца своего* 3. *седе на столе деда своего и отца своего*	1. Entry into Kiev and procession to St. Sophia for enthrone-ment 2. None 3. Entry into Kiev, procession to St. Sophia for enthrone-ment	Unknown; 3rd entry: metropolitan, all the abbots, people of Kiev, princes of Rus'	1. Prayers by the Rostislav-ichi and invocation of the True Cross and Mother of God 2. 3rd time: Acclama-tion by prelates and previous prince	1. Succession principle invoked without Andrei Iurevich's approval 2. 3rd time: Succession principles based on seniority within Riurikid dynasty	1. Oath-taking implied amongst the Rostislav-ichi 2. 3rd time: recognit-ion by other princes of Rus' and dining with next senior prince	1. Communal Rostislav-ichi rule 2. Possibly a junior co-ruler to Sviatoslav Vsevolod-ich after 1180 [Col. 630/662] 3. None
Andrei Bogoliubskii **Prince of Rostov, Suzdal', and Vladimir** (1158) [Cols. 490-491]	*пояша Андрея сина Дюргева стареишаго и посадиша и на от(чи)ни столе Ростове и Суждали и Володимири*	None	Unknown (probably people of Vladimir-Suzdal')	Through patronage: building of churches, decoration of churches, endowments, creation of an episcopate in Vladimir	1. Popular assent of the people of all three cities 2. Patrimon-ial succession	None	None
Mikhailko Iurevich **Prince of Vladimir** (1176) [Col. 602]	*и седе на столе деда своего и отца своего*	Met by the people of Vladimir with standards and crosses and they process to the church of the Mother of God	People of Vladimir (with crosses)	The episode is seen as providential due to his success in battle and governed by the power of the Cross (allusion to cross-kissing)	Succession principle evoked	Oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" evoked and a mode of oath-taking is represented	None

Princes of Kiev	Enthrone-ment	Procession	Participants	Divine approbation	Succession principles	Oath-taking	Co-ruler(s)
Mstislav Rostislavich **Prince of Novgorod** (1178) [Cols. 606-607]	*седе на столе деда своего и отца своего*	The bishop, abbots, people of Novgorod meet the new prince with crosses and process to St. Sophia to pay homage to the icons of the Mother of God and the Holy Saviour	Bishop of Novgorod, abbots, people of Novgorod	Invocation of divine sanction for enthrone-ment	1. Invitation from people of Novgorod and boyars 2. Other princes of Rus' urge him to go 3. Reiteration that Novgorod is not part of Mstislav's patrimony	Possibly through homage paid at St. Sophia at moment of investiture	None

The basic formula "седе на столе деда своего и отца своего" is the most common description for an enthronement in the chronicles of early Rus'. Although expressly different from the coronation ceremonies and enthronement rituals that the Church introduced into the cultures of emergent societies in the post-Roman world,[115] there are several *loci communes* of succession apparent in many medieval societies: ceremonial processions, the enthronement (the act of sitting on a ritual seat), the attendance of hierarchs of the local Church, and the making of promises (ritualised oath-taking).

In the chronicles, the enthronements of the princes of early Rus' are described as individual ceremonies that employ common ritual components. Notionally, each event of enthronement differs from the next, even if the ritual elements may be repeated fairly consistently. These aspects of enthronement ceremonies are very general and can be observed in the chart presented above.

Of the twenty-five princes of Kiev (who occasionally required second or third enthronements), the two princes of Vladimir-Suzdal', and the single enthronement of a prince in Novgorod in the 11th and 12th centuries, the first seven are described in the *Povest' vremennykh let* and receive a notably different treatment from those described in the Kievan Chronicle (and the Vladimir-Suzdalian Chronicle).[116] In the *PVL*, the "enthronements" of the earliest successors to Vladimir: Iaroslav, Iziaslav, and Vsevolod, receive the most perfunctory treatment without information regarding the place, participants, or ritual elements of the enthronement ceremony. These first

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[115] On the role of the Church in the development of enthronement ceremonies, see: C. A. Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning: the Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1957); and R. A. Jackson (ed.) *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and ordines for the coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995-2000).

[116] Note that the formula is not employed in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (after 1200).

Christian princes of Rus' (Sviatopolk, Iaroslav, Iziaslav, Sviatoslav, and Vsevolod) are included in the chart since the beginnings of their reigns, as described in the first chronicle of Rus', follow the formula of "Prince X entered Kiev and sat on the throne of his ancestors (his father and/or grandfather) and began to rule".[117] This formula is replicated in the chronicles of Rus' throughout the Kievan period, and is embellished with additional information beginning with the reign of Vladimir Monomakh in 1113.

Every prince enthroned in the 12th century, "sits" or is "seated" upon a seat/throne in Kiev or elsewhere, regardless of the circumstances surrounding the enthronement or the political climate represented in the chronicles. For example, the notion of "sitting" is articulated in the *PVL* for the reign of Vsevolod Iaroslavich, *sub anno* 1078, when: "Всеволод же седе Киеве на столе отца своего и брата своего переем всю власт".[118] In the Laurentian Chronicle, this episode is articulated simply as "и седе по немь Всеволод на столе".[119] In the second account of enthronement in the Hypatian Chronicle, that of Sviatopolk Iziaslavich *sub anno* 1093, the event is described: "Приде Святополк Киеву изидоша противу ему Кияне с поклоном и прияша с радостю и седе на столе отца своего и стрыя своего".[120] The innovation in the narrative of 1093 is the presence of the Kievans who meet the new prince upon his arrival in Kiev with gifts and with "great rejoicing" after which, the prince sits on the throne of Kiev, which is the throne of his ancestors (his father and uncle).[121]

Very little can be surmised from the earliest descriptions of the enthronements of princes in Kiev. It is possible that ceremonies of enthronement were an innovation of the late 11th and 12th centuries, one that dictated the shaping of information (or lack thereof) of the first enthronements. Within the context of Riurikid dynastic succession in Rus', it appears that during the period of "proper collateral succession"[122]—the first three generations of Riurikids—enthronements were merely noted by the chroniclers.

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[117] *PSRL* 2, cols. 128, 133, 151/163/190, 173, 195, 209.

[118] *PSRL* 2, col. 195.

[119] *PSRL* 2, col. 199.

[120] *PSRL* 2, col. 209; and *PSRL* 1, col. 218.

[121] *PSRL* 2, col. 209.

[122] Kollman, "Collateral Succession in Kievan Rus'." 82-83.

Following the occupation[123] of the throne of Kiev by Vladimir Monomakh in 1113,[124] enthronements become amplified with the presence of the metropolitan of Kiev, the clergy, and the people of Kiev.[125] Descriptions of enthronements include precise details regarding: spectatorship, processions through Kiev, the place of the enthronement, kissing of icons, rituals connected to enthronements (such as oath-taking "by kissing the Cross"), instances of panegyric, expressions of divine approbation for the new ruler, expressions of dynastic legitimacy, and celebratory dining with gift-exchange. The formula marking the beginning of a reign continues to figure in all descriptions of enthronements and the dynastic principle encompasses various genealogical configurations marking the Riurikid dynastic heritage. Of the eighteen princes whose enthronements are described in the Kievan Chronicle, all, with the exception of three: Vsevolod Olgovich (represented as a usurper, 1140-1146),[126] Igor Olgovich (successor to a usurper, 1146),[127] Iziaslav Davidovich (replacing Gleb Iurevich, 1154-1155, 1157-1158, 1162),[128] and Vladimir Mstislavich (1173),[129] are granted dynastic legitimacy in the Kievan Chronicle through the evocation of Riurikid forefathers, the Riurikid patrimony, and the general right of succession.[130] It must be noted that the first three of the above-mentioned princes were of the Chernigov branch of the dynasty whose progenitor, Sviatoslav Iaroslavich's ascendance to the throne of Kiev, was contested by his brothers. It is possible that these princes were *de jure* excluded from the throne of Kiev.[131] This, along with the proclivity of the Kievan Chronicle for the descendants of Vladimir Monomakh, are two possible explanations for the divergent treatments of the enthronements of Igor

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[123] See: Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus*, 265-277; see also: Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 14-17.

[124] The Liubech agreement may have provided the assurance that territorial claims of established lineages could be seen as self-regulating to adjust dynastic inheritance patterns. Nancy Kollman suggested that the failure to challenge Monomakh's line bespeaks a growing tolerance for patrilineal succession. For example, Monomakh's son (Mstislav) inherits the throne of Kiev, lineally, in 1125. See: Kollman, "Collateral Succession in Kievan Rus'." 83-85; for different reading, see: Vilkul, "Izvestie "Povesti vremennykh let" o Liubechskom sneme 1097 g.," 16-24.

[125] **PSRL 2, col. 276.** Начало княженя Володимера сина Всеволожа Володимер Мономах седе Киеве в неделю усретоша же и *митрополит Никифор с епископы* и со всими Кияне с честю великою. Седе на столе отца своего и деде своих и вси люды ради быша.

[126] *PSRL* 2, col. 303.

[127] *PSRL* 2, col. 320.

[128] *PSRL* 2, cols. 476, 490, 516.

[129] *PSRL*, col. 566. The succession principle is revoked, in this case, and succession is based solely on Andrei Iurevich's personal assent.

[130] For the ideological premises for these concepts, see: Tolochko, *Kniaz' v drevnei Rusi*, 77-102.

[131] See: Franklin and Shepard, *Emergence of Rus*, 256-259; and Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 75. On the vituperation of Sviatoslav Iaroslavich's usurpation (which appears to govern the shaping of information regarding the fates of his descendants who coveted the throne of Kiev), see: *Erzählungen*, 8, 10, 25, 33; Hollingsworth, *Hagiography*, 12-13, 30, 83-86, 102; *Uspenskii zbornik*, fols. 57d.25-60c.4; *Paterik*, 8; and *PVL*, vol. 1, 90.

Olgovich (who receives a negative treatment) and his immediate successor, Iziaslav Mstislavich (who receives a largely positive treatment), both of whom bypass elder members of the dynasty to assume the throne of Kiev.

Examining the chart outlining the enthronements of the princes of Rus', it becomes obvious that for the period spanning the internecine conflict(s) of the 1150s,[132] the sacks of Kiev in 1169 and 1173, to the 1190's and the advent of Riurik Rostislavich's third reign in Kiev (1194/1195), details regarding the ritual elements of enthronements again become sparse in the narrative of the Kievan Chronicle.[133] Continuing the theme of the apposite concepts of dynastic legitimacy and divine approbation, the group of seven princes[134] who receive this double reinforcement at their enthronement are all descendants of Vladimir Monomakh.[135]

This survey of the enthronements of the princes of Kiev examined the foundations for an enthronement of a prince of Rus': dynastic legitimacy (embodied by the ancestral throne) and divine legitimacy (embodied by the presence of the clergy, ritual oath-taking, and the rhetoric of divine approbation). Where all of these factors are present—at the enthronements of Vladimir Monomakh and seven of his direct descendants—a unified vision of Riurikid rule becomes apparent. The violation of ritual through the omission of a clear dynastic precedent,[136] the absence of enthronement,[137] the absence of ritual oath-taking, and the absence of members of the clergy along with the people of Kiev (which is the case for eleven out of eighteen of the princes of Kiev) is as great an injunction as exists in the narrative of the Kievan Chronicle.

While disquisitions on the moral depravity and degeneracy of princes exist, they are usually reserved for violations of oaths made "by kissing the Cross" rather than for princes who violate the

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[132] The description of the accession of Rostislav Mistislavich in 1160 to the throne of Kiev is an exception to this general trend since it occurs in a momentary hiatus in the hostilities and provides a moment of consensus between brother-princes. See: Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 89-90.

[133] See chart above for the years 1154-1194 of the Hypatian Chronicle. See also: Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 96-205; and J. Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev of 1169: Its Significance for the Succession to Kievan Rus', *HUS* 9.3-4 (1987): 303-316.

[134] They are: Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125), Mstislav Vladimirich (1125-1133), Iziaslav Mstislavich (1146-1149/1151-1154), Iurii Vladimirich (1149-1151/1155-1157), Rostislav Mstislavich (1160), Roman Rostislavich (1174/1175-117), Riurik Rostislavich (1174/1180/1194-1202), *PSRL* 2, cols. 276, 289-290, 327-328, 383-385/478-479, 503-505, 567-568/600, 570-571/616/681-682.

[135] Iurii Vladimirich takes the throne of Kiev and receives a positive rhetorical treatment in the Kievan Chronicle, see: **PSRL 2, cols. 383-385.** Viacheslav Vladimirich should not be included here, since he was co-ruler to Iziaslav Mstislavich who associated him to the throne of Kiev in order to safeguard his own legitimacy against Iurii Vladimirich, the most senior prince of the dynasty. *PSRL* 2, cols. 418-419.

[136] Vsevolod Olgovich (in 1140), Igor Olgovich (1146), Iziaslav Davidovich (in 1154/1155), Vladimir Mstislavich (in 1173, with approval from Andrei Iurevich), Sviatoslav Vsevolodich (in 1174, 1177-1180-1194, whose claim to the throne is tenuous and permitted by agreement with other princes): *PSRL* 2, 303, 320, 476, 566, 578/604/621.

[137] Of the eighteen princes of Kiev, twelve "sit" or "are seated" on a throne, see chart.

principle of collateral succession. However, when a prince engages in the rituals of enthronement with the intent to obtain the throne and violate the order of succession (for example, the Olgovich and Davidovich princes) then the rituals are represented as having been transgressed, and their enactment can no longer be counted on to safeguard the Riurikid patrimony. The narrative of the chronicles is shaped to accentuate the point that the right order is ultimately vindicated even in instances where succession is openly contentious.

Enthronement ceremonies have been a feature of the most stable dynastic cultures, acting as an outward display of the monarchic system and its ideologies[138] as well as outwardly marking the temporality of reigns within the framework of the atemporality of kingship.[139] Throughout the medieval world, the Church was largely instrumental in lending religious symbolism to and endowing enthronement rituals with the impression or appearance of sempiternity. Through the ministrations of the official Church, the representation of an unchanging and hieratic enthronement ceremony, further ennobled by religious imagery, only underscored the stability of monarchy as a divine institution.[140]

Shchapov, in his study of the State and the Church in early Rus', writes that the sixth (of seven) spheres of activity in which the Church had an active role and visibility in early Rus' included: "...встречи князей и настолование (интронизация) при их вокняжения, участие в крестоцеловании при заключении договоров как государственном акте и пр."[141] Unfortunately, Shchapov's study of the clergy's involvement in "State" ceremonies involving the prince and his entourage does not include a survey of the clergy's presence and involvement in ceremonies of enthronement. Out of the eighteen princes whose enthronements are described in the Kievan Chronicle, only four are represented as having been attended by the clergy of Rus'; and of those four,[142] it is only at the enthronement of Vladimir Monomkah (in 1113) that the metropolitan Nicephorus is mentioned by name as being in attendance.[143] The most common members of the clergy represented by the Kievan Chronicle at the enthronements of the princes of Kiev are: the

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[138] See: J. M. Bak (ed.), *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). Providing a series of studies on Latinate and Scandinavian societies in the Middle Ages.

[139] See: Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 15.

[140] See: Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 289-291.

[141] Ia. N. Shchapov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov' Drevnei Rusi X-XII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), 5.

[142] Vladimir Monomakh (in 1113), Iziaslav Mstislavich (in 1146), Roman Rostislavich (in 1174/1175), and Riurik Rostislavich (in 1194/1195), *PSRL* 2, cols. 276, 327-328, 567-568, 679-682.

[143] *PSRL* 2, col. 276: митрополит Никифор с епископы.

metropolitan,[144] the bishops,[145] the archimandrite of the Kievan Caves Monastery,[146] the abbots,[147] the monks,[148] and the priests (of the principality of Kiev).[149] The presence of the clergy is described with minor details regarding the identity and specific role of its representatives. The only apparent difference appears to be in the rank of the attendee. Thus, the abbot of the Kievan Caves Monastery is distinguished from the other abbots. The religious actors are almost never named and are most often described according to the hierarchic order of the Church (i.e. the metropolitan is named first; followed by the bishops, the archimandrite, the abbot of the Kievan Caves Monastery, the abbots, the monks, and the priests of the principality of Kiev).[150] When the hierarchs of the Church are represented, they are static and it is merely their presence at the ceremony that is mentioned in the chronicles. However, where the hierarchs of the Church are evoked, there is always a procession to St. Sophia[151] where the enthronement takes place. In these cases, religious accoutrements are mentioned, namely, the carrying of crosses and icons to accompany either oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" or to invoke peace between brother-princes, and the integrity of the Riurikid patrimony is reinforced rhetorically.[152]

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Based on the information provided by the Kievan Chronicle and the representations of the clergy of Rus' in all of the chronicles as well as in the edificatory[153] and homiletic[154] literature of

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[144] See: Vladimir Monomakh, Roman Rostislavich, Riurik Rostislavich: *PSRL* 2, cols. 276, 567-568, 679-682.

[145] See: Vladimir Monomakh: *PSRL* 2, col. 276.

[146] See: Roman Rostislavich: *PSRL* 2, cols. 567-568: архимандрит.

[147] See: Iziaslav Mstislavich: игоумени, Roman Rostislavich: Печерьскии игумен и инии игумени, Riurik Rostislavich: *PSRL* 2, cols. 327-328, 567-568, 679-682.

[148] See: Iziaslav Mstislavich: *PSRL* 2, cols. 327-328: черноризци.

[149] See: Iziaslav Mstislavich: *PSRL* 2, cols. 327-328: попове всего города Киева.

[150] Tolochko, *Drevniaia Rus'*, 153.

[151] All four include processions to St. Sophia, as do the enthronements of Mstislav Vladimirich (perhaps in 1125), Viacheslav Vladimirich (in 1151), Iurii Vladimirich (perhaps in 1149), and Mstislav Iziaslavich (perhaps in 1169): *PSRL* 2, cols. 289-290, 418-419, 383-385; 535. In the 1180s, none of the princes process to St. Sophia for enthronement.

[152] Roman Rostislavich: *PSRL* 2, cols. 567-568: и с кресты митрополит и архимандрит Печерьскии игумен и инии игумени вси и Кияне вси и братя его; Riurik Rostislavich (in 1174): *PSRL* 2, cols. 570-571; Andrei Iurevich and the Rostislavichi (in 1174): *PSRL* 2, cols. 577-578.

[153] See: A. A. Pichkhadze and I. I. Makeeva, *"Pchela": drevnerusskii perevod* (Moscow: Rukopisnye pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi, 2008), О власти и о княжении.

[154] The entirety of the Metropolitan Ilarion's *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* (Sermon on Law and Grace) illustrates this point, see: S. Franklin (intro. and trans.), *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'* (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University, 1991), 3-31.

Rus', it is entirely probable that the clergy attempted to endow accession ceremonies with some religious rituals over the course of the late 11th and 12th centuries in order to better express the idea that the prince was chosen by God and that his power to govern was divinely ordained.[155] Analogous examples to that of Rus' exist amongst the newly-converted peoples who occupied parts of the former Roman world in Late Antiquity. The combined factors of a Roman influence—the Roman heritage of the medieval world as seen through its political institutions, bureaucratic apparatus, and infrastructures—of the Roman Empire's former territories and colonies, and that of the established Church and its missions, provided the impetus for a process of acculturation and the incorporation of the symbols, rhetoric, and the imitation of perceived practices by newly-Christianised peoples.[156]

The chronicles, written by the clergy of Rus', describe rituals orchestrated by ecclesiastics eager to promote their own political ideals, and by princes concerned with their own factional interests. To a very large extent, the enthronement ceremonies in Rus' function as closed systems in the chronicles and are articulated by actors who are themselves susceptible to the message, already inculcated as they were with the necessity of obedience and accustomed to venerating God and Christ. As for the princes, their actions reflect a competition for the Riurikid patrimony in the context of the non-central functioning dynastic culture of Rus'. The chronicles do not give any indication of what enthronement might have meant, or if it meant anything, to those who are depicted as having been in attendance to the ritual. The people of Kiev make several appearances at the enthronements of princes and even intervene to expel the foredoomed Igor Olgovich and to

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[155] Theophylact of Ohrid to Nikephoros Melissenos: "every emperor is an image of God,… just as the archetype is higher than all [creation], so the likeness will be above all [others]." For the Byzantine perspective, see: H. Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, (ed.) *idem.* (Washington, DC: DOP, 1997), 247-259; See also: C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), 151: "The Byzantines imagined God and the Heavenly Kingdom as a vastly enlarged replica of the imperial court at Constantinople […]. Their mutual resemblance was taken for granted."
   For the Latin perspective, see: M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Gallimard, [1924] 1993); Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning*; G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, esp. "The Court of the Heavenly King" 77-103.

[156] As an example of this process of acculturation by imitation of imperial Roman rituals via the influence and ministrations of the Church, the example from 6th century Lombard Italy demonstrates how newly-converted rulers sought the implication of the Church to stage a "legitimate" enthronement, employing former Roman ritual places and practices with the participation of the clergy in orchestrating the ceremony by endowing it with Christian symbolism, i.e. the acclamation of "thrice holy" by the spectators. See: S. Gasparri, "Kingship Rituals and Ideology in Lombard Italy," 95-114; and G. P. Bognetti, "S. Maria foris Portas di Castelseprio," in *L'età longobarda* II (Milan: Giuffrè, 1966), 179-302; *idem.*, "I ministri romani dei re longobardi e un'opinione di Alessandro Manzoni," in *L'età longobarda* III (Milan: Giuffrè, 1967), 49-74.

invite the equally reviled Iziaslav Davidovich,[157] but no further role is made explicit in the chronicles.[158]

A final observation is that the practice had already been developed in Kiev before the Christianisation of the land and was later embellished with the symbols and rhetoric of the official Church.[159] The enthronements of the princes of Kiev, as they are represented in the chronicles by chroniclers who were churchmen themselves, occur within a ritual framework that is overtly religious. However, the *de facto* enthronement functions in a separate sphere, one mainly governed by the imperative of dynastic legitimacy and the increasingly complicated configurations for collateral succession.

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[157] See chart above for details. The Kievans are present at the enthronements of Vladimir Monomakh (in 1113), Igor Olgovich (in 1146, where they are instrumental in having him deposed), Iziaslav Mstislavich (in 1146), Viacheslav Vladimirich (in 1151), Iurri Vladimirich (in 1149/1155), Iziaslav Davidovich (in 1154, the Kievans invite the prince, via the Bishop Damian of Kanev, to enter and to assume the throne), Rostislav Mstislavich (in 1154 and 1160), Roman Rostislavich (in 1174/1175), Riurik Rostislavich (in 1194): *PSRL* 2, cols. 276, 320, 327-328, 418-419, 383-385/478-479, 476, 503-505, 567-568/600, 681-682.

[158] See: T. L. Vilkul, *Liudi i kniaz' v drevnerusskikh letopisiakh serediny XII-XIII vv.* (Moscow: Kvadriga, 2009), 99-104.

[159] For the discrepancy between the representations of coronations by the clergy and what magnates demanded to secure power, Nelson, "Ritual and reality in the early medieval *ordines*," in Theuws and Nelson, 329-341.

The descriptions of the two enthronements that take place in the city of Vladimir and one enthronement that takes place in the city of Novgorod are especially vivid. These successor cities and rivals to Kiev demonstrate a clear determination to claim through mimesis the ritual spaces (churches, monasteries, and processional routes) of the city of Kiev. The descriptions of enthronements in these cities are further examples of the shift of power from the principality of Kiev to Vladimir-Suzdal' in the 12th century. The enthronements that take place under the auspices of the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal' are elaborated in the narrative of the Kievan Chronicle in marked geographic shifts (away from the politico-spiritual centre of Kiev) and rhetorical amplifications for the enthronements of Andrei Iurevich in Vladimir (1158),[160] Mikhailko Iurevich in Vladimir (1176),[161] and Mstislav Rostislavich in Novgorod (1178),[162] which prefigure the grandiose description of the enthronement (as co-ruler) of Konstantin Vsevolodich (the son of Vsevolod Andreevich) in Vladimir (1206) as it is described in the Suzdalian section of the Laurentian Chronicle.[163]

Beginning in the mid-12th century, the Suzdalian principality becomes increasingly prominent as a rival to Kiev and as a successor to the city of Iaroslav Vladimirich, which had been built to mirror the topography and spiritual landscape of Constantinople. The princes, Andrei Iurevich and his successor, Vsevolod Andreevich, engaged in a programme of expansion that reflected the good fortunes of the north-east of Rus' in the 12th century.[164] The enthronement of Andrei Iurevich in the Kievan Chronicle focusses on the philanthropic oeuvre of the prince: the construction of a church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God, the completion of Iurii Vladimirich's church dedicated to the Holy Saviour, and the endowment of other churches and monasteries in Vladimir-Suzdal':

> Том же лет, сдумавши Ростовци и Суждалици и Володимирци вси пояша Андрея сина Дюргева стареишаго и *посадиша и на от(чи)ни столе* Ростове и Суждали и Володимири, зане бе прилюбим всим за премногую его добродетель юже имеяше преже к Богу и к всим сущим под ним. Тем же и по смьрти отца своего велику память, створи церкви украси и монастыри постави и церковь сконца иже бе заложиль переже отец его святого Спаса камяну. Князь же Андреи сам у Володимири заложи церковь камяну святои Богоридци месяца априля в 8 день на святого апостола Родиона в вторник. И дая и много имения и свободи купленыя и с даними и села лепшая и десятины в стадех

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[160] *PSRL* 2, cols. 490-491.

[161] *PSRL* 2, col. 602; *PSRL* 1, cols. 375-379.

[162] *PSRL* 2, cols. 606-607.

[163] *PSRL* 1, cols. 417-421.

[164] Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 356-366.

своих и торг десятыи. Сверши же церковь 5 верхов и все верхы золотом украси и створи в неи епископью и город Володимер болии заложи.[165]

The beginning of Andrei Iurevich's reign, *sub anno* 1158, is unremarkable insofar as the ceremony of enthronement is concerned. The Hypatian and Laurentian Chronicles have the same source for the narrative of the event, as the texts relating the event are very nearly identical. Andrei Iurevich is accepted by the people of Rostov, Suzdal', and Vladimir, who recognise his authority and place him on his father's throne.[166] The focus of this episode, and the main event of the enthronement, is the construction of the church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God (1158-1160). This church followed the example of its homologue at the Caves Monastery and was the first of a series of edifices that would culminate in the erection of Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma. As Limonov writes, this form of cultural expansion through the mass construction of churches and monasteries promoted Vladimir to an (almost) equal rank, and rival to, the principality of Kiev[167] and, by extension, a much smaller replica of the city of Constantinople.[168] In the 1160s, Andrei Iurevich sought ecclesiastical emancipation from Kiev.[169] In spite of his great prominence and high rank, Andrei Iurevich had to accept the negative verdict of Constantinople, Rus' being an ecclesiastical province of the patriarchate of Constantinople. In spite of this refusal by the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, an inchoate process of cultural mimesis is in clear evidence in urban planning, architecture, and the pattern of cultural patronage begun by Iurii Vladimirich and continued by his son and by his son's successors.

The enthronement of Mikhailko (accompanied by Vsevolod Iurevich) at Vladimir follows a very common pattern and is only remarkable in that the accounts provided by the Hypatian and Laurentian Chronicles differ. In this instance the Laurentian Chronicle provides several panegyric

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[165] *PSRL* 1, col. 348; **see also: *PSRL* 2, cols. 490-491.**

[166] See: E. S. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: the man and the myth*, Studia historica et philologica 12.4 (Florence: Licosa, 1980), 9-23.

[167] See: Iu. A. Limonov, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skaia Rus': ocherki sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1987), 104-106.

[168] Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 359. The desire to promote a Constantinopolitan framework for the city is evident in its urban planning as well as the establishment, by Andrei Bogoliubskii, of a new feast dedicated to the Intercession of the Veil (*pokrov*), to which Andrei Bogoliubskii's church of the Intercession on the Nerl was dedicated, see: L. Rydén, "The vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the feast of the Pokrov," *AB* 94 (1976): 62-82; and on the church patronage of the princes of Vladimir, see: W. C. Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 44-56. Compare the description of the church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God with Kiev's St. Sophia, which included five aisles and apses instead of three, a gallery, staircase access towers on three sides and thirteen domes. See: O. Powstenko, *The Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev* (New York: The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S., 1954), 109-112.

[169] Franklin, *Sermons and Rhetoric*, li-lvii, xlix-li; and S. Franklin, "Diplomacy and ideology: Byzantium and the Russian Church in the mid twelfth century," in J. Shepard and S. Franklin (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy* (London: Aldershot, 1992), 145-150.

amplifications that are omitted in the Hypatian Chronicle. Hitherto, the accounts of enthronements had largely been the same in both chronicles (analogous portions of the text are indicated by font) and the Hypatian Chronicle included more detailed accounts of the enthronements of the princes of Kiev:[170]

Entry of Mikhailko into Vladimir, *sub anno* 1176:

Hypatian Chronicle	Laurentian Chronicle
Потом же Михалко и Всеволод поехаста в Володимир с славою и с честю великою, ведущю пред ним колодникы. Богу наказавшю князе креста не переступати и стареишаго брата честити а злых человек не слушати иже не хотят добра межю братею. Тогда же Володимерци, узревше князя своя, выидоша с кресты и с радостю и честю великою. И вниде Михаило в город к святеи Богородици и седе на столе деда своего и отца своего. **Того же дени в неделю бысть радость велика в граде Володимере.** *И потом посла Святослав жены их Михалковую и Всеволожюю пристава к ним сина свое Олга проводити е до Москве [...]*	*Михалко же победи полкъ [с братом своимъ Всеволодом]* в день неделныи *и поеха в Володимерь с честю и с славою великою. Дружине его [и Всеволожи] и Володимерцем ведущим пред ним колодникы. Богу наказавшю князии креста частнаго не преступати и старешаго брата частити а злых человек не слушати иже не хотят межи братею добра. Выидоша же с кресты противу Михалку и брату его Всеволоду* игумени и попове и вси люды *и веха в город к святеи Богородици* июня месеця в 15 день. А в день неделныи, Мьстислав же бежа Новугороду, а Ярополк Рязаню, а Ростиславлюю матерь их с снохома прияша Володимерци. Михалко же приеха Володимерю [с братом своим Всеволодом] да городы святои Богородици яже бе отяль Ярополк. **И бысть радость велика в Володимери граде видяще** у собе великого князя всея Ростовьскыя земли. Мы же да подивимся чюдному и великому и преславному матере Божья како заступи град свои от великих бед [*Radz.* чюду новому].

[170] *PSRL* **1, col. 602;** *PSRL* **2, cols. 376-377.**

This panegyric excursus at the end of the narrative featured in the Laurentian Chronicle relates the rejoicing of the people of Vladimir-Rostov-Suzdal' at the enthronement of the new prince along with the salutary aspect of the Mother of God as the protector of cities. This epithet is a reference to the Akathistos hymn, which Kondakov connected to Psalm 46:5, in honour of the Virgin where she is described as the "unbreakable wall" thereby promoting the intercession of the Virgin for the safety and defense of the city.[171] The representation of the Virgin *orans*, the main figure in the apse mosaic at the Kievan St. Sophia, has been interpreted by art historians as a Constantinopolitan theme based on the church of the Blachernae and the Virgin *Blachernitissa*. This iconographic theme of the Mother of God veiled in white is connected with the worship of the *Pokrov* (the feast of the Intercession of the veil) based on a vision of the Mother of God that occurred at that same Constantinopolitan church and is recounted in the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool*.[172] The innovation at this second inauguration of a prince of Vladimir-Suzdal' is the localisation of the enthronement at a major princely foundation based on a Kievan, and, by extension, a Constantinopolitan model. The appropriation of Byzantine religious imagery and the intercession of the protectoress of the city of Kiev for the enthronement of Mikhailko further demonstrates the rhetorical representation of a shift in politico-spiritual authority to Vladimir-Suzdal'.

Even after the elaboration of a spiritual nexus for the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal', the 1176 enthronement of Mikhailko remains modest. The narrative of the ceremonial portion—the description of the physical space and topography of the enthronement—is limited to the salutation of the new ruler, the presentation of the "life-giving Cross" (which Mikhailko kisses as an oath to his subjects and the Church), and an implied procession to the church of the Mother of God where the official enthronement (the act of 'sitting on the throne') takes place. As on many occasions in the Kievan Chronicle, there is no mention of the presence of the clergy. The election and elevation of a prince through his own authority as secular leader (military and civil) and as spiritual leader (through his role as patron) may further reflect a changing pattern in the ideology of rulership in Rus' at the end of the 12th century.

Based on these observations, it is unremarkable that the description of Vsevolod Andreevich's 1206 enthronement of his son, Konstantin, at Novgorod should see the role of the Church so greatly restricted. In the episode presented below, the main message is the prerogative of

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[171] N. Kondakov, *Ikonografiia Bogomateri*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia imp. ak. nauk, 1914-1915), 72.

[172] Kondakov, *Ikonografiia Bogomateri*, 59-61; see: Rydén, "The vision of the Virgin at Blachernae," 62-82.

a senior prince to confirm the right of seniority and to confer rulership in Novgorod without the assent of the Church or of the people of Novgorod:[173]

> И да ему отец крестъ честны и мечь. Река се: "ти буди схраньник и помощник а мечь прещенье и опасенье иже ныне даю ти пасти люди своя от противных," и рече: "сыну мои Костянтине на тобе Бог положил переже стареишиньство во всеи братьи твоеи а Новгород Великыи стареишиньство имать княженью во всеи Рускои земли по имени твоем. Тако и хвала твоя не токмо Бог положил на тебе стареишиньство в братьи твоеи но и в всеи Рускои земли. И язъ ти даю стареишьньство, поеди в свои город." И целовав и отпусти"[174]

The description of the ceremony itself does not differ greatly from those of the princes of Kiev featured in the Kievan Chronicle: the princes enter the city of Novgorod, they are welcomed, there is rejoicing, and a procession. The main ritual innovation in the narrative is the passing of a sword, handed by Vsevolod to his son as a symbol of his rule. The sword is given along with a cross, marking the double aspect of the prince's authority over his land. The sword as a symbolic accoutrement does not appear in any of the narratives of either the *PVL* or the Kievan Chronicle, nor does it figure in the narrative of the corresponding period in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle either.

The Laurentian Chronicle, which at this point presents a different narrative from the Hypatian Chronicle, endows the rite with a more venerable aspect by citing Biblical passages, and can be described as a veritable disquisition on the position of the ruler within the celestial *oikoumene* as well as his favoured status with the Lord who granted him his kingdom and rule. The series of Biblical quotations (Math. 25:4, 35, 36, 40; Ps. 111-112:5; Ps. 40-41:1, 2; II Cor. 9:6) encapsulate the general topoi related to kingship including the anointment ritual that is a feature of the elevation of Israelite kings:[175]

> Якоже рече пророк Давид (Ps. 117-118:24) "сь день иже створи Господ взрадуиемя и взвеселимся во нь." И паки рече (Ps. 20-21: 1-5) "Господи силою твоею взвеселится цесарь и о спасньи твоем взрадуиется зело желанье сердца его дал ему еси и хотенья уст его неси его лишил положил еси на главе его венець от камени драгаго живота проси у тебе и дал ему еси долготу дени в векы веку." И пакы (Ps. 2:7-9) "Господь рече к мне 'син мои еси ты и азъ денесь родих тя. Проси от мене и дам ти язык достоянья твоего и одержанье твое до конца земли и упасеши я палицею железною.'" И пакы апостоль рече (Rom. 13:1-4) "'власти мирьскыя от Бога вчинены суть но власти боящеся да зла не створим да не от них.' пакы и муку приимем и того ради глаголать 'Богу слуга есть мьстя злодеем хощеши ли ся власти не бояти злаго не твори и похвалить тя аще ли зло твориш боися не бо без ума мечь носить.'[176]

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[173] Dvornik, "Byzantine Political Ideas," 120.

[174] *PSRL* 1, col. 422.

[175] Dvornik, "Byzantine Political Ideas," 120.

[176] *PSRL* 1, cols. 417-418.

This passage is the first instance in any of the chronicles where the ruler is exalted in this fashion. Effectively, such exaltations usually occur at the deaths and funeral processions of defunct princes of Rus',[177] and include the notions that encompass the spirit of secular power as it was understood not only in Byzantium, but also in the wider medieval world.[178]

The sword figures in the Laurentian and Hypatian chronicles following a description of the looting of Andrei Iurevich's palace in 1174/5. The passage is the same in both chronicle entries:

> Пишеть апостоль Павель: всяка душа властемь повинуется. Власти бо от Бога учинены суть. Естествомь бо цесар земным подобен есть всякому человеку. Властью же сана яко Бог веща. бо великыи Златоустець: темже противятся волости противятся закону Божью. князь бо не туне мечь носить Божии бо слуга есть.[179]

Once again, the biblical passage taken from the Letter to the Romans 13:4 is used to describe the prince's martial authority as justiciar. The sword-bearing Prince again appears in the Laurentian Chronicle's entry commemorating the death of Prince Vsevolod in the year 1212. This entry functions as an *epitaphios logos* for the defunct ruler: княз бо не туне мечь носить в месть злодеем, а в похвалу добро творящим [...].[180] Monica White has convincingly demonstrated the connection between the chronicle entry for 1174/5 and the *Paremeinik* reading for the 24th of July.[181] In the *Paremeinik* reading, Iaroslav's appeal to the Novgorodians to fight for him against Sviatopolk includes an admonishment to remember the words of the Apostle (I Peter 2:17) and those of Romans 13:4: "Brothers, fear God, honour the Prince. For he is the Lord's servant (I Pet. 2:17); not for nothing does he carry a sword (Rom. 13:4)".[182] In the chronicle entry for 1174/5 and the *Paremeinik* reading, the passage from the Letter to the Romans has been modified to correspond with a quotation from a different source. The passage from Romans appears to have been used in various historical contexts, but in each context the sword is a symbol of the Prince's martial power as justiciar and promotes the figure of the Prince as the servant of God and the guardian of peace and justice in his realm. Although the rhetoric of the Prince's sword is present in several chronicle

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[177] See: Collins, "The early Russian topoi of deathbed and testament," in Flier and Rowland, 134–59.

[178] See: W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, Methuen, 1969), 86-96, 111-113; and J. L. Nelson, "Inauguration rituals," in *Early Medieval Kingship*, (eds.) P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1997), 50-71.

[179] *PSRL* 1, col. 370, and **PSRL 2, cols. 592-593.** The first part of this quotation from Agapetos via the *Pchela*, see: I. Ševčenko, "A Neglected Byzantine Source of Muscovite Political Ideology," in *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture*, Renovatio I (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1991), 49-87, esp. 50-51.

[180] *PSRL* 1, col. 436.

[181] *Zhitiia*, 117. M. White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus, 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 183-184.

[182] *Zhitiia*, 117.

entries, it is only in the entry for 1206 of the Laurentian chronicle, describing the inauguration of Konstantin at Novgorod, that the sword figures as a ritual accoutrement for an inauguration.

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The ceremonies of inauguration represented in the chronicles of Rus' offer a unified vision for the 11th and 12th centuries. The political and spiritual dominance of the principality of Kiev, the city planned according to a Constantinopolitan model during the time of Iaroslav Vladimirich, is in evidence in the internecine conflicts that erupt over competing claims to the throne of Kiev. It is also in evidence in the sacred topography and pattern of cultural patronage that the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal' undertake for the city of Vladimir. Furthermore, it is in evidence in the chronicle narratives for enthronements taking place in Vladimir-Suzdal' that strictly adhere to a Kievan ceremonial template. However, the shift in geographic focus in the Suzdalian Chronicle suggests competing influences[183] for the ideological imperative behind the enthronements of the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal'. This dynamic is in evidence in the 1206 enthronement of Konstantin Vsevolodich at Novgorod. The ritual innovations for the early 13th century enthronement at Novgorod, fallen under the authority of princes of Vladimir-Suzdal', represent the culmination of the process begun in the 12th century by the senior princes of Vladimir. The replication of a Kievan politico-spiritual and ritual heritage is enhanced by the representation of the Prince of Vladimir as autocrat within the legitimising rhetorical framework of the Christian faith. Thus, Vladimir-Suzdal' is represented as both a successor to the principality of Kiev, through mimesis, and as an autonomous principality, through ritual innovation.

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[183] On the renewed Byzantine influence on Vladimir-Suzdal', see: White, *Military Saints*, 351-362.

iii.   **The act of "sitting" or "being seated" on the throne**

The enthronement ceremony in Rus' has hitherto been discussed as a literary reconstruction presented by the chronicles of Rus'. The discrepancy between the ritual of enthronement as a historical fact and its subsequent narrative interpretation in chronicles—as well as the fairly laconic nature of these narratives—poses certain limits to their evaluation and interpretation by historians. However, several elements can be examined within a wider cultural setting to elucidate aspects of the ceremony of enthronement beyond its narrative depictions. The act of "sitting" or "being seated" on the throne,[184] the constitutive event and mainstay of enthronements according to the chronicles of Rus', implies a ritual pre-dating the advent of Christianity in Rus'. The implantation of peoples from the North in Rus', the so-called Varangians,[185] and their autochthonous culture allows a possible provenance for the ritual of enthronement. References to the exercise of legitimate authority by a ruler seated on an ancestral seat, a ruler who exercises his authority because he is thus seated, are attested to in Old Norse sagas. Furthermore, the adoption or development of the exercise of authority from the ancestral seat may have occurred during the formation of Rus', pre-dating the Christian period.

The act of sitting on an elevated seat to denote primacy has been greatly discussed by historians primarily as the symbol of the emperor's majesty and his political and spiritual authority in the Roman and Byzantine worlds.[186] As a definitive aspect of political symbolism-*staatsymbolik*, the throne (or elevated seat) became, after the conversion of the Roman Empire to the Christian faith, an apparatus of ecclesiastical authority.[187] However, neither the throne nor the ritual of enthronement was ever the principal symbol of the authority of the Byzantine emperors. Gilbert Dagron writes:

> Relativement imprécis en ce qui concerne la forme ou la localisation des sièges ou trônes, le *Livre des cérémonies* est inversement très cohérent lorsqu'il s'agit de caractériser leur usage, et permet

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[184] On the vocabulary of enthronement and its technology, see: Androshchuk, "K istorii obriada intronizatsii drevnerusskikh kniazei," 5-10.

[185] There has been much discussion of the Scandinavian influence and cross-cultural contact with Rus', see: W. Duczko, *Viking Rus: Studies on the presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus*, ch. 1 and 2; J. Shepard, "The Viking Rus and Byzantium," in (eds.) S. Brink and N. S. Price, *Viking World* (London: Routledge, 2008), 496-516.

[186] For one of the first and most comprehensive studies on medieval political symbolism, see: P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954-1956), vol. 1, 344-345. Compare thrones: **figs. XII-XIII** with **VII-VIII**.

[187] In general, the throne (θρόνος) is an institutional seat with a back and with armrests on which Christ is enthroned in majesty and, occasionally, the emperor (in mosaics and miniatures). The θρόνος τῆς βασιλείας (the imperial throne) in the *Kletorologion of Philotheos* is an ecclesiastical throne, while the *sessus* (seat) is the general term, which derived from the Roman *sella curulis* (a backless seat often seen on consular diptychs) and had no specific placement. See: O. Wanscher, *Sella curulis: The Folding Stool: An Ancient Symbol of Dignity* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1980). See **fig. XII.**

ainsi de diversifier l'approche institutionnelle de la *basiléia*. Contrairement aux représentations figurées, contraintes de donner une image unique et simple du souverain, le cérémonial présente toujours l'empereur "en situation", dans des architectures bien typées et dans l'accomplissement de rituels bien définis.[188]

The Byzantine emperor "en situation" denotes the various roles of the emperor in the Middle Byzantine period. Dagron identifies three different throne types for the Byzantine emperor in the *De Cerimoniis*[189] based on the ceremonies in which they figure: thrones of epiphany (i.e. thrones that present the emperor before his subjects), thrones of autocracy (i.e. thrones that typify the emperor's power(s) and authority), and thrones of representation (i.e. thrones that represent the emperor as a servant of God in the earthly realm).[190] Dagron's taxonomy of the Byzantine emperor's thrones is not based on a passage from the *De Cerimoniis*, but is derived from the ceremonies described therein. Based on the nomenclature for the thrones of the *De Cerimoniis*, a degree of ambiguity and, perhaps, ambivalence becomes obvious regarding the ritual seat, which is inconsistently referred to by several different names.[191]

After the Late Antique Period, procession, coronation by the Patriarch at the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople and acclamation became the principal acts of investiture. The 10th century betrayed traces of "l'éclectisme idéologique des empereurs romains" since vestiges of imperial Roman and Late Antique ceremonies remained; beyond which, elements of older practices bearing connotations of former institutions—based around Roman civic ideals—either no longer existed or

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[188] See: G. Dagron, "Trônes pour un empereur," in *Byzantium: State and Society*, (eds.) A. Avramea, A. Laiou, and E. Chrysos (Athens: National Hellenic Foundation, 2003), 179-203, esp. 180.

[189] The *De Cerimoniis* (hereafter *DC*) is the first of the surviving comprehensive descriptions of Byzantine court ceremonial, which includes passages from earlier sources.

[190] Of these thrones, it is the so-called "Throne of Solomon" in the Consistorion-Magnaura that appears to have elicited the most interest in medieval sources and modern historiography, see: C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen: Kommission hos Munksgaard, 1959), 56-58, fig. 1; J. Kostenec, "Studies in the Great Palace in Constantinople, 2: The Magnaura," *BSl* 60 (1999): 161-182; for an alternative interpretation, see: R. H. W. Stichel, "Sechs kolossale Säulen nahe der Hagia Sophia und die Curia Justinians am Augusteion in Konstantinopel," *Architectura* 30 (2000): 1-25, 23-25. For descriptions of this throne, see: Leo the Grammarian, Bonn, 215; Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn, 173, 257; Pseudo-Symeon, Bonn, 627, 629; George the Monk Continuatus, Bonn, 793; Liudprand of Cremona *Antapodosis*, in (ed.) P. Chiesa, *Liudprandi Cremonensis Opera omnia*, Bonn, 147.VI.5. Liudprand of Cremona gives a fantastical account of the throne and its automata when he is received by the emperor as an emissary of Berengar II (1.77-78). The presence of the automata is corroborated by Theophanes Continuatus in the *Vita Michaelis* (21, Bonn, 173,ll.6-10), and the account states that the emperor Theophilus (829-842) also had aulic automata, which his successor Michael III (842-867) destroyed, see: A. A. Vasiliev and M. Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II. *Les relations politiques de Byzance et les des Arabes à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne*, Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae 2.1 (Brussels: Fondation byzantine, 1968), 238-243; and G. Brett, "The Automata in the Byzantine "Throne of Solomon"," *Speculum* 29 (1954): 477-487.

[191] In the *De Cerimoniis* there are several ritual seats used by the emperor and their names are often interchangeable even when a specific seat has been referred to in a specific context. For example, one passage refers to ὁ βασιλικὸς θρόνος, χρυσοσελλίον (the imperial golden throne), τὰ τούτων σελλία (the seats), ἕτερον σελλίον βλαττόστρωτον (the other seat covered with silk), ὁλόχρυσα σελλία καὶ ἕτερα βλαττόστρωτα (the other all-golden seats over which silk is stretched), see: *DC*, Bonn II, 600-601.33. In another passage referring to the same seating arrangement, the emperor who had previously been seated on the "imperial golden throne", "[...] εἶθ᾽οὕτως καθέζεται ἐν τῷ ἐκεῖσε ἱσταμένῳ χρυσῷ σελλίῳ" (goes to sit on the golden seat that is found there), which for some reason is no longer a "throne" but a seat (sellion), see: *DC*, Bonn II, 519 I.22-520 I.1.

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were in near total abeyance by the 10th century.[192] Dagron writes: "Et il faut à l'empereur plusieurs trônes pour rendre compte à la fois des différentes fonctions qui se sont confondues en sa personne",[193] meaning that a single ritual seat could not encompass the emperor's politico-spiritual authority at Constantinople.

The ceremonies of the 10th and 11th century Byzantine emperors demonstrate an eclectic melange of ritual acts inherited from imperial Rome and recent ritual innovations. The type of ceremonial seat varies based on the aspect of rulership (institutional, sacred, civic) being enacted. The primary purpose of the imperial throne was to display the emperor and the imperial family in the Hippodrome, in the rooms of the palace, at the Hagia Sophia, and at other imperial buildings. The δέξιμον of the δοχαί ceremonial at which the demes "greet" the emperor with acclamations as the emperor processes, included stops at various raised platforms upon which the emperor was elevated in order to ritually "appear" before his subjects.[194] Such ceremonial elevations on a throne or a seat were replicated from the ritual of the Roman *adoratio*. This ceremony was most evident in the receptions of ambassadors at the Consistorion-Magnaura where the emperor was installed on a throne, followed by a hierarchic entry and acclamations, and a *proskynesis* before the enthroned emperor.[195] The ceremony of the πρόκυψις/*prokypsis* (ritual appearance), developed in the 12th century, was the ultimate development of the hieratic ritualised appearance of the emperor.[196]

In the narratives of Princess Olga's journey to Constantinople in the *PVL* and the *De Cerimoniis*, the imperial family is described as sitting on various ceremonial seats in the different rooms of the palace. In the Justinianos, the imperial throne (ὁ μέγας θρόνος Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως)[197] is mentioned when Princess Olga sits with the Byzantine empress and her daughter-in-

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[192] Dagron, "Trônes pour un empereur," 200-203.

[193] Dagron, "Trônes pour un empereur," 202.

[194] For example, the emperor was elevated in the atrium of the church of St. Polyeuktos, see: P. Speck, "Juliana Anicia, Konstantin der Grosse und die Polyeuktoskirche in Konstantinopel," *Varia* III [*Poikila Byzantina* 11] (1991): 133, 144-147, n. 43.

[195] In *DC*, Bonn II, II,15 (Peter the Patrician); I,98 (89), 398-408 and 406-407; translated in J. M. Featherstone, "ΔΙ᾽ ΕΝΔΕΙΞΙΝ: Display in Court Ceremonial (*De Cerimoniis* II,15)," in *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in mediaeval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, (eds.) A. Cutler and A. Papaconstantinou (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 75-112, esp. 81-112. See: E. Kantorowicz, "Oriens Augusti - Lever du Roi," *DOP* 7 (1963): 117-177, esp. 159-162; and A. Winterling, *Aula Caesaris, Studien zur Institutionalisierung des römischen Kaiserhofes in der Zeit von Augustus bis Commodus (31 v. Chr.-192 n. Chr.)* (Munich: R. Oldenburg, 1999).

[196] Dagron, "Trônes pour un empereur," 196-200; and *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, (trans. and ed.) R. Macrides, J. A. Munitiz, D. Angelov, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies, vol. 15 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 401-413.

[197] *DC*, Bonn II, 595-15.8B. See: J. M. Featherstone, "Olga's Visit to Constantinople in *De Cerimoniis*," *REB* 61 (2003): 241-251, esp. 246. Featherstone ("Display", 107) suggests that this may be the same χρυσῷ διαλίθῳ θρόνῳ upon which Theophilus sat in the Triconchus, see: Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn, 142,15-19.

law; and although this is the emperor's throne, the empress sits upon it when she dines with Princess Olga.[198] In effect, the *De Cerimoniis* never emphasises one ceremonial seat for the Byzantine emperor. Ceremonial seats are named according to their ceremonial role and their conveyance of hierarchy. Thus, the empress sits upon the "great throne of the emperor Theophilus" since this illustrates her primacy and imperial authority within a ceremonial context—"en situation" as Dagron writes—rather than incarnating the source of that authority.

In official representations of imperial figures, Byzantine emperors were rarely[199] represented seated on thrones (or ceremonial seats) and there are no known depictions of the enthroned emperor on Byzantine coins after the 4th century.[200] Numismatic representations of Christ on the throne and the Mother of God on the throne were the only common depictions of seated figures in Byzantine *staatsymbolik*, but even they appear to have been much rarer in the period from the reign of Romanus I (r. 920-944) to the accession of Romanus III (r. 1028-1034).[201] The Byzantine coins found in Rus' were minted during a period when depictions of Christ and the Mother of God seated on ceremonial thrones were especially rare. The following section will further examine numismatics and sigillography, and it should be noted here that the evidence for a Byzantine provenance for the act of enthronement is unlikely as enthronement was never a constitutive ritual element in the representation of Byzantine imperial authority.

Jonathan Shepard has suggested that enthronement and the act of exercising authority from a ritual seat pre-dated the advent of Christianity and contact with Constantinople.[202] As evidence, Shepard cites the 922 account of Ibn Fadlan describing the 'Hall of the kings of Rus'', which emphasises the association of power with a ceremonial seat:

> One of the customs of the king of the Rus' is to have 400 men in his palace [...] These 400 men sit below the king's throne, which is immense and encrusted with the finest gems. Forty slave girls destined for his bed sit by him on the throne. Sometimes he has sex with one of them [...] without coming down from the throne. When he wants to perform his natural functions, he does so in a

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[198] *DC*, Bonn II, 596-15.10A.

[199] Prior to the reign of Constantine I (306-337), emperors were represented seated in profile on a *sella curulis*, although some Late Antique coins from the Roman Empire in the West include depictions of front-facing seated figures. However, these representations do not appear to be attributable to emperors and this iconography disappears after the 6th-7th century. See: P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London, Berkeley and Los Angeles: Methuen & Co., University of California Press, 1982), pl. 14.235-237; 35.640-641; 38.695; 45.814.

[200] See: A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936), 83, no. 3.

[201] Following the Iconoclast Period, the coins of Justinian II (685-695) display an altered imperial figure, represented as *Servus Christi*, while the figure of Christ becomes *Rex Regnantium*. This iconography prevails over other iconographic types beginning in the 9th century, see: J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II (685-695, 705-711 A.D.)*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs 144 (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1959), 28-63.

[202] See: Shepard, "Byzantium and Russia in the eleventh century," 52-54.

basin. If he wants to ride, his horse is led right up to the throne and he mounts. If he wants to dismount, he has the horse move forward so that he can get down directly on to the throne.[203]

In spite of the hyperbolic nature of this account, it accentuates the significance of the prince's association with the ceremonial seat as the principal conveyor of his authority to rule, to such an extent, according to Ibn Fadlan, that the prince rarely physically dissociates himself from it. The prince's ceremonial seat is characterised both as the place of prominence and as the place from which authority issues.

Based on these observations, there are parallels to be drawn with Medieval Scandinavia where seating oneself atop a ceremonial seat denoted a magico-realist authority.[204] In Old Norse sagas, the ritualised sitting on the ancestral seat occurs chiefly at funeral feasts where the deceased's heir formally succeeded to his patrimony by sitting on the seat of his forefathers.[205] In the *Ynglinga Saga* (the first part of Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*), following the death of a king or a *jarl*, the heir holds a feast and sits on the step in front of the ceremonial seat until the cup (*bragafull*) is brought.[206] Following this ritual, which involves the making of oaths, the heir is conducted to sit atop the ceremonial seat and is then entitled to his inheritance and recognised as a legitimate successor.[207] Thus, Sweyn Fork-Beard (Sveinn Tjúguskegg) drank his *minni* (*bragafull* or ceremonial cup) and swore an oath to defeat King Ethelred, either by killing him or dispossessing him of his land, before sitting upon the ceremonial seat of his predecessor.[208]

In the Old Norse sagas, as in the chronicles of early Rus', the ritual act of sitting on a ceremonial seat demonstrated the legitimacy of a potential heir, especially when there were several candidates who had equally viable claims. The most notable difference between the enthronements

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[203] *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*, (trans. and ed.) P. Lunde (London: Penguin Classics, 2012), 54-55; *Puteshestvie Ibn-Fadlana na Volgu: perevod i kommentarii*, (trans. and ed.) I. Y. Krachkovskii (Moskva: Akademii nauk SSSR, 1939), 83-84.

[204] On new considerations and methodologies for working with Old Norse literature, see: N. S. Price, *The Viking Way. Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*, AUN 31 (Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 2002), 67; J. V. Sigurdsson, "Tendencies in the Historiography on the Medieval Nordic States (to 1350)," in *Public Power in Europe. Studies in Historical Transformation*, (eds.) J. S. Amelang and S. Beer (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006), 1-15; and A. Eriksen and J. V. Sigurdsson (eds.), *Negotiating Pasts in the Nordic Countries. Interdisciplinary Studies in History and Memory* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009).

[205] G. Turville-Petre, *Myth and religion of the North: the religion of ancient Scandinavia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), 292-296.

[206] Turville-Petre, *Myth and religion of the North*, 294-295; Androshchuk, "K istorii obriada intronizatsii drevnerusskikh kniazei," 5-7.

[207] See: Turville-Petre, *Myth and religion of the North*, 294-295.

[208] See: Turville-Petre, *Myth and religion of the North*, 295; Schramm, *Herrschaftzeichen*, vol. 3, 793, Schramm writes that the throne permeated Scandinavian ideas about God, described as "throne-king of Heaven." For an early study on the subject, see: R. Rydzevskaya, "Legenda o Vladimire v sage Olafa Tryggvasona," *TODRL* 2 (1935), 7. On evidence from the *Heimskringla*, see: E. Vestergaard, "A Note on Viking Age Inaugurations," in Bak, 119-124, esp. notes 7-8.

described in Old Norse sagas and those of Rus' chronicles is that the enthronement of a *jarl* or king in the sagas occurs during the funeral feast of his predecessor, whereas enthronements in the chronicles are represented as a separate ceremony demarcated from funerary rituals.

The development of ritualised sitting and seats has been examined in terms of the magico-spiritual aspect attributed to seats in pre-Christian Scandinavian culture. Neil Price has discussed seats and seating in his work on Viking religion and the complex of rituals known as *seiðr*, which are associated with a range of divinities, supernatural beings, and human actors.[209] Price makes the connection between seats and *seiðr* rituals, the practice of magic and sorcery, as manifestations or a parallel system of belief to Viking religion.[210] Seat pendants are among the magico-realist objects excavated at gravesites and in hoards,[211] which have been described both as the supernatural translation of real status and hierarchy; and as the human appropriation of divine thrones, such as Hliðskjálf (the throne of Óðinn).[212]

This ambivalence of meaning allows for multiple interpretations of physical seats and ritualised sitting. Besides small excavated throne pendants, multiple graves have been discovered where the deceased was placed in a seated position in the burial chamber.[213] Seated burials are attributed to individuals having a magico-spiritual role in society as well as to those with political-military authority.[214] The second observation is possibly more evocative of the social role of seated men found in ship burials, such as that of Vendel. Hjalmar Stolpe, who excavated the site at Vendel, describes a 10th century grave (Grave IX) containing a man seated on a type of chair, the details of which could not be distinguished.[215] A seated ship burial is recorded in Ibn Fadlan's account of a Rus' funeral on the Volga, which he witnessed during his diplomatic mission in 922.[216] Ibn Fadlan

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[209] Price, *The Viking Way*, 23.

[210] Price, *The Viking Way*, 23-30; which is inspired by: R. Boyer, *Le monde du double: la magie chez les anciens Scandinaves* (Paris: Berg International, 1986).

[211] See: Price, *The Viking Way*, 163-167; and C. Hills, "'Spong Man' in context," in *Landscapes and Artefacts: Studies in East Anglian Archaeology*, (eds.) S. Ashley and A. Marsden (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), 79-89, esp. 79.

[212] Price, *The Viking Way*, 163-167; and Vestergaard, "A Note on Viking Age Inaugurations," 121.

[213] For example, at Birka: Price, *The Viking Way*, 132-145.

[214] Price, *The Viking Way*, 132-145.

[215] H. Stolpe and T. J. Arne, *Graffältet vid Vendel* (Stockholm: K. L. Beckmans Boktryckeri, 1912), 37.

[216] See: P. Foote and D. M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement: The Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia*, 2nd edn (New York: St. Martin's Press: 1990), 407-11; T. Sass, "The funeral of the Rus-chief," in *The ship as a symbol in prehistoric and medieval Scandinavia*, (eds.) O. Crumlin-Pedersen and B. Munch Thye (København: National Museum, 1995), 136-137; S. Wikander, "Ibn Fadlans berättelse om Rus," in *Islam: konst och kultur*, (eds.) S. Unge and K. Ådahl (Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museum, 1985), 77-84; and N. S. Price, "Ethnic attitudes, ethnic landscapes: some thoughts on the Viking Age," in *Etnicitet eller kultur*, (eds.) B. Johnsen and S. Welinder (Östersund: Mitthögskolan, 1998), 37-59, esp. 39-42.

describes that the deceased (a man) is deposited in the funerary ship, on a bier covered with tapestries; he is placed in a seated position (the seat is not described), and is held in place with cushions. It is difficult to determine the exact rank or role of the recipients of seated ship burials, but it is possible that they were part of the warrior or political elite.[217] On the other hand, seated women found in mounds may have been, according to Neil Price, figures with a magico-spiritual role in society, such as sorcery or witchcraft.[218] However, it becomes clear based on the discussion between archaeologists that seated burials were likely attributed to figures with a distinct function, whether magico-spiritual or military-political.

In Old Norse literature, a raised platform or seat is often associated with divinities and with magico-religious practices.[219] The seiðrhjallr is described as a special platform on which the performer climbs for ritual purposes. This platform has been linked to the hásœti (high seat) that formed a place of honour in the Germanic hall.[220] Once again, the platform or place of honour is connected with the throne of Óðinn (Hliðskjálf), which appears to be the prototypical throne or ritual seat.[221] Unlike the seat pendants, platforms or raised seats for seiðr have not been unearthed in Viking Age buildings. However, excavations of Viking Age areas of habitation and burial have yielded information about the Viking *hov* (elite residence or hall).[222] The word *hov* (meaning 'elevation' or 'height') was also used to identify places of prominence in a farming culture as well as ritual buildings. The *hov* as a ritual centre has been known primarily through descriptions found in Old Norse literature. In the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, Torulf builds a *hov* consisting of a large building with a door at one end, seat poles for a platform or some kind of monumental seat, and an annex where a penannular ring for the swearing of oaths is placed.[223] The existence of the *hov* has

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[217] On the problematic nomenclature in Viking culture, see: G. Ausenda, "Current Issues and Future Directions in the Study of the Scandinavians," in J. Jesch (ed.), *The Scandinavians from the Vendel Period to the Tenth Century. An Ethnographic Perspective* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer), 322-341, 338-339.

[218] Price, *The Viking Way*, 134-141; and, more generally, on female burials and status, see: J. Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 1991), 10-38.

[219] Hliðskjálf, the throne of Oðinn is evoked in the introductions to the Grimnismál and Skírnismál poems.

[220] Price, *The Viking Way*, 162; and A. Olrik, "Epische Gesetze der Volksdiehtung," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur* 51 (1909): 1-12 [trans. in A. Dundee (ed.), *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1965), 129-141]; and M. Egeler, *Celtic Influences in Germanic Religion* (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2013), 63-64, note 174.

[221] Price, *The Viking Way*, 163.

[222] See: L. Carstens, "Powerful space. The Iron-Age hall and its development during the Viking Age," in *Viking Worlds. Things, Spaces and Movement*, (eds.) M. H. Eriksen, U. Pedersen, B. Rundberget, I. Axelsen, and H. Lund Berg (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 12-28.

[223] See: C. Fabech and U. Näsman, "Ritual Landscapes and Sacral Places in the First Millennium AD in South Scandinavia," in *Sacred Sites and Holy Places. Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, (eds.) S. Walaker Nordeide and S. Brink (Brepols: Turnhout, 2013), 53-111.

previously been debated amongst historians and archaeologists and treated as fictional. However, the site of Hófstadir as well as excavations at several other sites have provided evidence of a central building or elite residence that may have been a *hov*.[224] The well-known site of Sutton Hoo has also yielded information about power centres in the Viking world, which has led Charlotte Fabech to posit that multifunctional sites, such as burial mounds, farms, markets, elite residences, and other socio-religious buildings, developed from the Iron Age onward.[225]

The idea of continuity and transformation of such places of power to the princely residence and churches (following the Christianisation) has been put forth, but the modes of this transformation are difficult to determine based on the archaeological record and Old Norse literature. The dawn of the first millennium has been presented as the transition period leading to a constructed ritual landscape, this is manifest in the transition from ancestor cults practiced in the natural landscape to an institutionalised system of ritual places.[226] General observations about this transition include the rise of magnates and their legitimisation through religious practices and the impact and adaptation of cultural practices based on interaction and confrontation with Mediterranean-Germanic cultures and their practices.[227] Early Rus' emerged during this period of transition of Viking culture. The similarity of the ritual content of basic ritual practices (enthronement and oath-taking) with Viking cultural practices and the subsequent similarity of the integration of Christian culture (of Byzantine culture in the case of Rus') and of Romano-Barbaric culture for Medieval Scandinavia, suggests certain shared cultural characteristics. It is possible that as Rus' culture was shaped and reshaped by the advent of Christianity and Byzantine Christian culture, emulations of an autochthonous heritage were subsumed. However, very little is known of pre-Christian Rus' and it is difficult to speculate beyond the shared significance of the ritual act of sitting (or being seated) on a ceremonial seat in a place of politico-religious significance.

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[224] Borg in Östergötland, Lunda in Södermanland, Järrestad and Uppåkra in Scania, Lisbjerg in Jutland, Gudme on Funen, and Tisso in Zealand, see: Fabech and Näsman, "Ritual Landscapes and Sacral Places," 82.

[225] See: M. Carver, "Sutton Hoo in context," in *Sutton Hoo. A seventh-century princely burial ground and its context*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 69 (London: The British Museum Press, 2005), 489-505, esp. 501; C. Fabech, "Organising the Landscape. A matter of production, power and religion," in *The Making of Kingdoms: Anglo-Saxon studies in archaeology and history*, (eds.) T. Dickinson and D. Griffiths (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1999), 37-47, fig. 8; and *idem.*, "Centrality in Old Norse mental landscapes," in *Old Norse Religion in Long-term Perspectives: Origins, Changes and Interactions*, (eds.), A. Andrén, et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2006), 26-32.

[226] T. Blomkvist, *Från ritualiserad tradition till institutionaliserad religion: strategier för maktlegitimering på Gotland under järnålder och medeltid* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2002), 26.

[227] Fabech and Näsman, "Ritual Landscapes and Sacral Places," 85-86.

In 1015, following the death of Vladimir the Great in 1015, Boris Vladimirich is told by his retainers "поиди сяди Киеве на столе отчини".[228] Prior to any discussion of a rationalised succession to the throne of Kiev (the first "testament" regulating succession is that of Iaroslav Vladimirich in 1054), this behest of Prince Boris's retainers suggests that entering Kiev and sitting on the ancestral throne would enhance political legitimacy and imply succession. Even before a system of lateral succession could be discerned, the contest between competing brother-princes for the throne of Kiev could, according to the *PVL*, be decided by military might and ritual enthronement on the ancestral seat.

<div align="center">❋❋❋❋❋❋</div>

In all likelihood, the enthronements of the princes of Rus' did not derive from Byzantine ceremonial practice and predated the period of Christianisation during which the Rus' had consistent contact with Byzantium and the emperor's court at Constantinople. The Viking origins of legitimate succession by sitting on a predecessor's seat are entirely possible based on the narratives of the chronicles of Rus', the established ties between the Vikings and Rus' during the period of settlement, and the comparable narratives of legitimate succession by enthronement in the narratives of both regions. The chronicles of Rus' insist on the ancestral princely seat rather than a ritualised series of aulic seats destined to display aspects of the ruler's power and authority. The notion of sitting or being seated upon an ancestral seat in early Rus' thus gains a constitutive significance in the attribution of the throne of Kiev, *inter alia*, to a prince, in establishing his primacy, and in creating consensus around his right to rule.

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[228] *PSRL* 1, col. 132; and *Skazanie*, 33.

The visual rhetoric of enthronement in early Rus'

It is entirely possible that the first attempt to illustrate sole legitimate rulership in early Rus' was through the minting of coins representing the prince of Rus' seated on a ceremonial seat. The coins of early Rus' denote legitimate overlordship through an unambivalent representation of princely authority. The ritualised self-identification of the princes of early Rus' who minted coins, borrows heavily from the coins of the Byzantine emperors of the 10th and 11th centuries. Although the symbolic language featured on these coins: princely busts, regalia, and religious identification (the figures of Christ the Pantocrator on the obverse of the coins) are Byzantine in style, autochthonous elements are also in evidence. The formulaic inscriptions, the representation of the heraldic ensigns (trident figures) of Rus', the representation of eponymous saints bearing the baptismal names of the princes of Rus', and the representation of the figure of the Prince seated on a ceremonial seat (or throne) are elements that do not derive from known Byzantine prototypes.[229] The symbolic language of the early Rus' coins alludes to a conscious borrowing of Byzantine *staatsymbolik* in addition to local symbols of authority. The symbols of state prominent on early Rusian coins interact with the overall production of visual symbols of princely authority in early Rus', most notably, in early manuscript miniatures featuring portraits of Rus' princes, and in iconographies of rulers in the churches of Rus'. Although the coins minted during the reigns of Vladimir Sviatoslavich (r. c. 980-1015), Sviatopolk Vladimirich (claimant to Kiev 1015-1019), and Iaroslav Vladimirich (Prince of Kiev 1015/19-1054) bear many of the appropriate Byzantine imperial symbols, these symbols did not endure past the beginning of the 11th century, since coin-striking itself did not continue in Rus' as a visible statement of authority.[230]

Coin finds bespeak the advantageous position of Rus', situated at an intersection for trade across several axes:[231] from the Viking north to the Black Sea,[232] from Rus' across the Black Sea to

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[229] See: J. Shepard, "Rus'," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, (ed.) N. Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 399-401.

[230] Shepard, "Rus'," 394-395. See **figs. I-IV** and **XIV-XV**.

[231] On trade and trade routes in early Rus', see: T. S. Noonan, "The Flourishing of Kiev's International and Domestic Trade, ca. 1100-ca. 1240," in *Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays*, (ed.) I. S. Koropeckyj (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, 1991), 102-146; I. Sorlin, "Voies commerciales, villes et peuplement de la Rusia au Xe siècle d'après le *De administrando imperio* de Constantin Porphyrogénète," in *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, (eds.) M. Kazanski, D. Nercessian, C. Zuckerman, *Réalités byzantines* 7 (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 2000), 337-355; J. Martin, *Treasure of the land of darkness: the fur trade and its significance for medieval Russia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). The most recent study on the subject is: A. V. Nazarenko, *Drevniaia Rus' na mezhdunarodnykh putiakh: Mezhdistsiplinarnye ocherki kul'turnykh, torgovykh, politicheskikh sviazei IX-XII vekov* (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2001).

[232] See: Shepard, "The Viking Rus and Byzantium," 496-516; T. S. Noonan, *The Islamic World, Russia and the Vikings, 750-900: the numismatic evidence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); and H. R. Ellis, *The Viking Road to Byzantium* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1976).

Byzantium,[233] from the Middle East and Central Asia to the northern lands (Rus'-Scandinavia)[234] and continental Europe, and from continental Europe to the Scandinavian north.[235] These trade routes are attested to by Arab chroniclers of the 9th and 10th centuries,[236] in Byzantine chronicles and hagiographic literature,[237] in Carolingian texts,[238] and in archaeological finds throughout the Scandinavian north.[239] Individual coin finds and coin hoards are the main physical evidence attesting to the circulation of coins throughout Rus' during the pre-Mongol period.

There is overlap to varying degrees, for the periods of monetary circulation in early Rus'.[240] It can be roughly surmised that from the 8th to the 10th centuries, Kufic coins widely circulated in Rus'. These coins were the dirhams of the Arab Caliphate (the Abbasid dynasty), of Central Asia, of Iran (the Buyyid dynasty, the Samanid dynasty, and silver Sassanian drachmas of the 4th-7th centuries),[241] of Transcaucasia, of Mesopotamia, of Asia Minor, and those of Umayyad Spain.[242] Byzantine coins circulated in Rus', from the 9th to the 12th centuries, particularly during the 10th to 11th centuries. There have been finds of Byzantine gold and copper coins, while it appears that Byzantine bronze coins reached Rus' in much greater numbers than their Islamic counterparts.

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[233] The three Russo-Byzantine treaties in the *PVL* attest to trade relations between Rus' and Byzantium via the Black Sea region, see: I. Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle (I)," *CMRS* 2.2-3 (1961): 313-360.

[234] See: T. S. Noonan, *The Islamic World, Russia and the Vikings, 750-900: the numismatic evidence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); R. Kovalev, "The Production of Dirhams in the Coastal Caspian Sea Provinces of Northern Iran in the Tenth-Early Eleventh Centuries and their Circulation in the Northern Lands," in *Archivum Eurasia Medii Aevi*, vol. 19, (eds.) T. T. Allsen, P. B. Golden, R. K. Kovalev, A. P. Martinez (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag: 2012), 133-183.

[235] See: J. Shepard, "The Rhos guests of Louis the Pious: whence and wherefore?" *Early Medieval Europe* 4.1 (1995): 41-60; *idem.*, "Aspects of Byzantine Attitudes and Policy towards the West in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *Byzantium and the West c. 850-c. 1200*, (ed.) J. D. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988), 83.

[236] A. P. Novoseltsev, "Vostochnye istochniki o vostochnykh slavianakh i Rusi VI-IX vv.," in *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoe znachenie*, (eds.) A. P. Novoseltsev, V. T. Pashuto, et al. (Moscow: Nauka, 1965); I. Hrbek, "Der Dritte Stamm der Rus nach Arabischen Quellen," *Archiv Orientalni* 25 (1957): 628-653; and T. Jonsson Hraundal, "The Rus in Arabic Sources: Cultural Contacts and Identity," Doctoral dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Bergen, February 2013, 129-162.

[237] See: I. Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle (I)," 319-322, note 27.

[238] Contacts across this axis is attested to by the *Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 839, F. Grat, J. Vielliard, S. Clémencet (eds.) (Paris, 1964): 28-30; J. L. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester, 1991), 42-3; T. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407-1096)* (Athens, 1980),167, n. 2.

[239] See: the extensive bibliography of Thomas S. Noonan.

[240] The idea of "monetary circulation" in early Rus' has been debated by historians, see: T. S. Noonan, "Monetary Circulation in Early Medieval Rus': A Study of Volga Bulgar Dirham Finds," *RH/HR* 7.3 (1980), 294-311. The notion of "circulation" suggests that coins moved through Rus' for the purposes of trade and monetary exchange. It is possible that certain coins were brought to Rus' as decorative or religious objects, see: V. N. Sedykh, "On the Function of Coins in Graves in Early Medieval Rus'," *RH/HR* 32.3-4 (2005): 471-478. However, these coins could have circulated to Rus' and could have been used in monetary exchange before becoming decorative or religious objects.

[241] See **fig. XI**. R. Payne, "The archaeology of Sasanian politics," *Journal of Ancient History* 2.2 (2014): 1-13, 7-9.

[242] See: I. G. Spasskii, *Russkaia monetnaia sistema: istoriko-numizmaticheskii ocherk* (Leningrad: Izd.-vo Gos. Ermitazha, 1962), 30-32; and Kovalev, "The Production of Dirhams in the Coastal Caspian Sea," 133-189.

However, *solidi* and *folles* do not appear to have circulated within Rus', the former being held as treasure and the latter having little or no monetary value in Rus'. Only the silver Byzantine *miliaresion* circulated in Rus'.[243] From the 11th to 12th centuries, there was a noticeable increase in the circulation of European silver deniers (mainly German and Anglo-Saxon) with representations of crosses, figures, architecture, items, and monograms and legends in Latin.[244] The increase in circulation of these coins and their variety attest to the rapidly developing trade relations between Rus' and medieval Europe.

Therefore, coins circulated or were brought to Rus' from the 8th century onwards. However, by the second quarter of the 11th century, there was a significant increase of Western European coins[245] in Rus' coin hoards. It is the middle period, the final quarter of the 10th and first half of the 11th centuries, that is of particular interest as it overlaps with the period when the princes of Rus' produced their own coinage. Furthermore, this period corresponds with the greatest influx of Byzantine coins, which were very likely the prototypes for early Rus' coins. Byzantine coins have been excavated at approximately six hundred find-spots in the area of Kievan Rus'.[246] Byzantine coins have been found mainly in hoards with dirhams and deniers, and have also been found mixed with the coins of Vladimir Sviatoslavich and Iaroslav Vladimirich.[247] Byzantine coins always constitute a very small percentage of the coins found in the hoards, and are found in the highest percentage at Kiev, Pinsk, and Riazan.[248] Although Byzantine coins are in evidence from the reign of Leo IV (775-80) to the reign of John II Komnenos (1118-43), the only Byzantine coin to circulate

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[243] According to Noonan, silver coins were the only coins to be universally accepted in Rus' and were, therefore, the only coins that "circulated", see: T. S. Noonan "The Circulation of Byzantine Coins in Kievan Rus'" *BS/EB* 7.2 (1980): 143-181. The main repertoires of Byzantine coins in Rus' are: V. V. Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh monet na territorii SSSR (Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov, E4-4)* (Moscow: Izd-vo Akad. Nauk SSSR, 1962); *idem.*, "Novye nakhodki vizantiiskikh monet na territorii SSSR," *VV* 26 (1965): 166-189; V. L. Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy russkogo srednevekov'ia: Domongol'skii period* (Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1956); V. M. Potin, *Drevniaia Rus' i evropeiskie gosudarstva v X-XIII vv.: Istoriko-numizmaticheskii ocherk* (Leningrad: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1968), 73-92; *idem.*, "Topografiia nakhodok zapadnoevropeiskikh monet X-XIII vv. na territorii drevnei Rusi," *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 9 (1967): 106-188, esp. 128-63.

[244] See: Spasskii, *Russkaia monetnaia sistema*, 36-40; Potin, *Drevniaia Rus' i evropeiskie gosudarstva*, 73-92; *idem.*, "Topografiia nakhodok zapadnoevropeiskikh monet X-XIII vv.," 106-188.

[245] Spasskii suggests that this shift occurred due to commencement of the crusades, which would have suspended the influx of Dirhams to Rus'; and the German invasion of the Baltic lands, see: Spasskii, *Russkaia monetnaia sistema*, 41-42.

[246] Noonan "The Circulation of Byzantine Coins," 156-157.

[247] Noonan "The Circulation of Byzantine Coins," 168-173. Potin contends that it is the western European deniers which assign an approximate burial date because the reigns during which the coins were minted can be precisely dated and they were minted after the Byzantine coins, see: Potin, *Drevniaia Rus' i evropeiskie gosudarstva*, 47.

[248] Potin, *Drevniaia Rus' i evropeiskie gosudarstva*, 73-92.

in Kievan Rus' was the silver *miliaresion*.[249] Since both dirhams and deniers were silver coins and have been found in the majority of Rus' coin hoards, it can be surmised that silver Byzantine coins were consistent with this pattern. In summary, the numismatist Thomas Noonan writes: "Various types of silver coins became the standard medium of exchange, the universally accepted coin. Gold coins were undoubtedly too rare to fulfil such a function while the value of copper/bronze coins was too little and/or too variable to assume this function."[250] In effect, gold *solidi* and *folles* reached early Rus', but they never became part of the coin stock that circulated. They were most likely hoarded as treasure and used as ritual objects in burials, perhaps due to their religious significance during the Christianisation of Rus'.[251]

The minting of coins in Rus' began with gold specimens, *zolotniki*, which derive from the Byzantine gold *solidi* of the 10th and 11th centuries. These were followed by silver coins, *srebreniki*, which were minted by all three princes who minted coins in early Rus'. The metrology of the *srebreniki* was closely associated with that of pre-10th century dirhams. The coins minted by the princes of Rus' exist in several types for each reign of the princes of Rus' who minted coins:[252]

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[249] Noonan "The Circulation of Byzantine Coins," 170-171.

[250] Noonan "The Circulation of Byzantine Coins," 169.

[251] See: Sedykh, "On the Function of Coins in Graves in Early Medieval Rus'," 471-478.

[252] See: M. P. Sotnikova and I. G. Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii: Svodnyi katalog russkikh monet X-XI vekov* (Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1983). In addition to 19th and early 20th century catalogues of medieval coins of Rus', this is the main catalogue containing images of a large number of the numismatic material from Rus' for this period, along with analysis by the authors. Sotnikova reissued the catalogue in 1995 with no major amendments that affect this study, see: M. P. Sotnikova, *Drevneishie Russkie monety X-XI vekov. Katalog i issledovanie* (Moscow: Banki i birzhi, 1995).

      Omeljan Pritsak published one essay on the development of monetary-weight systems that developed in Rus' during the Viking Age and a second on the Rus' coinage of the Kievan era. The first essay deals with commercial transactions between Rus' and diverse regions and how it was possible for Rus' to translate value across disparate monetary-weight systems. The second essay examines and refutes the assertions of Spasskii and Sotnikova (see below) that most Rus' coins were struck by the first quarter of the 11th century. Pritsak ascertains that the coinage of Rus' was issued almost half a century later and can be attributed to Vladimir Monomakh and his contemporaries. The findings of Sotnikova and Spasskii and, more importantly, the archeological record of coin hoard deposits all refute this hypothesis. See: O. Pritsak, *The Origins of the Old Rus' Weights and Monetary Systems: Two Studies in Western Eurasian Metrology and Numismatics in the Seventh to Eleventh Centuries*. Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1998); see also: T. S. Noonan, "Review," *Russian Review* 58.2 (1999): 319-320. The aforementioned discrepancies along with assertions such as "every element of Volodimer's coinage was derived structurally from Byzantine symbolism" (71) do not recommend this work for my present study of the ritual significance of early Rus' coins.

Coin and Type	Reverse: Iconography	Reverse: Legend	Obverse: Iconography	Obverse: Legend
Vladimir: *zolotniki* Type I	Frontal portrait of Prince wearing fibula with round clasp; wearing *stemma* with *prependoulia*; and holding a cross sceptre or *labarum* in his right hand Prince is seated on his throne, which is like a cushion from which his feet dangle With trident above left shoulder in some classes	"Vladimir on the throne" "Vladimir, and this is his gold"	Christ represented as the Pantokrator	Full name of Christ in Slavonic
Vladimir: *srebreniki* Type I	Frontal portrait of Prince wearing fibula with round clasp; wearing *stemma* with *prependoulia*; and holding a cross sceptre or *labarum* in his right hand Prince is seated on his throne, which is like a cushion from which his feet dangle With trident above left shoulder in some classes	"Vladimir on the throne" "Vladimir, and this is his silver"	Christ represented as the Pantokrator	Christogram
Vladimir: *srebreniki* Type 2	Portrait of Prince (to his waist, wearing an indeterminate garment; bearing nimbus, holding *akakia* in left hand; and holding a cross secptre or *labarum* in right hand Prince is seated on his throne, which is like a cushion, however, his feet are invisible	"Vladimir on the throne" "Vladimir, and this is his silver"	Riurikid emblem	Nil or end of Slavonic inscription that accompanies the portrait

Coin and Type	Reverse: Iconography	Reverse: Legend	Obverse: Iconography	Obverse: Legend
Vladimir: *srebreniki* Type 3	Frontal portrait of Prince wearing chlamys clasped with a round *fibula*; with neck chain; wearing *stemma* with *prependoulia* and surmounted by a cross; holding cross sceptre with both hands (or *labarum*) Prince is seated on his throne, which has a definite shape of a seat with a high back and decorated.	"Vladimir on the throne" "Vladimir, and this is his silver"	Riurikid emblem	Nil or end of Slavonic inscription that accompanies the portrait
Vladimir: *srebreniki* Type 4	Frontal portrait of Prince wearing a chlamys clasped at the right shoulder with a fibula; wearing *stemma* with *prependoulia* and surmounted by a cross; bearing nimbus; holding definite cross in right hand and *akakia*(?) in left hand Prince is seated on a throne which has a definite shape of a seat without a back and is decorated, the Prince's feet rest on a foot stool	"Vladimir on the throne" "Vladimir, and this is his silver" "Of St. Basil" Vladimir's baptismal name (1 variant)	Riurikid emblem	Nil or end of Slavonic inscription that accompanies the portrait
Sviatopolk	Frontal portrait of Prince wearing a chlamys and clasped in the middle with a round fibula; wearing a *stemma* with *prependoulia*; bearing a nimbus; holding a cross with trefoils in right hand and left hand appears to be empty The Prince appears to be seated on a settle with a cushion or some type of decoration; the feet are not depicted	"Sviatopolk on the throne" "Sviatopolk, and this is his silver"	Riurikid emblem	Nil or end of Slavonic inscription that accompanies the portrait

Coin and Type	Reverse: Iconography	Reverse: Legend	Obverse: Iconography	Obverse: Legend
Iaroslav: *srebreniki* Type I	St. George is represented with his accoutrements	"St. George" (ὁ ἅγιος Γεῶργιος)	Riurikid emblem	"Iaroslav, and this is his silver" "Amen"

In summary, the first two types of Vladimir Sviatoslavich's coins (*zolotniki* and *srebreniki*) feature a portrait or bust of the prince dressed in the Byzantine imperial style with a generic Riurikid emblem above his shoulder (on certain classes of the coin).[253] These two types bear a representation of Christ Pantocrator on the obverse. The legends offer three possibilities for the reverse and obverse: "Vladimir, and this is his gold" (on gold coins), "Vladimir, and this is his silver" (on silver coins), and "Vladimir on the throne" (on both types of coins); and the obverse of Vladimir's *zolotniki* and *srebreniki* Types I-II bear a Christogramatic inscription. Sviatopolk Vladimirich's coins share the iconographies of Vladimir's Type III and IV *srebreniki* as well as the legend. Iaroslav Vladimirich's coins only bear inscriptions of "Iaroslav's silver" on the reverse and it has been suggested that these coins may have only been minted during the period when Iaroslav was prince of Novgorod (1010-1019) and before he ascended to the throne of Kiev.[254] Iaroslav's coins deviate from the previous iconography of the prince enthroned and feature St. George dressed in military vestments on the reverse.[255] Very likely, these are the only coins that were minted in Rus' by the Riurikid princes.[256]

The minting of coins is arrested after the first half of the 11th century and the greater part of the early Rusian era is marked by the so-called "Coinless Period"[257] during which only ingots appear to have been produced.[258] Although coin production ceased in Rus', coins from other regions

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[253] Spasskii, *Russkaia monetnaia sistema*, 56-58.

[254] Spasskii, *Russkaia monetnaia sistema*, 60.

[255] The image of St. George did not appear on Byzantine coins until the rule of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118), but had previously appeared on seals with a Greek inscription bearing the saint's name, see: Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 96-98.

[256] Note that there are also a few coins from the Taman peninsula issued by Oleg-Michael Sviatoslavich who ruled in Tmutarakan (c. 1078) on which the archangel Michael is shown with the inscription "God, Help Michael". These coins are based on the coins of the Byzantine emperor Michael VII Dukas (r. 1071-1078). It has been suggested that Oleg had been exiled to Byzantium and married a Byzantine woman, see: Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 171-172; C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la bibliothèque nationale de France*, 2 (Paris: BNF, 1970), 654-658; on the coins of Tmutarakan, see: K. V. Babaev, *Monety tmutarakanskogo kniazhestva* (Moscow: Drevlekhranilishche, 2009). Note that there are anonymous or unidentified coins from Rus' and coins bearing the names "Petros-Peter". Asen Chilingirov has put forth the theory that the Petros-Peter coins are linked to kinship between the Riurikid dynasty and the first Bulgarian empire, see: *Monetite na Kievskite kniaze i monetite na b'lgarskiia tsar Pet'r I* (Sofia: Alfagraf, 2011).

[257] Spasskii, *Russkaia monetnaia sistema*, 53.

[258] Spasskii, *Russkaia monetnaia sistema*, 54-58.

continued to circulate and a form of currency was available for commercial exchange, particularly from the Germanic lands and Friesland (via Novgorod). The shift in the trade axis was due to the commencement of the global silver crisis—which began in Central Asia in the 10th century—and the cessation of importation of Arab silver to Rus' in the early 11th century.[259]

The appropriation of Byzantine-style iconographies for coins begins with the first coins struck in Rus', those of Vladimir Sviatoslavich. Early on, the connection between Vladimir's *zolotniki* and his Type I *srebreniki*, and the iconography of a type of *solidus* of Romanus II and Constantine VII (945-959)[260] was made by numismatists.[261] The *solidus* of Romanus II and Constantine VII has been found in five hoards in Rus' in a relatively high percentage, most likely, during the reign of Vladimir and, as it was a gold coin, it was probably not destined for circulation as has been discussed above.[262] The Byzantine *solidus* had an iconic value as it, in all likelihood, largely influenced the coin production of the early rulers of Rus'. The image of Christ on the obverse of the coin is a direct replica of the obverse of the analogous Byzantine coin.[263]

The iconographic similarities between the Rus' and Byzantine coins are found in the Christ figure (which will be discussed further on) and in the iconography of the ruler styled in Byzantine imperial vestments and accoutrements.[264] The Vladimir Type I-II coins show the prince wearing a chlamys with a round fibula or a *loros*, crowned with a Byzantine imperial *stemma* with a cross and *prependoulia*, and holding a cross sceptre (or *labarum*) in his right hand and, possibly, *akakia* in his left hand. The crown that the Rus' ruler wears is the Byzantine imperial *stemma*, which is solely reserved for the emperor in Constantinople. It is the crown of Tiberius II (698-705), which was

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[259] See: I. Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages*. vol. 2 *Afro-European Supremacy, 1125-1225* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), ch. 1.

[260] See **fig. V**. The two catalogues of Byzantine coins that provide a comprehensive survey with a complete catalogue are: Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* and C. Morrisson, *NB* (Wetteren: Éditions NR, 1978).

[261] Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 80-83.

[262] Noonan "The Circulation of Byzantine Coins," 168.

[263] See: **figs. I-II and XIVob.** and compare **figs. V-VI**. See also: Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, pl. 43, 788-792.

[264] Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 60-61. The main studies on imperial vestments and accoutrements are: E. Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra. Insignes byzantins impériaux et ecclésiastiques* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1977); I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976); D. Vojvodić, "Ukrštena dijadema i "torakion", dve drevne i neuobičajene insignije srpskih vladara u XIV i XV veku," *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa, Kruševac 2000* (Belgrade/Kruševac: 2002), 249-276; L. J. Ball, *Byzantine Dress, Representations of Secular Dress in Eight to Twelfth Century Painting*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images, Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); *idem.*, "Cultural Identity and Dress: the Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume," *JÖB* 57 (2007), 95-134; M. Emmanuel, "Hairstyles and Headdresses of Empresses, Princesses, and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium," *Deltion tis Christianikes Archaiologikes Etaireias* 17 (1993-1994): 113-120; P. Kalamara, *Le système vestimentaire à Byzance du IVe jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle*, doctoral thesis, l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 1995 (unpublished).

represented as a rigid diadem with pendants and a cross in the middle front.[265] The pendants of the imperial *stemma*—προπενδούλια or κατασειστά[266]—were chin-length pearl chains that hung from the temples. This element was first depicted on the coins of Justinian I (527-565) when the military helmet, denoting the legitimacy of the emperor through his military and civic dimensions,[267] was embellished with a diadem.[268] The diadem, along with figural representations, largely disappeared on coins minted during the Iconoclast Period[269] (first period 727-787 and second period 814-842) and reappeared during the long reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959), which coincides with a period of close contact between Byzantium and Rus'.[270]

Although the *stemma* was not the only crown that the Byzantine emperor wore,[271] it was the crown that was almost exclusively depicted on Byzantine coins as it was a "constitutional crown" that denoted the legitimacy of the emperor as a civic and religious leader[272] and as associated with Constantine the Great who, according to legend, had received the crown from the hands of an angel.[273] According to that legend, described in the *De administrando imperio*, the crown was *acheiropoietos* and was to be kept in the church of St. Sophia where the emperor could only remove it in the presence of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The patriarch would remove the crown from

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[265] See: Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, 59.

[266] The designation for these pendants changes over time, see: *DC*, II,50 (41),17: καὶ πάλιν ποιεῖ εὐχὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ στέμματος καὶ τῶν προπενδουλίων; *DC*, II,582: καὶ τὰ δύο αὐγουστιακὰ κατασειστά. See **figs. V-VI**.

[267] See: Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 29-34.

[268] From the time of Justinian II (685-695), the imperial *stemma* with the a cross mounted at the middle became a common feature of imperial iconography, see: A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson (eds.), *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* (Washington, DC: DOP, 1966), I, pl. XIII; I. Tolstoi, *Vizantiiskie monety/Monnaies byzantines* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1968), II, pl. 19; Morrisson, *NB*, I, pl. XVIII-XXI; and for Phocas (602-610), see: Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue*, I, pl. XIII; for Heraclius I (610-641), see: Morrisson, *NB*, I, pl. XXXIX-XLVIII.

[269] The exception is the iconodule empress, Irene (797-802), see: Morrisson, *NB*, II, pl. LXX.

[270] See: Morrisson, *NB*, II, pl. LXXVII-LXXVIII (for Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus r. 913-959, and John Tzimiskes, r. 969-976); pl. LXXX (for Basil II r. 976-1025); during these reigns imperial crowns are always represented as diadems with crosses and *prependoulia*.

[271] See: Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, 19-23. The other crown was the *kamelaukion*, which did not appear on coins until after the 10th century, and was mainly depicted on coins during the Comnenian and Palaiologan periods.

[272] See: Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, 74-77.

[273] See: *De admin. imp.*, chap. 13, 66: ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐσθήτων ἢ στεμμάτων ἢ στολῶν ἕνεκά τινος δουλείας καὶ ὑπουγίας αὐτῶν ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτοῖς, οὕτω χρὴ σε ἀποσλογήσασθαι, ὅτι "Αἱ τοιαῦται στολαὶ καὶ τὰ στέμματα, ἃ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν καμελαύκια ὀνομάζεται…". The crown is here both called a *stemma* and a *kamelaukion*.
For the iconography of the perpetuation of this legendary event, see: E. Piltz, "Middle Byzantine Court Costume," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, (ed.) H. Maguire (Washington, DC: DOP, 1997), 39-51, pl. 3; showing Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus being crowned by Christ on an ivory preserved at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, see also: Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 112-123.

the altar in the sanctuary of the church where it was suspended (along with the other crowns)[274] above the altar, perhaps, as a votive crown. The crown could only be removed for Christian feast days and for the inauguration of the emperor.[275] André Grabar suggested that the representations of the emperor wearing the imperial *stemma* and other imperial accoutrements while accompanied by Christ (making the sign of the benediction on the obverse), were iconographies of investiture.[276] Grabar based this theory on an evaluation of iconographies depicting the mystical origin of imperial power and authority. This legitimate power and authority was conveyed by an iconography of inauguration where a symbolic gesture, either of benediction or the physical act of placing the imperial crown on the emperor's head, is illustrated.[277] These iconographies represented the symbols of power that emphasised the divine essence of the emperor's power.[278] In Byzantium, after the 9th-10th century, the Patriarch of Constantinople had a fixed role in the ceremony of inauguration, and the duty of placing the imperial crown on the new emperor's head.[279] Iconographies where the emperor is represented receiving the benediction of Christ or the Mother of God translate and elevate the ritual gestures of the patriarch to the divine and sempiternal plane.[280]

There is nothing to suggest that the princes of Rus' ever made attempts to consciously usurp the political significance of the symbols featured on Byzantine coins. Nothing in the historical record suggests that the Rus' ever attempted to formally introduce a political structure to mirror that of the

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[274] Dobrynia Iadreikovich (later Anthony of Novgorod) who went to Constantinople in 1200, noted in the tale of his journey that the crowns of the emperors were conserved in St. Sophia and that the most precious crown was that of Constantine the Great, kept on an altar under the ciborium while the other crowns were kept around the ciborium as a reminder of the 30 deniers of Judas. Furthermore, Dobrynia Iadreikovich recounts the legend encountered in the *De administrando imperio* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus about the provenance and prohibitions surrounding the *kamelaukion*, see: *Kniga Palomnik"*, 5-9.

[275] Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, 28-30; The sacred character of this crown was largely due to the notion that it had descended from the diadem of Constantine the Great, see: R. Delebrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1933), 61.

[276] Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art*, 112-114.

[277] Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art*, 112.

[278] Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art*, 263-268.

[279] See: Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art*, 112. See also: *DC*, I, 38; I, 191-6; 1-5, 47-8.

[280] See: Grierson, *Byzantine coins*, pl. 43, 782. Paul the Silentiary (d. 575-580), in his description of the church of St. Sophia, captured the iconography of the benediction of the emperor and its ceremonial value:
ἐν δ᾽ἑτέροις πέπλοισι συναπτομένους βασιλῆας
ἄλλοθι μὲν παλάμαις Μαρής Θεοκύμονος εὕροις,
ἄλλοθι δὲ Χριστοῖο Θεοῦ χερί...
See: *Paulus Silentiarius Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae Descriptio Ambonis*, (ed.) C. de Stefani (Berlin: De Gruyter, col. 802-804; (Bonn), 38-39. On the ceremonial value of the description, see: J. Kostenec and K. Dark, "Paul the Silentiary's description of Hagia Sophia in the light of new archaeological evidence," *BSl* LXIX 3 supplementum (2011): 88-105; R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, "The architecture of ecphrasis: construction and context of Paul the Silentiary's poem on Hagia Sophia," *BMGS* 12 (1988): 47-82; M. Whitby, "The Occasion of Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of S. Sophia," *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 35 (1985): 215–228.

Byzantine State. Neither is it plausible that the Byzantine-style iconographies on Rus' coins constitute an arrogation of the Byzantine emperor's authority over the Christian *oikoumene*. This adoption of Byzantine imperial symbols of power is more suggestive of a process of acculturation[281] that occurred, mainly, during the 10th and early 11th centuries in Rus'. The accoutrements and vestments of the Byzantine emperor depicted on the coins of the early rulers of Rus' were likely recognised as a highly valued representation of authority that conveyed ideas of autocracy, legitimacy, and religious affiliation. The production of coins in the Byzantine style was not an ambivalent undertaking and the individual accoutrements (*loros*, *chlamys* and *fibula*, *labarum akakia*, *stemma* with *prependoulia*) featured on Byzantine coins were, in all likelihood, perceived as symbols of authority that were adopted by the ruling elite of Rus' devoid of their Byzantine socio-cultural significance and functions.

On Vladimir's Type III and IV coins (and the coins of Sviatopolk)[282] where the prince's portrait is very clearly depicted, the costume and insignia of the prince are uniform, he wears: a chlamys or a *loros*, both of which are stylised and the latter features a pattern of lozenge-shaped decorative elements; the insignia include a *globus cruciger* or *akakia*, and cross sceptres or *labarum* can be discerned (as in the Vladimir Type I and II coins). Each of these elements of the imperial costume had a meaning within a wider cultural context.

The *loros* has been described as the "most precious of [the imperial] garments"[283] and was often featured on Byzantine coins.[284] It was the result of the translation of the consular garment that was adopted by the first Christian emperors (who also bore the consular title), who wore the garment during religious feasts and processions.[285] The wearing of the *loros* displayed the elevated civic status of the emperor as well as his place in the heavenly hierarchy. Henry Maguire has demonstrated in his study of the portrait of Basil I in the Paris Gregory (Paris, BNF, MS Gr. 510, fol. Cv) that only celestial beings wear the imperial vestments (along with the emperor) in

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[281] On the vocabulary and processes of cultural exchange, see: S. Franklin, "The Reception of Byzantine Culture by the Slavs," *The 17th International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Major Papers* (New Rochelle, New York: A. D. Caratzas, 1986), 372-383.

[282] See: Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 99-102.

[283] Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, 16.

[284] Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 28, 30-1.

[285] This item of clothing was based on the imperial *toga*, which evolved in terms of style and meaning during the Byzantine period. See: Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 31; and Ball, *Byzantine Dress*, 16-19.

Byzantine art.[286] It is likewise for the chlamys, a military garment based on the Roman *paludamentum* and intimately linked to the civic ideals of the Roman Republic,[287] bearing the round clasp known as the fibula, which held the garment in place over a *divetesion*.[288] This garment is ubiquitous in Byzantine art and literature and was a surviving vestige of the Roman Empire and Roman imperial authority gained through military victory.[289] Thus, both of these garments share a genealogy that is connected to Roman civic heritage[290] and military ideals.

The *akakia*, a cylindrical roll containing dust that signified the mortality of humankind, possibly derived from the consular *mappa*, which was thrown down to start the hippodrome races.[291] It is featured on Byzantine coins, and may appear in the left hand of the Rus' princes in the Vladimir type III and IV coins and the coins of Sviatopolk.[292] The cross sceptre featured on the Type IV Vladimir coins and the Sviatopolk coins includes a typical cross potent, which is a cross with a bar at the end of each arm.[293] However, the *labarum*, possibly featured on the Vladimir Type I-III coins, derives from the Roman Imperial standard, which was transformed into a standard bearing Christogram that was introduced during the reign of Constantine the Great.[294]

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[286] H. Maguire, "A Murderer Among Angels: The Frontispiece Miniatures of Paris Gr. 510 and the Iconography of the Archangels in Byzantine Art," in (eds.) R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker, *The Sacred Image East and West* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

[287] In Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, (ed. and trans.) R. G. Kent, *Varro. On the Latin Language* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, [1938] 1967), VII, 37: *Paluda* a *paludamentis*. Haec insignia atque ornamenta militaria: ideo ad bellum cum exit imperator ac lictores mutarunt vestem et signa incinuerunt, *paludatus* dicitur proficisci; quae propter quod conspiciuntur qui ea habent ac fiunt *palam*, *paludamenta* dicta. It is the visible marker of leadership of a citizen-soldier demonstrating his temporary martial role in defence of the Roman Republic, see: C. Nicolet, *Le métier de citoyen dans la Rome républicaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), ch. 3.

[288] See: Ball, *Byzantine Dress*, 15-16.

[289] The Philadelphion in Constantinople contained a porphyry statue of Constantine's sons where each caesar was in full military dress wearing the chlamys and *cuirasses*, see: A. Cameron and J. Herrin (eds.), *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The* Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai (Amsterdam: Brill, 1984), 265-266; the well-known Barberini Ivory shows Justinian I in military triumph, riding a horse and wearing a *cuirass* and chlamys (a *paludamentum*) held together at the shoulder with a round fibula, see: J.-P. Sodini, "Images sculptées et propagande impériale du IVᵉ au VIᵉ siècle: recherches récentes sur les colonnes honorifiques et les reliefs politiques à Byzance," in *Byzance et les images*, (eds.) A. Guillou et J. Durand (Paris: La Documentation française, 1994), 43-94.

[290] These had been inherited from the Roman Republic and integrated into the nexus of legitimacy of the first Roman emperors, starting with Augustus, see: J. Scheid and F. Jacques, *Rome et l'intégration de l'Empire (44 av. J.-C.–260 ap. J.-C.)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, Nouvelle Clio, 2010).

[291] Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 340. The scroll shaped object known as ἡ ἀκακία or ἡ ἀνεξικακία, was represented on Byzantine coins as part of imperial portraiture from the 7ᵗʰ century. On the shift in shape and symbolic meaning of the *akakia*, see: G. Dagron, "From the *mappa* to the *akakia*: Symbolic Drift," in *From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, (eds.) H. Amirav and B. Ter Haar Romeny (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 203-221.

[292] Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 73, 77, 82.

[293] Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 35, 341, pl. 42: fig. 765 and 50: figs. 891, 896-897, and 899. Figure 899 features the patriarchal cross with two lines, but with trefoil at the end of each line. It is possible that the Type I-III coins of Vladimir are an adaptation of the trefoil or bulb decoration (see: fig. 904) featured at the ends of cross lines instead of an adaption of the *labarum*.

[294] Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 343, pl. 45: fig. 813.

Imperial garments and ritual objects were integral to the representation of the Byzantine emperor's authority and, although these objects had lost their consular and early imperial meanings, they were consistently featured as part of the official iconography of the Byzantine emperors. The Rus' may have admired and even coveted these sumptuous and prestigious courtly garments, but they would not have been aware of the broader cultural context that invested these garments and accoutrements with their political force. Nor should the Rus' have been able to obtain them as the emperor did not share their imperial vestments with foreigners. All of the imperial vestments (*loros*, *tzangia*, etc.) and accoutrements (*stemma*, *kamelaukion*, etc.) were kept at the Hagia Sophia where inauguration ceremonies occurred and where the emperor was garbed before he could participate in religious festivals. In the *De administrando imperio* there is a long excursus on the barbarians—Khazars, Turks, Rus', Scythes, and others—who frequently ask to view or to obtain the imperial vestments and imperial crowns. According to the text, these objects cannot be rendered to the barbarians because they possess a divine origin and are *acheiropoietos* (not made by human hands). Thus, they could not be copied or given away.[295] However, this divine interdiction did not ultimately impede rulers within the Byzantine cultural sphere from adopting Byzantine imperial dress and ritual objects in their official iconography.[296]

The seals of the princes of early Rus' did not often bear the bust of their proprietor, but on seals where a ruler is portrayed, the iconography is that of a figure dressed in Byzantine imperial regalia. Mstislav-Constantine Vladimirich, prince of Chernigov and Tmutarakan, appears on his lead seals in the style of a Byzantine emperor with a Greek inscription beseeching the Lord to aid "Constantine", which was Mstislav's baptismal name.[297] The seals of Mstislav are an anomaly because of their exceptionally fine craftsmanship and Greek inscriptions, as well as the use of

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[295] The emperor could only remove the imperial vestments from St. Sophia during his inauguration, religious feasts, and processions. When wearing the vestments, the emperor was a servant and deacon of the Lord (ὡς ὑπηρέτης Θεοῦ καὶ διάκονος), see: *De adm. imp.*, ch. 13: δι᾽ἀγγέλου αὐτῷ τὰς τοιαύτας στολὰς ἐξαπέστειλεν καὶ τὰ στέμματα, ἅπερ ὑμεῖς καμελαύκια λέγετε, καὶ διωρίσατο αὐτῷ θεῖναι ταῦτα ἐν τῇ μεγάλη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγία ἐκκλησίᾳ ἥτις ἐπ᾽ὀνόματι αὐτῆς τῆς ἐνυποστάτου σοφίας Θεοῦ Ἁγία Σοφία κατονομάζεται, καὶ μὴ καθ᾽ἑκάστην αὐτὰ ἀμφιέννυσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ὅτε δημοτελὴς καὶ μεγάλη τυγχάνη δεσποτικὴ ἑορτή. Διὸ δὴ Θεοῦ προστάγματι ταῦτα ἀπέθετο, ἅτινα καὶ ἄνωθεν τῆς ἀγίας τραπέζης ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ ἀποκρέμαται, καὶ εἰς κόσμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθέστηκεν. Τὰ δὲ λιοπὰ ἱμάτια καὶ σαγία βασιλικὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης τραπέζης ἄνωθεν ἐπίκεινται ἐφαπλούμενα.
For the prohibition against removing the vestments from St. Sophia and the curses that may befall the emperor, see: Theophanes, *Chronography*, (Bonn), 453: Leo IV (775-780) removed the imperial *stemma* from St. Sophia and placed it on his head, and died immediately due to his impious action.

[296] For example, the 14th century representation of the Nemanjid king Milutin receiving the imperial *stemma* (the *kamelaukion*) from the hand of angel at the church of Gračanica in Kosovo, see: G. Subotic, *Terre sacrée du Kosovo* (Paris: Thalia, 2006), 70, pl. 38, 42.

[297] See: V. L. Ianin, *Aktovye pechati drevnei Rusi X-XV vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), I, 32, 172, 252: figs. 32 and 33; I. I. Tolstoi, *Zapisi imperatorskogo russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* VI (1893): 327-333.

Mstislav's baptismal name.[298] However, several other seals from the 11th century also include figures wearing the Byzantine imperial *stemma* with *prependoulia*.[299]

Similar iconographies of rulership appear in manuscript miniatures depicting the princes of Rus' in the guise of Byzantine emperors. The Trier Psalter includes a depiction of Iaropolk Iziaslavich of Kiev and his wife, Kunigunde-Irene of Saxony, dressed in Byzantine imperial attire being crowned by Christ enthroned in majesty, while St. Peter and a Byzantine empress (perhaps St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great) stand behind each member of the royal couple as godparents.[300] Iaropolk Iziaslavich and Kunigunde-Irene of Saxony both wear the imperial purple *loros*, which includes a rich gold and jewel trim.[301] On another folio, the prince and princess are depicted as supplicants before St. Peter: they wear the imperial *loros* (the prince is dressed in purple and the princess in blue) and both wear crowns (fol. 5v.). In these images the prince's crown resembles a *kamelaukion* rather than the imperial *stemma* depicted on the coins.[302] However, a slight variation in the iconography of the ruler is evident in the illumination depicting Sviatoslav Iaroslavich with his family while the prince presents his *Izbornik of 1073* to Christ. The iconography is based on a Russo-Byzantine image where the prince displays the symbols of Byzantine imperial authority: Sviatoslav wears a chlamys, held together with a fibula at the shoulder, over a *divetesion*; and he presents the codex to Christ in the guise of a *ktitor* (donor).[303] However, Sviatoslav (along with all the male members of his family) appears to be wearing a fur-edged cap, which is a departure from standard Byzantine iconography.

The Rus' probably understood Byzantine imperial symbols, devoid of their contextual meaning, in terms of their hierarchical relevance, as the trappings of political and cultural authority. Beginning with the Christianisation of Rus', Byzantine imperial iconography was produced in Rus'

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[298] See the remarks of Jonathan Shepard in "Closer encounters with the Byzantine World: The Rus in the Straits of Kerch," in *Pre-Modern Russia and Its World: Essays in Honor of Thomas S. Noonan*, (eds.) K. Reyerson, T. G. Stavrou, J. D. Tracy (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 36-37.

[299] See: Ianin, *Aktovye pechati*, figs. 78, 116, 239. Figure 33 is attributed to Igor Iaroslavich, prince of Volhynia (1054-1057) and the imperial figure on the reverse is attributed to St. Constantine, which may have been the prince's baptismal name.

[300] See f**ig. XXIV**. Trier Psalter, Museo di Cividale, Ms. CXXXVI, fol. 10v.

[301] See: F. Kämpfer, *Das Russische Herrscherbild von den Anfängen bis zu Peter dem Grossen. Studien zur Entwicklung politischer Ikonographie im Byzantinischen Kulturkreis* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1978), 116; E. S. Smirnova, "The Miniatures in the Prayer Book of Princess Gertrude: Program, Dates, Painters," *Russia Mediaevalis* 10.1 (2001): 5-21; M. Smorag Rozycka, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie miniatury Kodeksu Gertrudy* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 2003), 20 (fig. 1), 24-30, 57-73.

[302] See: **fig. XXV**. Smirnova, "The Miniatures," 16-17; on the *kamelaukion*, see: Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, 19-21.

[303] See **fig. XXVI**. Kämpfer, *Das Russische Herrscherbild*, 116, 118-119, figs. 65, 66. The *Izbornik of 1073* was a codex of Slavonic translations of a Greek florilegium copied for Sviatoslav based on that of Simeon, the emperor of the Bulgars, c. 913-919.

by Greek masters and, very likely, local craftsmen.[304] Byzantine imperial accoutrements formed a ritual archetype that conveyed a ruler's authority in the earthly realm, through references to the emperor's civic and military roles; and celestial realm, through the iconographic conjunction with the figures of Christ or the Mother of God who augment the ruler's authority through the sign of benediction.

However, Byzantine imperial symbols are not the only signifiers on the coins of early Rus' that demonstrate the ruler's legitimacy and authority. The image of Christ disappears from Vladimir's Type II coins and is henceforth replaced with the symbol of the Riurikids.[305] The Riurikid symbol is repeated on the coins of Sviatopolk Vladimirich and Iaroslav Vladimirich with added elements. For example, Sviatopolk's coins depict the trident-shaped emblem with a cross on one arm and no middle tine.[306] This emblem was, in all likelihood, a personal princely symbol, displaying membership to the Riurikid clan. Sotnikova and Spasskii show the evolution of the emblem on the coins struck in Rus', while Oreshnikov, Rybakov, and Ianin have put forth classifications of the emblem based on its evolution and proprietors.[307] Such emblems were found on seals and signet rings further suggesting that they were a symbol of genealogical provenance and rank.[308] The Riurikid emblem was possibly influenced by a Khazar or Turkic symbol concomitant with the durability of the title *kagan*.[309]

The obverse of the coin includes another local element, the Byzantine-style ruler seated on his throne.[310] This image, bearing the inscriptions: "Vladimir *na stole*" (Vladimir on the throne) or "Sviatopolk *na stole*" (Sviatopolk on the throne), is not directly copied from any Byzantine coin or

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[304] See: **fig. XLI-XLII**. For representations in St. Sophia of an emperor and empresses attending the races of the Hippodrome in Constantinople. See: **fig. XXXVII**. For a representation of SS Constantine and Helena in Novgorod's St. Sophia. There is also a representation of an emperor seated on a high-backed throne and wearing red boots, a *kamelaukion* with *prependoulia*, and *loros*, and holding *akakia* in his hands in the diakonikon of the 12th century church of St. Cyril in Kiev. See: **fig. XXXVI**. For King Solomon depicted in the Byzantine imperial style. See also: V. N. Lazarev, *Drevnerusskie mozaiki i freski* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1973), pl. 167 (a Byzantine empress), 166-167 and 223 (King Solomon), 234 (King Herod); H. N. Lohvyn, *Derzhavnyi arkhitekturno-istorychnyi zapovidnyk, Sofiis'kyi muzei* (Kiev: Mistetstvo, 1971), 112, 172, 198, 251, 259.

[305] Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 82.

[306] Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 84, provides a table showing the evolution of the symbol over four generations of rulers and their coins.

[307] A. V. Oreshnikov, *Denezhnye znaki domongol'skoi Rusi* (Moscow: Izd. Gos. istoricheskogo muzeia, 1930), 87-112; B. A. Rybakov, "Znaki sobstvennosti v kniazheskom choziaistve kievskoi veka X-XII vv.," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 6 (1940): 227-257; Ianin, *Aktovye pechati*, 134, fig. 7

[308] See: L. Pekarska, *Jewellery of Princely Kiev. The Kiev Hoards in the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Related Material*, (eds.) B. Ager and D. Kidd (Mainz-London: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2011).

[309] See: Ilarion of Kiev's reference to Vladimir and the grafitto (kagan) at St. Sophia; see also: A. S. Mel'nikova, *Noveishie issledovaniia v oblasti numizmatiki* (Moscow: Izd-vo. Strelets, 1998), 172-181.

[310] See: Pritsak, *The Origins*, 128, table 1-4, for the best detailed reproductions of the princes of Rus' seated on thrones.

seal, as Byzantine emperors were (most likely) never depicted seated on thrones after the time of Constantine I. Furthermore, although certain inscriptions on the coins are in Greek, they do not match analogous inscriptions on Byzantine coins. Greek is restricted to the saint representing Iaroslav Vladimirich's baptismal name (which figures on the coin)—the exception being a single variant of Vladimir's Type IV *srebrennik* where the name appears in Slavonic[311]—or for the Christogram.[312] The remaining inscriptions are recorded in Slavonic and either describe the scene depicted: Prince X on the throne; or demonstrate ownership: Prince X and this is his gold/silver.[313]

The prince's throne becomes increasingly elaborate and visible on the coins of Vladimir (Types III-IV) and Iaropolk. The throne first appears as a sort of cushioned settle evidenced only by two scroll-shaped knobs on either side of the figure of the prince whose feet dangle at the bottom edge of the coin.[314] The throne portrayed on Vladimir's Type III and IV silver coins and the coins of Sviatopolk is a high-backed seat with a definite shape and embellished with decorative elements, the prince is seated in majesty and his feet are placed on a platform.[315] In their catalogue, Sotnikova and Spasskii suggested that the figure of the enthroned prince was, for the *sella*-type seat with a cushion (Vladimir Type IV and Sviatopolk), not an interpretation of a known Byzantine prototype; but that the high-backed throne (Vladimir Type III) derived from a Byzantine source.[316] However, Sotnikova and Spasskii make no note that the enthroned figure on the Byzantine coins is that of Christ in majesty. As Grabar demonstrated, in the pre-Constantinian period (before the 4th century) that Roman emperors were represented seated in profile.[317] Prior to the reign of the emperor Diocletian (r. 284-305), emperors were depicted on coins and medals in profile to the right of an action scene. Beginning with Diocletian, the emperor was portrayed alone and seated in majesty upon a monumental throne, but his head remained in profile. During the reign of Constantine I, the emperor was depicted in a frontal portrait while seated on a monumental throne. This iconography

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[311] See: S. Franklin, "Greek in Kievan Rus'," *DOP* 46 (1992): 69-81, 76-77.

[312] It should be noted that sometimes Greek and Slavonic are difficult to distinguish in short inscriptions or may be featured as an ensemble. See: S. Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 103-104.

[313] Shepard, "Byzantium and Russia," 30.

[314] See **figs. XIV-XV**.

[315] See: Sotnikova, *Drevneishie russkie monety*, 73-88 (high-back or lyreback throne), 89-101 *sella*-type seat).

[316] Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 74, 77-78.

[317] Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art*, 196-197.

is associated with a relief known as the *congiarium*, which is part of the middle section of the Arch of Constantine in Rome.[318]

The period stretching from the Edict of Milan (313) to the Council of Ephesus (431) witnessed an iconographic shift to embellish the supreme authority of Christ and the Mother of God with the highest symbols of majesty. Over the course of the 5th century, the aulic iconography of the supreme ruler (παμβασιλεύς) became increasingly defined as separate from the iconography of the emperor. The representation of the ruler in majesty became the iconography exclusively dedicated to Christ and the Mother of God.[319] The empty throne, once a synecdochic replacement for the Roman emperor, became the symbol of the supreme authority of Christ and the Mother of God.[320]

Omeljan Pritsak, in his study of the iconographic themes of the early coins of Rus', attempts to draw parallels between iconographic examples of Vladimir Sviatoslavich seated on various thrones on his *zolotniki* and *srebreniki*, and Byzantine figures seated on thrones, which Pritsak refers to as the "Lyreback Throne" and a "Backless Throne".[321] However, it is obvious—even from a cursory glance—that the Byzantine coins are not representations of Byzantine emperors, but those of Christ enthroned in majesty. The thrones that Pritsak refers to are representations of the throne of Solomon[322] and the *sella curulis* (consular seat),[323] upon which Christ is enthroned.[324] The depiction of the so-called "Throne of Solomon" is attributed to the coins of Basil I (867-886)[325] and reflects

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[318] Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art*, 197, see pl. 31.

[319] See **figs. VII-VIII, XVI-XVIII, XXXIII-XXXV**. There are occasional exceptions where the emperor is portrayed in majesty. For example, in manuscript miniatures, see: *Les Homélies de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, BNF, Département des manuscrits, Coislin 79, ff. 2r and 2bis-r, depicting Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078-1081) enthroned. However, in such images, the emperor is not portrayed in the presence of Christ, the Mother of God, or saints.

[320] Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art*, 199-200, pl. 29; C. Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris, 1970), 235-239; 34, fig. 7; and the representation of the Council of Constantinople I in *Parisinus gr.* 510, fol. 355.

[321] Pritsak, *The Origins*, 128, table I-4.

[322] On the iconography of the "Lyreback chair" or the "Throne of Solomon", see: A. Cutler, *Transfigurations, Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1975) 5-52. This throne is also represented in mosaics and may have figured in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace, see: R. Cormack and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: The rooms above the South-West Vestibule and Ramp," *DOP* 31 (1977): 175-251; 241-244 and pl. 28-33; and C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall,1972), 184. See **figs. VIII, XVI, XXXIV**.

[323] For the *sella*-type seat in Byzantium, see **figs. VII, XVII, XXXIII, XXXV**; and in Rus', see **figs. XIV-XV, XLIII-XLV**.

[324] These thrones are exclusively attributed to Christ Pantocrator on Byzantine coins. In manuscript miniatures, the emperor is occasionally depicted enthroned. See: Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078-1081), two representations of the emperor enthroned, manuscript of the *Les Homélies de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, Coislin 79 fol. 2r et 2r-bis. See **figs. XXVIII-XXIX, XXXI-XXXII**. In Rus', the 11th century Trier Psalter (Museo di Cividale, Ms. CXXXVI) depicts a mixed lyrebacked and *sella*-type throne for the Mother of God, fol. 41r. See **fig. XXVIII**.

[325] See: P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, III (Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 1973), 154-158; and V. Laurent, "Τὸ σενζάντον, nom de monnaie byzantine au Xe siècle," *REB* 12 (1954): 193-197.

the imperial ideology (and its attendant iconography) of the Macedonian dynasty.[326] The description of the "Throne of Solomon" in the Old Testament[327] encompasses the autocracy, sacredness, and divine proximity of the ruler.[328] On Byzantine coins, this throne is attributed solely to Christ as the 'king of kings' when the emperor is also featured. On the coins of Rus', depictions of a ritual seat are not precise in their iconography and the forms of this ritual seat vary in their details (backless, open-backed, cushioned, unrepresented). It is possible that the Rus' borrowed an iconographic type from Byzantine coins to depict the ritual seat of the prince.[329] The authoritative image of the ruler on the reverse of Byzantine coins demonstrated his joint-rule with Christ in majesty. Justinian II (685-695, 705-711) was the first emperor to use the type known as Christ as *Rex regnantium* making the benediction sign for the emperor and, by extension, his subjects.[330] The coins of Justinian II also reflect the *metanoia* (supplication) of the emperor whose gestures demonstrate both his humility as a Christian and a terrestrial ruler, while also promoting the emperor's proximity to the omnipotent 'king of kings'.[331]

Initially, only the emperor, the imperial family, and specific members of his entourage could use this divine symbol.[332] However, by the 9th century, various *archons* and foreign leaders began to employ the symbol of Christ Pantocrator on their seals and coins.[333] An anonymous *archon* of Rus' interred next to an adolescent (c. 985) in a tumulus at Shestovitsy (near Chernigov), was buried along with the matrix of a seal featuring the figure of Christ Pantocrator.[334] In effect, every prince

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[326] See: P. Magdalino, "The Bath of Leo the Wise and the "Macedonian Renaissance" Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology," *DOP* 42 (1988): 97-118; and Dagron, "Trônes," 189.

[327] I Kings X, 18-25.

[328] See: *DC*, Bonn I, 106; and the comments of Dagron, "Trônes," 189.

[329] See **figs. VII-VIII**.

[330] J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II (685-695, 705-711 A. D.)* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1959), 46. On the conceptual basis for the Pantocrator represented alongside the emperor, see: Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, ch. 1 and 4. Grabar discusses the figure of Christ as "the King of Kings" and of the Byzantine emperor as "the King of the Universal Empire". See also: P. Magdalino (ed.), *The Year 1000 in Byzantium*, in *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), 251-254. Magdalino discusses the Pantocrator figure as the exposition of the concept of sacred co-rule between Christ and the Byzantine emperor in the context of Byzantine eschatology. See also: Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II*, ch. 2 and 3.

[331] See: N. Oikonomidès, "Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sophia," *DOP* 30 (1976): 151-172; βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων refers to Christ in 1 Timothy 6:15, and Revelation 17:14, 19:16. See **fig. XXXIV**.

[332] V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, II. *L'administration centrale* (Paris: 1981), n. 1016: 556-557.

[333] Laurent, *Le Corpus*, II, n. 498, 247.

[334] J. Shepard, "A cone-seal from Shestovitsy," *Byzantion* 56 (1986): 253-274. Shepard suggests that the *archon* may have been one of the eight *archontes* who accompanied Princess Olga to Constantinople.

could use the figure of Christ Pantocrator on his seal, and the princes of Novgorod frequently did.[335] The iconography of Christ Pantocrator was common to the seals of early Rus' and persisted into the Muscovite Period.[336] Wasilewski writes: "La sigillographie russe s'inspirait des modèles non seulement artistiques mais aussi conceptuels byzantins..."[337] and the representation of Christ Pantocrator suggested an association and, perhaps, a filiation with Constantinople. It is unlikely that the effacement of Christ and the elaboration of the princely throne on the coins of Vladimir Sviatoslavich meant the princes of Rus' sought to usurp the divine authority of Christ. On the coins and seals of Rus', Christ retained his majesty on the obverse of coins and seals and appeared in majesty in manuscript miniatures.

The coins of the early Rus' (*zolotniki* and *srebrenniki*, Types I and II) replicate the proximity between the prince and Christ. When Christ is replaced by the dynastic symbol, the prince retains Byzantine regalia, and types III-IV of Vladimir's silver coins include a nimbus around the ruler's head and depict his throne more clearly. The Slavonic legends reinforce the image of the ruler, assuming that they could be read by their audience. As has been previously stated, the concept of the ancestral seat in Rus' had to do with the mechanics of kingship in Scandinavia, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Germanic lands, where the importance of sitting on the throne is vital to claiming and maintaining power.[338] The Riurikid emblem, placed above the prince's left shoulder, associated the symbol with the throne as the source of the prince's authority.

As such, the coins of the first three Christian princes of Rus' were not mere copies of their Byzantine counterparts, nor did their iconographies solely draw their inspiration from Byzantine *staatsymbolik* featured on imperial coins. An example from the Merovingian period provides further nuance to this point. The Merovingian ruler, King Theudebert I of Austrasia (r. 533-547/8) briefly minted coins featuring the king in the guise of Justinian I.[339] These coins are exact copies, albeit maladroit, of Justinian's gold *solidus*. By the time Theudebert had begun minting his "Justinian"

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[335] Ianin, *Aktovye pechati*, II. *Novgorodskie pechati XIII-XV vv.*, 14-24, 156-163.

[336] T. Wasilewski, "Le Christ Pantocrator sur les sceaux et les monnaies des souverains de la Russie et ses modèles byzantins et bulgares," in *Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo: Nuovi Studi Storici*, 17, (ed.) S. W. Swierkosz-Lenart (Rome: Nella Sede Dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1992), 153-165.

[337] Wasilewski, "Le Christ Pantocrator," 159.

[338] Shepard, "Byzantium and Russia," 31-32.

[339] Compare **figs. IX** and **X**. See: M. Deloche, "Du régime monétaire dans l'Austrasie primitive sous le règne de Théodebert Ier (partie 2)," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 31.3 (1887): 334-335.

coins (c. 539-542)[340] he had consolidated his power in Austrasia by defeating and making treaties with his uncles, and he had successfully participated in the Gothic Wars alongside Justinian I.[341] It is likely that Theudebert's coins were minted not only to promote his status as an ally of the Byzantine Emperor, but also to represent Theudebert as a rival to the emperor's status within the context of the competition for Roman lands and identity.[342] The coin is meant to be an exact replica of Justinian's coins, complete with a portrait of Theudebert in Roman military garb, a muddled legend in Latin, and a poorly executed winged victory on the obverse bearing a double *globus cruciger*.

Instead of basic imitation, the coins of Rus' present a mixed ideology and find their closest parallel with the coins of the Artuqids, a Turkmen dynasty that ruled over much of Eastern Anatolia, Northern Syria, and Northern Iraq during the 11th and 12th centuries. In the 12th century, the Artuqids began to mint coins with Byzantine, Hellenistic, and Classical inspired figures along with Arabic inscriptions.[343] The interweaving of symbols was representative of a conscious strategy of appropriating a Near Eastern cultural heritage. The Artuqids started with imitations of Byzantine models, then proceeded to Classical motifs.[344] The earliest coins featured images of Christ Pantocrator (probably copied from the coins of Alexios I Komnenos, r. 1081-1118) with a Christogramatic inscription. The foreign figures on the coins copied the symbolic nexus of authoritative themes in Byzantine coinage, but the titles and designations were those of the

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[340] There are several examples of this coin kept in the Cabinet des monnaies et médailles antiques at the BNF. See reproduction in M. Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pl. 21.

[341] P. Riché and P. Périn (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Francs. Les temps mérovingiens* (Paris: Christian de Bartillat, 1999), 318.

[342] Byzantine sources express this feat: Agathias, *Histoires*, I, ch. 5 in *Agathias - Histoires*: *Guerres et malheurs du temps sous Justinien*, (ed.) P. Maraval (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2007).

[343] The "Turkmen figured coinage" of the Anatolian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian dynasties has been studied sparsely, see: E. I. Ghalib, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes du musée impérial ottoman* (Constantinople: Meliks Eyoubites, 1894); S. Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Urtuki Turkmans (The International Numismata Orientalia, II)* (London: Trubner & Co., 1975); W. F. Spengler and W. G. Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and their Iconography*, vol. I: *The Artuqids* (Lodi: Wise, 1992); R. Shukurov, "Christian Elements in the Identity of the Anatolian Turkmens (12th-13th centuries)," in *Cristianità d'Occidente e Cristianità d'Oriente (Secoli VI-XI), 24-30 aprile 2003, Settimane di Studio Della Fondazione Centro Ilaliano di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo LI* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede della Fondazione, 2004), 708-764.

[344] N. M. Lowick, "Les premières monnaies artuqides: une exhumation tardive," *RN* 6.16 (1974): 97-99.

Turkmens and were rendered in Arabic or Greek.[345] The coins of the Artuqids featured traits of the Turkmen attitude to the outer world and to themselves: a presentation of power in the most widely respected terms for the cultural sphere that they inhabited. It has been posited that the figured Turkmen coinage was not a trading currency, much like the Rus' coins, and most of the silver coins and some gold coins were produced in the Arabic style (like dirhams) without images.[346] Rustam Shukurov's remarks on the Turkmen figured coinage are especially pertinent to this study of the coinage of early Rus':

> The true function of a coin's decoration lay and still lies in a completely different dimension, not commercial and economic, but emphatically ideological, cultural and mental. A coin's decoration was a compound symbol of power, a condensed expression of formulae of self-identity of the political authority that minted the coin. The legends and images, impressed on coins, embody the idea of how the ruler would wish to look in the political world and how he conceived his power over his own territories and subjects. From that point of view, coinage always was highly semantically eloquent and precise. In the textual and visual content of a coin there could have been no place for arbitrary and unreasonable preferences. The words and designs struck on a coin were not a *decoration* in the proper sense of the word, but rather a meaningful textual and visual manifestation of a certain political, ideological, or cultural notion.[347]

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 The princes of Rus' were not unconscious or passive recipients of Byzantine culture and religion. Instead, the coins and seals of Rus' princes demonstrate a degree of purpose and deliberation. This manifestation of the prince's authority in Byzantine terms does not reflect a formal arrogation of the emperor's authority, but was the reproduction of the most iconic features of Byzantine coins and seals. The association with Christ on Vladimir Sviatoslavich's Type I-II silver and gold coins is unsurprising as Rus' leaders were in contact with Byzantine churchmen and with Byzantine imperial culture during the late 10th and early 11th centuries. However, the coins also bear elements that were, very likely, of local consequence: the Riurikid emblem, the prince seated on his throne, and descriptive Slavonic legends. The figure of the prince seated on his throne with the Riurikid emblem either over his left shoulder or on the obverse of the coin identifies an inward-facing

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[345] E.g. *o megas amiras* translated as *al-amir al-kabir*, see: E. J. Whelan, "A Contribution to Danishmendid History: the figured copper coins," *ANSMN* 25 (1980): 133-166; *megas* translated as "grand", and *al-a'zam* translated as "grandest", see: R. Shukurov, "Turkoman and Byzantine self-identity. Some reflections on the logic of the title-making in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Anatolia," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, (ed.) A. Eastmond (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), 259-276.
See also: G. Schlumberger, "Les monnaies à légendes grecques de la dynastie turque des fils de Danichmend," *RA* 39 (1880), 277-399; N. Oikonomidès, "Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium," *RN* 25 (1983): 187-207.

[346] See: H. M. Brown, "Some reflections on the figured coinage of the Artuqids an Zengids," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History. Studies in Honour of George C. Miles*, (ed.) D. K. Kouymilan (Beirut: American University of Beirut: 1974), 354.

[347] Shukurov, "Christian Elements," 712.

ideology and the synthesis of local authority with that of international prestige. On the local level, the coins bear witness to a process of distinction both for the princely clan[348] and for Rus' as an emergent society. From this perspective, the coins and seals of Rus' princes served as messages, setting apart ruler from ruled, to convey esteem to subjects and, perhaps more importantly, diplomatic partners. According to Sotnikova and Spasskii, two hundred examples of silver coins were found as far as the island of Gotland and the Dniepr estuary.[349] Since Rus' lacked a monetary economy[350] and, as has been demonstrated, Islamic coins and western European silver coins were valued for their precious metal content and weight,[351] it is entirely possible that the coins of early Rus' were meant to project the image of consolidated authority, religious affiliation, and cultural relevance under the Riurikid dynasty within the area known as Rus' and to its neighbours. The image of the ruler dressed in Byzantine imperial costume, with his heraldic symbol, and seated on his ancestral throne would have reinforced the prominence of the local inauguration ritual (enthronement) as a legitimate symbol of leadership.

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[348] On the notion of "role distancing" for an elite group, see: G. E. Marcus, "Three Perspectives on Role Distance in Conversation between Tongan Nobles and their 'People'," in *Dangerous Words: Language and Politics in the Pacific*, (eds.) D. L. Brenneis and F. R. Meyers (New York: Waveland Press, 1984), 243-265.

[349] Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii,* 66, 79-90.

[350] The silver content was highly variable and the *srebreniki* very likely did not circulate, see: Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, 92-93, 109, 199-201.

[351] Jonathan Shepard has suggested that the only monetary economy in Rus' occurred at the Straits of Kerch and Tmutarakan, see: "Closer encounters with the Byzantine World: The Rus in the Straits of Kerch," 15-65.

CHAPTER II

<u>Rituals of Association</u>

> Sed cum nonnulla sint incerta et instabilia amicitiarum genera, quae diversis modis humanum genus dilectionis societate conectunt - ut quosdam praecedens postmodum amicitiae facit inire commertia, alios negociationis seu militiae vel artis ac studii similitudo -, quae etiam, sicut ex diversis vel lucri vel limidinis vel necessitudinum variarum soteietatibus adquiruntur, ita intercedente qualibet divortii occasione solvuntur; hoc tamen est, hoc inquam, amicitiae genus, quod multis experimentis est saepissime comprobatum, nullo modo eos, qui amicitiarum foedus coniurationis iniere principio, indiruptam quivisse servare concordiam.
>
> Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* I.14:463-473.

The power of non-verbal, demonstrative actions produced accepted, non-verbal means of expressing equality or superiority in the Middle Ages.[352] Hunts, processions, acclamations, dining, the distribution of largesse were, for example, opportunities for public demonstrations of solidarity; and were represented as peaceful social events, designed to strengthen group bonds. The swearing of an oath was an omnipresent medieval ritual, since bonds of lordship (vertical) and co-operation (horizontal) were promissory and regulatory because they introduced the probability that parties would behave in a certain way from the moment of swearing. In the emergent societies of the post-Roman world, oaths were indicative of the strength of a bond that regulated social relations, made political *coniurationes* and created or maintained a range of other group or individual relations.[353] Oaths introduced the probability that peaceful relations had been created and that conflict had ceased, allowing for both dialogue and joint political action. Bonds in the Middle Ages were largely

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[352] G. Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 136-159.

[353] See: G. Althoff, "Der frieden-, bündnis- und gemeinschaftstiftende Charakter des Mahles," in *Essen und Trinken in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, (eds.) I. Bitsch, T. Ehlert, and X. von Ertzdorff (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1987), 13-26, esp. 13-15; *idem.*, "Fest und Bündnis," in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter. Paderborner Symposium des Mediävisten-Verbandes*, (eds.) D. Altenburg, J. Jarnut, and H. H. Steinhoff (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), 29-38, and bibliographies.

personal and depended on face-to-face contact between parties to a contract.[354] Prior to the institutionalisation of dispute resolution, conflicts in the Middle Ages followed different rules in different periods and atonement and penance are discerned with difficulty in texts. Universally, rituals to bring about peace between two parties are represented and oath-taking, various forms of commensality, and gift-giving were means to either establish good relations or prolong an alliance.[355]

Occasions of commensality served to demonstrate peaceful relations that existed or had begun to exist within a group. Many societies appreciate the value of the meal, banquet or feast in helping to shape and strengthen communities.[356] Communal eating, drinking, celebration were rituals used to establish and maintain bonds. The ruler could clearly eat or drink with his subjects and entourage without losing esteem because the ruler controls hospitality, but also because the ruler is charitable and the distribution of food and communal dining exist within the framework of Christian charity. Medieval sources relate a general confidence in the capacity of the meal or feast to establish and maintain any alliance and, in the case of Rus', many bonds involving people or groups seem to have been concluded at a celebration or banquet. It was not the actual acts of eating and drinking that were important, but the simple holding of peaceful and convivial meeting: it demonstrated that such a relationship was possible between participants.[357] Rus' chronicles, Byzantine literature, Old Norse sagas, and all form of heroic song expound on the "pleasure of the hall" enjoyed by rulers, warrior elites, and other magnates.

The preponderance of acts of association permeate the text of the Rus' chronicles, most notably, oath-taking, dining, and gift-giving. The ritual acts that comprise these events are managed and replicated according to an almost didactic schema. Within the framework of inter-princely conflict and that of Christian religion and practice, the resolution of conflicts and creation of alliance was infused with a Christian message: the injunction to honour promises with the threat of divine retribution for those who do not keep their word.

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[354] Roach, "Submission and Homage: Feudo-Vassalic Relations and the Settlement of Disputes in Ottonian Germany," 355-379.

[355] See: Althoff, "Königsherrschaft und Konfliktbewältigung im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989): 265-290.

[356] U. Schultz (ed.), *Das Fest. Eine Kulturgeschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1988); and D. Altenburg, J. Jarnut, and H. H. Steinhoff (eds.), *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991).

[357] Althoff, "Fest und Bündnis," 29-38.

i.   <u>Oaths and Oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" (11th-12th centuries)</u>

In the Kievan Chronicle, oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" (крестоцелование) appears regularly and is articulated under several forms, such as "(they) целоваша честныи крест" (kissed the sacred Cross). Oath-taking in Rus' was invested with an increasingly Christian character from the latter part of the mid-11th century and became resolutely Christian in its representation and ceremonial attributes in the late 11th to early 12th centuries. Similar actions are described in the Carolingian period when the Church, seeking to support sovereign authority, reformulated oath-taking practices as those between the ruler and vassals or between rulers in a strictly Christian context.[358]

The historical definition of the ritual act of крестоцелование (oath taking by "kissing the Cross") has recently been discussed by Petr Stefanovich who writes that a successful conclusion to the debate regarding oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" is lacking and proposes a study of the position and ideology of the Church vis-à-vis the ritual.[359] Stefanovich addresses the argument that the Church, having the monopoly of power in this practice, used an autochthonous rite—such as oath-taking on weapons and the pagan idols that is described in the Russo-Byzantine treaties of the 10th century[360]—and increasingly saturated it with Christian symbolism.[361] Moreover, Stefanovich

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[358] On oath-taking practices throughout the medieval world, see: M.-F. Auzépy and G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Age (Occident, Byzance, Islam): parole donnée, foi jurée, serment* (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 2008); and, specifically: P. Depreux, "Les Carolingiens et le serment," in Auzépy and Saint-Guillain, 63-80; and P. Prodi, *Il sacramento del potere. Il giuramento politico nella storia costituzionale dell'Occidente* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), 93. Prodi discusses the shift to "constitutional" oaths that were defined in legal texts and were then recognised by the "external" public, thus becoming a social reality.
     Several medieval documents refer to the *osculum* (kiss) between a lord and his vassal in the form of a fealty pledge. In the *Casus S. Gall*, Notker the abbot of Saint-Gall pledges his oath to Otto I by kissing him and swearing on the holy gospels, see: J. Le Goff, "Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité," 355-357. On the development of the kiss in the Christian context, see: M. Penn, *Kissing Christians. Ritual and Community in the Late Ancient Church* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), esp. 26-57.

[359] On oath-taking in Rus' from the Kievan period to the Muscovite period, see: P. S. Stefanovich, "Der Eid des Adels gegenüber dem Herrscher im mittelalterlichen Russland," *JGO* 53 (2005): 497-505; *idem.*, Drevnerusskaia kliatva po russko-vizantiiskim dogovoram X veka" *DGVE* 9 (2004): 383-403; *idem.*, "Expressing Loyalty in Medieval Russia: Oath vs. Oral Formulas," in Auzépy and Saint-Guillain, 127-136; *idem.*, "Krestotselovanie i otnoshenie k nemu tserkvi v Drevnei Rusi," *Srednevekovaia Rus'* 9 (2004): 86-113; See also: A. I. Filiushkin, "Institut krestotselovaniia v Srednevekovoi Rusi," *Klio. Zhurnal dlia uchenykh* (2004): 42-48. The most recent study on the topic is: Y. Mikhailova and D. K. Prestel, "Cross Kissing: Keeping One's Word in Twelfth-Century Rus'," *Slavic Review* 70.1 (2011): 1-22.

[360] In the *PVL*, the oaths of the pagan Rus' were sworn on their weapons (e.g. the oath of 944); whereas the oaths of the Christian Rus' were sworn at the church of St. Elias. See: Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle (I)," 313-360; 329-336; see also: A. A. Fetisov, "Ritual'noe soderzhanie kliatvy oruzhiem v russko-vizantiiskikh dogovorakh X v.: sravnitel'no-tipologicheskii analiz," *Slavianskii al'manakh* 4 (2001): 36-47.

[361] Stefanovich draws a correlation between the clergy's illicit involvement in oath-taking rituals and relatively low maintenance of oaths made on the Cross based on the writings of the church fathers Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom, the most virulent opponent to oath-taking, see: *Homélies sur les statues* (8-9). However, our assessment of oath-taking and the involvement of the clergy in oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" has yielded a more nuanced understanding of the role of the clergy in these practices and will be outlined below.

postulates that oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" encountered a tension in its practice due to the prohibitions against oath-taking in the Bible and those articulated by the Church Fathers, which constituted a theological impediment for the ritual.[362]

In Rus' an oath, taken by "kissing the Cross" is represented, in the chronicles of Rus', as a ritualised promise to create or maintain peace and concord between princes in a non-central functioning dynastic culture based on lateral succession. Not all oaths were honoured by those who made them and the shaping and treatment of information in the chronicles of Rus' provides narrative strategies to explain why certain oaths were not effective. Not all oaths taken by "kissing the Cross" are represented as equal in terms of their effectiveness and the reprimand that their transgression necessitates varies depending on the princes involved, the political context of the alliance, and the conditions under which the oath was made.

The terminology

The terminology for oath-taking is variable in the chronicles of Rus'. A general observation of oath-taking terminology in the Kievan Chronicle is that oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" gradually subsumes all other terminology for oath-taking extant in Rus'. The basic terms that appear in the context of oath-taking are присягати, implying the touching of hands; and клятва/ кляти, suggestive of the act of bowing or "inclining oneself".[363] Each term implies an associated action. In the earliest literature referring to oath-taking practices in Rus' (the Russo-Byzantine treaties of 911, 944, and 971), рота/ротитися is used interchangeably with клятва.[364] The

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[362] Stefanovich, "Krestotselovanie i otnoshenie k nemu tserkvi v Drevnei Rusi," 98-99.

[363] O. N. Trubachev (ed.), *Etimologicheskii slovar' slavianskikh iazykov. Praslavianskii leksicheskii fond* 10 (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), 37-39.

[364] The terms клятва/клятися are used synonymously with рота/заходить роте/на роту идти to describe treaty-making and oath-taking in Rus'. See: I. I. Sreznievski, "Dogovory s grekami X veka," *Istoricheskie chteniia o iazyke i slovesnosti* 3 (Moscow: Izd. vostochnoi literatury, 1954): 291-292. Stefanovich discusses in detail, and with reference to the relevant scholarly literature, the use of the word клятва and its verbal form in the Russo-Byzantine treaties of 911, 944, and 971 that appear in the *PVL*. See also: T. V. Rozhdestvenskaia, "Ob otrazhenii ustnoi i pis'mennoi traditsii v dogovorakh Rusi s grekami X v. (rechi-pisati, rota-kliatva)," in *Norna u istochnika Sud'by: Sb. statei v chest' E. A. Mel'nikovoi*, (Moscow: Nauka, 2001), 338-339.

terminology for oath-taking on the Cross is varied in its earliest instances[365] and the first mention of the ritual of oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" in the *PVL* occurs in the year 1068.[366]

Крестоцелование is a common occurrence in the Kievan Chronicle and is represented according to the circumstances of the oath-taking. The most common type of oath-taking in the Kievan Chronicle (and throughout the 12th century) is the "kissing of the Cross" between princes. The first reference to oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" in the Kievan Chronicle occurs in 1133 when Iaropolk of Kiev deprives Iurii Vladimirich of Pereiaslavl, which the latter had seized from Vsevolod Mstislavich (the eldest son of Mstislav Vladimirich) thereby breaking the oath they had made by "kissing the Cross" (за крестное целование).[367] This event is followed by another instance of oath-taking. Iziaslav Mstislavich, in turn, swears fealty to his uncle Iaropolk Vladimirich "и с клятвою". Under these circumstances, the two princes have established good rapport— Iaropolk has respected his brother Mstislav's succession and is concerned about the welfare of his children—therefore the oath serves as a confirmation to uphold an extant peace. The use of the term клятися is employed since this oath-taking, between a senior and junior prince, only served to confirm an extant association.[368]

Крестоцелование in shifting circumstances

Organised and rationalised power structures are more evident in Byzantium and the Abbasid Caliphate than in the Romano-Germanic kingdoms (after 550) or amongst the Franks, Visigoths, and Lombards. According to Franz Theuws, "stateless societies"[369] such as early Saxon England, Scandinavia, and the early Slavonic lands lack the resources for advanced forms of political

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[365] The first "kissing of the Cross" in the *NPL*, which occurs in 1059 is described as "и приведоша его къ роты и къ кресту" (brought to swear (an oath) before the Cross), see: *PSRL* 3, col. 183; *PSRL* 1, col. 162. Stefanovich, "Drevnerusskaia kliatva," 383-394.

[366] The Kievan uprising of 1068 leads to a special excursus by the chronicler, see: *PSRL* 1, cols. 155-167. Stefanovich notes that two dates are given for the uprising and oath-taking: the 10th of July and the 15th of September. The second date is that of the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, which carries a symbolic meaning as the violation of the oath taken by "kissing the Cross" of 1067-1068 is articulated alongside the image of the suffering Christ; in "Krestotselovanie i otnoshenie k nemu tserkvi v Drevnei Rusi," 90-92. This idea is buttressed by the image of the Cross upon which Christ saved humanity in the Canons, the Minei, and the Triades. Stefanovich also mentions that the *Izbornik of 1076* could have been a source for the development of the rhetorical construction of the ritual, see: *Izbornik*, 208-209 (l.29v-30), for the excerpt from a Slavonic translation of Gennadius I of Constantinople's *Centuria de fide* where the power of the Cross is discussed.

[367] *PSRL* 2, col. 295.

[368] Stefanovich discusses possible relationships between the parties to oaths in the chronicles of Rus' in "Expressing Loyalty in Medieval Russia," 150.

[369] For these designations, see: De Jong and Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power*, 1-9. Turner criticises this term as an essentialist evaluation of mixed systems of governance, *The Ritual Process*, 96-97.

organisation based around centres of power, such as the imperial complex at Constantinople. Theuws writes: "…one might expect representations of power to be more direct, and to include more people…"[370] meaning that the efficacy of a power structure resides in the construction of consent to a central authority.[371] One difference between, for example, Byzantium and early Rus' is that office-holding and land granting in Byzantium was dependent on the will of a central authority. Rituals of association (for example, oath-taking amongst the early Franks and the Rus') and inclusive representations of power (for example, lateral distributions of power amongst the early Slavs) are in greater evidence possibly due to the absence of a public political apparatus, such as that of the Roman Empire of the East. Rituals of association appear as promissory demonstrations which either create or confirm a tacit agreement between the princes of Rus' to either maintain or create peaceful relations.

Oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" to keep the peace, to establish an immediate principle of succession, and to quell hostilities between princes, is represented as the main form of ritual and symbolic communication between princes in the Kievan Chronicle. However, the ritual act of oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" remains somewhat ambiguous and open to alternative interpretations or reinterpretations at the hands of those recording these events. A review of the circumstances of oath-takings "by kissing the Cross" yields some salient themes in the shaping of information about princely relations in 12th century Rus'.

The narrative description of the unrest following the death of Vsevolod Olgovich (of Chernigov) in 1146-1159 is punctuated by instances of oath-taking that are meant to quell tensions and reestablish clear rules of succession and confirm successors. In the episode of the ascension, deposition, and death of Igor Olgovich (Vsevolod's brother) and the ascension to the throne of Kiev of Iziaslav Mstislavich, the efficacy of oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" is governed by external factors that undermine the effectiveness of oaths.

In 1145, Vsevolod Olgovich of the Chernigov branch (who had wrested the throne of Kiev from Viacheslav Vladimirich in 1139) called a council to name his successor to the throne of Kiev. Vsevolod's military might had allowed him to gain the throne of Kiev and to begin to extend his authority to Novgorod and Pereiaslavl.[372] Vsevolod named his brother, Igor Olgovich, his heir to the

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[370] De Jong and Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power*, 8. For other early medieval models, see: L. Roach, "Submission and Homage: Feudo-Vassalic Relations and the Settlement of Disputes in Ottonian Germany," *History* 97.327 (2012): 355-379.

[371] On this topic, see: T. Reuter and J. L. Nelson (eds.), *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[372] For analysis of Vsevolod Olgovich's reign, see: P. P. Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaia zemlia v period feodal'noi razdroblennosti XII-XIII vekov* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1980), 167-170.

throne of Kiev. The council comprised Vsevolod's brothers, Igor and Sviatoslav Olgovich; the Chernigov princes; Vladimir and Iziaslav Davidovich; and Iziaslav Mstislavich.[373] Oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" in this episode takes place uniquely amongst princes without intervention from the people of Kiev (it is not a public event), and the event itself takes place in Kiev:

> Посла Всеволод по братию свою, по Игоря и Святослава, и по Давидовича, по Володимира Изяслава и придоша Киеву. и тогда явися звезда привелика на западе испущающи луча […] "и нам Володимир посадил Мстислава сына своего по собе в Киеве, а Мстислав Ярополка брата своего: а се я молвлю оже мя Бог поиметь, то яз по собе даю брату своему Игореви Киев." и много замышляв, Изяславу Мстиславичю нужа бысть *целовати крест*. И седшим всеи братии и Всеволода на сенех и рече им Всеволод: "Игорю *целуи крест* яко имети братию в любовь, а Володимир и Святослав и Изяслав *целуите кресть* ко Игореви что вы начнет даяти, но по воли а не по нужи." и *целоваша на всеи любви крест*.[374]

Under these circumstances the oath taken by "kissing of the Cross" seeks to establish a personal bond between the princes in order to safeguard Olgovich primacy in Kiev. Iziaslav Mstislavich is impelled to kiss the Cros*s* "нужа бысть целовати крест", implying coercion. Igor Olgovich, in turn, kisses the Cross to his brothers; and the other princes reciprocate by kissing the Cross "in love" to the succession principle. The event is partially narrated by Vsevolod Olgovich who is represented as the principal authority in the succession accords of 1145. The premise for Igor's inheritance is two-fold: that it is based on the historical precedent of Mstislav Vladimirich (who appointed his brother, Iaropolk Vladimirich, to rule Kiev after his death in 1132) and that Igor has been recognised by the other princes of Rus' (those with competing claims to the throne of Kiev). The narrative includes a portent "a massive star appeared in the west, emitting rays of light"[375] and it is possible that the omen serves as a sign of providence[376] because the system of succession has been violated.[377]

The chronicle's rhetorical structuring of events suggests that the first oath taken by the princes is invalidated from its inception due to the combined factors of illegitimacy and coercion. Therefore, the oaths that follow, deriving their validity from that first oath, are equally invalid. In the *Izbornik of 1076* (a compendium of edificatory religious texts), a question is asked about whether or not a ruler can break oaths taken in anger or that would result in an evil thing. The response given is that

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[373] *PSRL* 2, cols. 316-317.

[374] *PSRL* 2, cols. 317-318.

[375] *PSRL* 2, col. 318.

[376] On divination and the semiotics of supernatural occurrences in the chronicles, see: B. P. Bennett, "Sign Languages: Divination and Providentialism in the *Primary Chronicle* of Kievan Rus'," *SEER* 83.2 (2005): 373-395.

[377] See: A. V. Nazarenko, "Vladimir Monomakh i kievskoe stolonasledie: traditsiia i popytka reformy," *DGVE* 9 (2004): 383-403.

while the ruler in question should never have made the oaths in the first place, he must renege on his promises in order to safeguard virtue and justice. The parable used to illustrate this point is that of Herod Antipas whose oath to his daughter (which he refused to reverse) resulted in the unjust beheading of St. John the Baptist (Mark 6:14-29).[378]

Moreover, following Vsevolod's death, the Kievans summon Igor to the Hungarian Gates "И пояша (the Kievans) Игоря в Киеве. иде с ними под Угорскии и созва Кияне. все они же все *целоваша к нему крест* рекуче: "ты нам князь" и яшася по не[м] лестью"[379] where they swear an oath "on the Cross" to him. In spite of the oath-taking, the entire episode involving Igor and the Kievans constitutes a prolonged refusal (on the part of the Kievans) to install Igor as prince. This refusal is implicit in the sequence of events leading up to Igor's destitution by Iziaslav Mstislavich. In effect, the Kievans make oaths "by kissing the Cross" to uphold Igor's rule on four occasions, the people of Vyshgorod also take an oath "by kissing the Cross", and the Davidovichi likewise twice pledge their support.[380] Immediately after Vsevolod's death, Igor, weary of the people of Kiev and their hostility towards Vsevolod and by extension himself, sends Sviatoslav Olgovich to speak with the people of Kiev. It should be noted that Igor had already invited the people of Kiev to Iaroslav's palace to "kiss the Cross" to them:[381]

> Игорь же, поем брата своего Святослава, и еха к ним и ста с дружиною своею, а брата своего Святослава посла к ним у вече. и почаша Кияне складывати вину на тиуна на Всеволожа на Ратью и на другаго тивуна Вышегородского на Тудора рекуче: "Ратша ны погуби Киев, а Тудор Вышегород, а ныне княже Святославе *целуи нам крест* и за братом своим аще кому нас будет обида да ты прави." Святослав же рече им: "*аз целую крест за братом своим* яко не будет вы насилья никоторого же а (с)е вы и тивун, а по вашеи воли." Святослав же ссед с коня и на том *целова крест к ним у вечи.* Кияне же вси сседше с конь и начаша молвити. "брат твои князь и ты." и на том *целоваше вси Кияне крест и с детьми* оже под Игорем не льстити под Святославом. и Святослав поим лутшие муже Кияне и еха с ними брату своему Игореви и рече: "брате на том *аз целоваша к ним крест* оже ти я имети в правду и любити." Игорь же ссед с коня и *целова к ним крест* на вси воли. и на братении еха на обед.[382]

Sviatoslav Olgovich arrives in Kiev and negotiates with the people of Kiev on behalf of his brother while Igor and his *druzhina* wait in the lower part of town. Sviatoslav negotiates with the people of Kiev whose grievances originated from Vsevolod's administration, he then "kisses the

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[378] See: *Izbornik 1076*, 194v.-195.

[379] PSRL 2, col. 320.

[380] See: *PSRL* 2, cols. 320-324. The Kievans pledge their support of Igor once at the Hungarian Gates, twice at Iaroslav's palace, and once at the church of Turov in *veche*. The people of Vyshgorod pledge their support of Igor in Vyshgorod; and the Davidovichi renew their oath once through Vsevolod's envoy and again at the Church of the Holy Saviour in Chernigov.

[381] *PSRL* 2, col. 318.

[382] PSRL 2, cols. 321-322.

Cross" on behalf of his brother and himself. Sviatoslav is established as co-ruler, possibly at the behest of the people of Kiev, just as his father, Oleg Sviatoslavich, and his brother, David Sviatoslavich, had done in Chernigov after the Liubech conference in 1097. The people of Kiev immediately exact their vengeance upon Vsevolod's administrators and invite Iziaslav—who had rejected Igor's invitation to renew his oath to support his rule in Kiev—to assume the throne of Kiev.[383]

The defection of the Kievans to Iziaslav is represented as having been premeditated since the first oath-taking had been coerced by Vsevolod, and yet it somehow does not naturally flow from the events that precede it. Dimnik suggests that the Kievans betray Igor so abruptly because the episode supports the pro-Monomashichi narrative strategy of this portion of the Kievan Chronicle. As Iziaslav gathers supporters, he demands divine approbation at the Church of St. Michael in Pereiaslavl by praying before the Holy Cross.[384] Based on the events surrounding the oath-takings "by kissing the Cross", Igor's reign was compromised practically from the outset. Firstly, there is no attempt at recording an enthronement ceremony in Kiev with a procession through the Golden Gates to St. Sophia Cathedral for the new prince of Kiev to take his oath by "kissing the Cross" and by kissing the icon of the Mother of God.[385] Instead, the chronicle states that the people of Kiev brought Igor directly to the Hungarian Gates in the *Podol'* where they traditionally met in *veche*. Perhaps an oath sworn to the people of Kiev was informal and there is a differentiation between oaths made to subjects from those made between princes. The people of Kiev summoned Igor (who sent Sviatoslav as a proxy) to swear an oath by "kissing the Cross" to their terms, which undermined Vsevolod's policies.

The people of Kiev had been dissatisfied with Vsevolod's administration, particularly his fiscal administration. It should be noted that hitherto, Igor's reputation had remained untarnished. Dimnik notes two mentions of Igor's bad character and illegitimacy in the Hypatian Chronicle and in a later chronicle.[386] Rather, it is the Davidovichi (having broken oaths to Vsevolod Olgovich, Igor Olgovich, and Iziaslav Mstislavich) who insinuate that Igor perhaps wanted to eliminate Iziaslav as a potential threat. Igor's reaction to Iziaslav's silence (following a request for an oath to confirm his allegiance to Vsevolod Olgovich) was to give the Davidovichi lands in return for their support,

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[383] *PSRL* 2, col. 343.

[384] *PSRL* 2, col. 323. See: Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 18-21.

[385] *PSRL* 2, col. 327.

[386] Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 15-26.

which they ultimately withheld.[387] However, despite the antipathy of the Kievans to Vsevolod's policies, it is made explicit in the Hypatian Chronicle that the people of Kiev already distrusted Igor "и яшася по не[м] лестью" (and they accepted him deceitfully).[388]

The efficacy of the ritual of oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" is determined by its context: whether the parties to the oath-taking had been coerced, and the subversion of traditional hierarchies, authorities, and succession accords. The language surrounding the oath-taking indicates the validity of the oath being sworn. For example, territorial oaths that attempt to create pacts between brothers in order to preserve the integrity of the ancestral land of a certain branch of the dynasty include a mention of the отчество (fatherland) of that branch. This reference adds another layer of legitimacy to the oath being sworn.[389] The vocabulary of oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" is augmented by biblical exhortations for princes to keep the peace, to keep their promises, to love each other (as brothers), and to protect their patrimony.

In 1151, Iurii Vladimirich and Viacheslav Vladimirich swear an oath to uphold a treaty. Iurii Vladimirich had been a key participant in the internecine conflict provoked by Iziaslav's refusal to uphold the ascension of Igor Olgovich to the throne of Kiev. Iurii Vladimirich had come to the assistance of Sviatoslav Olgovich. It is recorded in the Kievan Chronicle that Sviatoslav Olgovich, during Igor's incarceration in the pit of the Monastery of St. Ioann and subsequent tonsure,[390] had become the senior prince of the Olgovich branch of the dynasty. Sviatoslav had also become the common enemy of Iziaslav Mstislavich, the Davidovichi (who had changed allegiances), Rostislav of Smolensk, and Viacheslav Vladimirich.[391] Viacheslav Vladimirich and Iurii Vladimirich represented the seniormost members (in that order) of Vladimir Monomakh's progeny, which is why Iziaslav called Viacheslav to co-rule with him in Kiev.[392] In the ensuing agreements, Viacheslav admonishes Iurii "не пролита крови хрестиянскы ни погоубита Рускы земля"[393] (not to spill Christian blood and lose the land of Rus'), reasoning that Iziaslav's actions, although they

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[387] Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 15-16, esp. note 4; and *PSRL* 2, col. 329.

[388] On the involvement of the Kievan people at the *veche* of 1146-1147, see: I. Ia. Froianov, "Vechevye sobrainiia 1146-1147 g. v Kieve," *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta, Istoriia, Iazyk, Literatura* 8 (1977): 28-36; 31.

[389] For example: *PSRL* 2, cols. 310 and 474. Vilkul notes the increased use of the word отчина after 1097, suggesting it was a later feature in the chronicles, although it had been used in 968 in the reproach of Sviatoslav Igorevich. See: "Izvestie "Povesti Vremennykh Let" o Liubechskom sneme 1097 g.," 21-22.

[390] *PSRL* 2, cols. 350-355.

[391] Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 35-39.

[392] Joint rule had been achieved in Chernigov by the Davidovichi and the "duumvirate" of Viacheslav and Iziaslav was the only apparent solution to the conflict of 1150.

[393] *PSRL* 2, col. 429.

had resulted in the violent death of a prince, were undertaken to restore the order of succession.[394]

Viacheslav and Iurii make an accord by exchanging letters to defend the land of Rus', to stop the shedding of Christian blood, and to preserve the rightful patrimony of each prince:

> "яже ся хощещи со мною (Iurii Vladimirich) *рядити* ать, поедет Изяслав Володимирю а Ростислав Смоленску, а ве ся сама урядиве." Вячеслав же рече […] "но я, брате, тобе молвлю Рускы деля земля и хрестьян деля […] а сами ся урядим, а крови хрестиянскы не проляимъ.[395]

The term "kissing the Cross" is not employed here and the verb рядити (to conclude) is used instead. In spite of the rhetoric of concord and the preservation of the princely patrimony, the terminology remains vague. In all likelihood, the ambiguity is deliberate since immediately after the truce, the princes recommence hostilities. Furthermore, both parties are senior princes, perhaps it would not have been befitting for two such princes (both sons of Monomakh) to be shown flippantly making an oath by "kissing the Cross" that they would soon break.

Later in that same year, Iurii Vladimirich along with his children swears an oath, albeit reluctantly, to recognise the co-rule of Viacheslav and Iziaslav on the feast day of SS Boris and Gleb (July 24th):

> Дюрди же не имяше ни откул помочи, а дружина его бяшеть оно избита оно изоимана. принужен же неволею, *Другии, целова крест к ним, и с детьми своими, приспе бо праздник святою мученику Бориса и Глеба.* и рекоста ему Вячеслав Изяслав: "поиди в свои Суздаль крест еси целовал" […] Святослав же Олгович слишав оже Гюрги с Вячеславом и с Изяславом оуладился и ис Переяславля веден […] и посластася (with Sviatoslav Vsevolodich) ко Изяславу Чернигову, рекуча: "брате мир стоит до рати а рать до мира, а ныне брат братья есмы собе. а прими на к собе, а се *отцине* межи нама две, одина моего отца Олега а другая твоего отца Давида, а ты, брате, Двидович а я Олегович. ты же, брате, прими отца своего Давидово, а што Олегово, а то нама даи. ать вес я тем подиливе." Изяслав же хрестиянскы учини, прия брата своя и *отцину* им узвороти. а свою к собе прия.[396]

The invocation of the feast day of SS Boris and Gleb—who had been killed on the orders of their brother, Sviatopolk, during the internecine conflict of 1015-1036, and whose relics had been ceremoniously translated in 1072[397]—during the oath-taking of 1151 is not incidental since Vladimir Davidovich had been killed in the hostilities between the Kievan princes and Iurii

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[394] *PSRL* 2, cols. 429-430.

[395] *PSRL* 2, cols. 430-431.

[396] *PSRL* 2, cols. 443-444.

[397] Both the *PVL* and the *Lection* of Boris and Gleb by Nestor include discussions on Cross-kissing and abiding by succession arrangements, see: *PVL*, I, 121-122; and O. I. Kniazevskaia, et al. (eds.), *Uspenskii sbornik XII-XIII vv.* (Moscow: Izdat. Nauka, 1971), fols. 57d.25-60c.4. On the cult of Boris and Gleb, see: G. Lenhoff, *The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb: a Socio-Cultural Study of the Cult and the Texts* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1989); and L. Müller, "Zur Frage nach dem Zeitpunkt der Kanonisierung der Heiligen Boris und Gleb," in *The Legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Kiev and Moscow*, (ed.) A.-E. Tachiaos (Thessaloniki: Hellenic Association for Slavic Studies, 1992), 321-339.

Vladimirich. It is, therefore, unsurprising that the passage is replete with rhetorical invocations of peace, brotherly-love, and the princely patrimony.[398]

Sacred objects and sacred places

Small crosses and other small objects (encolpia, phylacteries, pectoral crosses, etc.) existed in Rus' from the earliest period of contact with the Byzantine Empire, and were probably integrated into the court dress and style of magnates in Rus'.[399] In the year 1152, the oath taken by "kissing the Cross" near Peremyshl' is described as being taken on a cross presented as a physical object.[400] The participants to the oath-taking are the King of Hungary with Iziaslav Mstislavich and allied princes. From a rhetorical point of view, the cross is described in terms of one of the iterations of the Holy Cross or True Cross that appears so often in the Kievan Chronicle. However, a cross is here described as an object that is physically sent, via an emissary, from Iziaslav to the King of Hungary.[401] This oath-taking includes several added features: an excursus on the value of the Holy Cross (mentioning Christ and St. Stephen), the cross as a physical object, and an indication of the place (the Hungarian king's tent on the outskirts of Peremyshl') of the oath-taking.

In certain cases, the Church actively intervenes in the negotiation for peace between princes. In this case, the ritual, taking place in a church or monastery and the oath-taking, is confirmed by "kissing the Cross" and/or by "kissing an icon". Here, neotestamentary *topoi* are used to describe the ceremony, including its location and those in attendance to the oath-taking. The location of the oath-taking in the episode is the Caves Monastery, founded in the 11th century by a monk from Rus' who had spent time at Mount Athos.[402] From the beginning, the monastic foundation benefitted from the patronage of the princes of Rus', beginning with Iziaslav Iaroslavich of Kiev (1054-1068, 1069-1073, and 1076-1078). There are numerous tales in the *Paterik* that include mentions of princes of Rus' visiting the monastery; and the chronicles of Rus' often present the Caves

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[398] *PSRL* 2, cols. 443-444.

[399] See: G. F. Korzukhina and A. A. Peskova, *Drevnerusskie enkolpiony: nagrudnye kresty-relikvarii X-XIII vv.* (St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2003); and J. Blankoff, "Encolpia and Phylacteries in Old Russia," *RH/HR* 28.1-4 (2001): 63-103. Note that pectoral crosses differ from encolpia in that encolpia can include, in early Rus', icons of holy protectors, whereas pectoral crosses only denote crosses suspended on the chest.

[400] **PSRL 2, col. 452.** Изяслав же и корол сехавшися вси, и с Володимером братом своим сином своим Мистиславом, к королеви в шатер, и почаша слати мужи своя к Володимеру (of Galich) *с крестом*.

[401] Many small crosses, pectoral crosses and coins with crosses etched into them have been discovered in Rus': V. N. Sedykh, "On the function of coins in graves in early medieval Rus'," *RH/HR* 32.3-4 (2005): 471-478.

[402] *Paterik*, 25-63.

Monastery as the locus for political exchange and the creation of bonds between princes by oath-taking attended by members of the clergy,[403] for example in 1150.[404] Later, in 1169, when Mstislav Iziaslavich ascends the throne of Kiev, Vladimir Mstislavich plots to overthrow him with the help of pagan and Christian mercenaries. The two princes meet at the Caves Monastery and each brings a witness (among the witnesses are monks, military commanders, and boyars) and all of them are housed in monastic cells (the Kievan Caves monastery followed the Athonite *lavra* model). There, the princes swear an oath "by kissing the Cross".[405] However, Vladimir immediately violates that oath (переступи крест) and suffers divine retribution, for his pagan allies betray him and he is wounded by an arrow. The other princes of Rus'—Andrei Iurevich and the Andreevichi, including a cousin from Dorogobuzh—refuse sanctuary to both Vladimir and his wife since the former had been treacherous and had twice broken an oath made "by kissing the Cross".[406]

The account implies causation between the violation of an oath made on the Holy Cross and subsequent misfortunes—described as divine retribution—of the transgressor. Such circumstances are recounted in the Kievan Chronicle, particularly when the oath has been made before members of the clergy and has been amplified either by having been sworn before witnesses in a church and ratified by the kissing of icons or by a written document.

An oath made by kissing an icon is described in the Kievan Chronicle for the year 1164 when the Byzantine prelate, bishop Anthony of Chernigov, intervenes in the succession dispute involving Sviatoslav Olgovich. The Olgovich branch had been divided amongst the sons of the eldest brother, Vsevolod Olgovich, and the sons of Sviatoslav Olgovich (the cadet branch). The successor should have been Sviatoslav Vsevolodich according to the rules of seniority, but Oleg Sviatoslavich impeded his uncle's accession by making an attempt to mount the throne following his father's (Sviatoslav Olgovich's) death.[407] The princess (Sviatoslav Olgovich's wife) had made her husband's retainers swear that they would not inform Oleg of his father's death. The princess, the retainers (mouzhy) of Sviatoslav Olgovich, and the Byzantine bishop of Chernigov all swear an oath upon

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[403] Le Jan discusses the role of monasteries as places of prayer and asceticism and, at the same time, as places of power: R. Le Jan, "Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Seventh-Century Francia," in De Jong and Theuws, 243-259.

[404] *PSRL* 2, cols. 417-418.

[405] *PSRL* 2, cols. 537-538.

[406] *PSRL* 2, col. 538.

[407] *PSRL* 2, cols. 522-523.

the icon of the Holy Saviour in Chernigov.[408] However, Oleg is informed of what has transpired by Iurii, his military commander (tysiatskii),[409] who reasons that it had been a sin to compel the bishop to swear an oath. In response, the bishop states that those who break an oath sworn on an icon are akin to Judas (яко Июда).[410] However, the matter is not straightforward, since the prelate then sends a written document (списав грамоту) to Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, informing him of his uncle's death and that his cousin would attempt to usurp his rightful patrimony.[411]

It should be noted here that the chronicler does not condemn the bishop for swearing the oath, rather he upbraids the bishop for breaking the oath.[412] It appears that the interdiction of oath-taking was of a prescriptive nature, which is apparent in the divergence between theory and practice in patristic and hagiographic literature. In patristic literature, oath-taking is forbidden, prescriptively, and its interdiction is primarily derived from literal readings of the Bible.[413] In hagiographic literature as well as monastic literature of an edificatory genre, monks are admonished to honour

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[408]   The outcome of the false oath taken on the Cross and icons by the Davidovichi before the Bishop of Chernigov is similar, Vladimir Davidovich is killed in battle: *PSRL* 2, col. 324.

[409] *PSRL* 2, col. 523.

[410] The *Kniga Palomnik* describes immediate divine sanction at the Monastery of St. Michael in Constantinople: a man is punished by icon because he has sworn a false oath: *Kniga Palomnik". Skazanie mest" sviatykh" vo Tsarĕgradĕ Antoniia, arkhiepiskopa Novgorodskago v" 1200 godu*, (ed.) Kh. M. Loparev, *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii sbornik*, vol. 17.3 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia V. Kishbluma, 1899), section 36.

[411] *PSRL* 2, col. 523. The chronicle gives the information contained in the *gramota* as direct discourse.

[412] *PSRL* 2, col. 523. The bishop's perfidy is attributed to his "Greek" provenance": се же молвяше им лесть тая в собя бяше бо родомь Грячин. се же первое целова святого Спаса се же створи злое преступление и списав грамоту [...]. The chronicler's meaning here is obvious, it is not the fact that the prelate swore an oath that causes outrage, rather it is his violation of the oath to rectify his mistake that is virulently denounced.

[413] Matthew V: 33-37, articulates the idea that man cannot predict the future (including his fate); and therefore cannot make vows and promises.
    In Byzantine patristic literature, the interdiction of oath-taking by members of the clergy is articulated by several Church Fathers. John Chrysostom writes: Πάλιν ὁ ὀμνύς, ἄν τε τοῦτο ἄν τε ἐκεῖνο ᾖ, ὁμοίως καταδικάζεται. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς, ὅτε περὶ τούτων διετάσσετο καὶ ἐνομοθέτει, τοῦτον ἐποιήσατο τὸν διορισμόν, οὐδὲ εἶπεν. Ἐὰν μὲν μοναχὸς ὁ ὀμνύων ᾖ, ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὁ ὅρκος ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μοναχός, οὐκέτι ἀλλ᾽ἁπλῶς καὶ καθάπαξ ἅπασιν ἔλεγεν Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως. in *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae*, PG, vol. XLVII, 372[44-50]. This interdiction of oath-taking is absolute and does not allow for any compromise. Basil of Caesarea's approach is somewhat conciliatory: Ὅρκος μὲν ἅπας ἐξοριζέσθω τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ἀσκουμένων. in *Sermo 13*, PG, vol. XXXI, col. 880[D]-881[A]. This view is continuously reiterated in monastic statutes throughout the Byzantine period and with increasing insistence on the repercussions of oath-taking by prelates, see: O. Delouis, "Église et serment à Byzance: norme et pratique," in (eds.) Auzépy and Saint-Guillain, 211-246; 233-239. Theodore the Studite (759-826) focusses on the monastic community and the ban of oath-taking: *Epistle* 436[43-45] μήτε ὀμνύειν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τὸ παράπαν μήτε τι ἄλλο παραθεωρεῖν τῶν ἐωτεταλμένων, 459[39-40] ὅρκος ἐν τῷ στόματί σου μὴ αὐλιζέσθω ὁ γὰρ ὁμωύων οὐ σωθήσεται, κἂν δοκῇ πᾶσαν ἐντολὴν ποιεῖν, 468[15-16] μηδαμῶς ὀμνύειν μηδὲ ὅρκιον τὸ πολυτίμητον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ στόματος φέρειν - οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τὸν ὀμνύοντα σωθῆναι, 470[32-34] Διὰ τοῦτο γρηγορητέον παντὶ τῷ θέλοντι σωθηναι κατ᾽ἐντολὴν ζῆν, μὴ ὀμνύειν, μή μετεωρίζεσθαι, μὴ γελᾶν, μὴ τρυφᾶν, μὴ παίζειν μὴ θυμοῦσθαι, μὴ πορνεύειν, μὴ μεθύειν, μὴ θησαυρίζειν χρυσόν. During Iconoclasm, Theodore the Studite answers a question that is relevant for this study; he is asked whether or not one can break one's oath to avoid offence. The Studite replies that while one should never go so far as to swear an oath, one must renege on one's promises to safeguard virtue and justice, see: *Epistle* 383, I. 71-76 in *Correspondance*, (ed.) G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, CFHB 31 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991). Theodore the Studite's considerations are prevalent in most of the subsequent literature on monasticism and the interdiction of oath-swearing by the clergy.

their agreements and are dispensed from the interdiction on oath-taking where it interferes with their duties.[414]

Based on the prevalence of translated patristic literature in Rus' and the use of hagiographic texts for monastic edification, it is entirely possible that arguments regarding the Biblical interdiction of oath-taking as well as allowances made for oath-taking in hagiographic literature were known to the clergy of Rus', particularly those that had been sent from Constantinople.[415] Furthermore, the latter consideration—that violating an oath, which would result in an evil act being committed is condoned—is also considered in patristic and legal texts.[416] In order for the bishop of Chernigov to comply with the correct succession configuration and to avoid internecine conflict due to usurpation, he had to renege on his oath. Just as Theodore the Studite writes in his epistles, the *Izbornik* of 1076 features an example of ερωτοαποκρίσεις (questions and answers), a common patristic mode, wherein it is confirmed that one should renege on one's sworn oath if it will result in an act of evil.[417] This example is one of several examples in the Kievan Chronicle that illustrate this aphorism, and while most parties who renege on their oaths do so not because of the legal or moral ramifications, it can be observed that where the ritual of oath-taking is embellished with the external presence of clergymen and retainers and the signing of documents is attested, there often exists a greater impetus either to honour or reverse an oath on defined moral grounds.

The breaking of an oath is threatened with a curse in 1146 when the princes swear on the Cross in the Spaski Church. The bishop of Chernigov, Onufrii, pronounces the curse, which occurs in parallel with the Feast of the Elevation of the Cross. However, the princes renege on their oath made under false pretences. The curse is therefore seen as a divine reprimand and, later on, one of

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[414] In hagiographic texts, monks are entreated to honour their agreements and should consider carefully whether or not a given situation merits oath-swearing. Most of the situations that merit oath-swearing in hagiographic texts pertain to practical matters that demand the making of promises. See: *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza, Lettre 721,* (ed.) F. Neyt and P. de Angelis-Noah and (trans.) L. Regnault, *Correspondance,* vol. 3, *Aux laïcs et aux évêques, Lettres 617-848,* SC, 468 (Paris: Éditions des Belles Lettres, 2002), 162-164: Ἐρώτησις Ἐὰν ἀπαιτῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅρκον, ὁρίσω αὐτοῖς ἢ οὔ; Ἀπόκρισις Μηδέποτε ὁρίσῃς ὅρκον παρά τινος δοθῆναι, ὁ γάρ Θεὸς ἀπηγόρευσε τὸ ὀμόσαι τινά. Ἀλλὰ λέγε ὅτι Τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅρκον ἀπαιτεῖ, εἰ οὖν θέλετε ὀμόσαι, ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιτραπῇς ὑπὸ μείζονος ἐξουσίας δικάσαι, ἀνάγκασαι ὁρίσαι τὸν ὅρκον, ἤγουν τὰ συμφέροντα πρῶτον ἀκριβῶς δοκιμάσας, καὶ τότε ὅρισαι μηδὲν διακρινόμενος. See also: *La Vie ancienne de s. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521-592),* (ed.) P. van den Ven, *Introduction et texte greci,* vol. 1 in SH 32.1 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1962) and vol. 2, *Traduction et Commentaire. Vie grecque de sainte Marthe, mère de S. Syméon. Indices,* SH, 32.2 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1970).

[415] On the interdiction of oath-taking by members of ascetic orders and clergy in the *Izbornik 1076*, see: *Pouchenie sv. Vasiliia o zhitii* (105-105v.), *Afanas'ev"kh otvetakh* (217-217v.), John Chrysostom's *Slovo razoum'ii i pol'z'ii* (100-100v.), *Premudrost Isusa syna Sirahova*: "Не кльни ся именемь свято. Человекь сльныи ся мъного исплънить ся бесакония и не отъиметь ся отъ дому его рана. И аште съгряшить, гряхъ его на немь," (172-172v.). Since God is omniscient, one should always behave appropriately; therefore, promising good behaviour is redundant.

[416] *Izbornik 1076*, 194v.-195.

[417] See: *Afanas'ev"kh otvetakh* in *Izbornik 1076*, 194v.-195; and V. N. Beneshevich, *Drevneslavianskaia kormchaia XIV titulov bez tolkovanii,* (St. Petersburg: Imp. Akad. Nauk, 1906-1907), vol 1.1: 66, 121, 198; vol. 3: 487-488.

the princes (Vladimir Davidovich) is killed during the hostilities between Iziaslav Mstislavich and Iurii Vladimirich.[418] In effect, Sviatoslav Olgovich (of Chernigov) demonstrates little concern for the oath he swore to Iziaslav Mstislavich: to renounce antagonism over Igor Olgovich's death and to be loyal to Iziaslav. Furthermore, the chronicler, showing bias against Chernigov, writes that little faith should be placed in the word of the princes of Chernigov. However, Sviatoslav's conduct suggests that the Kievan Chronicle (and the chroniclers of Rus') viewed the sanctity of oaths taken voluntarily and those taken under duress differently. In the Kievan Chronicle, Sviatoslav Olgovich is represented as defending the greater moral obligation of protecting his patrimony, rather than fulfilling oaths he made under threat. Furthermore, Sviatoslav acts as a prince in his own right (as a representative of his patrimony) and not as a vassal of Iziaslav, with the imperative to restore his family to their seat in Chernigov.[419]

The ritual oath-taking "by kissing the Cross", as it is represented in the chronicles, responds to immediate local needs and occurs within a predetermined framework. The use of rhetoric (the language and symbols of the Byzantine Church and of Christian doctrine) and the use of accoutrements (such as icons or religious monuments) confers a ceremonial framework to the undertaking, as do the injunctions of the Byzantine clergy to honour oaths sworn by "kissing the Holy/True Cross". Within the context of internecine conflict and the threat of violence and fratricide, the ritual of oath-taking is depicted as a safeguard against the violation of succession agreements in the absence of a constitutional framework to prescribe legal ramifications for princes who violated accepted ordinances.

Written documents

Christophe Giros writes that in Byzantium "La parole trouve son sens dans la possibilité de devenir écriture".[420] According to Giros, for an oath to gain any sort of efficacy, it must be consigned to writing. In Byzantium, writes Giros, oaths were usually expressed orally and were later certified in writing since the Byzantine administrative apparatus (chancellery) invested great credence and value in the written word.[421]

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[418] See: *PSRL* 2, cols. 372-6.

[419] See: *PSRL* 2, cols. 324-325.

[420] C. Giros, "Serment et oralité dans les actes de l'Athos," in Auzépy and Saint-Guillain, 345-353, esp. 345.

[421] Giros, "Serment et oralité dans les actes de l'Athos," in Auzépy and Saint-Guillain, 348-350.

In the context of early Rus', certain cases of oath-taking, documentary evidence of the signing of a *gramota*, a written document confirming an oath that has been made orally, is provided.[422] In the year 1144, the return of the treaty sworn by Vladimir Volodarevich (prince of Galich) and Vsevolod Olegovich "и Володимерко взверже ему грамоту крестную" marks the beginning of an armed conflict. Although a treaty (a written document/*gramota*) is mentioned, its contents are never related.[423] As in the example from the year 1164 featuring the Byzantine bishop of Chernigov, a *gramota* is written and communicated to the reader by an instance of direct speech. However, this is not the case for most written documents, for which it suffices to mention the production of a *gramota*. It is difficult to argue that the chronicles once included actual transcriptions of the primary documents such as written oaths, even though Likhachev speculated that such documents existed.[424]

According to the Kievan Chronicle, the крестные грамоты (the documents or writs of the Cross) are also used in a ritual related to oath-taking "by kissing the Cross", which is the взвержение крестных грамот, wherein the signed document (treaty, accord, or oath) is thrown down at the feet of (or returned to) the party in violation of the agreement.[425] There are relatively few examples of this occurrence, since most trespasses of oath-taking do not necessarily imply the commencement of hostilities, but do appear to constitute the official dissolution of an oath.[426] In the year 1147, on a feast day, the Davidovichi, Sviatoslav Olgovich, and Iziaslav (the prince of Kiev) "kissed the Cross" to uphold an alliance and to provide each other with military assistance. However, Sviatoslav Olgovich did not uphold the oath, violating it almost immediately. The ensuing conflict pitted Iziaslav Mstislavich, Rostislav Mstislavich (his brother), the Davidovichi, and Sviatoslav Vsevolodich (of whom the latter would eventually betray Iziaslav) against Sviatoslav Olgovich and Iurii Vladimirich. It is important to note that, in an impassioned plea, the people of Kiev enjoin the Prince of Kiev not to go to war against his kin all of whom are descendants of Vladimir Sviatoslavich.[427] Iziaslav, having learned that he has been betrayed by his allies (the Davidovichi), entreats them to swear another oath on the Cross, which they resist. As it appears in the Kievan Chronicle, the drafting of the *gramota* is a last resort:

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[422] On documentation, see: Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture*, 171-176.

[423] *PSRL* 2, col. 315.

[424] D. S. Likhachev, "Russkii posol'skii obychai XI-XIII vv.," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 18 (1946): 42-55; 42-45.

[425] Note the similarity with the breaking of the pledge of fealty by throwing down the *festuca*, see: Le Goff, "Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité," 375-376.

[426] See: *PSRL* 2, cols. 315, 328-329, 345/346-347, 461-462, 536; and *PSRL* 1, cols. 412-413. For the years 1144, 1147, 1152, 1190, twice in 1192, and 1197.

[427] *PSRL* 2, cols. 341-342.

Же (Iziaslav) посла опять посол свои к ним *с християными грамотами*, и рече им: "вы есте *крест целовали* до живота своего, а волости Святославли и Игореве дал ва есмь. Азь же с вама и Святослава прогнал, а волость ва есть изискал и дал Новгород и Путивль, а жизнь есмы его взяли, а именье его разделиле на части, а Игорево я взял. се же брат *крест еста переступила*, а семо мя повела лестью убити мя хотяче. Да буди со мною Бог и *сила животворящего креста* а како ми Бог даст." И то рек поверже им *грамоты крестныя*.[428]

The *gramota* Iziaslav Mstislavich refers to, is represented as having a legally-binding value and is the written proof of the original dispositions of the treaty.

Based on the wording of the message conveyed by Iziaslav's emissary, it is possible that the production of written treaties was habitual in Rus'.[429] However, the contents of the *gramota* are relayed as direct discourse (pronounced by Iziaslav) without recourse to the reproduction (obvious collation) of an external document into the text of the Kievan Chronicle.[430] In the example that has just been outlined, the drafting of the *gramota* and its reception by the Davidovichi constitutes a declaration of war by Iziaslav whom they have betrayed.

Oath-taking with the production of *gramoty* is never discussed in opposition to or as an embellishment of oath-taking by "kissing the Cross". In effect, both are used interchangeably and it is difficult to conclude whether or not the different categories of oath-taking carried variable moral or even legal values. Was swearing an oath with the production of a *gramota* more or less official than swearing an oath by "kissing the Cross"? Perhaps a *gramota* was always produced and since such a practice was so banal, chroniclers chose to omit it unless there was a specific reason for its inclusion. In its most general form, the production of a *gramota* occurs in conjunction with an oath being sworn on the Cross, such is the case in the year 1190:

Рюрик [Rostislavich] же сослався с Всеволодом [of Suzdal'] сватом своим и с Давидом братом своим. Послаша к Святолаву [Vsevolodich] мужи своя, рекущи ему: "ты, брате, к нам *крест целовал*, на Романове [Rostislavich] *ряду* тако же наш брат Роман седел в Киеве. Даже стоиши в том *ряду* то тъ нам брат, пакы ли поминаешь давня тяжа которыи были при Ростиславе, то ступил еси *ряду* мы ся и то не дамы. А се ти *крестныя грамоты*." Святослав же прием *грамоты*, не хотев *креста человати*. И много превся и молвив с мужи и отпустив их, и опять возворотив их и *челова к ним крест*, на всеи их воле.[431]

This episode implies a hierarchy of oaths: first that of the simple "accord", then that made by the emission of "documents", which can only be confirmed by "kissing the Cross". This episode further

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suggests that oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" is the type of oath that inspires true fear as it carries divine sanction.

One indication of the relative values of oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" and the production of *gramoty* is given during the extensive negotiations between Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev and Vladimir of Galich who joined the internecine conflict between Iziaslav Mstislavich and Sviatoslav Olgovich. The passage is worth reproducing here since it demonstrates, clearly, that the production of *gramoty* is subsumed by oath-taking by "kissing the Cross", which contains a greater moral value:

> В то же веремя, Изяслав посла к Володимиру Галичкому Петра Бориславича *с крестними грамотами* […] и рече ему Изяслав: "*крест еси к нама с королем целовал* на том яко что Рускои волости то ти все воротити и того еси всего не управил […] не хощеши ли дати то сступил еси *крестного целования* а се твое *грамоты крестныя* а нама с королем с тобою како Бог даст." […] и рече ему (Vladimir of Galich) Петр: "*княже крест еси к брату своему к Изяславу и к королеви целовал* яко ти все управити и с нима быти то ти уже еси соступил *крестного целования*." и рече Володимир: "сии ли *крестец* малыи." рече Володимиру Петр: "княже аче крест мал но сила велика его есть на небеси и на земли, а тобе есть, княже, король являл того *честного креста* оже Бог своею волею на том руци свои простерл есть и приведы и Бог по своеи милости к святому Степану и то ти явил оже *целова всечастного креста* а соступиши то не будешт жив." и рече ему Петр: "а у королева еси мужа слышал ли о том *честном кресте*?" и рече Волоимир: "вы того до сыти ест молвили, а ныне полези вон. поеди же своему князю." Петр же положа ему *грамоты крестныя*.[432]

Indeed, it is as Simon Franklin writes: "It is the document which affirms the ritual, not the ritual which affirms the document."[433] The *gramoty* are represented by the chronicler as the formal aspect of oath-taking and Peter Borislavich (Iziaslav's envoy to Galich and the main source for this episode) states that the true guarantor of an oath is the Cross. Even though the Cross upon which the oath was sworn is small, it is an emanation of the Cross given to St. Stephen the first Christian martyr (AD 34-35) by God and the divine sanction associated with violating such an oath is death. As proof of this injunction, the Kievan Chronicle relates that Vladimir of Galich is suddenly stricken (most likely, Vladimir of Galich has suffered a stroke) and paralysed and, after a short convalescence, he dies.[434]

<div align="center">❅❅❅❅❅❅</div>

In patristic literature, oaths are described as dangerous (φρικτός) since they put one at risk of divine sanction as it agreed that violating an oath (ἐπιορκία or ψευδορκία) occurs often and with

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432 ***PSRL* 2, cols. 461-463.**

433 Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture*, 173.

434 *PSRL* 2, cols. 463-465.

frequency even though it constitutes a direct renunciation of God.[435] The main argument is that if one recognises God as the main witness to man's actions, the existence of oaths is superfluous since one ought to conduct oneself virtuously before God.[436] The oecumenical Councils of the early Church pronounced opinions on the subject and oath-taking (συνωμοσία/conjuratio) was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon of 451. The Council in Trullo (691-692) did not extend a ban on oath-taking except for pagan oaths (ὄρκοι ἑλληνικοί), thereby creating a morally circumscribed space within which oath-taking could occur. In effect, the acts of the earliest Church Councils attest to the use of depositions given by bishops made under oath.[437]

The chronicles of Rus' represent oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" as having a basic (oral) form and an embellished form (on icons, in churches, before prelates, and with written proof) that included a potential for divine sanction for those who violated their oaths or made them in bad faith. The main objectives of oath-taking by "kissing the Cross" as it is represented in the chronicles of Rus', were to avoid or quell tensions between princes, to protect the patrimony of Rus', and to create agreement about succession principles. In the chronicles, ritualised promises are most salient when they are broken and the breaking of oaths, depending on the status of the princes who made them along with the stakes, could be sanctioned politically and morally. The chronicles suggest that either oaths should not be sworn at all, but that if an oath must be sworn, it must not be violated as the violation of an oath made before God (who is the main witness to all of man's actions) constitutes a renunciation of God's grace.[438] Thus, chroniclers employed rhetorical strategies to shape information so that the violation of an oath was either sanctioned or justified on political and moral grounds.

Many cultures employed and provided representations of ritualised promises in order to create bonds of association. Oath-taking on a sacred object provided a mnemonic and physical incarnation

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[435] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina moralia*, (II.1,24: Πρὸς μολυόρκους διάλογος), *PG*, vol. XXXVII, col. 940-11: Ἄρνησίς ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ ψευδορκία. Gregory of Nazianus takes the view that everyone violates their oaths because they make oaths in bad faith.

[436] Kiril of Turov provides a further interdiction of making oaths for monks, which he lists along with acting wickedly against the abbot in an encomium to monks appended to his "Tale of a Layman", see: I. P. Eremin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," *TODRL*, 354.4-10

[437] Delouis gives an example from the acts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople wherein an oath is sworn using the common formulae: οὐ ψεύδομαι καὶ ὀμνύς εἰς τὰ ἅγια εὐαγγέλα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὀμνύω εἰς τὰ ἅγια τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐαγγέλια καὶ εἰς τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρόν. Both examples evoke oath-swearing before God, on the Gospels, and on the True Cross, in *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, (eds.) H. Hunger, et al., CFHB, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995), vol. 2, 19.2,19 (July 1337 and February 1338); and vol. 5, 84.109-110; see also: Delouis, "Église et serment à Byzance: norme et pratique," 231.

[438] **PSRL 2, col. 329**: note the admonishment of the Davidovichi: ни помянути оцьства и о христе утвержения ни блаженственныя любве якоже бе лето жити брати единомыслено вкупе блюдучи отчества своего, но переступивша крестное утвержение и забыша страха Божия.

of universal social rules.[439] Promissory association rituals including objects are represented for pre-Christian Scandinavia, Germanic societies, and the emergent societies of the post-Roman world. Oath-takings are represented in Byzantine chronicles[440] and described in Byzantine hagiographic works as highly common forms of creating association through ritualised promises, and are made on the Gospels, on the altar, in churches, on the relics or reliquaries of saints, or on icons. The earliest hagiographies of the desert fathers (for example, the *vitae* of Cyril of Scythopolis or the *Pratum spirituale* of John Moschus) all attest to these practices in their most prototypical form even though these practices were denounced by the Church Fathers.[441] The chronicles of Rus' place emphasis on the sacred character of this ritual as well as on its material expression in the form of a judicial and social pact between parties. It is unsurprising that oath-taking numerically constitutes the main ritual act in the chronicles of Rus'.

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[439] See: M. H. Eriksen, "The Powerful Ring. Door rings, oath rings and the sacral place," in Eriksen, Pedersen, et al., 73-90, esp. 82-83.

[440] J. Thurn (ed.), *Weltchronik. Johannes Malalas* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2009), Reign of Theodosius the Younger: 5:8.14: ὥρκωσεν αὐὴν κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας.

[441] Delouis, "Église et serment à Byzance: norme et pratique," 236-237. See also: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, (ed.) E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, *Texte und Untersuchungen* 49 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1939), 3-85, 79-80; John Moschus, *Pré spirituel*, (ed.) C. Bouchet, *Fioretti des moines d'Orient. Jean Moschos. Le Pré spirituel* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2006), 94 and 110.

ii.   **Association Through Dining: Commensality in early Rus'**

Dining rituals and, more generally, rituals involving the consumption of food and drink have been studied by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians as a part of larger social ceremonies and socialisation practices,[442] and as independent acts that create and organise social relations.[443] Rituals involving the organised consumption of food and drink often include the performance and expression of consensus through hospitality.[444]

The underlying notion of ritualised dining is that of hospitality which, according to Kant, in its most basic form is limited to the rights of the guest (the receiver of hospitality) "not to be treated with hostility when he arrives on someone else's territory."[445] The absence of hostility is the basic characteristic of hospitality and of hosting a guest. Derrida, in his disquisition on hospitality, distinguishes a nuance in the form of "conditional hospitality", which is hospitality governed by laws, rules, and codes that introduce distinction between the individuals participating in a "hospitable exchange" and, by extension, creates a relationship of subordination between host and guest.[446] Derrida also suggests that the host (subject) can be taken hostage or substituted through hospitality, since the act of hospitality invites a foreign individual (hostis) into the territory or domestic space of the host, thereby destabilising the organisation and implicit hierarchy of the

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[442] There is very little written about ritualised dining in the chronicles of early Rus' aside from passing mentions, most notably in: Tolochko, *Kniaz' v Drevnei Rusi*, 139-149; and Y. Mikhailova, "'Christians and Pagans' in the Chronicles of Pre-Mongolian Rus: Beyond the Dichotomy of 'Good Us' and 'Bad Them'," in *Geschichte der Slavia Asiatica: Quellenkundliche Probleme*, (eds.) C. Lübke, I. Miftakhova, W. Von Scheliha (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2013), 22-51. There are numerous anthropological and historical studies on ritualised dining: *Food & History* (2003-2014) published by Brepols dedicates several numbers to feasting and hospitality throughout history (see: 3.1, 4.1, 4.2); M. Dietler and B. Hayden (eds.), *Feasts: Archeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2001); the archaeology of feasting practices: T. L. Bray, *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires* (New York: Springer, 2003). Byzantine historians have utilised the extensive bibliography on Greco-Roman and Late Antique banquets and ritualised dining practices to study festal ceremonies in Byzantium, see: L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (eds.), *Eat, Drink, and be Merry (Luke 12:19) - Food and Wine in Byzantium Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A. A. M. Bryer*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007). Medieval feasts and convivial ceremonies in emergent medieval societies have recently received attention: Althoff, "Der frieden-, bündnis-, und gemeinschaftstiftende Charakter," 12-25; A. Gautier, "Palais, itinéraires et fêtes alimentaires des rois anglo-saxons aux Xe et XIe siècles," *Food and History* 4.1 (2006): 29-44; *idem*., "Hospitality in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England," *EME* 17 (2009): 23-44; L. Roach, "Hosting the king: hospitality and the royal *iter* in tenth-century England," *JMS* 37.1 (2011): 34-46.

[443] This is a structuralist assertion since ritualised dining, as it is represented in medieval narratives, does not only reflect social relations, but organises, shapes, and imposes them, see: C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 40–52.

[444] See: M. Dietler, "Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy. Food, Power and Status in Prehistoric Europe," in *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, (eds.) P. Wiesner and W. Schiefenhövel (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), 87-125, esp. 89-92.

[445] I. Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, (trans.) H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 105.

[446] J. Derrida, *De l'hospitalité: Anne Dufourmantelle invite Jacques Derrida à répondre* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1997), 147.

household.[447] Within these considerations, Derrida discerns an antinomy existing within the traditional definition of hospitality. The limits, power dynamic, and the exercise of rights and duties in a hospitable exchange transgresses the very notion of the "unconditional welcome" upon which hospitality (both as an ideology and as a practice) is predicated.[448]

The history of hospitality and association (the making and maintenance of alliances both formal and informal) through dining can easily be traced through historicising narratives from classical times to the modern period.[449] The well-known episode in Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Saint Martin*[450] (retold by Paulinus of Périgueux and Venantius Fortunatus[451]) about St. Martin's banquet with the Gallic usurper Maximus demonstrates the importance of ritualised dining within the process of political legitimation in Late Antiquity. The feast organised by Maximus becomes the setting for the negotiation of socio-political status as well as the assertion of power relations between host (*patronus*) and guest (*cliens*).[452] In spite of the subversive actions of Martin of Tours, the feast is presented as an amicable event and permits a display of commensality.[453] Narratives of dining events most often demonstrate hospitality and generosity regardless of external circumstances. The dining hall is usually evoked as the appropriate setting for dining as a symbolic action and its architecture is evocative of the social dynamic of the event being staged.[454] Actions, attitudes, and the commensal idea of the banquet are what convey social consensus, and the mere invitation to dine denotes hospitality and infers *clientela* and *amicitia* relations that can later be confirmed, dispelled, subverted, or substituted. Ritualised dining can thus be characterised not only as a display of consensus and solidarity, but also of hierarchy and power relationships.

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[447] J. Derrida, *Acts of Religion*, (ed.) G. Anidjar (New York: Routledge, 2002), 364.

[448] Derrida, *De l'hospitalité*, 77. Derrida calls this the "*aporia* of hospitality" and, within this paradox, hospitality is impracticable.

[449] See: W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991).

[450] *Sulpice Sévère: Vie de Saint Martin*, vol. 3, (trans. and ed.) J. Fontaine (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966-1969), 910-950.

[451] For comparative accounts, see: M. Roberts, "The Meaning of a Late Roman Banquet," *REA* 41 (1995): 91-111.

[452] The architecture of the festal space conveyed ideas of hierarchy and social and political power, see: S. P. Ellis, "Power, Architecture, and Decor: How the Late Roman Aristocrat Appeared to His Guests," in *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insulai*, (eds.) E. K. Gazda and A. E. Haeckl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 119-120.

[453] See: L. Bek, "*Quaestiones Convivales*: The Idea of the Triclinium and the Staging of Convivial Ceremony from Rome to Byzantium," *AR* 12 (1983): 81-107, esp. 91.

[454] However, Sulpicius Severus does not provide any details in his account of the banquet and it is only later panegyricists who provide physical details of the festal space. Sulpicius only details the seating arrangement as this aspect of the banquet is essential to conveying the subversion of the existing power dynamic. It is the set of relations established over the course of the feast that give the event meaning, see: Roberts, "The Meaning of a Late Roman Banquet," 96.

Dining as an act of ritual association occurs in the *PVL* when Princess Olga and her entourage are received by the Byzantine emperors, Constantine VII and Romanos II, at the Great Palace of Constantinople in 957 or 946.[455] Princess Olga dines with the imperial family at a series of organised banquets, recounted in the section of the *De Cerimoniis* dedicated to the reception of embassies.[456] In these accounts, the various dining configurations define the bonds of friendship between host(s) and guest(s): Princess Olga and her entourage are invited to a series of banquets in the Hall of the Nineteen Couches, the Justinianos, the Chrysotriklinos, and the Pentakouboukleion, and for dessert in the Aristeterion during which largesse is distributed to the guests from Rus'.[457] Princess Olga's status is elevated when she accepts baptism and she is honoured with an imperial dignity (*zoste patrikia*), receives the *proskynesis* from the other ladies of the imperial court and is permitted to stand next to the empress.[458] The commensal rituals at which Princess Olga is honoured demonstrate her subordinate position to the emperors and the imperial family, since it is only the hosts (the emperors) who retain the prerogative of providing hospitality and defining the status of their guest, Princess Olga.[459] Based on the context of 10th century relations between Rus' and Byzantium, it becomes evident that the Rus' sought tangible benefits from their association with Constantinople. The Russo-Byzantine treaties attest to established trade relations between the two regions, while the strengthening of bonds of association during Princess Olga's trip—the creation of personal bonds with the imperial family through baptism—implies a relationship of clientelism wherein the Rus' actively sought contact and association with Constantinople.[460]

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[455] For Princess Olga's voyage to Constantinople see: *PVL*, I, 43-45; and *DC*, Bonn, 594.15-598.12. There are divergent ideas about the date of Olga's voyage, for the most recent discussion, see: M. Featherstone, "Olga's Visit to Constantinople in *De Cerimoniis*," *REB* 61 (2003): 241-251; O. Kresten, '*Staatsempfänge' im Kaiserpalast von Konstantinopel um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Sitzungsberichte d. philos.-histor. Kl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss. 670 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000); C. Zuckerman, "Le voyage d'Olga et la première ambassade espagnole à Constantinople en 946," *TM* 13 (2000): 647-672; for the intervening literature, see: J. Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church to 1448* (London: Longman, 1995), 27-28; and Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 137, note 50.

[456] J. M. Featherstone, "ΔΙ'ΕΝΔΕΙΞΙΝ: Display in Court Ceremonial, (*De Cerimoniis* II,15)," in *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Mediaeval Art and Archaeology*, (eds.) A. Cutler and A. Papconstantinou (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 75-109, esp. 80-109.

[457] *DC*, 596.20-598.12.

[458] See: Featherstone, "ΔΙ'ΕΝΔΕΙΞΙΝ," 109, note 226. On the baptism of Princess Olga, see: *Ioannis Skylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, H. Thurn (ed.) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), 77-81, 240.

[459] *PVL*, 133-138. For the anecdotal narrative of a ruse practiced by Princess Olga, demonstrating her superior knowledge of the Christian faith.

[460] On the Rus' as the claimants of association with Constantinople, see: J. Shepard, "Why did the Russians attack Byzantium in 1043?," *BNJ* 22 (1978/1979): 147-212.

This episode of conventional commensality with a positive result precedes the saga-like tale of Princess Olga's revenges against the Derevlians who had murdered her husband, Igor.[461] The final revenge against the Derevlians is that of a funeral feast, organised by Olga, for her husband after which she intimates that she will marry the Derevlian prince, Mal, who had proposed an alliance through marriage. At the feast, the Derevlians become drunk and are all hacked to death by Olga's retainers.[462] The notion of the funeral feast introduces a set of social relations and associates host and guest in a commemorative act. The expectation of certain behaviours, attitudes, and outcomes according to a social norm renders the violation of ritual all the more effective precisely because of the presumption of immutability. The transgression of the ritual confirms its efficacy.

The concept of organised dining in early Rus' is somewhat of a misnomer as the physical act of dining in the ceremonial proceedings receives little more than a perfunctory mention. Dining is often evoked with reference to the обедъ (a meal or feast) and the пиръ (a feast or revelry).[463] Both terms are used in the chronicles of Rus', with the former term being much more prevalent in the narrative. These are not the only words that denote commensality, which can be derived from the context of the event or articulated with reference to actions associated with dining and commensality. Narratives that describe feasts and ritualised dining in the chronicles and other sources of early Rus' can be grouped into three broad themes: feasting as a display of princely generosity and hospitality, feasting as an extension of oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" between princes, and feasting to create and maintain alliances between the princes of Rus' and other groups. In these circumstances, feasting is a mode of conspicuous hospitality, creating relationships of subordination or equality, and demonstrating the significance of personal presence in the creation of bonds.

Association through benefaction: Dining as a charitable act

Injunctions to be charitable and to perform charitable acts abound in medieval Christian literature.[464] Based on neo-testamentary *topoi*, such injunctions exhort those with means—princes

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[461] *PVL* 1, 41-42.

[462] See: Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 301, esp. note 90.

[463] On terminology and the representation of feasting in the *PVL*, see: A. A. Gippius, "Kak obedal Sviatoslav? (tekstologicheskie zametki)," *DR. Voprosy medievistiki* 1 (2008): 47-54.

[464] See bibliography of J. W. Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 287-309.

and other magnates—to engage in charity as part of their Christian duty.[465] Medieval acts of charity were both acts of contrition (submission of temporal lords before the Church) and of benefaction. Medieval rulers engaged in philanthropy by endowing religious institutions, by making displays of largesse during festivals, and by showing their liberality individually.

The edificatory literature of early Rus' entreats its readers to engage in charity liberally. The trope of the magnate giving liberally probably reflected a real admonishment to princes to provide for their subjects and for the Church. In early literary monuments such as the *Izbornik of 1076*, the *Pouchenie Vladimira Monomakha*,[466] the *Pchela*,[467] the *Slovo* of Daniel the Prisoner,[468] and in edificatory excurses of the chronicles of Rus', the necessity to be charitable is exemplified by the prince who, acting as host, offers nourishment to his guests whatever their rank or provenance. In the 'teachings' of Vladimir Monomakh,[469] the prince advises:

> Куда же поидете, идеже станете, напоите, накормите унеина; и боле же чтите гость, откуду же к вам придеть, или простъ, или добръ, или солъ; аще не можете даромъ — брашном и питьемь: ти бо мимоходячи прославять человека по всем землям любо добрым, любо злымъ.[470]

The principal point is that one should be generous because charity befits a Christian prince who ought to provide hospitality to a guest regardless of rank. In the *Pouchenie*, the Christian prince is compelled to act philanthropically because of his rank and Christian duty.[471] However, it is not out

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[465] These *topoi* largely reflect the injunction of Matthew 25:34-46.

[466] On the *Instruction*, see: D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 83-114.

[467] *Pchela*, section entitled: О МИЛОСТЫНѢ (On Charity). On the pedagogical implications of the *Pchela*, see: K. A. Maksimovich, "Obraz ideal'nogo pravitelia v drevnerusskoi "Pchele" i politicheskaia mysl' vizantii," *DR* 7 (2002): 28-42, 39-41.

[468] Text: *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi* IV, (eds.) D. S. Likhachev, L. A. Dmitrieva, et al. (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1997), 268-282; Critical edition: *Daniil Zatocnik. Slovo e Molenie*, (eds.) M. Colucci and A. Danti, Studia historica et philologica 4, Sectio Slavica 2 (Florence: Licosa, 1977). On the contents of the *Slovo* and *Molenie*, see: D. S. Likhachev, "Sotsial'nye osnovy stilia "Moleniia" Daniila Zatochnika," in *Issledovaniia po drevnerusskoi literature* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1986), 185-200; as advice literature, see: I. U. Budovnits, "Pamiatnik rannei dvorianskoi publitsistiki (Molenie Daniila Zatochnika)," *TODRL* 8 (1951): 138-157; in its Byzantine context, see: S. Franklin, "Echoes of Byzantine Elite Culture in Twelfth-Century Russia?," in *Byzantium-Rus-Russia: Studies in the Translation of Christian Culture* (Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, 2002), 507-535.

[469] The Laurentian Chronicle contains the *Instruction*, a compendium of several letters, the first being dedicated to Prince Oleg of Chernigov from the year 1093, and the subsequent letters (indistinct in the chronicle text) dating to the year 1125 followed by a prayer. *PSRL* 1, cols. 254-256. There is no full scholarly consensus regarding the works attributed to Vladimir Monomakh, for an introduction see: N. N. Voronin, "O vremeni i meste vkliucheniia v letopis' sochinenii Vladimira Monomakha," *Istoriko-arkheologicheskii sbornik* (Moscow: MGU, 1962), 265-271; and R. Mat'esena, "Tekstologicheskie zamechaniia o proizvedeniiakh Vladimira Monomakha," *TODRL* 26 (1971): 192-201. It is possible that both the *Testament* and the *Prayer* date to a 1117 chronicle redaction, a view that Gippius shared with N. V. Shliakov, see: "K atributsii molitvennogo teksta v "Pouchenii" Vladimira Monomakha," *DR* 14 (2003): 13-14; or that the prayer of Monomakh dates to the era of Andrei Iurevich, which Voronin argues.

[470] See: *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi* 1, (eds.) D. S. Likhachev, L. A. Dmitrieva (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1997), 457.

[471] "Pouchenie," 457-458. On the Byzantine ideology of the "teachings", see: Chichurov, *Politicheskaia oppozitsiia Srednevekov'ia*, 140-150.

of pure generosity that the prince should be so hospitable, but it is also because the guest, having received the prince's hospitality, will laud and publicise the prince's liberality. Charity, in this sense, is a public act that creates a good rapport between host and guest, and consensus through the gift and sharing of food.

Charitable acts are described in the chronicles of Rus' principally through religious patronage—the building and endowment of churches and monasteries by the princes of Rus'—characterised as acts of salutary piety. For the years 994 to 996, the *PVL* offers a narrative about how the Pechenegs defeated Vladimir Sviatoslavich at Vasilevo (a village near Kiev named after Vladimir-Basil's patron saint) and the prince was forced to flee and hide under a bridge.[472] The following episode describes one of Vladimir's acts of patronage, the founding of the Church of the Transfiguration at Vasilevo to commemorate his escape from the Pechenegs:[473]

> И тогда обещася Володимеръ поставити церковь вь Василеве святое Преображение, бе бо празникъ Преображению Господню въ день, егда си бысть сеча, Избывъ же Володимеръ сего, постави церковь и творяше празникъ, варя 300 переваръ меду. И зваше бояры своя, и посадникы, и старейшины по всимъ градомъ, и люди многы, и раздаваше 300 гривенъ убогымъ. И празнова князь Володимеръ ту днии 8, и възвращашеться Кыеву на Успение святыя Богородица, и ту пакы творяше празникъ светель, съзываше бещисленое множьство народа. Видяше же люди крестьяны суща, радовашеся душею и теломъ. И тако по вся лета творяше.[474]

The foundation is represented as a moment of consensus and is followed by a great feast, for which Vladimir ordered three hundred kettles of mead to be brewed, invited boyars, governors, elders from the polities, and many other people, and distributed three hundred *grivny* to the poor. This celebration is followed by another dining event, taking place in Kiev, during the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God. Both events describe a pattern of charitable undertakings by Vladimir who—as a Christian ruler of a newly-converted people—represents the standard for Christian behaviour. Charity in the form of nourishment was a meaningful way to draw attention and publicise a figure of authority: "си слышавъ, повелѣ нищю всяку и убогу приходити на дворъ на княжь и взимати всяку потребу: питье и яденье, и от скотьничь кунами."[475] Vladimir's charitable acts not only provide an example for his subjects within a Christian context,

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[472] See: Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 165-166.

[473] Likhachev wrote in his commentary to the *PVL*, that the founding of the Church of the Transfiguration was probably built some time after the attack by the Pechenegs (perhaps once the area was secure and a fortification had been built) and that there must be a chronological break between the two events (*PVL* 2, 349); see also: Franklin and Shepard, *Emergence of Rus'*, 171-172.

[474] *PVL* I, 85-86.

[475] A *kuna* was a small monetary unit equivalent to one quarter of a *grivna*. See: V. L. Ianin, "Russkie denezhnye sistemy IX-XV vv.," in *Drevniaia Rus': Gorod, Zamok, Selo*, (ed.) B. A. Kolchin (Moscow: Arkheologiia SSSR, 1985), 364-375; and Pritsak, *The Origins of the Old Rus' Weights and Monetary Systems*, 52.

they also create consensus around the figure of the prince by associating those who partook of food and drink with his rule. They also create a relationship of subordination to the prince:

> И се же творя людемь своимь: по вся неделя устави по вся дни на дворе вь гридници пиръ творити и приходити бояромъ, и гридьмъ, и соцькимъ, и десятникомъ и нарочитымь мужемь и при князе и безъ князя. И бываше на обеде томь множьство от мясъ, и от скота и от зверины, и бяше же изобилью всего.[476]

The prince's palace (dvor) becomes the nexus for his charitable and associative activities. This episode states that the feasts were a weekly occurrence and that it was common to summon the notables of Rus' together for a meal at the palace in the presence or absence of the prince. The narrative implies a hierarchical organisation, as in the previous episode. The guests are identified beginning with the boyars and followed by lesser court figures—when the feast took place outside of Kiev, governors and elders followed the boyars—and notable subjects or, simply, the inhabitants of the polity.[477] The second part of the episode includes an anecdote wherein, owing to the displeasure of his guests at using wooden spoons, Vladimir instantly has silver spoons moulded for his retinue and guests to use. The purpose of this tale becomes clear at the end of the passage, which reveals that although Vladimir was not always able to secure a faithful retinue, he was able to provide "сребро и злато" (silver and gold) for his table and his retinue because Vladimir "живя с князи околными его миромъ" (he lived with his fellow princes in peace).[478] The passage summarises the main characteristics of Vladimir's authority as a ruler and the fundamental role of consensus and association in maintaining princely authority in the Kievan polity.

Association and feasting were means of creating consensus around a prince and the central role of Vladimir as the benefactor—a Christian prince providing Christian charity—further suggests the shaping of a hierarchy. Franklin and Shepard offer a clear analysis of this episode:

> What is clear is that Vladimir used his new cult to exercise a form of social control over other members of the elite. His palace remained a focal point, even when he had to be hundreds of kilometres away [...][479]

Feasts were a means of projecting Vladimir's status and negotiating the balance of power between the prince and his entourage. The importance of establishing consensus in person explains why Vladimir's feasts in Kiev (limited to Starokievskaia Hill in the first instance) and around Kiev were described in the *PVL*. Furthermore, that these feasts continued even in Vladimir's absence

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[476] *PVL* **I, 86.**

[477] According to Likhachev, these оцькие and десятникие were minor members of the *druzhina* and the other groups mentioned were notable citizens, see: "Komentarii," *PVL* 2, 349-350.

[478] Referring to foreign princes rather than the Riurikid princes. See: Likhachev, "Komentarii," *PVL* 2, 350.

[479] Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 167.

suggests that Vladimir's consensus regime was gaining strength and his ability to mobilise this consensus through assembly and association was a marker of his authority in Kiev.[480]

The narratives of Vladimir's feasts largely focus on the benefactions of the prince and emphasise his role as founder, philanthropist, benefactor, and—in his proselytic capacity—as saviour. Following the Christianisation, feasts at princely houses continued to function as a means of gathering notables around the prince and affirming the prince's ability to build consensus and association with his rule. Charitable acts both created distinction and narrowed the distance between rulers and their subordinates. Princes were exhorted to subordinate themselves through charitable acts and to follow the monastic ideal because, by adopting the liminal identity of one who is both powerful and humble, the prince was endowed with even greater moral—and, by extension, political—authority.[481]

In an excerpt of unknown provenance from the *Izbornik of 1076*, dining embodies charity. In this passage, the host is encouraged to embody the monastic ideal and to follow the example of Christ, to show humility and enact subordination to his guests:

> Буди же домъ твои молитве и покои иереемъ служителемъ блажииемъ и всякому чину церквьнуму и въведи таковыя въ домъ свои съ вьсякою чьстью посади я постави имъ тряпезу и яко же самому Христосу самъ же имъ стани въ службе [...] Поминаи же суштиихъ въ манастырьхъ анггельскыи образъ носяштая: аште тие како въведи я въ домъ свои постави имъ тряпесу въ чинъ манастырьскыи [...] служити яко ангеломъ влажиемъ. Проважая же съ покланяниемь отъпусти я въдавъ имъ и манастырю ихъ потребьная.[482]

The injunction to be charitable and to host members of the clergy "in the monastic way" represents a form of supplication with a didactic role: how to behave in the proper way in order to seek the aid of God and God's familiars.[483] Jacques Le Goff described this aspect of rites and rituals of symbolic supplication as a pervasive theme in medieval Christianity, in which "l'inversion des relations sociales normales" was introduced by the Church as a path to grace.[484] The supplication of the prince through an act of monastic humility designated a form of association through supplication.

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[480] On ruling by consensus in emergent medieval societies, see: S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities in western Europe 900-1300*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); B. Schneidmüller, "Konsensuale Herrschaft. Ein Essay über Formen und Konzepte politischer Ordnung im Mittelalter," in *Reich, Regionen und Europa in Mittel-alter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Peter Moraw*, (ed.) J.-P. Heinig, et al., Historische Forschungen 67 (Berlin: P.-J. Heinig, 2000), 151-220, esp. 215.

[481] On submission and status elevation, see: Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, esp. chs. 4-5; and on liminality and status reversal, see: Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 167-203.

[482] *Izbornik 1076*, **Veder, 11; Kotkov, 191-194.** Note that this section may have formed part of a series of questions and answers ascribed to a father Anastasius, the first part of this text is missing.

[483] Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 92, note 62. Koziol makes the clear connection between the symbolic supplication of magnates to the clergy as an illustration of Mat. 20:16.

[484] Le Goff, "Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité," 413.

The otherwise asymmetric relationship between the prince and his subjects becomes reversed as the prince subordinates himself to God by associating himself with the monastic order—those who had embraced humility and poverty—through an act of charity. The commensal ritual thus becomes a symbol of both the prince's authority and power as a secular leader and his subordination to God, through the careful subversion of the normal social order.

The narrative for the year 1168 describing the death of Rostislav Mstislavich, who was Prince of Smolensk (1125-1160), of Novgorod (1154), and of Kiev (1154 and 1159-1167) includes an excursus that is introduced through an ulterior conversation between the prince and his confessor, the Abbot Polikarp of the Kievan Caves Monastery. Having fallen ill while travelling through Rus', Rostislav stops in Smolensk to rest at the home of his sister, Rogneda, and recounts to his confessor, the priest Simeon, that he often spoke with the Abbot Polikarp about monastic life and had striven to imitate the monastic ideal.

> И сю добродетель в собе у великии пост в всякую суботу и в неделю сажаше на обеде у себе 12 чьрноризца, третии на десят игумен Поликарп. И тако тех накорми нищих отпущаше сам же по вся недели [...] Егда же скончеваше вес пост и тако учрежаше всю братю, а в Лазореву суботу вси Печеряны взимаше, и по всим манастирем зваше а во ины дени в сред и в пятакъ утешиваше братю.[485]

This description introduces a panegyric that focusses on the prince's good deeds and personality.[486] Here, charity and commensality with monastic communities elevate Rostislav and invest him with a greater moral authority. Rostislav humbled himself and implored Abbot Polikarp to allow him to become a monk,[487] but was rebuked because his princely mandate—his duty to maintain peace between princes and concord amongst the principalities of Rus'—had not ended. The reversal of roles and the supplication of Rostislav before Abbot Polikarp exemplifies this transvestism of power enacted through communal dining. The ruler adopts the attitude of the humble and is represented as subservient before Abbot Polikarp. Rather than discredit the prince as a figure of authority, this act invests him with greater moral authority. As Geoffrey Koziol writes: "Beneath all these layers of meaning was a simple fact of Christian soteriology: all of the faithful were Christians, even those who ruled Christians [...] subject to God and could be humbled."[488] The commensal ritual offered an ideal stage where such a reversal of hierarchy—the association between ruler and monk as equals—could be enacted and displayed.

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[485] *PSRL* **2, col. 530.**

[486] According to the Kievan Chronicle (cols. 530-531), Rostislav founded the Cathedral of Boris and Gleb at Smolensk (c. 1145) and a so-called "Great Church" at Smolensk that was later expanded by David of Smolensk, see: P. A. Rappoport, *Russkaia arkhitektura X-XIII vv. Katalog pamiatnikov* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1982), 82.

[487] *PSRL* 2, col. 530.

[488] Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 92.

It is very likely that monasteries hosted their patrons, and that the Kievan Caves Monastery commonly received princely visitors because of its prestige and historical significance for the Riurikid Dynasty. There is information to be gleaned from the chronicles of Rus' about the role of the Caves Monastery in internecine politics where it is described as the site for oath-takings and the brokering of peace between princes, and in the *Paterik* of the Kievan Caves Monastery.[489] Therefore, it is unsurprising that the princes of Rus'—who financed and endowed the monastery— would be welcomed and regaled there. Although we do not have much information about monastic hospitality in Rus', it is reasonable to suppose that monasteries, especially the Caves Monastery, would have hosted the princes who financed them. It may be that in such contexts, hosting the prince was understood as an act of giving, for which counter-gifts were expected.[490] The *Paterik* contains a short panegyric in the *Life of Feodosii*, dedicated to Iziaslav Iaroslavich who was a patron of the Caves Monastery during his time as prince of Kiev:

> Боголюбивыи же къняз Изяслав, иже поистине бе теплъ на веру, яже къ Господу нашему Иисусу Христу и къ пречистеи матери его, иже послѣже положи душю свою за брата своего по Господню гласу, съ любъвь имея, якоже речеся, не просту къ отьцю нашему Феодосию, и часто приходя къ нему, и духовьныихъ техъ словесъ насыщаяся от него.[491]

The monastery's gift of spiritual education and nourishment were examples of monastic hospitality towards princes and provided opportunities for princes to display their generosity and engage in acts of patronage for the benefit of the monastery. The act of hosting the prince also asserted the prince's high rank. Accepting the gift of nourishment and participating in commensal rituals at the Caves Monastery with the monks and abbot reaffirmed the prince's moral authority through friendly association with monks and the partaking of food and drink.

The associative capacity of feasting and commensal rituals is further illustrated in a singular episode in the *Life* where the refusal to partake of food represents the denial of princely authority and the delegitimisation of princely rule. This episode refers to the events of the year 1073, described in the *PVL*,[492] when Iziaslav Iaroslavich is expelled from Kiev by his younger brothers, Sviatoslav of Chernigov and Vsevolod of Pereiaslavl', in violation of the so-called 'Testament of Iaroslav'.[493] The action appears to have been roundly rebuked by the monastic milieu of Rus' and the literature attributed to this period reflects a great unease with the destitution of Iziaslav and the

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[489] See: *Paterik*, 56 and 61.

[490] See: Roach, "Hosting the King," 41; Gautier, "Palais, itinéraires et fêtes alimentaires," 43-44, and "Pre-Viking hospitality," 28-29. The following section will examine gift-giving in greater detail.

[491] *Paterik*, 56.

[492] *PVL* I, 121-122.

[493] See: Dimnik, "The "Testament" of Iaroslav "The Wise"," 371-385.

violation of the 'Testament'.[494] At the Caves Monastery, Abbot Feodosii shows his disapprobation for the overthrow by refusing to dine with the usurpers:

Сицево преподобьному и преблаженому отьцю нашему Феодосию пасущю стадо свое съ вьсякыимь благочьстиемь и чистотою и еще же и житие свое съ въздьрьжаниемь и подвигъмь исправляющю, бысть въ то время съмятение некако от вьселукавааго врага въ трьхъ кънязьхъ, братии сущемъ по плъти, якоже дъвема брань сътворити на единого стареишааго си брата, христолюбьца, иже поистине боголюбьця Изяслава. То же тако тъ прогънанъ бысть от града стольнааго, и онема, пришьдъшема въ градъ тъ, посылаета же по блаженааго отьца нашего Феодосия, бедяща того прити къ тема на обедъ и причетатися неправьдьнемь томь съвете. То же, иже бе испълненъ Духа Святаго, преподобьныи же Феодосии разумевь, еже неправьдьно суще изгънание, еже о христолюбьци, глаголеть посъланому, яко не имамъ ити на тряпезу Вельзавелину и причаститися брашьна того, испълнь суща кръви и убииства. И ина же многа укоризьна глаголавъ, отпусти того, рекыи, "яко да възвестиши вься си посълавъшимъ тя."[495]

The historian Andrzej Poppe noted that there is no record of opposition against Sviatoslav and Vsevolod Iaroslavich from the metropolitanate and bishops, but that monastic communities sanctioned the princes. He argues that the monasteries of Rus' and the metropolitanate supported different princes or political factions and may have upheld different interpretations of what constituted legitimate rule.[496] While it is entirely possible that Byzantine precepts about legitimate rule could have influenced the attitudes of the monastic community of early Rus', it is also possible that the refusal to recognise Sviatoslav and Vsevolod reflected the attempt by the monasteries to uphold peace and consensus and to ensure lateral succession. Furthermore, the event follows a disquisition on the violation and transgression of oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" after the Vseslav debacle,[497] and it is likely that the monastic community attempted to remind princes that their promises to uphold consensus and concord between princes were sacred and should not be violated.[498]

To demonstrate his condemnation of Iziaslav's destitution, Abbot Feodosii refuses to dine with the Iaroslavichi and he demands that his refusal be made public to the princes' entourage. Feodosii does not want to associate with the "unrighteous" princes whom he likens to Beelzebub. Thus, the refusal to partake of commensal rituals is a demonstrative means to transform a ritual of association into one of dissociation. To dine with the princes was to identify them with the monastic community and invest them with moral authority through this association. By refusing the princes' invitation,

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[494] See: *PVL* I, 90; *Erzählungen*, 8, 10, 25, 33; *Uspenskii sbornik*, fols. 57d.25-60c.4; and *Paterik*, 75.

[495] *Paterik*, 66-67.

[496] A. Poppe, "Le Prince et l'église en Russie de Kiev depuis la fin du Xᵉ siècle et jusqu'au début de XIIᵉ siècle," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 20 (1969): 95-119, esp. 103.

[497] *PVL* I, 115.

[498] Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 256-257.

Feodosii violates the rules of commensality and refuses a relationship of asymmetrical friendship (of subordination to a high-ranking host) that the commensal ritual creates and displays.

There is a certain congruence between descriptions of commensal rituals and cultural beliefs (authority through humility, etc.) because this symmetry is a conscious construction in that those who articulated the rituals were clerics trained to seek out order in the universe and to show the workings of Providence in the *événementielle*. The treatment and shaping of information in the earliest texts of Rus' were meant to demonstrate that princes who achieved political and military success did so because they were God-fearing and righteous. Charity and, by extension, hospitality towards monks and other subjects were signs of righteousness because a great prince would not only distribute largesse (in the form of gifts of food and other distributions), but he would also descend the social hierarchy in order to share his table with those who had embraced a life of poverty and self-abnegation. These were salutary acts for the prince.

Against the backdrop of ritual, the feast exists as a symbolic act of authority requiring the participation of ruler and subjects alike. However, the feast can also be understood as one part of a complex of princely rites and initiatives. In isolation, the feast is an act of hospitality, yet when it is associated with political competition and initiative, it becomes an accessory to oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" with all participants in the rituals becoming politically associated.

Dining for consensus: Dining as a complement to oath-taking

A display of commensality is a predictable completion to the proceedings of an oath-taking, the various parameters of which were discussed earlier. Relationships between princes can be inferred from the context of a feast and its proximity to oath-taking in several examples from the Kievan Chronicle, which suggest that the two rituals reinforced each other in an associative display.

The mid-12th century saw challenges to the rule of Iziaslav Mstislavich in Kiev, and the most viable challenge to Iziaslav was his uncle, Iurii Vladimirich, who dominated the Upper Volga. In both 1147 and 1150, Iurii Vladimirich campaigned against Iziaslav Mstislavich to unseat his son at Pereislavl' and to take Kiev, which he did, briefly, in 1151. However, Gleb Iurevich, whom Iurii had placed on the throne of Kiev was quickly unseated and both Kiev and Pereiaslavl' reverted back to Iziaslav Mstislavich who had associated Viacheslav Vladimirich to his rule in order to secure legitimacy from the seniormost generation of the Riurikid dynasty.[499]

According to an episode only recounted by the Kievan Chronicle for the year 1150, Iziaslav Mstislavich, en route to Kiev, discovered Gleb Iurevich strategically encamped at Peresopnitsa on

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[499] On the history of this period, see: Martin, *Medieval Russia*, 120-123.

the western frontier of the Kievan polity. Gleb was taken unawares, but managed to swiftly barricade himself and his entourage in the city, albeit surrounded by Iziaslav's troops:

> И приехавъ съседе в Лучьске, утреи же день поеха от Луцеска Пересопници и ту изъеха Глеба. В то же веремя Глеб стояше выше города Пересопници на Стубле товары и оттоуда одва тече сам Глеб в город, а товары его взяша и дружину его изоимаша и коне его и заяша ину дружину его заехаша от города и не бе с ким стояти противу ему. Выслав же Глеб и рече Изяславу: "ако мне Гюрги отец тако мне и ты отец а язъ ти ся кланяю ты ся с моим отцем сам ведаешь, а мене пусти к отцю. И целуи ко мне святую Богородицю ако мене не примеши. Но пустиши мя к отцю своему а я к тобе сам поеду и поклоню тиса." Изяслав же целова к нему святую Богородицю и рече ему: "вы мне братя своя до вас нету речи никоеяже но обидить мя твои отец а с нами не умееть жити." Глеб же выеха и поклонися Изяславу. Изяслав же позва и к собе на обед. И ту обедав и оттуда поя с собою до Дорогобужа. И ту пристави к нему сина своего Мстислава до Коречска.[500]

Gleb Iurevich kisses the icon of the Holy Mother of God not to go against Iziaslav, and Iziaslav, in turn, allows Gleb to return to his father Iurii. Gleb goes to where Iziaslav is encamped and pays homage (поклонися) to the prince and is invited to dine with him. The general tropes of association are present: the junior prince associating himself approaches the senior prince who acts as host and the two are associated in a clear relationship of subordination for the junior prince.

However, the commensal ritual when related to oath-taking "by kissing the Cross" does not necessarily illustrate a relationship of subordination through association. The elements governing this interpretation are largely contextual and oath-taking "by kissing the Cross", followed by the commensal ritual, can also introduce a relationship of equality. Sviatoslav Olgovich, who was divested of his patrimony in 1147 and, according to the Kievan Chronicle, was roaming the land of Rus' searching for partisans, receives an invitation to dine in Moscow with Iurii Vladimirich:

> И прислав Гюргии рече: "приди к мне, брате, в Москов." Святослав же еха к нему с детятем своим Олгом в мале дружине, поима с собою Володимира Святославича. Олег же еха наперед к Гюргеви и да е пардус. И приеха по нем отец его Святослав, и тако любезно целовастся в день пяток на Похвалу святои Богородици и тако быша весели. На утрии же день повеле Гюрги устроити обед силен и створи честь велику им и да Святославу дары многы с любовию и синови его Олгови и Володимиру Святославичю и муже Святославле учреди. И тако отпусти и.[501]

The pact Sviatoslav makes with Iurii targets the younger brothers of Iziaslav Mstislavich (Rostislav of Smolensk and Sviatopolk of Novgorod) to capture land and remotely destabilise Iziaslav in Kiev. The language of the Kievan Chronicle is largely neutral and depicts a political alliance rather than a demonstration of homage by a junior prince to a senior prince. Sviatoslav is received with his young son and retinue, the oath is made on a feast day, and gifts are exchanged. The young prince, Oleg Sviatoslavich, presents Iurii with a panther pelt (пардус) and the commensal ritual is described as a bountiful feast (обед силен) during which Sviatoslav is "greatly honoured" by his uncle. In 1150,

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[500] *PSRL* **2, col. 395.**

[501] *PSRL* **2, col. 340.**

the Kievan Chronicle recounts that Oleg Sviatoslavich was married to one of Iurii Vladimirich's daughters[502] and it is possible that the gift of the panther pelt, other gifts, and bountiful feast are part of this negotiation.[503]

The commensal ritual defines a relationship of equality between princes who have created bonds of friendship through oaths, gifts, dining, and a betrothal. Celebratory rhetoric, demonstrative behaviour, and lateral association feted through the commensal ritual are not prominent in the relations between princes (as they are represented in the chronicles of Rus'), but they are particularly salient in the descriptions of alliances made and maintained between the princes of Rus' and their foreign allies.

Dining and diplomacy

In the internecine conflict of the 1140s, the princes of Rus' sought assistance from allies besides uncles, brothers, and cousins, and looked beyond the borders of Rus' to the Hungarians and Poles to settle internal disputes. Based on the narratives of the chronicles of Rus', the Hungarians lent military assistance to Iziaslav Mstislavich at least six times during the years 1147 to 1152.[504] The Piasts of Poland under Boleslav IV also participated in the various stages of the conflict. Both of these rulers were associated with Iziaslav through marriage: Géza II of Hungary had been married to Euphrosyne Mstislavna, a daughter of Mstislav Vladimirich and sister of Iziaslav Mstislavich;[505] and Boleslav IV was first married to Viacheslava Vsevolodna, a daughter of Vsevolod Mstislavich of Novgorod.[506] Both the Piasts and the Árpáds had marriage ties that bound them to Iziaslav Mstislavich. The Poles and the Hungarians faced tense internal[507] and external pressure[508]

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[502] *PSRL* 2, col. 394.

[503] Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 41, 59.

[504] On Russo-Hungarian relations, see: M. Font, *Geschichtsschreibung des 13. Jahrhunderts an der Grenze zweier Kulturen: das Königreich Ungarn und das Fürstentum Halitsch-Wolhynien* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005).

[505] See: P. P. Tolochko, *Dinasticheskie braki na Rusi XII-XIII vv.* (St. Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2013), 109-114. Relations between the Mstislavichi and the Hungarians appear to have persisted, and in the year 1155 there is a mention of a land grant to the mother of the Hungarian queen by the Hungarians: Тогда же и Володимер Мстиславич пусти матерь свою, Мстиславлю, в Угры, к королеви, зятеви своему. Король же вда много имения тещи своеи. *PSRL* 2, col. 482.

[506] See: Tolochko, *Dinasticheskie braki na Rusi*, 129-133.

[507] On the internal struggles of the Piasts in the mid-12th century, see: Z. Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics: Writing the history of a dynastic conflict in medieval Poland* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); and P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai: Values and social identity in dynastic traditions of medieval Poland (c. 966-1138)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[508] See: P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 53-57. Manuel I Komnenos provided asylum for the exiled Hungarian pretender to the throne of Béla the Blind, Boris. The Hungarians under Géza II, in turn, provoked the Byzantines by supplying troops to the rebellious Serbs in Rascia against Manuel I.

throughout their alliance and are described in the narrative for the 1140s and 1150s as allies to Iziaslav Mstislavich. Their central role as allies is celebrated in the Kievan Chronicle through feasts, gift-giving, and other demonstrative acts.

In the year 1149, the Hungarians and Poles joined Iziaslav at Vladimir against the Iurevichi who had supplanted him in Kiev. The episode from the Kievan Chronicle depicts a feast organised by Iziaslav to honour the Hungarians and Poles. The relationship of equality between Iziaslav Mstislavich and his allies is defined by the attitude of the host and the notion of reciprocity. Iziaslav is represented as the purveyor of hospitality and provides gifts to his guests because of their fidelity as allies. The Poles, under Boleslav, reciprocate the honour and gifts that were presented during the commensal ritual, and Boleslav knights many men in Iziaslav's entourage:

> В то же веремя, придоша к Изяславу Володимиру Угре в помоч и Болеслав Лядскии княз с братом своим Индрихом с многою силою. Изяслав же позва я к собе на обед. и тако обедавше быша весели, великою честью учистив е и дарими многыми дарова е. И тако поехаша, кождо в своя товары. утрии же день выступи Изяслав из Володимиря. И оттуда поиде к Луческу и ту перебы три дени. И ту пасаше Болеслав сины боярскы мечем многы.[509]

The Piast Dynasty had entered the geopolitical stage of Latin Christendom in 966. The early Piasts used this opportunity to develop alliances and ties with other ruling dynasties including the Ottonian Empire.[510] Thietmar of Merseberg and Gallus Anonymus provide details of this association as either one of subservience (*tributarius*) or equality (*amicus*).[511] Beginning in the 11th century, Polish rulers demonstrated a desire and willingness to integrate the style of coronations, regalia from their Germanic neighbours.[512] It is likely that the Poles adopted a rite to promote military men, and the description of the ritual in the Kievan Chronicle strongly resembles a ceremony conferring knighthood due to the use of a sword and the military context for the ritual. Of the Piast regalia, a coronation sword known as *Szczerbiec* is still extant. The sword is attributed to Boleslav Chrobry, who is said to have used it during his successful campaign against Rus' in 1018 when, according to legend, he struck the Golden Gate of Kiev to symbolically announce his control of the city.[513] Whether or not this sword is referred to in the Kievan Chronicle cannot be given any

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509 ***PSRL* 2, col. 386.**

510 See: P. Urbańczyk and S. Rosik, "The Kingdom of Poland," in *Christianization and the Rise of the Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, (ed.) N. Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 263-319.

511 Urbańczyk and Rosik, "The Kingdom of Poland," 288-290.

512 Urbańczyk and Rosik, "The Kingdom of Poland," 291-292. On knighting in Poland, see: N. Berend, P. Urbańczyk, and P. Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900- c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 268-269.

513 Urbańczyk and Rosik, "The Kingdom of Poland," 292.

serious consideration, as the account is far too laconic. However, the ritual exchange is noteworthy since Iziaslav Mstislavich produces a feast and during the commensal ritual, associates the Poles as equals in military alliances. The Polish ruler, probably to reciprocate the honour, knights many of the young "sons of boyars" in Iziaslav's entourage. The Kievan Chronicle does not record how the Polish ritual was perceived by the Rus', but it is possible that the episode is meant to promote reciprocity and association between equals in a military alliance. The military symbolism of the promotion of notables "by the sword" further supports the notion of association and reciprocity between Iziaslav and the Polish ruler.

The following year (1150), the Hungarians who had helped Iziaslav retake Kiev attend his second enthronement there, and are invited by Iziaslav, along with the people of Kiev, to a celebratory feast. The feast takes place at Iaroslav's estate, and is a joyous instance with the Hungarians organising a horse-jumping spectacle and tournament to mark the event:

> Кияне же услышавше Изяслава изидоша противу ему с радостью. Изяслав же в Киеве седе на столе деда своего и отця своего с честью великою много изимаша дружины Гюргевы по Киеву. Изяслав же от святое Софьи поеха и с братьею на Ярославль двор и Угры позва со собою на обед и Кияны и ту обедав с ними на велицем дворе на Ярославли и пребыша у велице весельи. Тогда же Угре на фарех и на скокох играхуть на Ярославли дворе многое множество. Кияне же дивяхутся Угром множеству и кметьства их и комонем их.[514]

Once again, the hospitality provided by Iziaslav Mstislavich is reciprocated by a foreign-organised event with military and associative symbolism. Based on the narrative of the Kievan Chronicle, it appears that the Hungarians organised a spectacle for the Kievans and their ruler, which included games and horse-jumping. The Kievans marvel (дивяхутся) at the feats of the Hungarian horsemen and at the knights or champions (кметьства). The word кметьства poses a minor problem as it only appears once in the chronicles of Rus', in this episode of the Kievan Chronicle. According to Sreznevskii and Trubacheva, the word derives from къметь—which appears in the *NPL*—meaning "knight" and has foreign connotations, referring to Germanic military men or Byzantine men of senatorial rank (συγκλητικός) who, in the translation of the chronicle of George Harmatolos (Trubacheva also cites the Malalas Chronicle), corresponded to the *ordo equester* or knights (in the sense of horsemen) of the Roman Empire.[515] Here, the word has clear military connotations in reference to Iziaslav's Hungarian allies and is, very likely, used descriptively to refer to the horsemanship and equestrian skills of the Hungarians.

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[514] *PSRL* 2, col. 415-416.

[515] I. I. Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlia slovaria drevne-russkago iazyka po pis'mennym" pamiatnikam"* (St. Petersburg: Tip. imp. Akademii Nauk, 1893), vol. 2, col. 1390; and O. N. Trubacheva, et al. *Etimologicheskii slovar' slavianskikh iazykov. Praslavianskii leksicheskii fond* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), vol. 13, 196-198.

Since the word is foreign and evokes a specific military and social type—the Roman knight—it is worth exploring why it might have been employed to describe the Hungarian horsemen. The equestrian games staged by the Hungarians in Kiev were, very likely, a display of horsemanship based on pre-Christian nomadic cultural practices. Medieval tournaments (or jousts) are not attested to in Hungary before the 13th century, but had been adopted by Germanic rulers, from French social practices, by the early 12th century.[516] In the *Gesta Frederici*, Otto of Freising reports that in 1127: "tyrocinium, quod vulgo nunc turnoimentum dicitur, cum militibus eius extra exercendo usque ad muros ipsos progrediuntur" that was held at Würzburg, in which the Hohenstaufen brothers, Duke Frederick II of Swabia and his son, the future Conrad III, participated.[517] Due to the proximity between Swabia and Frankish territories, it is likely that cultural exchanges would have taken place amongst the high nobility and that French court practices would have been imported by the young Conrad III Hohenstaufen, duke of Franconia in 1116 (elected king of Germany in 1138).[518] In 1139, Béla II's daughter, Sophia, was engaged to the son of Conrad III and travelled to the Holy Roman Empire in preparation for marriage.[519] It would be highly speculative to assume that tournaments were staged for, or adopted by Hungarian nobles following this alliance. Within the framework of the importation of Germanic imperial culture,[520] it is possible that the newly-imported chivalresque games of the Hohenstaufen could have been staged for the Hungarians and that equestrian games would have enticed them. However, it is impossible to express anything beyond conjecture as to whether or not the Hungarians incorporated elements from the medieval tournament in the 1140s and staged them at the 1150 enthronement of Iziaslav Mstislavich.

The salient feature of the commensal rituals depicted in the Kievan Chronicle is that the feast organised by Iziaslav Mstislavich to celebrate his second enthronement and to honour his allies is reciprocated by a symbolic act with military connotations. Reciprocal commensality emphasises the

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[516] On the medieval tournament or joust and its expansion in the Middle Ages, see: D. Barthélemy, *La chevalerie: de la Germanie antique à la France du XIIᵉ siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2007); S. Nadot, *Le Spectacle des joutes: sport et courtoisie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012); and R. Barber and J. Barker, *Die Geschichte des Tuniers* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlagshaus, 2001).

[517] Otto Frisingensis, *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici* I. *imperatoris*, (eds.) G. Waitz and B. von Simson (Hanover: Impersis bibliopolii Hahniani, 1912), c. 158.

[518] See: J. Bumke, *Courtly Culture. Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, (trans.) T. Dunlap, 2nd edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 81-82.

[519] Hungary also had diplomatic relations with Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, see: Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 53-55.

[520] See: N. Berend, J. Lazlovszky, B. Zsolt Szakács, "The Kingdom of Hungary," in N. Berend (ed.), *Christianization and the Rise of the Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 319-369, esp. 343-350. See also: P. Engel, *A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 66-83.

relationship of equality between Iziaslav and his foreign allies. In lateral associations the notion of reciprocity is stressed in the chronicle account, and demonstrates that both parties have made a symbolic contribution to strengthen the bonds of friendship.

Nowhere is this observation more apt than for the series of commensal rituals staged by David of Smolensk and Riurik of Kiev in 1195. The lengthy account details an exchange of feasts and gifts between the two princes, and between Riurik Rostislavich and his allies, the so-called Black Caps (Chernye Klobuki).[521] Here, the commensal ritual demonstrates horizontal relations (equality through reciprocity) between the two senior princes. Like oath-taking "by kissing the Cross", the feasts externalise the cessation of conflict and the advent of peace. The rights of each prince to his patrimony and his senior status is recognised through the lateral exchange of feasts and gifts along with the distribution of largesse. The beginning and end of the passage discuss dynastic seniority and its attendant duties, namely to defend and maintain the Riurikid patrimony:

> Посла Рюрик по брата своего по Давида к Смоленьску, река ему: "се брате се ве осталася стареиши всех в Руськои земле, а поеди ко мне Киеву что будеть на Рускои земле думы и о братьи своеи о Володимере племени. И то все укончаеве, а сами ся во здоровьи видеве." И поиде Давид и Смоленьска в лодьях Смолняны и приде Вышегород во среду русалнои неделе и позва и Рюрик на обед. Давид же приеха к Рюрикови на обед и быша в любви велици и во весели мнозе и дарив дары многими и отпусти и. И оттоле позва синовец его, Ростислав Рюрикович, к собе на обед, к Белугороду. И ту пребиша в весели велице и в любви мнозе. Ростислав одарив дары многими и отпусти и. Давид же позва великого князя Рюрика на обед к собе, брата своего и дети его и ту пребыша в весели и, и в любви велице. И одарив Давид брата своего Рюрика дарми многими и отпусти и. Потом же, Давид позва манастиря вся на обед и бысть с ними весел и милостиню силну раздава им и нищим и отпусти я. Потом же, позва Давид, Чернии Клобуци вси и ту попишася у него вси Чернии Клобуци. И одарив их дарми многими и отпусти их. Кияне же почаша звати Давида на пир и подаваючи ему честь велику и дары многи. Давид же позва Кияне к собе на обед и ту бысть с ними в весели мнозе и во любви велици, и отпусти их. И с братом своим Рюриком ряды вся уконча о Рускои земле и о брати своеи о Володимере племени. И иде Давид во свои Смолнеск.[522]

Yulia Mikhailova made the connection between senior status within the Riurikid clan and the lateral relationship that is attested to by this account. Mikhailova stated that the equal status of the two princes is expressed "through the fully symmetrical accounts about the dinners and presents that they gave to each other" and that David and Rostislav position themselves as equals and reciprocate expressions of homage and subordination.[523] This is why both princes give feasts with equal

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[521] On the Chernye Klobuki, see: T. Iu. Taidi, *Soiuz Chernykh Klobukov (tiurkskoe ob'edinenie na Rusi v XI-XIII vv.)* (Kiev: Tsentral'nyi muzei vooruzhennykh sil Ukrainy, 2005), esp. 87-121.

[522] *PSRL* 2, cols. 681-682.

[523] I would like to thank Yulia Mikhailova for sharing her unpublished paper with me: "Dining with Latins and Pagans in Twelfth-Century Kiev: Representations of Hungarian, Polish and Turkic Allies of Rusian Princes in the *Kievan Chronicle*," ASEEES, New Orleans, 15-18 November 2012.

descriptions of honour, rejoicing, and gift-exchange. The princes exchange hospitality and enter into political alliance with each other, by respectively showing deference to seniority.

David of Smolensk also engages in charity and associates with "all the monks of the monasteries" by inviting them to dine with him. He distributes charity to them and endows them—and the poor—with largesse. The innovation in this passage is the presence of the Chernye Klobuki, who were allies to the princes of Rus'. The Kievan Chronicle attests to their participation in princely campaigns, particularly during the competition for the throne of Kiev of the mid-12th century.[524] According to Peter Golden, the Chernye Klobuki were a disparate group from the steppes that had retained a nomadic or semi-nomadic economy and culture,[525] probably composed of disparate elements from among the Tork/Oguz, Pecheneg, Berendai, Qay-opa, etc. Golden posits that the Chernye Klobuki, because of their military losses against the Cumans, were compelled to seek the protection of the Rus' principalities—the principal sedentary power in the Pontic steppe zone— in exchange for their military support.[526] The presence of steppe nomads amongst the allies of the princes of Rus' is no innovation, since the princes of Rus' had used them for military campaigns from the time of Vladimir Sviatoslavich.[527] In the 1140s they became known as the "Black Caps", according to the chronicles of Rus', and their vassal status to the Kievan throne can be characterised as a political and social status because of their military allegiance.[528] The steppe nomads and the Black Caps figure in the chronicles of Rus' for the years 1116-1157 when they gain narrative visibility for their participation in the struggle for Kiev. Mikhailova notes that in the Kievan Chronicle, the Chernye Klobuki are depicted in neutral or positive terms, while the Laurentian Chronicle for the same period displays an anti-nomadic bias.[529] In Mikhailova's estimation, the positive representations of the nomadic allies of the southern princes were most likely included by chroniclers based in Kiev or Pereiaslavl-Russkii, while chroniclers from other

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[524] See: Taidi, *Soiuz Chernykh Klobukov*, 157-190. See: *PSRL* 2, cols. 507, 557-558, 562-563, 637, 659, 679.

[525] See: P. B. Golden, "The Cernii Klobouci," in *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2003), 97-107, esp. 104-105.

[526] Golden, "The Cernii Klobouci," 105.

[527] See: P. B. Golden, "Aspects of the Nomadic Factor in the Economic Development of Kievan Rus'," in *Ukrainian Economic History. Interpretive Essays*, (ed.) I. S. Koropeckyj (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 58-101, esp. 72.

[528] See: P. B. Golden, *Nomads and Sedentary Societies in Medieval Eurasia* (Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association, 1998).

[529] Y. Mikhailova, "'Christians and Pagans' in the Chronicles of Pre-Mongolian Rus: Beyond the Dichotomy of 'Good Us' and 'Bad Them'," in C. Lübke, I. Miftakhova, and W. von Scheliha (eds.), *Geschichte der Slavia Asiatica: Quellenkundliche Probleme* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2013), 22-51.

regions displayed bias against the nomads because of their distance from the steppe frontier.[530] Yet, rather than a biased account, the Laurentian Chronicle barely mentions the nomads.[531] The shaping and treatment of information about the nomads in the Laurentian Chronicle could suggest, according to Mikhailova, that chroniclers from regions beyond Kiev and Pereiaslavl-Russkii were not accustomed to nomads and semi-nomads and expressed bias due to their ignorance.[532] However, in the account for the year 1195, David of Smolensk (an area far from the southern steppe border) invites the Chernye Klobuki to dine as his allies.

The Chernye Klobuki appear to have relied on the political organisation of Rus' for their own protection against other nomadic peoples, as the Torks had previously done. It is possible that the Chernye Klobuki remained pagan and generally inhabited their own autonomous territory in southern Rus'.[533] In Kiev, the Chernye Klobuki are represented as separate from the Kievans, but in accord with them and their rulers, since they participate in the reception and approbation of new princes.[534] In the narratives for the second half of the 12th century, the Kievan princes treat the Chernye Klobuki as allies and, in the Kievan Chronicle, they are granted towns.[535] The treatment of the Chernye Klobuki in the chronicles of Rus' is generally positive,[536] with the Kievan Chronicle depicting them as common elements in the princely entourage.[537]

This is perhaps why the Chernye Klobuki are invited to the feast of 1195 as allies, and are the only group named besides the monks of Rus' and the people of Kiev. Unlike the other allies of Rus'—the Hungarians and the Poles—the Chernye Klobuki do not reciprocate the honour of hospitality. They are instead the guests of the princes of Rus' and a relationship of subordination can be assumed since reciprocity is eschewed.

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[530] Mikhailova, "'Christians and Pagans' in the Chronicles of Pre-Mongolian Rus," 24.

[531] Compare accounts in *PSRL* 2, col. 286 and *PSRL* 1, col. 292.

[532] 2012 ASEEES paper.

[533] See: P. P. Tolochko, *Kochevye narody stepei i Kievskaia Rus'* (Kiev: Abrus, 1999), 96-107. For a different hypothesis about the religion of the Chernye Klobuki, see: Taidi, *Soiuz Chernykh Klobukov*, 110-120.

[534] *PSRL* 2, cols. 532, 612.

[535] *PSRL* 2, cols. 501, 674.

[536] With the exception of the year 1151 when the horses of the Chernye Klobuki trample the fields around Kiev: *PSRL* 1, col. 332; *PSRL* 2, cols. 427-428.

[537] In the year 1150, the people of Dorogobuzh appear more concerned about the Hungarians in Iziaslav Mstislavich's army than by the presence of the Chernye Klobuki. *PSRL* 2, col. 410.

Ritualised dining establishes or reorganises hierarchies within the Eurasian cultural sphere because of its commensal nature and, therefore, defines types of association.[538] Representations of medieval feasts suggest that such events could both open and restrict access to magnates, based on who was invited and who was purposely excluded. This is because, feasts provided the opportunity to be in the presence of magnates and to bear witness to demonstrations of friendship and association.[539]

The main characteristic of dining (обедъ or пиръ) as it is represented in the chronicles of early Rus' (principally the *PVL* and the Kievan Chronicle) and the *Paterik*, is its social, public nature or conspicuousness. Its significance derived from the context in which it took place. The examples analysed here all include multiple participants and articulate a clear social hierarchy amongst the guests:[540] the princes of Rus' are always identified by name, and their relations to one another, their allies and/or subordinates are defined. The princes of Rus' are always the primary subjects and actors in rituals of commensality.

In the chronicle narratives and the *Paterik*, the act of princely submission—an act bearing a socio-political significance—is a covert display of princely authority that removes distinction only to reaffirm it with greater emphasis. In this context, feasting is an act of association that expiates former tensions and (re)asserts the bonds of friendship. Dining in the *Paterik* further demonstrates commensality and consensus with Feodosii's refusal to dine with Sviatoslav Iaroslavich, therefore serving as a clear and public act of denunciation of Sviatoslav Iaroslavich's 1073 usurpation of the throne of Kiev in Discourse VIII.[541] The *Paterik* also emphasises that princes were liberally received and feted at the monastery they patronised and endowed,[542] while the rhetoric of joy and rejoicing in the company of the monks replicates the narrative of the Kievan Chronicle.

Dining in the Kievan Chronicle is occasionally coupled with oath-taking "by kissing the Cross". In these instances, the feast follows the oath-taking with the prince who has either instigated the oath-taking or the seniormost prince acting as host. Commensal rituals between princes and their

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[538] See: M. Dietler, "Rituals of commensality and the politics of state formation in the "princely" societies of Early Iron Age Europe," in *Les princes de la Protohistoire et l'émergence de l'état*, (ed.) P. Ruby (Naples: École Française de Rome, 1999), 135-152; and B. Hayden and M. Dietler (eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*, 2nd edn (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 2001).

[539] See: Roach, "Hosting the King," 39.

[540] See: Althoff, "Der frieden-, bündnis-, und gemeinshaftstiftende Charakter des Mahles," 13-25; Roach, "Hosting the King," 38-40.

[541] *Paterik*, 58-59; Heppell, 74-75.

[542] See: J. W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship and the royal monasteries in early medieval Germany, c. 936-1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

international and local allies—with Hungarians, Poles and the Chernye Klobuki—demonstrate the outward expression of good diplomatic relations and reward alliances that have been honoured. In general, these feasts are attended, in the Kievan Chronicle, by demonstrative displays of emotion— joy and rejoicing—that indicate consensus at ceremonies of inaugurations, military victories, and following instances of divine intervention.[543] In the case of the Hungarians and Poles, reciprocal relations are emphasised through the lateral exchange of gifts, with both the Hungarians and Poles confirming their bond of friendship with the princes of Rus' by staging ceremonies that demonstrate reciprocity and equality between military allies.

Feasting played a central role as a ritual displaying relations between princes as well as the diplomatic relations between Rus' and other groups. These ritual acts structure relations between princes and/or with others, and enabled the princes of Rus' to rule by consensus as the Kievan Chronicle intimates.[544] Dining also emphasises the socio-political hierarchy by presenting the prince as benefactor when he acts as host and provides the festal setting and commensality. In such contexts, hosting the feast is understood as an act of giving for which reciprocity could be expected.[545]

Ritualised dining is not pomp for the sake of pomp, but rather it is a display meant to set into motion a course of action: the creation of good opinion of the host, the establishment of a friendly rapport between guest and host, and the demonstration of power and authority through liberality. Likewise, while a hosting prince partakes in giving when he receives hospitality, he also asserts his rank. When the prince is received by a magnate of equal rank or at a religious foundation, the prince reaffirms his place in an existing hierarchy.

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[543] Mikhailova, "Dining with the Latins and Pagans." As mentioned above, I disagree that the suppression of a rhetorical marker within the context of the 1195 feast should receive so much attention.

[544] See: Schneidmüller, "Konsensuale Herrschaft. Ein Essay über Formen und Konzepte politischer Ordnung im Mittelalter," 53-87.

[545] On food as gift, see: L. Roach, "Gifts of food in late medieval England," *JMH* 37 (2011), 6-18; Dietler, "Feasts and commensal politics," 90-91; for a discussion on reciprocity in giving, see also: A. Weiner, *Inalienable possessions. The paradox of keeping while giving* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).

Accounts of princes honouring each other with gifts and honouring others with gifts, then departing in peace, invest accounts of the conclusion of alliances with an added indicator that good relations and good rapport had been established between parties. In chronicle entries, principally from the Kievan Chronicle, gift-giving appears to underline already established bonds in order to make them firmer.[546] Thus, gift-giving or exchange can be characterised as a subset of commensality and association through dining. Beyond the usual demonstrative character of medieval behaviour represented as collective and socially inclusive—such as collective dining, attending mass, and hunting, which were opportunities for a demonstration of solidarity—gift-exchange was highly personalised. Gift-giving or exchange demonstrated personal bonds and horizontal relations between parties in times of peace, and peaceful vertical relations between members of the dynasty.[547] According to an account from the Kievan Chronicle, gift-giving—in the form of a bribe—could also serve as a means of subverting normal social relations. In this instance, the element of subversion is notable since, in the chronicles, ritual is rhetorically constructed as a set of proper behaviours, attitudes, and gestures. Within this framework, gift-giving or exchange is a ritual act meant to amplify the usual display of commensality rather than function as an independent act.

The final category that will be examined here, princely cultural patronage (the endowment of churches and monasteries) as gift-giving, further extends gift-giving to the collective display of concord. In these accounts, the role of institutional charity is replaced with that of institutional gift-giving and the practices of philanthropy and euergetism.[548] In the Byzantine tradition, these gifts—initially civic gifts that became religious endowments—were an investment made by the elite to

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[546] See: Althoff, "Der frieden-, bündnis- und gemeinschaftstiftende Charakter des Mahles," 14; and *idem.*, *Family, Friends and Followers*, 111.

[547] A general outline of gift-exchange and its relationship with charity can been found in M. Godelier, *L'énigme du don* (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1996), 1-16, discussing: M. Mauss, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés primitives*, in *L'Année sociologique, seconde série, 1923-1924* (Paris: PUF, [1925] 2012); for recent studies on gift theory, see: *Revue du MAUSS* 11, 1-2 (1991); G. Carvalho and S. Dzimira, *Don et économie solidaire*, (Rouen: Presses universitaires, 2000); G. Algazi, V. Groebner, and B. Jussen, *Negotiating the Gift. Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 2003).

[548] On charity and patronage, see: J. Lieu, "Charity in early Christian thought and practice," in *The Kindness of Strangers. Charity in the Pre–Modern Mediterranean*, (ed.) D. Stathakopoulos (London: Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London, 2007), 13-21.

commemorate their social role and political authority and to enhance their moral authority.[549] The act of endowment of churches and monasteries with individual gifts was an extension of foundation and patronage by the elite and strengthened bonds between the benefactor and the institution receiving the benefaction, displayed the wealth of the benefactor, demonstrated the benefactor's moral authority through personal gifts to institutions, and acted as an investment in the benefactor's personal salvation.[550] The role of patronage in Byzantine culture and society has been studied extensively and this final section will not recreate existing approaches.[551] Instead, cultural patronage will be discussed in terms of its role as a social event designed to strengthen group bonds, establish hierarchy, and promote the moral authority of princes.

Horizontal Gift-Exchange and Vertical Gift-Giving

The general description of gift-exchange in Rus' is largely horizontal since it occurs between parties who have already negotiated an alliance. Gift-exchange is represented as a cultural comportment taking place in a ritualised framework within which the giving and receiving of gifts occurs between parties already bound to each other in friendship. The gifts exchanged are attributed a global value and emphasis is placed on equality between parties in terms of the value of the gifts they have exchanged. This observation is illustrated by the following exchange described in the Kievan Chronicle for the year 1148:

> В то же время Изяслав поиде на Гюргя стрья своего а брата своего Володимира остави в Киеве а сина своего Мьстислава остави у Переяславли. А сам поиде наперед к брату Ростиславу а полком повеле по собе ити а всим ся сняти у Смоленьске у Ростислава. И приде Изяслав к брату Ростиславу и похвалиста Бога и святю Богородицю и силу животворящаго хрста видившеся брата в здорови. И пребыста у велице любви и в весели с мужи своими Смолняны. И ту даристася дарими многыми: Изяслав да дары Ростиславу что от Рускыи земле и от всих церьских земль, а Ростислав да дары Изяславу что от верхних земль и от Варяг.[552]

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[549] On the Christian context, see: J. L. Boojamra, "Christian *Philanthropia*. A Study of Justinian's Welfare Policy and the Church," *Byzantina* 7 (1975): 345-373; D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Rutgers University Press, 1991); and on the personal character of patronage to enhance prestige and reputation, see: R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals. Topography and Politics* (Berkeley: Berkeley University Press, 1983), 6-40.

[550] See: T. Johnson, et al., "Patronage: relation and system", in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, (ed.) A. Wallace-Hadrill (London/New York: Routledge: 1989), 219-241; A. Weingrod, "Patronage and Power," in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, (eds.) E. Gellner and J. Waterbury (London: Duckworth, 1977), 41-52; for Byzantine imperial patronage, see: R. Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries," in Angold, 112-137; and A. Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art historian," *BF* 9 (1983): 1-15.

[551] See: A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, introduction; and M. Mullett (ed.), *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries* (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007).

[552] ***PSRL* 2, col. 369.**

During the period of prolonged conflict for control of Kiev between the Mstislavichi and the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal', this account describes a princely alliance within the Mstislavichi branch against the Iurevichi and their allies. In this entry, the princes—Iziaslav Mstislavich and his brother Rostislav Mstislavich—meet in Smolensk (which belongs to Rostislav Mstislavich) to plan their offensive against Iurii Vladimirich of Suzdal'. Good relations and a military alliance are established between princes through communal prayer and invocations of the Lord, the Holy Mother of God and the "life-giving Cross", which are all tropes present in instances of oath-taking "by kissing the Cross". The princes then exchange valuable and foreign gifts: Iziaslav provides gifts "from the lands of Rus' and all the Greek lands", and Rostislav presents gifts "from the upper lands and of the Varangians". The objects exchanged are never defined, but their value is implied based on provenance from the major areas of contact and exchange, such as the Byzantine Empire and Scandinavia.[553]

The scant information about these gifts does not allow for speculation as to the real objects being exchanged. The main message is that objects of equal value and prestige were exchanged amongst princes in a horizontal military alliance to seal their bond of friendship. After these gifts are exchanged, the princes leave for Novgorod to meet Iziaslav's son, Iaroslav who is prince of Novgorod and a member of the alliance against Iurii Vladimirich. Following their meeting at Novgorod, the princes attend Vespers at the Novgorodian St. Sophia, followed by dining. However, no gifts are exchanged between the two senior princes and Iaroslav. It is possible that since Iaroslav is a junior prince, and Iziaslav's son, commensality is sufficient.

Horizontal gift-exchange occurs in the 1187 entry describing a princely wedding, which details ritualised gift-exchange, commensality, procession, and the setting of the ceremony. Many common ritual elements of alliance and association are described without any evocation of the religious content of the marriage ceremony.[554] The description of the ceremony comprises: the negotiation between princes, the evocation of holy days for the marriage, the procession of the young bride (an eight year old princess) and her parents, the exchange of gifts (presented as a form of dowry and received by the bride and her father), the attendance of princes and boyars at the

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[553] See: W. Duczko, *Viking Rus. Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 10-41, 60-110, 155-187, 202-238; D. Zhuravlev and V. Murasheva (eds.), *Mech i zlatnik. K 1150-letiiu zarozhdeniia Dreverusskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow: Kuchkovo pole, 2012). For Byzantine contacts and the importation of Byzantine objects to Rus', see: A. Aibabin and H. Ivakin (eds.), *Kiev-Cherson-Constantinople* (Kiev-Simferopol-Paris: Ukrainian National Committee for Byzantine Studies, 2007), 45-77, 177-221, and 243-257; and Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xᵉ siècle (I)," 313-360.

[554] Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 296-298; and on the role of the Church in marriage: A. F. Litvina and F. B. Uspenskii, "'Ne dostoit' eia poiati": Pochemu Novgorodskii episkop Nifont ne khotel venchat' Sviatoslava Ol'govicha?," *DR Voprosy medievistiki* 3 (2013): 79-80.

ceremony (which is not described), a marriage and attendance of twenty other princes, the wedding ordained by the Bishop Maksim at the wooden church dedicated to the Holy Apostles at Belgorod, and the sending of envoys bearing gifts. The ritual elements of dining, gift-exchange, processions, commensality, and the rhetoric of peace and concord are emphasised, likely due to the eminence of the princes involved and the age of the bride:[555]

> Того же лет с велика дени посла князь Рюрик Глеба князя шюрина своего с женою Чюрыну с женою иныи многи бояре с женами к Юрьевичю к великому Всеволоду в Соуждаль, по Верхуславу, за Ростислава. А на Боришь день отда Верхуславу дщерь свою великыи князь Всеволод и да по неи многое множьство бещисла злата и серебра. А сваты подари велики дары и с великою частью отпусти. Еха же по милое своеи дочери до трех станов и плакася по неи отець и мати занеже бе мила има и млада сущи осми леть. И тако многи дары дав и отпусти и в Русь с великою любовью за князя Рослава. Посла же с нею сестричича своего Якова с женою, ины бояры с женами. Приведоша же ю в Бельгород на Офросъньин день. А заутра Благослова а венчана у святих апостоль у деревянои церкви блаженымъ епископомь Максимомь. Створи же Рюрик Ростиславу велми силну свадбу ака же несть бывала в Руси. И быша на свадбе князи мнози за 20 князеи сносе же своеи даль многи дары и город Брягинь такова же свата и с бояры отпусти к Всеволоду в Суждаль с великою частью и дары многими одарив.[556]

The alliance between the two princes, Riurik Rostislavich and Vsevolod Iurevich (of the ascendant principality of Vladimir-Suzdal' in the North-East of Rus'),[557] is the principal concern of the account. This is evident in the grand display of largesse: first Prince Vsevolod sends "множьство бещисла злата и серебра" with his daughter to her future husband and in-laws; then Prince Riurik reciprocates by sending "многи дары" and gifting the city of Bragin to Verkhuslava, his daughter-in-law, and with дары многими for Vsevolod Iurevich. The senior princes do not meet, but they establish a personal bond through intermediaries: boyars, children, close family members, spouses, and bishops. Due to the high stakes of the alliance,[558] the marriage details are salient and the involvement of women is pronounced, albeit within the political framework and under the supervision of their male kin.[559] However, it is notable that Verkhuslava is presented with personal

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[555] On the legal age of marriage and interdictions in Byzantium, see: J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4ᵉ-7ᵉ siècle) I. Le droit impérial* (Paris: De Boccard, 1990), 25-26 (on theory); *idem.*, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4ᵉ-7ᵉ siècle), II. Les pratiques sociales* (Paris: De Boccard, 1990), 97-102 (on practice); A. Laiou, "Marriage Prohibitions, Marriage Strategies and the Dowry in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium," in *La Transmission du patrimoine: Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*, (eds.) J. Beaucamp and G. Dagron (Paris: de Boccard, 1998), 129-160. Byzantine legal codes were adopted in Rus' and it is possible that the the age of consent would have formally been 12 for girls and 15 for boys: *EP*, articles 12-13; see: E. Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 225-226.

[556] *PSRL* 2, cols. 658-659.

[557] On the historical context of the marriage, see: P. P. Tolochko, *Dinasticheskie braki na Rusi XII-XIII vv.* (St. Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2013), 42-46; Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 189-191.

[558] Tolochko, *Dinasticheskie braki na Rusi*, 46; Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246*, 189-195.

[559] See: Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 296-298. On women and property: E. Levin, "Women and property in medieval Novgorod: dependence and independence," *RH* 10 (1983): 160-168; and Pushkareva, *Zhenshchiny Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow: Mysl', 1989), 155-176.

gifts and a town by her father-in-law.[560] The emphasis on peace and concord between the principalities of Kiev and Suzdal' permeating the account of this marriage and gift-exchange further promotes the notion of dynastic equity.[561]

Dates, holy days, and feast days are provided with great care: the evocation of Easter (с велика дени) is the starting point for the rituals of the marriage ceremony; Verkhuslava is sent to Belgorod on the feast of SS Boris and Gleb (May 2nd); she arrives in Belgorod on St. Euphrosyne's feast day;[562] and she is married at the church of the Holy Apostles the following day on the feast of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist St. John the Theologian (May 8th). Mention of the feast of SS Boris and Gleb follows the general trope of concord and peace between princes of the dynasty,[563] while the evocation of feast days is a constant staple of the entries of the chronicles of Rus' and is evocative of the medieval arrangement of time and the organisation of a ruler's movements and appearance, and important events, such as marriages. The feast days act as time markers and indicate the ruler's geographical position on certain days; however, it is the evocation of ideological concepts through feast days that is emphasised through these indications,[564] such as dynastic concord for the feast of SS Boris and Gleb. Furthermore, liturgical feasts could provide the setting for the performance of ceremonies and rituals to further endow these events with a more venerable aspect and religious or moral value.[565]

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[560] Tolochko, *Dinasticheskie braki na Rusi*, 70, 75, and 58-80.

[561] Compare with the other alliance that Vsevolod Iurevich makes with Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov, see: *PSRL* 1, col. 405 and *PSRL* 2, col. 660. Both accounts are rather thin and the marriage is mentioned only in passing. The Laurentian Chronicle provides the added detail that the marriage took place on the feast of the holy martyr, St. Euphemia (July 11th). Similarly, for the year 1190, the Laurentian Chronicle provides an account of a marriage between the senior branch and the cadet branch of the dynasty: when David Olgovich was married, by his grandfather Sviatoslav, to a daughter of Igor Sviatoslavich whose identity is not given. Due to the laconic character of the Laurentian Chronicle, it is unsurprising that there are few details; however, it is notable that information about the marriage is shaped unilaterally and the dissymmetry between Prince Sviatoslav and Igor Sviatoslavich is made salient, see: *PSRL* 1, col. 668.

[562] There is an apparent problem with St. Euphrosyne's feast day since Euphrosyne (the 5th century transvestite nun, Euphrosyne of Alexandria) does not have a feast day that directly precedes the feast of St. John the Theologian. The feast of the nun, Euphrosyne of Polotsk (Sviatoslav Vseslavich) was commemorated in late May (23rd-25th). The calendrical sources for 12th century Rus' offer on the Commemoration of the Apparition of the Sign of the Precious Cross over Jerusalem in 351 AD, and the analogous Byzantine sources offer the feast of the Martyr Acacius as possibilities for the 7th of May. The reference to St. Euphrosyne here is unclear. However, the translation of St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk from Jerusalem to Kiev appears to have taken place in 1187 (perhaps on the 7th of May) and it may be that the chronicler wanted to commemorate this event by mentioning St. Euphrosyne in conjunction with SS Boris and Gleb to rhetorically celebrate the inter-dynastic alliance with reference to their saintly kin. On the date, see: E. E. Zhakevich, *Myslitseli i asvetniki Belarusi: Entsykl. davdnik.* (Minsk: Belarus. Entsykl., 1995), 16.

[563] See: Tolochko, *Kniaz' v Drevnei Rusi: vlast'*, ch. 3.

[564] The Virgin's feast cycle could be used to meditate on marriage and purity, see: H. M. Schaller, "Der heilige Tag als Termin mittelalterlicher Staatsakte," *Deutsches Archiv* 30:1 (1974): 1-24, esp. 8, n. 24.

[565] *PSRL* 2, col. 659. St. Philip's feast (November 27th) and the dedication of the church of St. George in Suzdal' are evoked in the celebrations organised for the birth of a son to Vsevolod Iurevich of Suzdal'.

Consistently, the horizontal nature of bonds that are further validated through gift-exchange is determined by established bonds of friendship, previously concluded alliances, the absence of hostilities, and close family ties. It is notable that the exchange of gifts across lateral relationships occurs within the closest family circle: between germane brothers, between fathers and sons, and between fathers and sons-in-law. The following example illustrates this observation:

> И приде Чичьрьску к зяти Олгови ту бо бе Олег ждал его с женою и поя Олег Ростислава на обед. И бысть радость велика в ти день межи. Олег же многы дары вдаст Ростиславу и дочи ему вда многы дары. На утрии же день взва Ростислав к собе Олга и дочер и паче болшими дарми учредив всих иде Смоленску. И начаша и сретати лутшии мужи Смолняны за 300 верст и за тем усретоша и внуци и за тем усрете и син Роман и епископ Мануил и Внезд и мале не вес град изиде противу ему и тако велми обрадовашася вси приходу его. И множство даров подаяша ему и оттуде в Торопеч.[566]

The entry for 1168 describes a series of gift exchanges between Oleg Sviatoslavich and his son-in-law, Rostislav Mstislavich, at Chichersk, and between Rostislav and his son, Sviatoslav, at Novgorod. The exchanges occur between closely related male family members and do not respond to the quelling of internecine hostilities or to the making or prolongation of alliances and treaties. Prince Rostislav and his wife visit the latter's father, Oleg, where they dine and receive gifts. Rostislav, in turn, receives gifts as the seniormost prince of his branch as he moves amongst Rus' principalities. For example, he receives gifts from his son, Roman, and the people and bishop of Toropets when he visits them en route to Novgorod. As opposed to commensality for alliance and association—where dining is exchanged and primacy is affirmed and reaffirmed—the presentation of gifts to Rostislav demonstrates his seniority within the context of peaceful and friendly relations between princes. This entry provides a further example of this type of exchange when Rostislav visits his son, Sviatoslav, in Novgorod:

> И целоваша Новгородци хрест к Ростиславу на том. Якоже им имети сина его собе князем а иного князя не искати. Оли ся с ним смартю розлучити и много даров взя у сина и у Новгородец.[567]

Rostislav, who is unwell, confirms his son's rule at Novgorod and negotiates with the people of Novgorod who swear an oath to maintain Sviatoslav as their prince. Sviatoslav and the people of Novgorod honour Rostislav with gifts. The horizontal rules of gift-exchange do not apply to Rostislav who, as the seniormost prince of his dynastic branch, is honoured through gift-giving, which acts as a further affirmation of his elevated status. The modes of multilateral gift-exchange (horizontal relations) and unilateral gift-giving (vertical relations) follow previous observations

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[566] *PSRL* **2, col. 528.**

[567] *PSRL* **2, col. 529.**

about the practice of commensality in early Rus'. Where horizontal relations exist, a practice akin to that of Marcel Mauss's "Potlatch" can be discerned, wherein the presentation of a gift necessitates a "contre don" or reciprocation through a gift of equal or greater value.[568] In vertical relations between princes where internecine conflict is not the context for affirming or reaffirming bonds of friendship, gift-giving is represented as a unilateral act and a means of recognising or promoting the primacy of a prince. However, it should be noted that this final example is part of a much longer account of the deeds and virtues of Rostislav Mstislavich preceding the final account of his death. Here, the practices of gift-giving, honouring the elder princes of the dynasty, and being honoured as a peace-loving prince—one concerned with promoting and upholding the values of patrimony and primacy,[569] and endowed with spiritual virtues—form a complete rhetoric that leads to a final panegyric in honour of Rostislav at the time of his death. Unilateral gift-giving is presented as a dynastic virtue that both exists within the religious rhetoric of charity and the political rhetoric of dynastic and princely values.

Transgressive Gift-Exchange

Gift-exchange and commensality between princes and their foreign allies has already been discussed in the preceding section, wherein the making and maintenance of alliances between princes and their foreign allies was examined. In these accounts, gift-giving was introduced as a means of further demonstrating the firmness of an alliance (horizontal relations) and honouring an ally or senior prince (vertical relations). However, in an account for the year 1152, gift-giving—by Vladimir of Galich to the Hungarian king and ally of Iziaslav Mstislavich—is represented as a subversive act, that is, as a bribe. In the chronicles, the princes of Rus' are depicted as either good or bad, virtuous or briefly possessed of the devil, and thus behaving in a way unbecoming of a Christian ruler.[570] Direct violations of ritual are followed by disquisitions on oath-taking, on peace between brothers, and patrimonial rule. Thus, the breach of ritual is revised rhetorically and used as an example to affirm the political values and interactions between princes in Rus'. The account for the year 1152 is of particular interest here since it depicts an act of gift-giving by a prince who has

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[568] Mauss, *Essai sur le don*, 148; and Godelier, *L'Énigme du don*, 9-10.

[569] Tolochko, *Kniaz' v Drevnei Rusi*, 77-102.

[570] See: *PVL* I, 104; *PSRL* 2, col. 328.

transgressed the "kissing of the Cross" in which the gifts provided are a bribe to arrest the advance of the Hungarian king and his army:[571]

Володимер же поча слатися к королеви мира прося на ту же ночь выслася Володимер к арциепископу и к веводам и королевым и створися своею волею акы боден, и рече им: "Молитеся о мне королеви, ранен есмь велми, а язь ся каю того королю уже есмь тобе сердце вередил и пакы оже противу стал тобе нын же королю Бог грехы отдавает а ты ми сего отдаи, а не выдаи мене Изяславу зане болен есми велми, да аще мене Бог поимет а сина моего прими к собе. И то ему помянут мужи рекуще ему: отец твои бяше слеп, а язь отцю твоему досыти послужил своим копием и своими полкы за его обиду и с Ляхы ся есмь за нь бил а помяни на мне то и сего ми отаи." И многы дары высла арциепископу, и мужем темь, златом и сребром и суды златыми и сребреными и порты, да быша умолили короля, а бы не стоял на немь и воле королевы не створил.[572]

Vladimir, having fled following the capture of Peremyshl', pretends to be wounded (акы боден) in order to negotiate a false peace and cunningly offers to swear a truce with the Hungarians (and Iziaslav) to check their advance. Gifts of gold and silver, gold and silver dishes, and fabrics[573] are sent as part of the negotiation with the Hungarian king. The value of the gifts is determined by the evocation of precious metals, vessels crafted out of precious metals, and possibly, rare commodities. Contrary to previous examples, unilateral gift-giving does not serve to amplify established norms, boundaries, and relations between parties. The ritual is subverted by the intended deception of Vladimir of Galich and, rather than endowing the ritual with an honourable character, the gift becomes a bribe and the ritual act is subverted. Following this exchange, the Kievan Chronicle provides a further disquisition on oath-taking "by kissing of the Cross", which Vladimir of Galich has transgressed. As in the Vseslav episode in the *PVL*, the transgression of a ritual act is followed by a discussion of oath-taking thereby shaping the episode into a morality tale.[574]

Previous exchanges between the princes of Rus' and their foreign allies were represented as ostentatious displays of wealth, with rhetorical emphasis placed on horizontal relations between rulers of equal rank. The presentation of gifts within this framework is a circumscribed form of ritualised exchange with the implication of equality and normality.[575] Within the context of ritualised exchange in the chronicles of Rus', Vladimir of Galich subverts the normal and circumscribed ritualised exchange of gifts and hospitality. Accounts of ritual were shaped to convey

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[571] See: N. F. Kotliar, *Diplomatiia iuzhnoi Rusi* (St. Petersburg: Alteiia, 2003), 161-121.

[572] *PSRL* 2, col. 450.

[573] The value of fabrics is evoked in the Russo-Byzantine treaties of the 10th century, see: Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle (I)," 349.

[574] *PVL* I, 29, 38, 109, 115-116.

[575] For example: *PSRL* 2, col. 385 (between Iziaslav and his allies).

a message and to limit plural interpretations where possible.[576] Rituals in the chronicles of Rus' transmit correct forms of behaviour, and transgressions of ritual by princes external to the central narrative allows for extended narratives on correct and transgressive behaviour for princes. Control of interpretations of ritualised crisis appears in the chronicles of Rus' at times of internecine conflict in order to provide specific and circumscribed readings of events that promote certain princes over others, endowing certain princes with greater moral authority despite seniority. The ultimate functions of this account in the Kievan Chronicle are the restoration of order, the quelling of an international conflict through subversion, and the promotion of Iziaslav Mstislavich and his allies as morally superior to Vladimir of Galich.

Patronage

Patronage in the Byzantine World initially evolved from the model of civic foundation and donation in the Roman Republic and Empire[577] to Byzantine imperial patronage—the transition is notable in the period of Late Antiquity—in which the emperor and the imperial elite became the main founders and refounders of churches and monasteries, and purveyors of religious gifts. Initially, patronage distinguished the emperor as a provider for his people, embodying the Hellenistic ideal of ruler as *euergetes*, *soter*, and *philanthropos*.[578] In the Middle Byzantine cultural framework, which Rus' inherited,[579] Christian and Hellenistic ideals were integrated within the Roman virtues of *providentia* and *liberalitas*, wherein the ruler displayed great liberality towards the people and acted generously towards his friends. The ruler assumed the role of father to his subjects and undertook acts of patronage for the moral edification of his subjects.[580]

Personal patronage that included personal endowments to monasteries and churches could be articulated as a charitable undertaking to enhance the moral reputation and authority of the patron.

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[576] See: Buc, "Ritual and interpretation: the medieval case," 1-28.

[577] See: P. Fröhlich and C. Müller (eds.), *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique*, Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 35 (Geneva: Droz S.A., 2005), 225-257.

[578] See: J.-L. Ferrary, "De l'évergétisme hellénistique à l'évergétisme romain," in *Actes du Xe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes*, (eds.) M. Christol and O. Masson (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), 199-225. See the excellent discussion of P. Veyne, "*Panem et circenses*: l'évergétisme devant les sciences humaines," *Annales. ESC* 24 (1969): 785-825; and P. Schmitt, et al., "Paul Veyne et l'évergétisme," *Annales. ESC* 33 (1978): 307-325.

[579] See: A. S. Preobrazhenskii, *Ktitorskie portrety srednevekovoi Rusi XI-nachalo XVI veka* (Moscow: Severnyi palomnik, 2010).

[580] See: A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1976).

In the Kievan Chronicle entry for the year 1158, the consort of Gleb Vseslavich and daughter of Iaroslav Iziaslavich (she is not identified otherwise) ruled after his death, for forty years, before choosing to become a nun, prior to her death at the age of eighty-four. The patronage of the princess, along with Gleb Vseslavich, is detailed in the account of her charitable acts as patron of the Kievan Caves Monastery:

> Том же лете преставися блаженая княгини Глебовая Всеславича, дочи Ярополча Изяславича седевши по князи своем вдовою лете 40 а всих лете и от роджества 84 лете. И положена бысть в Печерьском манастири с князем в гробе у святого Феодосия у головах. Бысть же преставление ея месеца генваря в 3 день а в час 2 нощи а в 4 вложена в гроб си бо блаженая княгини велику имеяше любов с князем своим, к святеи Богородици и к отцю Феодосю ревнующи отцю своему Ярополку. Сии бо Ярополк вда всю жизнь свою Небльскую волость и Дерьвьскую и Лучьскую и около Киева. Глеб же вда в животе своем с княгинею 600 гривен серебра, а 50 гривен золота. А по княжи животе княгини вда 100 гривен серебра, а 50 гривен золота, а по своем животе вда княгини 5 сел и с челядю и все да и до повоя.[581]

The narrative places emphasis on the princess's good deeds as a patron who has followed the precedent set by her father, Iaropolk Iziaslavich, and that of her husband. It can be surmised that the unilateral giving or making of provisions for monasteries and churches was among the moral duties of the princes of Rus'. According to this passage, women were also implicated in such charitable acts that had both a wider social and political character since the patron would tangibly benefit from their virtuous undertaking.[582] In this instance, the princess is entombed at the Caves Monastery next to her husband, perhaps by the cell of St. Theodosius (у святого Феодосия у головах). The giving of gifts benefited the female donor by allowing her access to spaces normally barred to women and displayed her high rank within the ruling dynasty. It is also notable that the princess controlled property and that she possessed the authority to give away largesse and villages.

Patronage in Rus' depended on belonging to the ruling dynasty, according to the chronicles, and in all likelihood, the members of the dynasty exclusively would have held the economic means to engage in patronage on a large scale. The act of patronage was meant to perpetuate foundation, and refounders adopted the authority and, to some extent, the identity of the founder.[583] The entry for the year 1155 includes many of the elements discussed above:

> Том же лете, иде Андреи от отца своего из Вышегорода в Суждаль без отне воле. И взя из Вышегорода икону святое Богородици юже принесоша с Пирогощею из Царярада в одином корабли. И вскова на ню боле л̃ гривнеи золота, проче серебра, проче камени дорогого, и великого жемчюга, украсив, постави ю в церкви своеи святое Богородица Володимири.[584]

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[581] *PSRL* 2, col. 492-493.

[582] Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries," 112-138.

[583] Mullett, "Refounding Monasteries in Constantinople under the Komnenoi," 366-378.

[584] *PSRL* 2, col. 482.

This act of theft prefigures the ascendance of Vladimir-Suzdal' under Andrei Iurevich even though it transgresses the peaceful relations established following the "kissing of the Cross" between Prince Iurii and Iziaslav Mstislavich.[585] Andrei's gifts to the icon of the Holy Mother of God[586] with more than thirty grivnas worth of gold, silver, precious stones, and large pearls demonstrate the possibility of appropriating an object through gifts and endowment. The icon is then transferred to Andrei's church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God at Vladimir.[587] The icon's political value is constructed through adornment, whereas chronicle entries provide the object with historicity.[588] Andrei Iurevich's oeuvre follows the general pattern of dynastic patronage leading to the extended entry for the year 1158, which provides an account of the prince's foundation and endowments of churches and monasteries to establish his moral authority.[589] The theme of continuity through benefaction is accentuated by the tithe attributed to the church of the Holy Mother of God at Vladimir—following the model provided by Vladimir Sviatoslavich in Kiev—and the foundation of a bishopric at Vladimir.[590]

Unilateral gifts to churches and monasteries were a mark of success and promoted the reputation of their founder. The "testaments" of princes and princesses in the chronicles of Rus' suggest that steps were taken to promote the spiritual fortunes of, and association of an individual with, a church or a monastic house that would concern itself with the deceased's soul, constituting an important incentive to gift-giving and patronage.[591]

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The principal assertion of Mauss's theory of gift-giving is that gift-exchange exists in all societies, and is not only a means of sharing what one possesses. Rather, possessing a gift is a means of combat since giving necessitates reciprocity.[592] Mauss attempted to create a universal theory of the gift to describe the bilateral relationship (un double rapport) between the giver and the

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[585] *PSRL* 2, cols. 481-482.

[586] On the icon, its historiography, and subsequent copies, see: I. A. Kochetkov, "Drevnie kopii ikony "Bogomater' Vladimirskaia"," *DR. Voprosy medievistiki* 13.3 (2003): 44-62.

[587] Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture*, 44-56. This church was probably the Cathedral of the Dormition.

[588] See: K. Onasch, "Die Ikone der Gottesmutter von Vladimir in der Staatlichen Tretjakov-Galerie zu Moskau," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 5 (1956): 56-66. On the synaesthetics of icons, see: A. Kazhdan and A. Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: Berkeley University Press, 1985), 199; and E. A. Fisher, "Image and Ekphrasis in Michael Psellos," *Byzantinoslavica* 55.1 (1994), 44-55.

[589] *PSRL* 2, col. 490-491.

[590] On the Tithe Church, see: Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe*, 88-92.

[591] Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries," 112-138.

[592] Godelier, *L'énigme du don*, 15.

receiver, which is a relationship of solidarity (solidarité) since the giver shares what he has or what he is with the receiver. This relationship can also be characterised as one that instills superiority (supériorité) because one party acts as the provider and creates a relationship of debt vis-à-vis the receiver.[593]

The cancellation of dependence[594] appears to be the focus of gift-exchange between senior princes or rulers of equal rank. The appearance of equality between parties and the maintenance of order without the establishment of new forms of hierarchy is expressed and legitimated in these accounts. Within this context, Vladimir of Galich's bribe becomes a flagrant case of transgression since it exists outside the accepted modes of gift-exchange and diplomacy articulated by the chronicles of Rus'. The exchange of gifts is represented primarily for events of greater significance in the context of dynastic politics and it underlines the impossibility of a breakdown of relations, since the relationship represented is that of an entrenched friendship or the formation of firmer bonds.[595]

Unilateral gifts to churches and monasteries in the form of acts of patronage including donations of money, objects, and land had an important role in the circulation and display of wealth and largesse.[596] Acts of gift-giving demonstrated the influence of magnates as a social group on the production of the visual arts,[597] while patronage was also a means of expressing acceptance of the most important spiritual values of the adopted religion and the socio-political legitimacy of the ruling dynasty.[598]

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[593] Godelier, *L'énigme du don*, 25.

[594] Godelier, *L'énigme du don*, 24.

[595] Althoff, "Der frieden-, bündnis- und gemeinschaftstiftende Charakter des Mahles," 14.

[596] Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries," 112-138.

[597] R. Cormack, "Aristocratic patronage of the arts in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium", in Angold, 158-172.

[598] Preobrazhenskii, *Ktitorskie portrety srednevekovoi Rusi*, 61-181.

CHAPTER III

Rituals of Itinerancy and Intercession

> postera die…rex, solun se pre caeteris culpabilem deo professus atque prostratus, hoc fecit lacrimis votum profusis…Nec mora, erectus a terra, post missae celebrationem sacramque communionem…sumpsit rex clipeum lancea cum sacra.
>
> Thietmar, *Chronicon* 2.10, (ed.) Holtzmann, 48:24-33.

The Lenten homily written by Nikifor I, the Byzantine metropolitan of Kiev (1104-1121) and addressed to Vladimir Monomakh provides a unique source for Byzantine political theory detailing the virtues and duties of a ruler.[599] The Byzantine prelate addresses Vladimir as the "valiant head, and head of all the Christian land" and stresses that the prince is chosen by God and predestined to rule by right acquired through his birth, Nikifor writes: "You, whom God had from far off predestined and indicated, whom He had sanctified and anointed from the womb, when intermingling the imperial and the princely blood," indicating that Vladimir also owed his authority to being the son of a Byzantine princess and a Rus' prince. Nikifor's homily reflects prevalent Byzantine ideals of rulership based on Hellenistic themes of rulership as well as Christian ideas of divinely-inspired and hieratic rule.[600] Besides the general *topoi* of justice and temperance as the most prominent virtue of the ruler, Nikifor focusses on the hieratic ruler who is able to impose his will—which is carried out by his subordinates—from a fixed seat of power.[601]

Vladimir Monomakh's response to this homily, in the form of his *Pouchenie*, provides a completely different understanding of effective rulership. The *Pouchenie* contradicts Nikifor's letter by outlining an ideology of rulership based on the practicalities of being a prince in Rus'. Mobility,

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[599] A. Dölker (ed.), *Der Fastenbrief des Metropoliten Nikifor an den Fürsten Vladimir Monomakh*, Skripten des slavischen Seminars der Universität Tübingen 25 (Tübingen: University Press, 1985), 38-40; Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 313-315; Chichurov, *Politicheskaia ideologiia srednevekov'ia*, 19-32 and 140-146; and Dvornik, "Byzantine Political Ideas," 112-114.

[600] See: Dölker (ed.), *Der Fastenbrief*, 44-46. Nikifor quotes Plato, see: M. N. Shakhmatov and D. Chizhevskii, "Platon v drevnei Rusi," *Zapiski Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (Prague: Cheshskaia-Narva, 1930), 49-81, esp. 68.

[601] See: Chichurov, *Politicheskaia ideologiia srednevekov'ia*, 140-146.

personal leadership, face-to-face interactions, and Christian virtues are the primary activities of the prince who is personally and principally involved in war and in matters of faith.[602] Whereas the prince as justiciar and benefactor belong to the category of virtues ascribed to the Christian prince; the focus, in the *Pouchenie*, on personal involvement in war and in running the household—in being where the action is—is corroborated in chronicle accounts that depict the prince in perpetual motion, whether in times of war or in times of peace.

The movements of the prince for enthronement, for oath-takings, and for dining and gift-giving have already been discussed. Here, the ritualisation of princely itinerancy, occurring primarily in times of war, will be examined as a form of ideal rulership with a distinct ritual apparatus: princely triumph and entry following military success, and the rhetoric of intercession in aiding military success and its role in promoting certain princes over others. The first section of this chapter focuses on ceremonies of entry (or *adventus*)[603] and triumphal[604] processions in early Rus', both forms of ritualised itinerancy that included ceremonial entries into the fortified cities or towns, victory processions and celebrations, and ritual acts and displays during military campaigns. The *adventus* of the ruler was a polysemic ceremony in medieval political culture. Cultures that arose from Late Antiquity and the disintegration of the Roman Empire inherited the *adventus* ceremony with both its civic and religious meanings. The meaning of this ceremony both denoted consensus around the victorious ruler, accepted by his subjects and welcomed with pomp; and manifested the ruler's military role,demonstrating that the ruler held monopoly over violence and of gaining entry through force.[605] The meaning of the *adventus* ceremony changed in Late Antiquity and was christianised based on the model of Christ's advent coupled with the Roman *adventus*.[606] *Adventus*

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[602] *PVL* 1, 157.

[603] Ceremonial entry or *adventus* is broadly represented throughout the medieval and early modern periods and has been treated by historians as well as cultural anthropologists, see: C. Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Culture and Its Creators*, (eds.) J. Ben-David and T. Nichols Clark (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977): 150-171; and W. Dotzauer, "Die Ankunft des Herrschers: Der fürstliche 'Einzug' in die Stadt (bis zum Ende des Alten Reichs)," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 55 (1973): 245-88.

[604] Michael McCormick's study is fundamental in defining the notion of triumph as a politico-cultural phenomenon, see: *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1-11.

[605] See: E. H. Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," in *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1965), 37-75; B. Guenée and F. Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: CNRS, 1968); and *idem.*, "The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris," in *Coronations*, (ed.) J. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 88-118.

[606] See: P. Dufraigne, *Adventus Augusti, Adventus Christi. Recherche sur l'exploitation idéologique et littéraire d'un cérémonial dans l'antiquité tardive* (Paris: Institut d'Études augustiniennes, 1994).

encompassed types of entry beyond that of the ruler and included processions to churches and monasteries of saints' relics, clerics, and magnates.[607]

Vladimir Monomakh warns in his *Pouchenie* that princes should not be hasty in drawing their weapons and engaging in violence.[608] And yet, war against the pagan tribes bordering Rus', internecine conflict, and minor conflagrations are a staple of chronicle accounts about the princes of Rus' and their activities throughout the pre-modern period. Ritualised attitudes and gestures are attributed to princes in battle, acclamations and liturgical invocations, and expressions of divine intercession are provided so that the outcomes of conflicts are shaped into providential events. Ritual acts—invocations and supplication—give meaning, drama, and density to the providentially-inspired victories. The active and decisive role of divine forces is visually translated into princely associations with warrior saints and other martial figures. Official iconographies on coins and on churches promote the image of the prince as a warrior and give further substance to the prescriptions of the *Pouchenie* and chronicle accounts. The ritualised evocation and invocation of warrior saints—along with the usual holy intercessors—ritualised the outcomes of battles in order to make manifest the invisible justice of God and to promote victors.

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[607] See: M. Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 66-77.

[608] *PVL* 1, 157.

Triumphal Entries and *Adventus*

The celebration of military triumphs by emperors, kings, princes, and other nobles was attended by military processions, Church services, feasts, and festivals throughout the medieval world.[609] Several accounts from the Kievan Chronicle depict princely entries and triumphs; most notably, at Pereiaslavl, Vladimir, and Kiev. Several accounts describe a predetermined route or "triumphal way" into and around Kiev and Vladimir leading to ritual places where princes and their subordinates gather to celebrate princely victories.[610] In the chronicles of Rus', processions follow enthronements, princely entries into polities, and military victories. The rarity of these events—even though princely deambulations are often portrayed and military campaigns usually merit mention—does not allow for broad conclusions to be drawn. However, the built landscape of Kiev, constructed after a Constantinopolitan model, and that of other Rus' polities, also mirrored processional routes described in Byzantine and Rus' sources.[611]

The imperial city of Constantinople integrated many of the elements of old Roman rituals and its topography, embellishing the processional route of the Roman triumph.[612] In the Byzantine period, military triumphs were conducted with less ritual rigour and it has been speculated that no specific processional route existed.[613] Based on the accounts from the *De Cerimoniis* and the *Chronographia* of Theophanes, an emperor's triumphal entry into Constantinople began at the Golden Gate; however, Michael McCormick suggested in his analysis of Byzantine triumphal processions, that the choice of route and point of entry were governed by the circumstances of a victory.[614] The Golden Gate in Constantinople, known as Constantine's Golden Gate (although

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[609] J. Shepard, "*Adventus*, Arrivistes and Rites of Rulership in Byzantium and France in the Tenth and Eleventh Century," in Beihammer, 337-367, esp. 337-339 and notes.

[610] On the Kievan Golden Gate, see: Ia. D. Isaevich, *Nove dzherelo pro istorichnu topograpfiiu ta arkhitekturni pam'iatki starodarvn'ogo Kieva* (Kiev: Nauk. dumka, 1982), 113-129; and on the Golden gate in Vladimir, see: P. A. Rappoport, *Ocherki po istorii voennogo zodchestva severo-vostochnoi i severo-zapadnoi Rusi X-XV vv.* (Moscow: Akademiaia nauk, 1961), 128-129.

[611] See: Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 209-217.

[612] See: C. Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *DOP* 54 (2000): 173-188, esp. 173. See also: R. Ianin, *La géographie écclésiastique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1953), 193-194; and *idem.*, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1950), 330.

[613] Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople," 174.

[614] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 139-143. See also: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 1. 469.

Cyril Mango suspects that this nomenclature may not be accurate),[615] was the main point of entry into Constantinople for an imperial triumph. Mango and McCormick tentatively traced the route that emperors took to process around the city from the Golden Gate, but Mango noted that an innovation occurred during the Komnenian period that caused the triumphal way to be rerouted to a much shorter circuit from the eastern gate of the Acropolis to the Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace.[616] Therefore, it in unclear for how long the Golden Gate was a key point of entry for victory processions into Constantinople.

The topography of triumph

In Kiev, the Golden Gate, located in the south-western quadrant of Iaroslav's city,[617] and the church of the Mother of God would have provided an ideal starting point for triumphal processions which terminated at the church of St. Sophia.[618] It is difficult to speculate how much (if at all) Iaroslav Vladimirich knew of Constantinopolitan processional routes[619] when he had the Golden Gate and churches built according to the Constantinopolitan landscape.[620] The church built over Kiev's Golden Gates was probably a replica of the one dedicated to the Mother of God built over Constantinople's Golden Gate.[621] The building of the church is mentioned in the *PVL* as the church of the Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God on the Golden Gate in the entry for the year

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[615] Cyril Mango states that it should not be taken for fact that Constantine the Great built the gate during his reign. In sources contemporary to the reign of Constantine, such as the *Notitia* of c. 425, the gate is referred to as the *Porta aurea* (the golden gate). It is afterwards mentioned rarely and appears under several names, such as "the gate of Atalos", perhaps referring to the usurper Priscus Attalus of 409-410, 414-415. The gate is also referred to in terms of the statues that were displayed on it, such as the one of Constantine the Great that fell down in 740. However, Theophanes refers to this statue as the 'Gate of Atalos', see: *Chronographia*, (Bonn), 412. A description of the gate is given by Manuel Chrysoloras (15th century) who described it as having been built of large marble blocks, with a wide opening, and topped by a stoa, see: *PG* 156:45c-d. According to Mango the Golden Gate is "oddly" not referred to in the *Patria* unless it is the tetrapylon with a chamber on top of columns, which may have been a description based on the Porta Triumphalis in Rome, represented as a *quadrifrons* in the sources, see: *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, (ed.) T. Preger (Leipzig: Teubner, 1989), 181. See: F. Coarelli, "La Porta Trionfale e la Via dei Trionfi," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 2 (1968): 55-103, esp. 68 and figs. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8. On the *quadrifrons* in Rome; and M. Wheeler, "The Golden Gate of Constantinople," in *Archaeology in the Levant*, (eds.) R. Moorey and P. Parr (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1978), 238-241.

[616] Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople," 176. Mango uses the *Historia* of Nicetas Choniates and Theodore Prodromos for the triumph of 1133 and the topography of Constantinople.

[617] **See: Map I.**

[618] Shepard, "Byzantium and Russia in the eleventh century," 167.

[619] *Theophanes Continuatus*, V.I (Bonn), 271; and *Symeon Magister* (Bonn), 749.

[620] Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus*, 209-217.

[621] See: Ianin, *La géographie écclesiastique*, 193-194; *idem., Constantinople byzantine*, 330.

1037.[622] The use of Byzantine craftsmen is attested to in the *PVL* who were, very likely, employed for the construction of the first masonry buildings based on a Byzantine model in Kiev and, perhaps, other urban centres such as Pereiaslavl.[623] It is likely that the Golden Gate of Vladimir (constructed under Andrei Iurevich) closely resembled that of Kiev.[624]

The built landscape of Kiev provided a tangible reminder of the elevation of the dynasty with reference to the Christian faith. The first major building project mentioned in the *PVL* is the metropolitan church dedicated to Saint Sophia[625] in the year 1037,[626] built away from the Prince's residence (on Starokievskaia Hill) and next to the Golden Gate along with another church dedicated to the Mother of God and two eponymous churches—referring both to analogous buildings in Constantinople—bearing the baptismal names of Iaroslav (George) and his wife, Ingegerd of Sweden (Irene).[627] Maps I-II provides a hypothetical landscape for the city of Kiev, many of the churches are hypothetically placed based on chronicle accounts and with corroboration from archaeological data. Relatively little remains of the original architectural landscape of early Rus', apart from the church of St. Sophia, that of St. Cyril, and iconographies preserved from other churches, such as the mosaics of the golden-domed church of St. Michael. These monuments yield information about what Iaroslav Sviatoslavich and his successors wanted represented, at once, symbols of the Constantinopolitan landscape and incorporating the ideological referents of the Riurikid Dynasty.

The church that embodies the Constantinopolitan landscape of early Rus', St. Sophia, is the main referent in the chronicles of Rus' when entries into the city of Kiev are described. The Golden Gate is rarely referred to and is never mentioned in accounts of Kievan ceremonies of *adventus*.

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[622] See: Rappoport, *Ocherki po istorii voennogo zodchestva*, 130-131.

[623] M. K. Karger, *Drevnii Kiev: ocherki po istorii material'noi kul'tury drevnerusskogo goroda*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Akad. Nauk, 1958), 214.

[624] See: *PSRL* 1, cols. 367-368; *PSRL* 2, cols. 580-582, 593. On the icon, see: C. Mango, *The Brazen House: a study of the vestibule of the imperial palace of Constantinople* (København: Kommission hos Munksgaard, 1959), 149-169; G. P. Majeska (ed. and trans.), *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, DOP 19 (Washington, DC: DOP, 1984), 241-242; Ianin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 529-530; R. Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 32, 91; see also: Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, (eds. and trans.) H. B. Dewing and G. Downey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), I.10.11-20; and Cameron and Herrin (eds.), *Constantinople in the early eighth century*, 48-51, 207-208.

[625] In that year, Vladimir perhaps built a similar wooden church next to the Prince's Palace. See: A. Poppe, "The building of the Church of Saint Sophia," *JMH* 7.1 (1981): 39-41.

[626] On the dating of the construction of St. Sophia, see: E. Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome: The Performance of Power in Kiev's St. Sophia," *Art Bulletin* 91.3 (2000): 283-301, esp. 284 and notes 17-19. According to the *NPL*, St. Sophia was founded in the year 1017. According to Thietmar of Merseburg, Prince Boleslav of Poland was received there in 1018, contradicting the *PVL* account for that year.

[627] *PVL* I, 47.

However, other churches of Kiev are prominent in the deambulations of princes, such as the Tithe Church, the church of SS Boris and Gleb at Vyshgorod, and the Kievan Caves Monastery.

Princely deambulation and triumph

References to entry and procession are most clearly present in accounts of enthronement, which is often coupled with an account of military triumph. The extended conflict between Iziaslav Mstislavich and Iurii Vladimirich for the Kievan principality is attended with victorious accounts of entry into Kiev by both princes, respectively, when they enter the city to assume the ancestral throne or to celebrate a victory against each other. In an account for the year 1150, Iziaslav Mstislavich arrives in Kiev to sit on the throne at St. Sophia where he pays homage before riding to Iaroslav's palace on Starokievskaia Hill, followed by the people of Kiev who had previously come to meet him. The account is fairly laconic: "Изяслав же поклонився святои Софии и взеха на двор да Ярославль всим своим полком и Киян(и) с ним приде множество."[628] The account omits many details of the entry, but it is understood that Iziaslav was with all of his entourage (всим своим полком) and that the people of Kiev all went with him, either from St. Sophia to Iaroslav's palace or they had met him beforehand (at his entry into Kiev) to accompany him to Iaroslav's palace (Киян(и) с ним приде множество). The sequence of events is difficult to deduce due to lack of detail in the narrative, and yet certain items are not overlooked; to wit, the sites visited, that the prince was with his entourage, and that the people of Kiev accompanied him.

Several months later, another account for the year 1150 relates Iziaslav Mstislavich's reversal of fortune when he decides that it is better to flee Kiev since Iurii's current position, probably somewhere near Dorogobuzh, allows him to easily attack Kiev through the Podol' with the help of his retinue. Vladimir of Galich joins with Iurii Vladimirich following a meeting held at Oleg's Grave,[629] then leads a procession around the city of Kiev, beginning at Vyshgorod and ending at the church of the Holy Mother of God at the Caves Monastery:

И еха Володимир Вышегороду к святима мученикома поклонится и тако поклонився святою мученику и приеха к святои Софии и отода еха ко сватеи Богородици Десятиньнеи и отуда еха к святои Богородици Печерскои монастырь.[630]

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[628] *PSRL* **2, cols. 396-397.**

[629] *PSRL* 2, cols. 360-361.

[630] *PSRL* **2, col. 403.**

The sites where the princes habitually stop, according to the chronicles, during their deambulations around the city of Kiev are notable for the preference given to certain early foundations, such as the Tithe Church and St. Sophia. Furthermore, the area for procession appears restricted to Iaroslav's city to the exclusion of much of the Kievan polity. A direct processional path from the Golden Gate to Starokievskaia Hill is just over a kilometre, and the distance between the St. Sophia complex (including St. George and St. Irene), the golden-domed church of St. Michael (and St. Demetrios built by Iziaslav Iaroslavich in the 1050s), the Tithe Church (and what may be the church of St. Theodore) is approximately five hundred metres respectively.[631]

Churches founded by the Riurikid dynasty were a visual reminder of dynastic values and the role of the princes of Rus' as *ktitors* (patrons and founders), following the Byzantine imperial model of authority, and personally engaged in cultural production.[632] The *Slovo* provides the model for the role of princes as dynastic founders and patrons by comparing Iaroslav to Solomon and Vladimir to David: "Иже недоконьчаная твоя наконьча, акы Соломонъ Давыдова, иже дом Божии великыи святыи его Премудрости създа на святость и освящение граду твоему."[633] Foundations in Rus' bore a dynastic significance and were visual reminders of dynastic values: brotherly-love (churches dedicated to Boris and Gleb), martial authority (representations of military saints and churches dedicated to military saints),[634] and legitimacy through divine sanction (representations of the Mother of God and association between princes and divine figures in founders' portraits).[635] The symbolic significance of the constructed landscape of Kiev, amongst other polities of Rus', would have been known to chroniclers who evoked places of dynastic and religious significance as the *loci* both of dynastic authority and divine intercession.[636]

The 11th century church of St. Sophia was meant to be the principal church in Kiev and reflected Middle Byzantine religious themes and political ideologies.[637] The partially preserved Hippodrome

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[631] **See: Map I.**

[632] *Slovo*, s. 5.7-10.

[633] *Slovo*, s. 5.4-7.

[634] See: White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus'*, 94-132.

[635] See: S. A. Vysotskii, "Ktitorskaia freska Iaroslava Mudrogo v Kievskoi Sofii," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Khudozhestvennaia kul'tura X-pervoi poloviny XIII v.*, (eds.) A. I. Komech and O. I. Podobedova (Moscow: Nauka, 1988), 120-133; and V. N. Lazarev, "Novye dannye o mozaikakh i freskakh Sofii Kievskoi: Gruppovoi portret semeistva Iaroslava," *VV* 15 (1959): 148-169.

[636] For analogous examples, see: McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 365.

[637] See: D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453*, 2nd edn (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984), chs. 6, 7, 9; and I. Ševčenko, "Byzantine Cultural Influences," in *Byzantium and the Slavs: In Letters and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1991), 137-139.

frieze located in the staircase of the mid-11th century south-western tower consists of a forty-six foot long composition including several scenes depicting the races of the Hippodrome[638] and related scenes.[639] It is difficult to reconstruct the depth of cultural knowledge and integration or imitation of Byzantine social and cultural activity in Rus' and the scene can interpreted in many ways. It is possible that the frieze depicts the entry of the Rus' into Christendom, and that the figures attending the races in the Hippodrome are Princess Olga (who was baptised in Constantinople and received the honour of *zoste patrikia*) and the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.[640] The lack of identifying inscriptions for the figures renders their identification impossible. Furthermore, the choice of subject is singular in church decoration. Literary examples in Slavonic describing the Hippodrome suggest that the East Slavs were not particularly knowledgeable about this building.[641] In Byzantine culture, the Hippodrome had a prominent role in victory and was the culminating point of triumphal processions, being the spot where a great number of people could gather to observe and participate in the elevation, recognition, and confirmation of imperial authority and might.[642] Is it possible that the church of St. Sophia features so prominently in accounts of princely processions in Kiev not only because of its eminence amongst Kievan churches, but also because it contained the dialectics of triumph and represented the politico-spiritual nexus where victory was confirmed?

In chronicle entries, the representation of a sacred topography and the recognition of sites of intercession and dynastic commemoration provides a stage upon which the legitimacy of princely rule—its political definition and divine approbation—is redefined. The panegyric material related to triumph and *adventus* in early Rus' focusses on several aspects; to wit, procession attended by the clergy bearing processional crosses, the prince and his entourage, expressions of joy and honour, and the inhabitants of the polity. The display of the triumphant prince to a politically significant

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[638] See: **figs. XXXVIII**. V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1948), 79. The races show the *carceres* (where the race begins) and the *kathisma* (where the race culminates).

[639] See: **figs. XXXIV-XL**. for the compositions depicting hunting scenes and scenes of revelry with acrobats and musicians playing the Byzantine pipe organ. See also: S. Ivanov, "Slavic Jesters and the Byzantine Hippodrome," *DOP* 46 (1992): 129-132, esp. 131.

[640] See: **figs. XLI-XLII**. O. Pevny, "Kievan Rus'," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*, (eds.) H. Evans and W. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 281. Pevny agrees with Vysotskii that the figures may have historical connotations, but is more inclined to attribute them to cultural borrowings from Late Antique notions of authority based on literary models.

[641] S. Vilinskii, *Zhitie sv. Vasiliia Novogo*, vol. 2 (Odessa: Tekhnik, 1911), 470. However, Dujcev believed that the South Slavs had a good knowledge of the Hippodrome and its use. See: I. Dujcev, "Théatron-Pozoriste: Un problème de l'histoire de la civilisation slave médiévale," in *Mélanges Svetozar Radojčić* (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet-Odeljenje za istoriju umetnosti, 1969), 77-81.

[642] See: G. Dagron, *L'Hippodrome de Constantinople. Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2002), 229-253, 323-335; and for the theological implications of the appearance of the emperor, see: Dufraigne, *Adventus Augusti, Adventus Christi*, 188.

audience such as the clergy—who occasionally bear crosses—is polysemic and implies the collusion of the clergy in princely rule. In the account of the 1151 triumph in Kiev of Viacheslav Vladimirich with Iziaslav Mstislavish and Rostislav Mstislavich is attended by both the Kievans and the clergy of Rus'. Both of these groups process with the victorious princes via St. Sophia and the Tithe Church (in that order), suggesting that the princes may have arrived in Kiev through the Golden Gate:

> и тако Вячеслав и Изяслав и Ростислав похваляче Бога и его причестную Матерь и силу животворящаго креста с честью и похвалою великою поидоша к Киеву и тако поидоша противу им святли с кресты митрополить Клим и игумени честнии и попове и мное множство святль и с великою честю вехаша в Киев и ту поклонившеся святеи Софие и святеи Богородици Десятиньнеи и пребыша у велице весели и у велице любви и тако начаша жити Вячеслав.[643]

The episode opens with the three princes in an attitude of submission to God, the Mother of God, and the Life-Giving Cross, encompassing the general *topoi* of grace and divine sanction. The procession becomes an act of princely supplication in which the princes demonstrate that their victory was divinely-inspired. The multiple references to "paying homage" show the princes making gestures of submission to divine will, which ascribes a religious significance to the political victory against Iurii of Suzdal'. In accounts of celebrations of military victory in Rus', the Cross—born either by the clergy or inhabitants of a polity—is often carried out to meet triumphant princes. In the year 1177, Roman Rostislavich is welcomed by the people of Vladimir who come to meet him with crosses and praise for having been delivered: "люде же Володимерции устретоша с кресты князя своего идоуща с победою и воздрадовашася видевше крестны отполонены от поганых а ворози в руках приведше в град Володимер."[644] Remarkably, this account of the military triumph of Prince Roman includes details of a parade of the prince's prisoners: Gleb Sviatoslavich, Roman Glebovich, and Mstislav Andreevich (Gleb's brother-in-law), who are accompanied by their retinues in the parade of prisoners.

The account for the year 1151 provides the steps of the procession: the princes enter Kiev, they ride to St. Sophia to pay homage (поклонившеся святеи Софие), they continue to the Tithe Church after which they abide together in peace, while plotting their next move against Iurii Vladimirich. The most prominent detail in this account is the presence of the clergy who come out to meet the princes with crosses (с кресты). Among the clergy is the Metropolitan Klim, the abbots, and the priests along with a multitude (множство) of clergy. The account of the military victory and the capture of Kiev by Viacheslav, Iziaslav, and Rostislav gains legitimacy through the

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[643] *PSRL* **2, col. 441.**

[644] *PSRL* **2, col. 605.**

representation of consensus around Iziaslav's rule demonstrated by the presence of all the Church hierarchs. Formulas of supplication in the chronicles of Rus' are comprehensible only as tokens of entreaty and submission in which a subject recognised and a ruler displayed an authority granted by God.[645] The deferential attitudes of princes, the habit of intercession, and patterns of ritualised language all provide a neat symmetry for Theophanic supplication. Throughout the period known as early Rus' writing was a clerical monopoly and the gestures, attitudes, and language of princes was ritualised according to notions of charismatic rulership and God-granted authority.[646]

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Recent studies by German scholars have moved away form the earlier attention given to the concrete details of the royal *iter* in the Ottonian kingdom and have focussed more on the effects of itinerancy as a mode and method of rulership, viewing itinerancy as a central part of royal ritual.[647] In the emergent societies of the early medieval period, the movement of the king and his court was an important feature of the passing of the year and the presence or absence or the entry or departure of the king reflected the socio-political charisma[648] of early medieval rulers. Princely deambulations described rulership not as a formal institution or official structure, rather the symbols and ceremony accentuated the person and personality of the ruler and his charismatic role. Itinerancy provided a means of bringing the ruler to the people, and of presenting the leader to his followers.

Accounts of princely deambulations reveal that the princely itinerary in Rus' was worth mentioning, and it was noted in the previous chapter that ritual acts, such as dining and gift-giving, accompanied princely visits. In chronicle narratives, little information is provided regarding spectators to the ritualised movements of princes, and the focus tends to be on the salutary nature of the princely entry into the city of Kiev—either following a specific battle or a period of conflict—

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[645] Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 92.

[646] Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 87.

[647] Past studies focussed on the constitutional value of ritual in the Ottonian court, ritual as a sign and symbol of power, and on ideal rulership demonstrated through ritual, More recently, Gerd Althoff has focussed on ritual in public or political interaction and the active role of rituals in creating a political situation rather than reflecting it, see: G. Altoff, "Demonstration und Inszenierung: Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993): 27-50; *idem.*, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997); G. Koziol, "England, France, and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, (ed.) T. N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 124-148; and P. Buc, "Political Ritual: Medieval and Modern Interpretations," *EME* 9.2 (2000): 183-210.

[648] Here, I take Max Weber's definition of charisma and charismatic authority which, in the early medieval period, often finds expression in public ritual and display, serving to underline the exceptional or God-granted nature of the ruler, see: C. Geertz, "Centers, kings, and charisma: reflections on the symbols of power," in *Culture and its creators. Essays in honor of Edward Shils*, (eds.) J. Ben-David and T. N. Clark (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 150-171, 309-314 (notes); and Roach's pertinent remarks in: "Submission and Homage," 355-379.

along with the sites of intercession that reflect the divine nature of princely victory. Princely deambulation cannot be globally characterised as a ritual act, as its depiction is generic and largely associated with the mechanics of rulership. Itinerancy only becomes a politicised expression of rulership and, by extension, a ritual act when it gives definition to relations between princes, between princes and the clergy, and between princes and their subordinates. Chronicle accounts endow certain types of itinerancy with a more venerable aspect and provide contextual markers—victory, inauguration, association, diplomacy—to ascribe symbolic meaning to princely movement. This survey of princely itinerancy, as a display of triumphant rulership, was not meant to be exhaustive since other types of ritualised itinerancy were discussed in previous chapters. However, the representation of triumphal procession accords symbolic meaning to warfare—possibly the most common occurrence in the chronicles—governed by princely humility and divine intercession.

In the passage that introduced this chapter, Liudprand of Cremona illustrates through the episode of 'The Holy Lance' (a relic of Constantinian origin) that God is a highly selective patron. Otto's prayer before the Holy Lance is a narrative moment demonstrating the role of divine will and providence in victory. It is a "consensual ritual against fractious rebels" who make war, wherein a certain faction is appointed as righteous and providentially victorious.[649] In this episode, prayers and invocations of the divine resulting in divine designations of victors and liturgified military undertakings, express the worthiness and righteousness of victors over those whom they had defeated.[650]

The chronicles of Rus' provide more information on the military campaigns of princes than on any other type of event. These campaigns follow oath-breakings, perceived violations of succession principles, attempts to seize territory from other princes, and to honour alliances. Divine intercession is manifested both as a habitual ritual act undertaken before the commencement of a campaign and as a rhetorical device relating the role of divine providence in victory and designating the victor as the most righteous party to hostilities. The tropes employed in the chronicles of Rus' are common to medieval literature and are part of the stock of medieval devices to shape narratives and to designate events as providential, whether they resulted in victory or defeat. In certain accounts, battle and prayer are conflated and victory is ritualised on the battlefield through prayers for intercession. The princes of Rus' also integrated the symbols of victorious rulership and divine intercession in their personal iconographies—on seals and coins—and the ideal of the ruler as intercessor is depicted on the façades of the churches of Vladimir-Suzdal'.[651] Accordingly, the prince was not simply victorious because he ruled, he ruled because he was victorious, and military victory evoked a prince's legitimacy and authority.

The previous section examined the antinomy between Byzantine precepts of ideal rulership and the local culture articulated in the *Pouchenie Vladimira Monomakha*. The present section continues its examination of prescribed practice in annalistic descriptions of princely rule in Rus' with emphasis on its martial aspect. Intercession exemplifies ideal rule through divine approbation by transgressing the precepts of peace and consensus that were examined in the previous chapters. However, beyond the local context of internecine conflict and itinerant rule, intercession as a

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[649] See: Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, 47. Based on Moses's prayer against the Amalechites in Exodus 17.12.

[650] See: Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, 47-51; and McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 342-362.

[651] See: White, *Byzantine Military Saints*, 94-201.

narrative strategy—its vocabulary and articulation—reflects general medieval *topoi* and inserts Rus' into the wider medieval context of ritualised victors and victory.[652]

Divine intercession

Intercession for victory in the chronicles of early Rus' does not follow a prescribed context and evocations of intercession occur in accounts of divinely-inspired war against pagans, against polities, and between princes. Military victory for the advancement of Christianisation represents an actuation of the deeds of Vladimir Sviatoslavich in the 10th century. The nomadic peoples depicted in the chronicles of Rus'—although allies and marriage partners at times—provided an ideal for ritualised military action. In the following example from the Kievan Chronicle, the exemplarity of victory against the Polovtsi recalls past princely victories and makes manifest their righteousness as Christian rulers and defenders of the Christian faith:

> [...] и сретоша е (Polovtsi) изнова друзие и ступишася с ними (Polovtsi) и бишася крепко и поможе Бог Михалкови и Всеволоду на поганеи, дедня и отьня молитва и сбысться в неделю самы поганыя избиша, а другыя изыимаша и полон отяша 4 ста чади. И пустиша я во свояси. А сами възворотишася Кыеву славяще Бога и святю Богородицю и силу частьнаго креста и святая мученика помогающа на бранехъ на поганыя.[653]

The narrative structure of the account for the year 1174 emphasises the intercession of the ancestors who helped to spread Christianity throughout Rus'; magnanimity in victory (they release their prisoners);[654] and prayers through the evocation of the Lord, the Holy Mother of God, the life-giving Cross, and the holy martyrs. These evocations point to Riurikid supremacy over the pagans and manifest the dynasty's sanctity through divinely-inspired actions. It is notable that the principal giving of praise and offering of prayers occurs at Kiev.

Similarly in the account for the year 1151 wherein Iziaslav Mstislavich retakes Kiev from Iurii Vladimirich with the assistance of his brother, Rostislav Mstislavich and his co-ruler Viacheslav Vladimirich whose presence legitimates Iziaslav's ascension to the throne of Kiev.[655] The princes enter Kiev and pay homage (поклонившеся) to the Mother of God at the Tithe Church and at St. Sophia where they are met by the people of Kiev. Churches that had been founded by the major

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[652] See: McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 328-384.

[653] *PSRL* 2, col. 563.

[654] It is possible that this constitutes a rhetorical trope. Similarly in 1161, Iaroslav Andreevich releases the people of Kiev whom he had imprisoned following the siege of Kiev, see: *PSRL* 2, col. 516.

[655] *PSRL* 2, col. 433.

figures of the 10th and 11th centuries, Vladimir Sviatoslavich and Iaroslav Vladimirich, very likely bore a historical and dynastic prestige and it is unsurprising that they are mentioned as the main centres for the offering of prayers to the Mother of God, who was one of a restricted, and yet, varied group of holy figures interceding on behalf of favoured princes during battle.[656]

However, it was not only the Kievan princes who focussed devotion on the Mother of God, Andrei Iurevich offers prayers to the Mother of God on, at least, four occasions in the Laurentian Chronicle.[657] The Mother of God was a common figure of intercession—as the protectress of Constantinople and Kiev—and the princely clan of Rus' founded many centres of worship in honour of the *Bogoroditsa*.[658] The tale of the victory over the Volga Bulgars includes a detailed account of the intercession of Christ and the Mother of God on behalf of Andrei Iurevich who is joined by the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komnenos during several battles in 1164.[659] During the 1149 battle against the Polovtsi, the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles both include an account of Andrei Iurevich praying to God before drawing his sword and invoking the assistance of St. Theodore, whereupon he is delivered by the saint's intercession.[660] It is notable that although chronicles often mention the intercession of holy figures on behalf of princes—usually figures of universal or local devotion such as Christ, the Mother of God, the Holy Cross or SS Boris and Gleb—the appearance of patron saints is rare.[661]

In another account of military struggles against the Polovtsi in the year 1174, Igor Riurikovich of Pereiaslavl defeats the pagans and is honoured by senior princes. The chronicle narrative creates a nexus for divine action: the pagans are defeated on the day of the feast of the prophet Elijah (who opposed the worship of the idol Baal), Igor attends church on the feast day of SS Boris and Gleb, then he attends a service at St. Michael's church at Pereiaslavl[662] on the day of the feast of the

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[656] White, *Byzantine Military Saints*, 94-132.

[657] Between 1149 and the prince's death in 1175, see: *PSRL* 1, cols. 367-374, and *PSRL* 2, cols. 580-595.

[658] For a list, see: White, *Byzantine Military Saints*, 217-219.

[659] Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, 90-1.

[660] See: PSRL 1, col. 325 and PSRL 2, col. 390. St. Theodore was not Prince Andrei's personal saint, but the battle did occur on the saint's feast day, thus the invocation would have been appropriate, see: White, *Byzantine Military Saints*, 179-181. As has been discussed above, the festal calendar provided an ample stock of holy intercessors to be called upon in times of need.

[661] White, *Byzantine Military Saints*, 113-119. Whereas the Mother of God, Christ, and the Holy Cross are standard tropes in the shaping of events as providential, see: *PSRL* 2, cols. 362-363.

[662] This church is mentioned several times when princes worship at Pereiaslavl and offer prayers for divine assistance, see: **PSRL 2, cols. 383 and 404.**

Elevation of the Cross.[663] The evocation of dynastic saints, the symbol of Christianity, along with a veterotestamentary figure who promoted monotheistic worship endows Igor's campaign with divine approval and the dynastic mandate to defend the Christian faith. The polyvalence of the cult of SS Boris and Gleb is evident here, since the brother-martyrs not only create consensus in times of internecine conflict, but also display cohesion amongst princes of the Riurikid dynasty and emphasise their Christian duty as martyrs for the Christian faith.

It is possible that the churches of Rus'—largely princely foundations—would have organised prayers for the princes and their victory against pagans and, possibly, each other as is attested to in the Byzantine Empire.[664] In the Byzantine tradition, monastic prayers—although their origins and contents are unknown—were offered for the health of the emperor (as their patron) and, more generally, for the salvation of the state.[665] Prayers for intercession and for salvation were also offered during special services organised by the patriarchs of Constantinople for the protection and preservation of the city and its inhabitants during the great sieges of the 7th and 8th centuries.[666] To my knowledge, specific prayers or litanies are not recorded for the salvation of early Rus' during periods of war. However, the chronicles of Rus' describe princes attending liturgies before and after battle and interacting with the clergy. The account of the commencement of hostilities between Iziaslav Mstislavich and his partisans, and Iurii Vladimirich allied with the Olgovichi and Davidovichi; Iurii—invoking the principle of seniority and patrimony—attempts to reclaim Pereiaslavl from Iziaslav. Iziaslav attends matins at the church of St. Michael at Pereiaslavl and is beseeched by the bishop Efimii not to make war against his uncle:

> Изяслав отслуша обеднюю у святом Михаиле и поиде изъ церкве Иефимьяну же епископу слезы проливаючю и молящюся ему. Княже умирися съ стрьемъ своим много спасение примеши от Бога и землю свою избавиши от великия беды он же не восхоте надеяся на множество вои, река: "добылъ есми головою своею Киева."[667]

The account demonstrates a clear bias against Iziaslav who, although he attends a church service, rejects the Christian exhortation of the bishop and asserts, hubristically, that he has thus far made his own fortune. The refusal to recognise dynastic seniority and the rejection of the bishop's admonishment foreshadow the military disaster that soon follows. In effect, after his victory against

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[663] *PSRL* **2, col. 569.**

[664] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 241.

[665] The emperors Anastasius and Justinian receive prayers from the monks of Palestine, see: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, (ed.) E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis, Texte und Untersuchungen* 49 (Leipzig; J. C. Hinrichs, 1939), 143.6-9 and 174.24-175.4.

[666] See: Photius, *Homilies*, (ed.) B. Laourdas, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1959), 31.31-32.4, 37.21-3 and 48.20-5.

[667] *PSRL* **2, col. 380.**

Iziaslav, Iurii Vladimirich enters Pereiaslavl and praises God and St. Michael for his victory, which he ascribes to providence rather than his own military prowess:[668] This episode depicts one of the few times that a member of the clergy of Rus' intervenes directly in the internecine wars of the Riurikid princes. Most often, churches provide the settings for the *profectio bellica*[669] of the Rus' princes, adding a ritual element to the commencement of hostilities and only passing mentions are provided of church services before battle. In the 9th century, special litanies for the eve of battle are attested to the in the *Tactica* of Leo VI.[670] The *PVL* account for the year 1107 refers to deliverance from the Polovtsi and their "mangy, godless, predatory" leader Boniak who had reached the outskirts of Kiev and had pillaged the Klov, Vydubichi, and Caves monasteries and burned the princely *dvor* at Berestovo.[671] Following these events, Sviatopolk Iaroslavich and Vladimir Monomakh designed a more aggressive strategy against the Polovtsi,[672] which led to a series of campaigns that penetrated into the steppe frontier of Rus'.[673] Sviatopolk Iaroslavich had a prominent role in organising his fellow princes, participated in the campaign, and was also a founder and patron of churches and monasteries.[674] It is entirely unsurprising that the Caves Monastery would receive Sviatopolk and offer prayers to his health and military success:

> Святополкъ же прииде завътреню в Печерьскыи манастырь на Успенье святыя Богородица, и братья целоваша и радостью великою, яко врази наши побежены быша молитвами святыя Богородица и великаго Федосья, отца нашего. И тако бо обычаи имяше Святополкъ: коли идяше на воину, или инамо, оли поклонився у гроба Федосьева и молитву вземъ у игумена, сущаго ту, то же идяше на путь свои.[675]

The main difference between the descriptions of prayers and litanies for victory in Byzantine and early Rus' texts is that the depiction of ritualised victory is highly personalised in the accounts from Rus'. A prince, personally, pays homage, offers prayers, and receives blessing before departing on a military campaign. The prince's army, allies, and other princes are very rarely mentioned and

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[668] It is the reverse in the Kievan Chronicle, see: *PSRL* 2, col. 383. Rostislav, Iziaslav, and Viacheslav again call upon the Mother of God during battle against Iurii Vladimirich after which Viacheslav praises the Mother of God over the Golden Gates of Kiev. **See: Map I**. The topographic mention evokes the Byzantine *profectio bellica* in which the emperor prays for divine favour at the Chalke and continues to the Hagia Sophia followed by a liturgical procession to the Blachernae church for a final service, see: Leo Deacon, *Histories*, 8.1, (Bonn), 128.1-129.8

[669] See: Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent," 55-56.

[670] See: Leo VI, *Tactica*, 14-I (ed.) R. Vari, *Leonis imperatoris Tactica* (Budapest: Sylloge tacticorum Gr., 1922), 126-7.

[671] *PVL* I, 151. **See: Map II.**

[672] *PVL* 1, 183.

[673] See: Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 272-277.

[674] See: *PVL* 1, 190-192. Sviatopolk founded the sumptuous golden-domed church of St. Michael in Kiev and may have overseen the first compilation of the *PVL*, see: Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus'*, 279-282.

[675] *PVL* 1, 258.

there is no display of collective blessing for the military campaign. In this instance, the preparation for battle involves prayers before the relics of Feodosii, the former abbot of the Caves Monastery, and personal prayers and blessings from the current abbot.

Collective prayers for intercession are not depicted as part of a campaigning army's activities in Rus'. However, an instance of collective effervescence is related for the year 1146 when Vsevolod Olgovich—who had wrested Kiev from the descendants of Monomakh—attempts to take Zvenigorod from Vladimirko of Galich. Vsevolod's troops set fire to the city, but the city is delivered through divine intervention:

> Бог же и святя Богородица избави город от лютыя рати и възваша *кури иелисонъ* с радостью великою хваляще Бога и пречистую его матерь […] и отуду възвратишася кождо въ свояси. Всеволод же пришед в Киев разболися и посла по брата своего, по Игоря, и по Святослава.[676]

The chant is not raised in favour of any specific prince and implores divine intercession against the bellicose actions of Vsevolod Olgovich. The litanic character of the phrase—the direct transcription of the Greek phrase into Slavonic script—accentuates the liturgified nature of the invocation. The use of the phrase clearly emulates traditional Byzantine chants of "Kyrie eleison" before and during combat.[677] The chanting of "Kyrie eleison" accentuates the ritual character of the moment of deliverance by making evident God's plan for both princes and their subjects. The account of the 1151 battle at the Rut' (or Rutets) River includes a series of ritualised acts on both sides of the battlefield. Iurii Vladimirich arrives with his allies attended by drums and trumpets, Andrei Iurevich is saved from death—through the intercession of God and the Mother of God—when his helmet falls off during battle, and Iziaslav Mstislavich is saved—having been struck on the head—by the intervention of a sign (a *panteleimon*)[678] by which he is recognised as a prince:

> "Азъ Изяслав есмь, князь вашь," и сня съ себе шелом и позна и. И то слышавше мнози, и всхытиша и руками своими, с радостью яко царя и князя своего. И тако възваша *кирелеисан* вси полци, радующеся полкы ратных победивше, а князя своего живого.[679]

Following this episode, the people cry "Kyrie eleison" and rejoice in their salvation and to the health of Iziaslav Mstislavich who was struck on the forehead and is wounded. The extended

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[676] *PSRL* **2, col. 320.**

[677] For example, the citizens of Thessalonica turned to St. Demetrios during the sieges of the 6th and 7th centuries and were instructed to shout *Kyrie eleison*: in the *Miracula Demetrii* (BHG, 516z-523), 187, 204-6 and 256. In the 10th century, nightly hymns, litanies, and the chanting of *Kyrie eleison* is prescribed before battle, see: Nicephorus, *Praecepta militaria*, (ed.) Iu. A. Kulakovsky, *Strategika imperatora Nikifora*, Zapiski imperatorskoi akademii nauk 8 (St. Petersburg: Imp. Ak. nauk, 1908), 20.22-21.3.

[678] Perhaps a reference to the intervention of St. Panteleimon, the 4th century Byzantine healer saint.

[679] *PSRL* **2, cols. 436-439.**

narrative of the Kievan Chronicle provides a providential reading for several key stages of the battle and promotes the divinely-inspired salvation of certain princes. The duplicitous Vladimir Davidovich is killed—an event that is described as traumatic for the dynasty—in battle, while Iziaslav Mstislavich and Andrei Iurevich are delivered by divine intervention. The chanting of "Kyrie eleison" further amplifies the rhetoric of divine intervention and follows a common medieval trope in both the Byzantine World and the kingdoms of the post-Roman world where the words are also directly translitterated from the Greek phrase into local languages.[680]

Prayers for the princes of Rus' during times of hostilities and war are often partisan in the chronicles of Rus', and identify the victor even before hostilities have commenced. Two types of examples were discussed above, those depicting divinely-inspired princes doing battle against pagans and those depicting princes fighting each other during the internecine conflict of the mid-12th century. Chronicle narratives contradict moral injunctions against violence,[681] such as monastic exhortations for princes and their subordinates to live in peace; instead violence is ritualised and liturgified and military victory—both over pagans and over other princes—is celebrated.

The iconography of intercession

In her study of Byzantine military saints in early Rus', Monica White determined that the application of saintly images on the seals of the princes of Rus' reveals the emergence of new forms of veneration focused on personal and family patrons instead of a defined group of holy warriors.[682] White examined the iconographies of military saints on the seals of the princes of Rus' and this discussion will not be revisited here. However, the ensuing examination suggests a nuance in the interpretation of the iconographies of princely seals; namely, that princely seals reflect both divine intercession on a military model and promote the martial values of the Riurikid dynasty in a ritualised form. The influence of Byzantine iconography is both undeniable and non-negligible;

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[680] For example, in the Old High German *Lugwigslied* composed after Louis III's (881) defeat of the Vikings at Saucourt describing how the Franks prepared for battle against the Northman: "Ioh alle saman sungen *Kyrrieleison*." in E. von Steinmeyer (ed.), *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1916), 86.47-8.

[681] For example, the *Pchela* in its chapter on princely rule gives a long definition, ascribed to Chrysostom, of the good ruler who is a moral arbiter and a philosopher-king, see: Makeeva, *Pchela*, 143.

[682] White, *Byzantine Military Saints*, 111-121, esp. 112.

however, there are salient differences between the representation of military saints on Byzantine imperial seals and those of Rus'.[683]

Much like the coins of the early princes of Rus', princely seals include personal saints and Riurikid trappings of power. This was particularly evident for the coins of Iaroslav Vladimirich, which bore the princely emblem on the obverse and associated the prince with the representation of St. George in Byzantine military attire and bearing a spear.[684] Byzantine emperors did not normally associate themselves with military saints on their coins; however, they often did on their seals.[685] One known seal attributed to Iaroslav Vladimirich features on the obverse a bust of St. George clad in armour, holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand, which follows the depiction of the saint on his coins.[686]

Princely association with military saints—probably bearing the baptismal name of the princes who issued them—is extremely common on seals. V. L. Ianin identified three categories of princely seals—all bearing images of saints—and determined the periods during which they circulated. The three types of seals were those of the archaic tradition (10th to the final quarter of the 11th centuries), those with Greek inscriptions (mid-11th to the early 12th century), and those with images of two saintly figures (11th to 13th centuries).[687] Furthermore, there was probably no precise time when a given type of seal came into or went out of use, and it is very likely that a range of types was in circulation in any one period. There are also other types of seals that may have belonged to princes, but remain uncatagorised since it is impossible to determine the identity of the depicted figure, and the inscription is illegible.

The portraits of the Byzantine military saints on Rus' seals are nearly identical to those featured on a number of contemporary Byzantine imperial seals, such as those of John Komnenos (father of Alexios I), which features a figure identified as St. George and a portrait of the emperor.[688] On seals from Rus', it appears that princes were identified by the military saint depicted. In the Byzantine

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[683] See: **figs. XVI-XXIII**. The presence of Byzantine seals and their influence on their Rus' counterparts is discussed in: H. Ivakin, N. Khrapunov, and W. Seibt (eds.), *Byzantine and Rus' Seals. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Rus'-Byzantine Sigillography* (Kiev: Sheremetievs' Museum, 2015), esp. 221-231 and 245-263.

[684] See: **fig. IV**. See also: Sotnikova and Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie drevneishikh monet Rossii*, figs. 222-227.

[685] See: J.-C. Cheynet, "Par Saint Georges, Par Saint Michel," *TM* 14 (2002): 115-134.

[686] See: **fig. XX**.

[687] See: Ianin, *Aktovye pechati*, vol. 1, 33, 41, 87.

[688] See: G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 (Bern: J. J. Augustin, 1972-1985), 70-73, figs. 77-80; Ianin and Gaidukov, *Aktovye pechati*, vol. 3, 259, no. 2a.

context, emperors were depicted alongside or on the reverse of saintly warriors.[689] Association between emperors and military saints is particularly evident in the Middle Byzantine period when Komnenian emperors begin to appear on coins dressed in military attire and brandishing weapons.[690] The emperor in military attire with his sword drawn appears on Byzantine coins from the reign of Isaac I Komnenos (1057-1059).[691] Michael Psellos in his *Chronographia* described Isaac Komnenos as a shrewd military leader desirous of revolutionising the Byzantine empire;[692] he was the founder of the Komnenian dynasty and was the first emperor to issue coins with legends entirely in Greek with his family name as part of the imperial titulature. Since Isaac Komnenos attained the imperial rank through a military coup, it is possible that he wanted to insist on the martial aspect of his rule and the emperor's role as military leader and protector of the empire, and he issued coins promoting this rhetoric.[693] The representation of the emperor in military attire and with his sword drawn associated with a military saint in armour and bearing arms, articulates divinely-inspired rulership while legitimating martial authority.

Warrior figures articulate intercession while ritualising the military actions and martial legitimacy of the emperor as a leader of armies, and as a warrior himself. The iconography of a seal belonging to Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203)—grandson of Alexios I Komnenos—encompasses this ideology by depicting SS George and Demetrios stretching out their hands toward the Mother of God who holds a shield bearing an image of Christ Emmanuel.[694] The visual rhetoric of the military saints accompanied by the emperor in the military attire on seals (and coins), reflects a ritual pattern of iconic warfare in the form of the emperor as a warrior assisted by a holy army that includes not only military saints, but also Christ and the Mother of God.[695]

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[689] See: **figs. XXII and XXIII**.

[690] P. L. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843-1261)* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 104-117. For a chronology of warrior saints as imperial patrons.

[691] **Fig. XXII**. The seal of Isaac Komnenos; gold *histamenon* of Isaac Komnenos. See: Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, pl. 52.918, 919.

[692] Michael Psellos, *Chronographie*, (ed. and trans.) É. Renault, *Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976-107)* (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1932), 51.

[693] Tiberius III had been the last emperor to issue coins featuring the sword and Constantine IX Monomachos' class 4 *histamenon* (1054/55) and his *miliaresion* (1042–55) featured the imperial sword. See: Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 200.

[694] V. P. Stepanenko, "Bogomater' Nikopeia i sviatye voiny'," in *Preslavka knizhovna shola* (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo 'Prof. Marin Drinov', 1995), 44.

[695] Between mid-9th to late 12th centuries, the iconographic seals of reigning emperors used a restricted array of images of Christ, the Mother of God, or the Mother of God with the infant Christ, the most popular being the Mother of God, see: Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1, 50-99, nos. 57-109.

The iconographic patterns for Rus' seals differ from the Byzantine practice in their consistent association of princes with their own patron saints and those of their forefathers.[696] Byzantine imperial seals with depictions of the emperor and military saints did not reflect association through patronage or a system of baptismal names, rather the visual rhetoric of martial figures was demonstrative of an ideological shift towards rule based on military prowess in the Middle Byzantine period.[697] Similarities exist in the function of the visual rhetoric of association between temporal rulers and saintly figures on Byzantine and Rus' seals, particularly in the conveyance of military might as a principal source for political authority. Saintly figures could act as intercessors, and military saints associated with those who ruled by military might demonstrated the iconographic and, by extension, political emphasis on victory as legitimising political authority.

As in Rus', the built landscape of Constantinople reflected a predilection for the cult of the Mother of God;[698] however, by the end of the 12th century—besides the Mangana—there were at least nine churches in Constantinople dedicated to St. George, several sanctuaries dedicated to St. Theodore, and two churches dedicated to St. Demetrios founded in the 12th century.[699] The cult of the military saints in Constantinople appears to have continued from the Late Antique tradition, but increased in prominence in the Middle Byzantine period under the Komnenian Dynasty.[700] Churches dedicated to military saints are known from Kiev (Map I), but it is after the political changes of the mid-12th to early 13th centuries and the emergence of Vladimir-Suzdal' as a principality rivalling Kiev, that the divine intercession of military saints becomes a primary referent for depictions of ritualised rulership.

It is possible that the military might of Iurii Vladimirich as well as his close connection with the Byzantine Empire in the 1140s—Iurii was allied with Vladimirko of Galich and Manuel I Komenos against Géza II of Hungary and Iziaslav Mstislavich—initiated the process of cultural production with an emphasis on ritualised warfare.[701] Andrei Iurevich continued his father's cultural oeuvre and adopted and developed Kievan traditions, which included the veneration of SS Boris and Gleb and the military saints; the introduction of the feast day honouring the Intercession (Pokrov)—Andrei

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[696] White, *Byzantine Military Saints*, 117.

[697] See: Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, ch.3.

[698] See remarks of: B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 82-93.

[699] Ianin, *Aktovye pechati*, 69-70, 76-78, 150-154, and 89-94.

[700] Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints*, 121-123.

[701] See: V. T. Pashuto, *Vneshniaia politika drevnei Rusi* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), 186-201.

brought the Byzantine icon of the Mother of God from Vyshgorod to Vladimir—to expand the cult of the Mother of God in Vladimir-Suzdal', and promoted the cult of the Saviour through the establishment of another feast day and the building of at least two churches.[702]

It is believed that Vsevolod Iurevich was exiled at the Byzantine court in Thessaloniki with his mother and siblings on the orders of Andrei Iurevich after Iuri Vladimirich's death in 1157.[703] The Tipografskaia Chronicle (based on the older recension of the Synodal manuscript) recounts that the princes of Rus' and their mother were received by Manuel I Komnenos in 1162:

> Мстислав же и Василко съ материю и Всеволода молодово брата своего пояша съ собою третияго и идоша къ Царюгралу. И дасть царь Василкови с братомъ в Дунаи 4 городы, а Мстиславу дасть волость оть Скалана.[704]

John Kinnamos, the Byzantine historian covering the period of 1118-1176 (the reigns of John II and Manuel I), corroborates the account provided by the Slavonic narrative. Kinnamos' history mentions the arrival, three years later (1165), of an unknown prince from Rus' who receives the territory that had previously been gifted to the "son of George (Iurii)":

> κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Βλαδίσθλαβος, εἷς ὢν τῶν ἐν Ταυροσκυθικῇ δυναστῶν, σὺν παισί τε καὶ γυναικὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει τε τῇ πάσῃ αὐτόμολος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἦλθε, χώρα τε αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον δεδώρηται, ἣν δὴ καὶ Βασιλίκα πρότερον τῷ Γεωργίου παιδί, ὃς τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῶν ἐν Ταυροσκυθικῇ φυλάρχων εἶχε, προσελθόντι βασιλεὺς ἔδωκε.[705]

Vsevolod's return to Rus' either took place in 1170 according to the Kievan Chronicle, or after 1174 according to the younger recension of the *NPL* (the Commission manuscript of the mid-15th century). The Kievan Chronicle states that in the third year following the death of Andrei Iurevich (1177), Andrei's half-brother, Vsevolod, "called Dmitrii Iurevich in baptism", arrived from Thessaloniki.[706] It is possible that Vsevolod assimilated Byzantine ideas and cultural norms during his Byzantine exile and that the culture of late 12th and early 13th century Vladimir-Suzdal' was largely influenced by Vsevolod's experience of Middle Byzantine culture.

There are several historical artefacts that reflect a Byzantine cultural influence in Vladimir-Suzdal' during Vsevolod's reign. Monica White has examined the introduction of the name

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[702] See: White, *Byzantine Military Saints*, 177-179; and Iu. V. Krivosheev, *Gibel' Andreia Bogoliubskogo: Istoricheskoe rassledovanie* (St. Petersburg: Izdalel'skii dom S.-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2003).

[703] See: A. Kazhdan, "Rus'-Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *HUS* 12-13 (1988-1989): 414-429.

[704] *PSRL* 24, col. 77.

[705] **Kinnamos, *Historiarum*, (Bonn), 236-37.** This "Vladislav" is not known from Rusian chronicles and it is possible that the name is a combination of common Slavonic names. See: M. M. Freidenberg, "Trud Ioanna Kinnama kak istoricheskii istochnik," *VV* 16 (1959): 29-51, esp. 42.

[706] Fr. *PSRL* 2, col. 543 and *NPL*, col. 468.

Konstantin into the Riurikid naming system.[707] It may be notable that Vsevolod named his son Konstantin (born 1186) since that name had only appeared once before, as the baptismal name of Mstislav Vladimirich (Prince of Chernigov, 1024-1035), and had never appeared in the general Riurikid naming system. The name again appeared in 1130s when Iurii Vladimirich founded a town named Ksniatin in his patrimony of Vladimir-Suzdal'.[708] White agrees with Uspenskii and Litvina that Vsevolod's introduction of the name Constantine was most likely a general reference to his Byzantine culture rather than a specific reference to a Byzantine emperor, in this case, either Constantine I (a reference to the Christianisation) or Constantine IX Monomachos (a reference to the connection between the Riurikids and Byzantium).[709] White also discusses the possibility that Vsevolod brought the *ciborium* or 'grave covering' of St. Demetrios from Thessaloniki to Rus', an event which is recorded in the Laurentian Chronicle.[710]

Vsevolod's patron saint, St. Demetrios of Thessaloniki, a Byzantine military saint, is portrayed as a warrior unsheathing his sword on Vsevolod's seals.[711] Vsevolod dedicated his grand cathedral church to St. Demetrios. Founded between 1193 and 1197, the iconography of the church of St. Demetrios reflected, according to Vagner, the tastes of Prince Vsevolod due to the coherent theme exploring different facets of rulership incarnated by the biblical, martial, mythological, and historical rulers represented on the church's façade.[712] William Brumfield writes: "In view of the austerity of sculpted ornament on Vsevolod's earlier churches…the profusion of stone sculpture for his palace church, dedicated to St. Demetrios of Salonika, must be attributed to its role as a statement of princely authority."[713] The church of St. Demetrios features a series of sculptural icons

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[707] M. White, "Veneration of St Constantine in pre-Mongol Rus," in D. Bojović (ed.), *Sveti car Konstantin i hrišćanstvo. Tom II: Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 1700. godišnjice Milanskog edikta, 31. maj-2. jun 2013* (Niš: Centar za crkvene studije, 2013), 351-362.

[708] White, "Veneration of St Constantine in pre-Mongol Rus," 354.

[709] White, "Veneration of St Constantine in pre-Mongol Rus," 355; and A. F. Litvina and F. B. Uspenskii, *Vybor imeni u russkikh kniazei v X-XVI vv.* (Moscow: Indrik, 2006), 149.

[710] The Laurentian Chronicle recounts: принесена [бысть] дска из Селуня, гробная святаго Дмитрия [...] и принес доску гробную из Селуня святого мученика Дмитрия. мюро непрестанно точащю на здраве немощных в тои церкви постави. и сорочку тогоже мученика ту же положи. (**PSRL 1, cols. 414 and 437**); see: M. White, "The 'Grave Covering' of St Demetrios between Byzantine and Rus," in *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe*, (eds.) H. T. Antonsson and I. H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 95-114.

[711] Ianin, *Aktovye pechati*, vol. 1, 208, nos. 211 and 212.

[712] G. K. Vagner, *Skul'ptura Vladimiro-suzdal'skoi Rusi: g. Iur'ev-Pol'skoi* (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 44-45.

[713] Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture*, 52.

that suggests a melange of Romanesque, Middle Byzantine, and Northern European[714] influences with highly stylised sculptural elements, featuring martial themes that promote Vsevolod's military prowess and divinely-ordained authority.[715]

The church of St. Demetrios offers several examples of martial authority: a row of twelve haloed riders, some brandishing swords, decorates the south and west façades.[716] It is of interest to note that SS Boris and Gleb join the ranks of the warrior-saints. They are portrayed holding crosses on the north façade, and riding horses into battle along with other saints on the south and west façades.[717] The inclusion of Boris and Gleb riding into battle on Vsevolod's frieze further illuminates the emphasis on SS Boris and Gleb in Suzdal' in 13th century, and the elaboration of their cult as uniting feature for the Riurikid clan.[718] A unique feature of the iconography of the façade is the inclusion of a representation of Vsevolod enthroned on a cushioned settle with his sons (north façade, left bay), one of whom he holds in his lap.[719] The sculpture depicting the founder has been interpreted as a veterotestamentary evocation of the ruler styled as the founder of a new dynasty.[720] The western façade of the church features veterotestamentary kings: King David with his harp (the warrior, musician, poet, and ancestor of Jesus)[721] and King Solomon (the law-giver, poet, and builder of the Temple).[722] The depiction of King David is a dominant element of the church. King David is represented enthroned with his right hand raised in blessing and his left holding his harp. The aspect of King David as the divinely appointed king of Judah who defeated his enemies and thus united the various factions within his kingdom is perhaps a corollary to the

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[714] The teratological decoration (interlaced pattern featuring fantastic animal heads) is a Northern European design-motif. See: Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, 458.

[715] See: A. I. Skvortsov, *Khudozhestvennaia kul'tura X-pervoi poloviny XIII v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1988), 307-29, 316-23.

[716] See: **figs. XLVI**. M. Gladkaia, *Rel'efy dmitrievskogo sobora vo Vladimire. Opyt kompleksnogo issledovaniia* (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 144-59; and White, *Military Saints*, 187-189.

[717] White, *Military Saints*, 191.

[718] White, *Military Saints*, 192. The cult of SS Boris and Gleb was promoted from the time of Iurii Vladimirich who founded a new Vyshgorod at Kideshka (pg. 178, note 36), and continued into the 13th century at Iurev-Polskoi, see: Vagner, *Skul'ptura Vladimiro-suzdal'skoi Rusi*, 76-77.

[719] See: **fig. XLV**. The five sons have been identified as: Konstantin, Georgii, Iaroslav, Vladimir, and Sviatoslav. Vagner suggests that the son on Vsevolod's knee would be the youngest (Sviatoslav), born during the construction of the cathedral. Voronin disagreed, stating that the figure was Vladimir because his baptismal name was Dimitrii (as was Vsevolod's), see: N. N. Voronin, *Zodchestvo severno-vostochnoi Rusi XII-XV vekov* (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1961-2), vol.1, 436.

[720] Kämpfer, *Das Russische Herrscherbild*, 128, 130-132, fig. 69; and Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture*, 52-6.

[721] Compare examples in **fig. XLIII**.

[722] Discussion of iconographic significance of image of King David, see: Vagner, *Skul'ptura drevnei Rusi*, 130-134.

oeuvre of Andrei Iurevich and to the struggle for power over Suzdal' that marked the period following his assassination in 1174.[723]

The Ascension of Alexander (south façade, right bay) and the deeds of Hercules embody Vsevolod's political and military ambitions.[724] Both iconographies communicate sacred rulership and symbolise the apotheosis of royal and imperial power through its proximity to and association with the supreme authority of Christ (western façade). The sculptural icon depicting the 'Ascent of Alexander' shown frontally in a two-wheeled chariot, holding meat in each hand for the griffons drawing the chariot is a representation of the martial ruler's apotheosis. As André Grabar has noted, this scene is similar to the 13th century carvings on the western façade of St. Mark's cathedral in Venice,[725] and was a well-known scene in Byzantine art[726] and letters.[727]

The Byzantine iconographic tradition reflected the rhetorical commonplaces of ritualised rulership with depictions of religious, legendary, and historical figures such as King David, Alexander the Great, and Constantine I. The resemblance of the Byzantine emperor to these figures was a basic theme in Byzantine panegyric and political thought, wherein the emperor was eulogised as an ideal Christian ruler and God's representative on earth.[728] The comparison of the emperor with veterotestamentary kings, legendary heros, and quasi-legendary emperors reflects both a moral and

[723] For example, Bogoliubskii's chuch of the Divine Intercession. See: Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture*, 45-51.

[724] D. Wörn, "Studien zur Herrschaftsideologie des Großfürsten Vsevolod III. "Bolshoe gnezdo" von Vladimir (1176-1212): Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der historiograhischen und künstlerischen Formen der Herrscherverherrlichung im russischen Hochmittelalter," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 27.1 (1979): 1-40, esp. 39.

[725] Compare **figs. XLVII-XLIX**. O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, DC: DOP, 1960), 111. The narthex and new façade were constructed during the 13th century, which was a period of *renovatio* when the ideal of the *Imperium Romanum* was promoted. The sculptural decoration of the façades appears to have been imported from elsewhere, perhaps *spolia* imported from Byzantium after the Iconoclast period, see: reliefs of the Palaia Metropolis of Athens, J. Ebersolt, *Monuments d'architecture byzantine* (Paris: Les Éditions d'art et d'histoire, 1934), 59, 168, pl. 20.

[726] All of the examples of this scene date from the Middle Byzantine period, see: E. Choche de la Ferté on the background of the iconography of the scene, "Sur quelques bagues byzantines de la Collection Stathatos," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 2 (1956): 72-81, esp. 76; A. Bank, "Une bulle de plomb avec l'image de l'ascension d'Alexandre le Grand," *Trudy* 3 (1940): 181-194, figs. 1-2; A. Grabar, "Le succès des arts orientaux à la cour byzantine sous les Macédoniens," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3.2 (1951): 32-60, figs. 10b-c; and G. Supka, "Beiträge zur Darstellung der Luftfahrt Alexanders des Grossen," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 24 (1911): 307-314, fig. 1.

[727] The *Alexander Romance* was probably known in Rus' by the mid-12th century through what Istrin referred to as the *Iudeiskii Khronograf*, which included certain books from John Malalas (up to the beginnings of Roman History, excluding Book 3), the *Alexander Romance*, the treatise on the Brahmans by Palladius, and Josephus' *Jewish War*. The earliest compendium extant dates to the mid-13th century, but is thought to have been compiled earlier from sources that had already been translated to Slavonic. See: V. M. Istrin, *Aleksandriia russkikh khronografov*, (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, [1893] 1985), 351-353; O. V. Tvorogov, *Drevnerusskie Khronografy*, (Leningrad: Nauka, 1975), 16-17; and S. Franklin, "Malalas in Slavonic," *Byantium-Rus-Russia: Studies in the translation of Christian culture* (Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, [1990] 2002), 276-287, esp. 278.

[728] Dennis, "Imperial Panegyric: Rhetoric and Reality," 131-141.

a political legitimacy, such as piety to avert divine anger, zeal for orthodoxy, philanthropy, and military success. George Dennis has noted that Late Antique praise rhetoric focussed on peace, justice, and love of orthodoxy; but that towards the 10th century, military exploits and the emperor both as warrior and supplicant became increasingly common *topoi*.[729] Theological orthodoxy found its expression largely in the divine liturgy and was thus made known to the faithful. Political orthodoxy—articulated by a literary elite—incorporated theological motifs along with imperial, consular, and civic ideals and communicated them through rhetoric, both through textual and iconographic representation.[730]

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Both the chronicles of Rus' and the edifactory literature of Rus' contain discourses on rulership based on a Byzantine ideal. However, without the inheritance of Late Antique ideological artefacts, the Rus' inherited pre-Christian ideals of rulership through references in translated Christian literature.[731] An antinomy becomes apparent between Byzantine ideal rulership and local practices. The portrayal of the acts and deeds of princes—the discourse of the *Pouchenie* along with the ritual enthronement and depiction of the succession configurations of Rus'—provides an alternate image of princely rule, one based on the practicalities of rulership, on personal interactions, and on collective action. Edificatory literature focusses on iconic rulership based on Byzantine ideals,[732] charity, piety, and the submission of the prince to divine will. War and military might are never evoked as the signifiers of legitimacy and authority;[733] however, these are represented as practical modes of rulership. The chronicles of Rus' offer many examples attesting to the military prowess and might of princes as the principal means of imposing their rule, in enforcing succession principles or contravening them, and in creating consensus around their rule.

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[729] For example, Arethas the Deacon for Leo VI in the 10th century, Theophylaktos for Alexios I in the 11th century, and Manuel Holobolos for Michael VIII Palaiologos in the 13th century all promote the image of the emperor as military leader. Dennis, "Imperial Panegyric," 139-140.

[730] See: A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 1-15.

[731] For example, Agapetus' treatise on ideal rulership in the *Pchela*, see: Ševčenko, "A neglected Byzantine source," 142-143.

[732] Cyril of Turov made use of Barlaam and Joasaph in address to Basil Abbot of the Caves Monastery, which contained a short 6th century treatise on ideal kingship presented to Justinian I by Agapetus. The reference describes the ideal prince as adorned with a "wreath of wisdom" and adorned with the "purple robe of justice". See: Ševčenko, "A neglected Byzantine source," 148-150. The same reference to the "wreath" and the "purple robes" is ascribed to Rostislav Mstislavich in his epitaph in the Kievan Chronicle, see: *PSRL* 2, col. 530-531.

[733] J. Haldon, Warfare, *State and Society in the Byzantine World 565-1204* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 15-17.

Within this paradigm, the evocation of divine intercession juxtaposes heavenly occurrences onto the earthly court.[734] The protocol of the heavenly court created an eternal archetype, placing earthly events into a providential framework. Chroniclers in Rus' provided narrative strategies in order to convey divine intercession as a means of describing princely actions as righteous, while ritualising behaviours ideologically opposed to the depictions of hieratic rulership that dominate edificatory literature and occasionally appear in the chronicles. However, princes were also implicated in articulating iconic rulership with a military ideal. Princely patronage in Rus' made visible divine protection and intercession. Depictions of military saints on Rus' seals and coins gave symbolic expression to intercession along with the military ideal of rulership, and the iconographies of the churches of Vladimir-Suzdal'—founded after Vsevolod Iurevich's Byzantine exile—offer a definite commentary on the political order and give visual definition to the multiple sources of iconic rulership with emphasis on the prince as defender of orthodoxy (both spiritual and political) through his military might.[735] Such foundations also conveyed the real authority and power of princes by offering a tangible reminder of social and economic stimulus.[736]

The narrative sources of Rus' fix warfare and conflict in the rhetoric of divine providence. The maintenance of political order through superior military might is ritualised, expressing both the fact of Christian soteriology that rulers were subject to God and that rulers were elevated to a place of greater proximity to intercessors. Intercession implying the existence of a unified moral community whose ideals were defined by its rituals, projected the image of immutable princely authority when it was called into question.

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[734] Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," in *idem*., 258-259.

[735] See: T. F. X. Noble, "Topography, Celebration, and Power: The Making of a Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," in De Jong and Theuws, 45-91.

[736] See: P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 82-84.

CONCLUSION

Rituals and Constitutive Power in Early Rus'

Paul Veyne posed the premises for evaluating whether or not the Ancient Greeks believed their own myths, the tales of their gods and deities.[737] Veyne stated that belief can have a multitude of meanings and that these meanings can proliferate based on changing and evolving conditions. Veyne focusses on the notion of a "rhetorical truth" expressing certain norms on a literary plane that are not subject to the test of historicising criteria. The majority of the civic ceremonies of the Ancient Greeks derived from their descent myths reinforcing the notion of "antiquity", which extends the legitimacy of rulership to a mythical past bolstering the permanence of its contemporary representation.

To a certain extent, the chronicles of Rus' defy historicising criteria, in spite of their form as annals. Information about events—sometimes even the events themselves—appear as a form of "rhetorical truth" inspired by literary convention or etiquette.[738] Ritual and ceremony in the chronicles of Rus' exist both as the context for actions and events and as themes for correctly depicting princes and the nature of their rule, according to both the autochthonous and imported cultural landscapes of Rus'. An examination of chronicle passages yields another set of questions that alights upon the following problem: to what extent are these texts descriptive—representing local formations and manifestations of princely social and political authority—or prescriptive, representing a series of similar events ideated in accordance with a guiding set of principles? Elements of both "rhetorical truth" and historicity are conveyed by the intricately crafted texts of medieval literature that were produced by a culture of interpretation. In some cases, the presence of

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[737] P. Veyne, *Les Grecs, ont-ils cru à leurs mythes? Essai sur l'imagination constituante* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1983), 89-101.

[738] See: D. S. Likhachev, *Poetika drevnerusskoi literatury* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1967), 94-96.

a plurality of texts and other cultural artefacts (coins, miniatures, sculptures, etc.), allows the historian to stand on firmer ground.[739]

The role of religion and religious symbolism in medieval culture and in ceremonies and rituals engages several seemingly overlapping notions: the sacred,[740] the religious, the sacerdotal, and the ecclesiastical, all of which are manifested through text and the built landscape of the Middle Ages. This deconstruction of ritual into constituent concepts is defined by the anthropologist Edward Evans-Pritchard as a "segmentarist" logic, expressed through a system of distinct oppositions. Therefore, if the sacred sphere belongs to the clergy, the prince cannot enter into the sacred realm unless he is given access by delegates of the official Church. The performance or the "sacred display" (for example, in ceremonies of investiture) requires the tacit approval of the Church and, by extension, the clergy. In this way, interpenetration of the royal and the divine is permitted "contractually" between the prince and the Church.[741] Relevant to this line of argument, Alain Guéry examined the forms and articulation of sacred rulership in different social structures and monarchic cultures. According to Guéry, of the two major groups the largest consists of sacralised sovereigns some of whom can be described as "quasi-sacred" and are permitted to participate—metaphorically—in the sacred sphere through rituals and behaviours that elevate them beyond the realm of common humanity.[742]

The literature of Rus' represents the prince as an ideal ruler, since the chroniclers of Rus'—members of the clergy—integrated ideals of Christian rulership both to reflect and embellish local cultural practices. The notion of "local culture" is a false one in the case of Rus', as it is with great difficulty that the historian determines which of the concatenation of cultures that settled in Rus' was able to impose a cultural standard before the Christianisation and whether there was a dominant group—an elite—or whether "local culture" represents an agglomeration of the practices of diverse groups of people.[743] The representation of ritual in the chronicles of Rus' exists at the intersection of the locally-defined social and political environment of the Riurikid princes, and the conventions of ideal rulership inherited from the Post-Roman and Byzantine cultural spheres. The Christian authority and legitimacy of the princes of Rus' is reinforced in the conventional terms of medieval

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[739] P. Buc, *L'Antiquité tardive. Horizons de l'écriture médiévale des rituels,"* Annales 48.1 (1997): 63-92.

[740] See: A. Boureau and C.-S. Ingerflom (eds.), *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien* (Paris: EHESS,1992).

[741] See: E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 30-48.

[742] Boureau and Ingerflom (eds.), *La Royauté sacrée*, 14-15.

[743] See remarks: Shepard, "Rus'," 369-380.

rulership through the repetition of princely ritualised appearance, behaviour, and personality; demonstrations of the capacity to govern; glorification of generosity, magnanimity, and righteousness; and emphasis on humility and submission before God. Beyond rhetorical tropes, the repetition of ritual acts in the chronicles provides details about the governing principles of the political culture and political structure of Rus' in the absence of juristic texts delineating the powers of princes in and beyond their principalities. On these grounds, one can posit that cultural characteristics are as much facts as events are. From this perspective, the demonstrative nature of approval and opposition in medieval political culture, as evidenced through its texts, should not be explained solely as representative of symbolic action. Demonstrations of consensus, tension, disassociation, intercession, and commemoration were corollaries—analogical constructions—based on a specific religious *Weltanschauung*. In the chronicles of Rus', rituals constitute an ordered universe based on correct thinking and behaviour, and their religious referent delineates their interpretation.

In Spinoza's *Ethics*, kings participate in the sphere of the divine, he writes: "Vulgus per Dei potentiam intelligit Dei liberam voluntatem et ius in omnia quae sunt, quaeque propterea communiter ut contingentia considerantur.... Dei porro potentiam cum potentia regum saepissime comparant."[744] Ritual associates princely authority with the divine, as articulated by a series of analogies between the ruler and the biblical stories of veterotestamentary kings who incarnate the neotestamentary virtues of charity (toward subordinates), humility (before God), and the representation of the ruler as a saviour to his people (a leader in the Christian faith). Intercession on behalf of the prince, who maintained a link to the divine rhetorically, is manifested in the evocation of the Mother of God—whose cult was prominent throughout the Byzantine World—as intercessor.[745] Representations of saintly patronage in Rus' and Byzantium—often military saints reflecting the martial element to temporal rule—offered plastic depictions of rulers being crowned directly by the Mother of God or Christ and attended by a patron saint. This iconography was inherited from the Byzantine cultural sphere and reflected the transfer of the classical idea of victory personified aiding the ruler to the image of the Mother of God invested with salutary powers, whose divine sanction crowned victors.[746] The Rus' inherited this ideology and its symbols, which reflected the inward-facing cultural norms of the *Pouchenie* while endowing the military authority of the prince with a more venerable and providential aspect.

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[744] L. Spruit and P. Totaro (eds.), *The Vatican manuscript of Spinoza's Ethica* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 115.

[745] Cameron, "The Mother of God in Byzantium: Relics, Icons, Texts," in Brubaker and Cunningham, 1-9.

[746] Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 111, 116, 173-4, 8.

In medieval dialectics, rulership could be envisaged in a plurality of ways: as an "institution" within a monistic religious structure or as part of a duality, as a *potestas externa* standing outside the official Church.[747] The shared religious significance of ritual in textual sources constructs the rhetoric of unity while displaying a duality.[748] The religious referent of ritual conveys an authority's legitimacy or illegitimacy as an inferred fact that ignores the shaping and treatment of information according to rhetorical commonplaces as well as the strategies that led to the recording of an event with amplifications. From this perspective, chroniclers, rather than events, measure secular power and legitimacy. Such considerations shaped this study and introduced a broader conception for political action beyond that recorded in historicising annalistic literature, and delved into the examination of whether or not the representation of ritual was meant to provide instruction regarding types of governing modes to be kept off limits, while promoting particular modes.

In Rus', the elementary structure of ritual as represented in the chronicles remains circumscribed with few exceptions and rituals are performed with minor narrative variations throughout the Pre-Mongol period. The dynastic system that developed in Rus' appears to have focussed political authority around the princes of the Riurikid dynasty who exercised sole authority over the principalities of Rus' and are almost solely implicated in ritual acts.[749] A strong parallel can be made between the representation of the emergence and exercise of princely rule in early Rus' (in the *PVL* and the Kievan Chronicle) and that of the Merovingian kings who, in Gerd Althoff's view, made fairly limited use of ceremonial and rituals involving other social actors in their exercise of power.[750] The Merovingian elite and magnates appear to have played a minor role in rituals of power and are represented as passive and without strong interaction with the Merovingian kings.[751] Similarly in early Rus', the representation of most ritual acts—such as enthronements, oath-takings, and even rituals of commensality—and references to social actors beyond the princes and their direct allies are sparse. The evidence from the chronicles of Rus' suggests that the role of these elites and, to some extent, the role of the clergy, was that of a viewing public to ceremonial undertakings that exclusively involved the Riurikid princes of Rus'.

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[747] See: K. F. Morrison, *The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); and G. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

[748] See: M. Bloch, "Symbols, song, dance and features of articulation: Is Religion an extreme form of traditional authority?," *Journal of Sociology* 15.1 (1974): 54-81.

[749] Shepard, "Rus'," 369.

[750] A further parallel can be drawn between Rus' and emergent societies in the early medieval West in the post-Roman period as it integrated Roman and Christian ritual practices while maintaining autochthonous practices. See: Y. Hen, *Roman Barbarians: The Royal Court and Culture and the Early Medieval West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

[751] Althoff, *Macht der Rituale*, 32-38.

The discourse of the chronicles of early Rus' places a high value on the building of consensus between princes both during and after a period of political transgression and conflict. However, the context for ritual action also suggests that social actors cheated and manipulated what Althoff calls the "rules by which one plays politics", as suggested by the breaking of oaths made by "kissing the Cross".[752] The principle of consensus expressing and generating social cohesion in the chronicles of Rus' is a representation based on the cultural or political motivations of those who produced texts. Beyond the realm of text and image, the reality of economic and social resources that might have constituted the power of the princes of Rus' are beyond our ken.

Elements of a shared ritual discourse common to members of the ruling elite in the form of enthronement, itinerancy, and promissory oath-taking, reflect a tension between theory (hieratic notions of Byzantine rulership based on the inheritance of Antique types) and practice (constitutive seating or maintaining face-to-face relations based, by analogy, on types of rulership exercised in the Viking and Germanic worlds). Ritual did not strengthen weak political structures by providing them with cohesion and purpose. On the contrary, the rituals of association and consensus describe a mixed heritage of symbol and practice that changed and evolved over time, sometimes focussing on internal notions of political power (in the *Pouchenie* or through representations of the seated ruler) and at others, integrating external symbols of power (as those represented on the façade of St. Demetrios at Vladimir) and endowing local practices with elite foreign symbols of rule (as on coins and seals). Modes of ritual representation changed over time based on economic and political contexts, social imperatives, or proximity and contact with other cultures. Rituals in early Rus' reflected currents—they did not create them. Rituals gave both the impression of sempiternity and the dynamism of political reality. They conveyed notions of rulership, and served as both a measure of social development, and a test of political authority.

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[752] Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter*, 98-127.

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