

**Khrystyna MERENIUK**

*magister of history*

*Ivan Franko National University of Lviv*

## **“TOURNAMENTS” AND “GAMES” IN RUS` : - TRADITION OR SINGLE MENTIONS?**

*Well, we can say that the tournament culture in Rus` has been known since the XII century. Early fights of the X-XI centuries in their content are classic judicial combats. We are talking about fights in 993 and 1022. However, since the middle XII century, we can talk about the spread of games among the Rus` elite. Thus, Hypatian chronicles periodically pay attention to the tactics of Rus` military elites and some of the chronicle descriptions can be qualified as mentions of mounted shock combat - a tactical and technical method of cavalry attack, in which horsemen strike with spears strictly horizontally. This type of combats was characteristic of the participants of the tournament called joust. In 1151, the Hypatian Chronicle described the mounted shock combat of hostile dukes on the enemy's battle formations. It has been proven that it is quite difficult to "break" a spear that was not intended for a ram strike in the saddle. In addition, it was found that the counterpart of the horse type "destrier" – trained in joust, in Rus` was probably the chronicle "фарт". The latter is mentioned under 1150 in the chronicle. A generally accepted example of the tournament of 1245 is a description of the classic European hastilude. It is not surprising that the chronicler calls this battle "изпа", because in fact, this type is interpreted literally as a game with spears. In Rus`, "изпamu" were actually called different types of Western European tournaments. We are talking about equestrian competitions in general, but there were also hiking fencing. We see that Rus` can distinguish acquaintance with the exact types of tournament competitions, including combat on foot, joust, hastiludium and even the usual city tournaments in Europe. In addition, as in Europe, in the selected plots of the chronicle, we can divide into types of tournaments, taking into account the criterion of combat safety. Most of the fights belonged to the "Jousts 'a Outrance", or "Justes Martelels et` a Champ", – deadly combats, but there also were common fights for pleasure, for example event under 1150: the main purpose of which was to share experiences.*

**Key words:** *"tournament", "games", "discussion", "Rus`", "influence of Europe".*

Entertainment of the medieval Rus` nobility is an almost unexplored aspect that needs additional coverage. In this context, a few chronicle mentions about the fights should attract our attention. In this regard, the pivotal task of

Ukrainian medieval studies includes revealing the contradictory image of the Rus' elite entertainment in the chronicle. In addition, the key mystery in the field of entertainment in Rus' is the existence of tournament competitions, as an analogue of those held in Europe at that time. Most historians briefly mention the social and domestic component of the Rus' warrior, without focusing on the main points of becoming a knight-warrior, that is: the culture of education, life, entertainment and numerous trainings of the military elite. It is clear that the Rus' army needed constant military training to resist influential armies then. In Europe, these trainings were adored with a kind of knightly competitions – tournaments. There are so many types of the latter, so discussions on the identification of certain types are still conducted in Western European scientific circles<sup>1</sup>. But it is clear that Rus' people could not harden their military power only in open wars. Thus, an acquaintance with the chivalrous culture of Rus is confirmed by numerous studies of Ukrainian historians.

From the historiographical perspective, the tournament culture is briefly mentioned in the works of Mykola Kotlyar<sup>2</sup>, some mentions are contained in the investigations of Mykhaylo Hrushevsky<sup>3</sup>. Andriy Fedoruk devoted particular intelligence to the preconditions and course of the battle in Yaroslav in 1245.<sup>4</sup> Myroslav Voloshchuk analyzed the participants of the battle, created various prosopographic portraits of famous representatives of both sides by verifying different origins.<sup>5</sup> Illia Parshyn analyzed the duel between duke Rostyslav Mykhailovych and the knight Orsha, which took place on the eve of the battle in Yaroslav in 1245<sup>6</sup>. This ideological construction does not deny the fact that the “game”, namely the tournament really took place and is not a tendentious fiction. Thus, the main discussion attention of historians is focused on the tournament of 1245, in this regard, there are previous mentions of possible

<sup>1</sup> According to the accepted classification, the "tournament" consists of several varieties: jousts, melees, outrance, vesper and hastilude and others types. Barber Richard, Barker Juliet. *Tournaments: Joust, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*. (New York: Boydell Press, 1989), 240. Barker Juliet. *The Tournament in England, 1100-1400*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), 224. Cripps-Day, Francis Henry. *The history of the tournament in England and in France* (University of Toronto, 1918), 276. Discussions are held not only on the interpretation of certain types of competitions in the sources, but also on the writing of already accepted terms. for example how to write a joust or joust? The facts are all against the spelling joust The “o” is short by origin. The historical spelling of XIII. c. is just. Nevertheless, the pronunciation just (with long “a” as in soup) is recent and suggested by the spelling. Cripps-Day, Francis Henry. *The history of the tournament in England and in France*, 14,15.

<sup>2</sup> Микола Котляр. Княжа служба на Русі, (Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2009), 251.

<sup>3</sup> Михайло Грушевський. Історія України-Руси. Т. 3. (Київ: Наукова думка, 1993), 6.

<sup>4</sup> Андрій Федорук. Військова діяльність князя Данила Романовича в контексті мілітарного розвитку Центральної та Східної Європи XIII століття. *Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*. 12/6. (2014), 43–62.

<sup>5</sup> Мирослав Волощук. Просопографічні студії битви під Ярославом 17 серпня 1245 року. *Colloquia Russica*. Series 2. Т. 3 (2017), 103–122.

<sup>6</sup> Ілля Паршин. Поєдинок князя Ростислава Михайловича та рицаря Ворша – прелюдія до Ярославської битви 1245 року”. *Проблеми історії війн і військового мистецтва*. Вип. 2. (Львів, 2019), 145–157.

tournament competitions. Leontij Vojtovych proposed the idea that in Rus’ the children of boyars received the same system of training and education, as the European knights<sup>7</sup>.

The only source where probable tournaments are recorded is the Hypatian Chronicle. Regarding the generally accepted duel of 1245, the latter is mentioned in the third part of the chronicle under the name – the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle<sup>8</sup>.

As for the tradition of tournament matches in Rus’, there is an opinion that due to the influence of the knightly traditions of Western Europe in Galician-Volhynian State the rule of holding tournaments and matches has become established. M. Hrushevsky, recalling the vaguely prudent culture of Rus’ elite, believes that the mention of tournaments comes “only from Galicia”<sup>9</sup>. In particular, referring to the tradition of Rus’ tournaments, there is an opinion that due to impact of the knightly traditions of Western Europe in Galician-Volhynian state, the principle of holding battles and tournaments has been established<sup>10</sup>.

Hypatian chronicle mentioned the fact that in Rus’ people decided the fate of the battle referring to a duel between two warriors. Recalling the fights of those times, the chroniclers raised their authority<sup>11</sup>. A striking example of the duel between a Rus’ knight and a Pecheneg hero is described in the chronicle in 992 or 993<sup>12</sup>. Also, it should be mentioned that after the campaign against Khazars, Pechenegs invaded the Rus’ territory. „*Печенезѣ придоша по оной сторонѣ отъ Сулы; Володимерь же [поиде] противу имъ, и усрѣтѣ я на Трубеши над броду, кдѣ нынѣ Переяславль. И ста Володимерь на сей странѣ, а Печенѣзѣ на оной, и не смѣяху си на ону сторону, и они на сю сторону*”<sup>13</sup>.

When the parties did not dare to get closer to each other, crossing the river, it was agreed to determine the winner thanks to a duel of the best representatives from both sides<sup>14</sup>. Actually, such an initiative was proposed by the Pecheneg ruler: „*пусти ты свой мужь, а я свой, да ся борета; да аще твой мужь ударитъ моимъ, да не воюемься за три лѣта, и разийдошася раздно; аще ли нашъ мужь ударитъ вашимъ, да воюемъ за три лѣта*”<sup>15</sup>. After negotiations, Volodymyr returned to his camp to consult with his warriors: „*Нѣтуть ли такога мужа, иже бы ся ялъ с Печенѣжяниномъ братися?*”<sup>16</sup>. However, there was no

<sup>7</sup> Леонтій Войтович. *Лев Данилович, князь галицько-волинський (бл.1225–бл.1301)*. (Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип’якевича НАН України, 2014), 62.

<sup>8</sup> Ипатьевская летопись. *Полное собрание русских летописей*. Т. 2. (Санкт-Петербург: Типография М. А. Александрова, 1908), 800–805.

<sup>9</sup> Грушевський. *Історія України-Руси*. Т. 3, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Христина Меренюк, Соломія Меренюк. Традиція турнірних поєдинків у Європі та на Русі. *Феномен Європи: Державотворчі та інтеграційні процеси* (Львів: Левада, 2019), 14–21.

<sup>11</sup> Микола Котляр. *Княжа служба в Київській Русі*, 245.

<sup>12</sup> Христина Меренюк, Соломія Меренюк. Традиція, 18.

<sup>13</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 107.

<sup>14</sup> Христина Меренюк, Соломія Меренюк. Традиція, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 107.

<sup>16</sup> Там само, 107.

worthful candidate in the Rus' camp to oppose the Pecheneg fighter<sup>17</sup>. But, then in the morning a «man» came to Volodymyr and offered his son to take part in the duel, since he: „отъ дѣтства си своего нѣсть кто имъ ударилъ: единою бо ми сваряцю, оному же мнуцю кожу, и разгнѣвася на мя, преторже черевии руками”. So, it was decided to take this guy to the fight: „Князь же се слышавъ и радъ бысть, и посла по нь борзо, и приведоша и ко князю, и князь повѣда ему вся; сы же рече: «княже! не вѣдь, могу ли с него, да искусите мя: нѣтуть ли вола велика и силна?»”<sup>18</sup>

According to chronicles, the Rus' warrior was, indeed, courageous, brave and strong. The prince ordered to anger this volunteer for the sake of victory: he was teased with hot iron and an ox. When the Rus' warrior opposed the Pechenegs, the latter, according to the chronicler, laughed, because the Rus' warrior was of moderate height. And when they both came together in a duke, then: „удави Печенѣжинина в руку до смерти, и удари имъ о землю; и въскликоша Русь печенѣзѣ побѣдоша, а Русь погнаша по нихъ, сѣкущеѣ, и прогнаша ихъ”. As a result of this fight, the fate of the general battle between the opponents on the river Trubezh was decided: the Rus' warrior won the duel with the Pecheneg<sup>19</sup>. In Rus', in turn, for a long time there were a few legends about the glorious victory of the Rus' over the Pecheneg warrior<sup>20</sup>. Nameless Rus' knight in the chronicle, depending on the different regions of Ukraine in the XIX century, is called Kyrylo, then Mykyta<sup>21</sup>.

Another striking example of such a duel, which decided the fate of the war, is also recorded in the chronicles – the duel between the Rus' duke Mstyslav Volodymyrovych and the overlord of Kasog Rededja, which was held in 1022. As we can see, the Rus' elite was directly involved in such clashes. It is noticeable that the initiative does not come from the Rus' people, but from the Kasogs. „И рече Редедя къ Мъстиславу: “что ради губивъ дружину межи собою, но снидевъся бороться; да аще одолъешь ты, и возьмеша имѣние мое, и жену мою, и землю мою; аще ли азъ одолъю, то возму твое все”<sup>22</sup>. The chronicler emphasizes that the warriors did not fight with weapons, but in hand-to-hand combat: “не оружьемъ ся бѣвѣвъ, но боръбою”<sup>23</sup>. When the Rus' lord began to grow weary, Mstyslav promised the Mother of God to build a church in her honor in case of his victory. However, heavenly help was already on his side, so the duel ended in Mstyslav's victory, after which he forced the Kasogs to pay the tribute and acquired their land. From the analysis of this match, we can say that Mstyslav managed to defeat Rededja by deception. After all, the Rus' duke, as the chronicler says, “slaughtered” the Kasog prince, although the previous agreement included, in fact, a fight without weapons. However, one should probably not trust the chronicler's message about God's intercession, which is frankly hagiographic

<sup>17</sup> Христина Меренюк, Соломія Меренюк. Традиція, 18–19.

<sup>18</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 107.

<sup>19</sup> Там само, 108.

<sup>20</sup> Христина Меренюк, Соломія Меренюк. Традиція, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Микола Котляр. *Княжа служба в Київській Русі*, 246.

<sup>22</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 134.

<sup>23</sup> Там само, 134.

in its nature<sup>24</sup>.

The proposed chronicles should not be considered in terms of entertainment culture of the Middle Ages. Obviously, these fragments refer to well-known legal practice in Europe at that time – holding judicial combats. According to the rules, which in some places resembled a tournament, the details of the upcoming armed conflict were discussed in advance. The usual rule of God’s providence also was applicable. According to the rule, the fighter who won, as usual, had the protection of higher powers. A well-known example is the appointment of a court duel between Charles of Anjou and Pedro III of Aragon for the territory of Sicily. The battle was planned for 1283, near the city of Bordeaux, but due to improper coordination, it did not take place<sup>25</sup>.

As confirmation of the fact that the battle between Radedja and Mstyslav Volodymyrovych is a classic court duel, the battle with the participation of duke Gottfried of Lorraine is similar in its content. Guillaume of Tire († 1186). conveyed the details of the court battle: “*When he was lying down, the Duke [Gottfried] threw away the fragment of his sword and, seizing the sword of the outstretched enemy, summoned the princes and asked them to declare peace and save the wounded but wonderful man from a shameful death*”<sup>26</sup>. Having seized the enemy’s weapon, duke Gottfried, in fact, captured him, and therefore offered other princes to take care of the defeated. As we can see, there are almost no differences between the feat of Radedja and Gottfried of Lorraine. Thus, similar dueling traditions (of a legal nature) can be traced throughout Europe. Accordingly, knightly entertainment (in particular, tournaments) was widely known in Rus’<sup>27</sup>. Unique data has been preserved that the Polish ruler Boleslaw ordained the children of the Volyn boyars as knights around 1149: “*наса-ше Болеславъ снѣи болярскы мечемъ многы*”<sup>28</sup>. Accordingly, such a close acquaintance with Western ceremonies presupposed knowledge of European knightly competitions. The system of training and education, armaments, the opportunity to further make an administrative or political career were the same as in European knights<sup>29</sup>.

The message of the chronicle in 1150 is of exceptional importance to us, as it is a demonstration of the military skills of Hungarian soldiers under the walls of Yaroslav’s court, which was located within Kyiv. Actually, we are talking about tournaments, which were widely common in Europe. Parallel

<sup>24</sup> For example, we can mention the first king of Franks Clovis I, who also asked for protection from higher powers during the battle with the Alemanni promised to build a church in case of victory. As a result, he defeated his enemies, kept his word, and later converted to the Christian faith altogether.

<sup>25</sup> Jonathan Harris. *Byzantium and the Crusades*. (London: Hambledon, 2003), 104.

<sup>26</sup> Гийом Тирский. История деяний в заморских землях. Стасюлевич М. *История средних веков в ее писателях и исследования новейших ученых*. Т. 3. (Санкт-Петербург, 1887), 273–274.

<sup>27</sup> Христина Меренюк, Соломія Меренюк. Традиція, 14–21; Ілля Паршин. Поединок, 153.

<sup>28</sup> Іпатьєвська летопись, 386.

<sup>29</sup> Леонтій Войтович. *Лев Данилович, князь галицько-волинський (бл.1225–бл.1301)*. (Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип’якевича НАН України, 2014), 62; Владимир Гуцул. Таранний бой в средневековой Руси. *Colloquia Russica. Series I*. Т. 5. (2015), 199–211.

with this tournament, the German city records reveal whole series of regular jousts within the towns<sup>30</sup>.

The mounted shock combat is a way to show the military skills of Hungarian soldiers. Also, it was a mandatory element of one of the types of tournament competitions – joust. It seems that we are talking about official mentions of ram fighting, in the context of demonstrating the military skills of Hungarian warriors<sup>31</sup>. “...ИЗСЛАВЪ же ѿ стѣгоу Софьи поѣха и съ братьею на Ярославль двор и Оугры позва со собою на вбѣдѣ и Киѣны и ту обѣдавѣ с ними на велицеѣмъ дворѣ на Ярославли и пребыша оу велицеѣмъ весельи тогда же Оугре на фарехѣ и на скокохѣ играхуть ина Ярославли дворѣ многое множество Киѣны же дивахутса Оугромъ множеству и кметьства ихъ и комонем ихъ...”<sup>32</sup>. Thus, Rus’ chronicles sometimes pay attention to the tactics of military elites

Taking into account the criterion of battle safety, we can argue that this type of tournament fight belongs to the “Hastiludia pacific” or joust a plaisance – sport competitions, military training within the knightly etiquette. The main purpose of such battles is to demonstrate military skills, not death battles.

In 1151, the Hypatian Chronicle described the personal of hostile dukes on the enemy’s battle formations: “Андрѣи же Дюргевиѣ възма копье и гѣха на передѣ . и съгхаса переже всихѣ . и изломи копье свое тогда бодоша конь под нимъ в ноздри конь же нача соватисѣ под нимъ . и шелома спаде с него и щитъ на на немъ вторгоша Бжѣем заступлениемъ и мѣтвою родителъ своихъ сохраненъ бѣ без вреда . и тако передѣ всеми полкы . въгѣха ИЗСЛАВЪ вдинъ в полкы ратныхѣ . и копье свое изломи . и ту стѣкоша гѣ в руку . и въ стегно и бодоша и с того летѣ с коня”<sup>33</sup>. Remember that it is quite difficult to break a spear that was not intended for mounted shock combat in the saddle. While weapons intended for ramming were to be broken in the event of critical loads. European medieval sources recognize several types of war horses intended for tournament competitions. The so-called «destrier» was specially trained in jousts, and therefore the most was the most valuable<sup>34</sup>. In Hypatian chronicle we can find the equivalent of the term – it is probably “фарѣ”<sup>35</sup>.

Some researchers believe that the episode of the duel in 1230 is a manifestation of tournament culture<sup>36</sup>: “Богу вложившю въ сердце Василку изыти вонъ, и обнажившю мечь свой играа на слугу королева, иному подхватившю щитъ играющю...”<sup>37</sup>, but rather it is a simple imitation of the duel. Duke Vasilko, being in a good mood, did not intend to fight and did not

<sup>30</sup> Richard Barber; Juliet Barker. *Tournaments: Joust, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, 60.

<sup>31</sup> Володимир Гуцул. Таранный бой в средневековой Руси”, *Colloquia Russica. Серия I*. Т. 5 (2015), 199–216.

<sup>32</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 416.

<sup>33</sup> Там само, 437.

<sup>34</sup> Владимир Гуцул. Таранный бой в средневековой Руси, 199–216.

<sup>35</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 416.

<sup>36</sup> Микола Котляр. *Княжа служба в Київській Русі*, 246.

<sup>37</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 762–763.

know that his action would have far-reaching consequences. This imitation of the duel was extremely successful, as the boyars decided that their turn would come soon.<sup>38</sup> So, the latter fled like “...*жко шканьны. Стополкѣ*”<sup>39</sup>.

Another generally accepted tournament is an example of the battle in 1245, which was led by a serious opponent of the Romanovych`s for the Galician throne, Duke Rostyslav Mykhailovych. Most researchers consider this tournament to be just a tournament, although this term is not actually considered. This is a classic hastilude, with using a spear. Not surprisingly, the chronicler calls this battle “игра”, because it is literally interpreted as a game with lances. It was organized by duke Rostyslav Mykhailovych, who was a serious opponent of the Romanovychy for the Galician throne. But, entering the Galician territory together with the allied Hungarian troops, he could not seize the extremely fortified cities of Przemyśl and Yaroslav. In fact, the prince only procrastinated just standing near the fortress walls of Yaroslav<sup>40</sup>. Further in the Galician-Volhynian chronicle was reported that Rostyslav Mykhailovych managed to arrange a real medieval knight`s tournament under the sides of the besieged walls, on the example of those held in Western Europe. The Chernihiv duke took part in these fights on his own, where he crossed the spear with the previously unknown Orsha<sup>41</sup>. The knights` tournament under the city walls is described as follows: “... [*Ростислав*] *ехалъ быхъ на на гордщюу же сѧ емоу и створисти игроу предъ градомъ и сразивъшоусѧ емоу со Воршемъ и падеса под нимъ конь и вырази собѣ плече и не на добро случисѧ емоу знамение слышавъ же Данило и Василко ратное пришествие его помолитасъ Богу начаста сбирати вое...*”<sup>42</sup>.

First of all, a peculiar dichotomy attracts attention – the behavior of the arrogant duke Rostyslav, who arranged the «game», and the piety of the Romanovychy, who in difficult times appealed to the higher powers<sup>43</sup>. Providence motives are noticeable in the injury received by Olhovich from Chernihiv. The justification for any duel or even war, from the point of view of the chronicler of the time, is not placed in its beginnings, as it is confirmed today, but in the end<sup>44</sup>. In contrast, troops of the Romanovychiv gained a positive celestial sign: “...*знамению сице над полкомъ сице пришедшимъ врломъ и многимъ ворономъ ѡко вблокоу великоу играющимъ же птичамъ врломъ же клекъщюущимъ и плавающимъ крыломъ своими и воспромъгтающимъ на воздухъ ѡкоже никогда и николи же не бѣ и се знамение [не] надобро бысть...*”<sup>45</sup>.

The negative part “no” is absent in Khlebnikov`s list of the Galician-Volhynian chronicle and is rightly omitted in the last critical edition of the

<sup>38</sup> Христина Меренюк, Соломія Меренюк. Традиція, 19.

<sup>39</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 763.

<sup>40</sup> Микола Котляр. *Княжа служба в Київській Русі*, 245.

<sup>41</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 796.

<sup>42</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 801.

<sup>43</sup> Ілля Паршин. *Поєдинок*, 147.

<sup>44</sup> Там само, 150.

<sup>45</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, 802.

text<sup>46</sup>. This episode directly corresponds to the symbolism of the detailed description of the Kholm monument with an eagle<sup>47</sup>. The monument known from the chronicle could have been erected in honor of the victory of Danylo and Vasylo Romanovychiv near Yaroslavl in the summer of 1245. This victory was obtained, among other things, on the eve of the day of Saints Frol and Lavra, wonderful stonemasons<sup>48</sup>.

In addition, the eagle, as a lucky sign, could have another symbolic meaning, in particular, to act as the prince's coat of arms of Danylo Romanovych. The probability of this version was supported by Andriy Grechylo<sup>49</sup>, Yuriy Dyba<sup>50</sup>, Oleh Odnorozhenko<sup>51</sup>, Illia Parshyn<sup>52</sup> and other historians. In this regard, there is a need to compare the records of a Russian scribe and a note by an anonymous author of the "Leoben Chronicle", dedicated to one of the episodes of the Battle of Durkrut (Czech name – the Battle of Moravian field) in 1278, by the way, a decisive clash in the struggle for Austrian heritage<sup>53</sup>.

Actually, on a symbolic background in the Hypatian chronicle, eagles appear not alone, but together with "многимъ ворономъ". Illia Parshyn puts forward the thesis that these birds may be heraldic emblems (proto-emblems) of the Galician nobility hostile to duke Danylo. To confirm this opinion, according to the study of Lviv archaeologist Roman Myska, the shields of the found rings associated with the Subcarpathian nobility of the XIII–XIV centuries have a round shape with a diameter of 21–24 mm. There is an image of a bird with a turned body and head in profile with raised or folded wings in the center. There is an inscription on the outside, which mainly contains the text construction "seal + name of its owner"<sup>54</sup>. Such figures are not typical of heraldic eagles but could denote jackdaws, ravens, and crows. It is possible that the birds were originally local tribal symbols, which were later transformed into knightly and territorial symbols<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Ілля Паршин. Посдиноок, 150.

<sup>47</sup> Там само, 151.

<sup>48</sup> Юрій Диба. Холмський пам'ятник перемоги поблизу Ярослава 1245 року. *Княжа доба: історія і культура*. Вип. 9 (Львів, 2015), 126, 131. Там само див. ґрунтовний огляд історіографії: 91–99.

<sup>49</sup> Андрій Гречило. До генези герба Перемишльської землі. *Дрогобицький краєзнавчий збірник*. Вип. 6. (Дрогобич, 2002), 81.

<sup>50</sup> Юрій Диба. Холмський пам'ятник, 125–126.

<sup>51</sup> Олег Однороженко. "Clipearium Teutonicorum" Zuricher Wappenrolle та їх значення для вивчення Руської державної геральдики другої половини XIII – початку XIV ст. *Спеціальні історичні дисципліни: питання теорії та методики*. Вип. 16. (Київ, 2009), 25–26.

<sup>52</sup> Ілля Паршин. Посдиноок, 147–156.

<sup>53</sup> Там само, 151.

<sup>54</sup> Роман Миська. Нові знахідки "боярських" перснів". *III Міжнародна наукова конференція "Пам'ятки Тустані в контексті освоєння Карпат у доісторичну добу та в середньовіччі: проблеми їх збереження та використання"*, Львів-Урич, 7-8 квітня 2016 р. Тези доповідей. Ред. Роман Миська (Львів: ДІКЗ "Тустань", 2016), 67.

<sup>55</sup> Ілля Паршин. Посдиноок, 151.



Galician boyars were almost the main strike force of duke Rostyslav’s troops, so such comparisons are possible<sup>56</sup>. The person of the knight Orsha, in addition, is also real, although it is mentioned in the chronicle only once<sup>57</sup>. Unfortunately, his name does not make it possible to determine his ethnicity. It is doubtful that in order for him to belong to the Galician nobility, his roots should rather be sought among Polish or Hungarian feudal lords<sup>58</sup>.

We can assume that Rus’ warriors also took part in various Western European tournament competitions. No explicit directions could be found. However, information of a legendary event has been preserved<sup>59</sup>. This is a German poem of the XIII century – Rosengarten<sup>60</sup>. One of the characters in this poem is Gartung from Rus’. According to the plot, he took part in a tournament in Worms as part of a large delegation of knights: “*Der neunte sei von Reussen Hartung der Künig hehr*” (The ninth is Gartung from Rus’, a mighty king)<sup>61</sup>. He was offered to fight with the German knight Stutfuchs: “*Wer besteht denn Hagen? Der muss auch an die Fahrt. Den besteht von Breisach der getreue Eckhart. „Wer besteht denn Stutfuchs, den Recken auserkannt?“ Den besteht euch Hartung, der Künig von ReuЯenland*”<sup>62</sup>. (Worthy King Gartung... ..Do you see the hero walking through the rose garden? His name is Stutfuchs, a famous warrior. You must fight against him, King of Rus’. The poem states that the Rus’ warrior gladly accepted this challenge and defeated his opponent in the clash. The work depicts a classic case of European joust. The Rus’ king attacks using a mounted shock combat: “*Herr Hartung schwang die Klinge, die war so scharf und gut: Er schlug ihm durch die Ringe, dass niederfloss das Blut. Durch Helm und durch Halsberg gab er ihm einen Schlag, Dass der Helm mit dem Haupte vor seinen FьЯen lag*”<sup>63</sup>. Gartung from Rus’ rushed forward, holding a long-sleeved spear in his right hand. Gartung swung his blade. The latter was so sharp that it pierced the enemy’s armor, so that blood was shed. He hit through the helmet and barmaid so that the helmet with the head of his enemy fell at his feet. The episode ends with a beautiful lady kissing the winner. Gartung’s personality is legendary<sup>64</sup>, but the very fact of his participation in the European knights tournament leads to the conclusion that Rus’ soldiers may have been much more familiar with the tournament culture than it seems at first glance.

Thus, from the chronicle analysis, the absence of the term “tournament” is explained by the use of another conditional equivalent to medieval

<sup>56</sup> Там само, 152.

<sup>57</sup> Мирослав Волошук. Просопографічні студії, 119.

<sup>58</sup> Ілля Паршин. Поєдинок, 153.

<sup>59</sup> Viktor Rydberg. *Teutonic Mythology*. Vol. 1. (Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 2018), 173.

<sup>60</sup> Rosengarten Teilband I: Einleitung, 'Rosengarten' A. Teilband II: 'Rosengarten' DP. Teilband III: 'Rosengarten' C, 'Rosengarten' F, 'Niederdeutscher. Edited by Elisabeth Lienert, Sonja Kerth, and Svenja Nierentz (Amsterdam: De Gruyter 2015), 610.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem, 280.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, 358.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, 360.

<sup>64</sup> Beside from The poem “Rosengarten” we know another resources in which we can find mentions about King Hartung: “Anhang des Heldenbuchs” “Dieterichs Flucht” and Vilkinasaga.

competitions – “irpa”. Thus, in Rus’, “іграми” were actually called Western European tournaments. We are talking about equestrian competitions in general. Accordingly, knightly entertainment (in particular, tournaments) was known directly in Rus’. For example, the fact that in 1150 Hungarian warriors also demonstrated their skills in Kyiv is significant. Simultaneously, such ideological constructions of the chronicler do not deny the real fact of holding the actual “irpa” under the walls of Yaroslav, so people on the Rus’ territory were well acquainted with the knightly culture of holding tournaments. We can assume that Rus’ warriors also took part in various Western European tournament competitions. No explicit directions could be found. However, information of a legendary event has been preserved. This is a German poem of the XIII century – Rosengarten.

*Христина Меренюк.*

## „ТУРНІРИ” ТА „ІГРИ” В РУСІ: ТРАДИЦІЯ ЧИ ПООДИНОКІ ЗГАДКИ?

У статті стверджується, що турнірна культура на Русі була знаною починаючи із XII ст. Ранні поєдинки X-XI ст. у своєму змісті є класичними випадками судових поєдинків. Мова іде про єдиноборства 993 р. (герць на річці Трубежі між руським воїном та печенігом) та 1022 р. (перемога Мстислава Володимировича над касозьким князем Радедею). Ці пропоновані літописні сюжети не варто розглядати з точки зору розважальної культури Середньовіччя. Очевидно у цих фрагментах ідеться про не менш відому у тогочасній Європі юридичну практику – проведення судових поєдинків. За правилами, які подекуди нагадували турнірні, заздалегідь обговорювалися подробиці майбутньої збройної сутички. Також у дію вступало звичайне правило–божого провидіння. Згідно із ним, боєць, який перемагав, як звично, мав на своєму боці покровительство вищих сил. Добре відомим прикладом є призначення судового поєдинку між Карлом Анжуйським та Педро III Арагонським за оволодіння Сицилією. Бій планувався на 1283 р., поблизу міста Бордо, однак через неправильну узгодженість він так і не відбувся. На підтвердження того факту, що бій між Редедеею та Мстиславом Володимировичем є класичним судовим поєдинком є аналогічний за змістом сюжет бою за участі герцога Готфріда Лотаринзького. Гійом Тірський (1186) докладно передав подробиці цього поєдинку. Подібні поєдинкові традиції (юридичного характеру) простежується по усій Європі. Відповідно, лицарські розваги (зокрема, турніри) були знані безпосередньо у Русі. Збереглися унікальні відомості, що польський князь Болеслав близько 1149 р. висвячував у лицарі дітей волинських бояр: “пашаше Болеславъ снѣи боѣръскѣи мечемъ многѣи”. Відповідно, таке близьке ознайомлення із західними церемоніями передбачало знання і про європейські лицарські змагання. Отож, уже із середини XII ст., ми можемо говорити про поширення ігрищ серед руської еліти. Так, руські літописи періодично звертають увагу на тактику руських військових еліт і деякі з літописних описів можемо кваліфікувати як згадки таранного бою. Такий вид бойової майстерності був притаманний учасникам турнірних змагань під назвою жуст. Під 1151 р. у літописному зводі описані персональні лобові атаки князів, що ворогували: Андрія Юрійовича та Ізяслава Мстиславовича. Доведено, що “изломити” спис, що не призначався для таранного удару, в сідлі доволі складно. Окрім цього було з’ясовано, що відповідником коня типу “destrier”, – навченого таранному бою, у Русі був, ймовірно, літописний “фарь”. Останній згадується під 1150 р. у літописному повідомленні. Згадане повідомлення літопису 1150 р. для нас має виняткове значення, оскільки мова іде про вияв військової майстерності угорських воїнів під стінами Ярославового двору, розташованого у межах Києва. Так, мова іде про міські турніри, які були знаково поширеними на території Європи. Паралельно такий вид турнірів був поширений у німецьких містах, про що вказують щорічні міські записи.

Дехто з дослідників вважає, епізод поєдинку 1230 р. проявом турнірної

культури, однак швидше ідеться про звичайну імітацію двобою: князь Василько будучи у доброму гуморі не мав на меті битися і не знав, що його вчинок матиме далекосяжні наслідки.

Хрестоматійний приклад турніру 1245 р. є описом класичного європейського гастилюду. Не дивним є і той факт, що літописець називає цей бій – “ігрою”, адже справді, цей вид трактується буквально як гра із списами. У Русі “іграми” називали власне різні види західноєвропейських турнірів. Мова йде загалом про кінні змагання. У можливій турнірній культурі Русі можемо виокремити знайомство з точними видами турнірних змагань, зокрема: “combat on foot”, “joust”, “hastiludium” та навіть звичними у Європі міськими турнірами. Окрім цього як і в Європі у вибраних сюжетах літопису ми можемо поділити види турнірів беручи до уваги критерій безпечності бою. Більшість поєдинків належали до “jousts `a Outreance”, або “Justes Martelels et` a Champ”, – смертельні двобої, однак знаходилося місце і для жусту для задоволення, мова йде про демонстрацію військової майстерності угорцями у 1150 р.

Припускаємо, що руські воїни брали участь і в різноманітних західноєвропейських турнірних змаганнях. Прямих вказівок віднайти не вдалося. Однак, збереглися відомості легендарного характеру. Ідеться про німецьку поему XIII ст. – “Розенгартен”. Одним із персонажів цього твору є Гартунг з Русі. За сюжетом він вирушає на турнір до Вормса у складі чисельної делегації лицарів: „Der neunte sei von Reussen Hartung der Künig hehr.” (дев’ятим є Гартунг з Русі, могутній король). Йому запропонували боротися із німецьким лицарем Штутфухсом. У поемі ідеться, що руський воїн радо прийняв цей виклик і у зіткненні переміг свого супротивника. Твір зображає класичний випадок європейського жуста. Руський король атакує таранним боєм за допомогою списа. Особа Гартунга є легендарною, але сам факт його участі у європейському лицарському турнірі призводить до висновку, що руські воїни могли бути значно ближче знайомі з турнірною культурою, аніж здається на перший погляд.

**Ключові слова:** турнір, “ігра”, дискусія, Русь, вплив Європи.