

'KRESTNOE CELOVANIE' AS A RITUAL IN MAKING AGREEMENTS AND PEACE TREATIES BETWEEN THE PRINCES OF RUS' AND MEMBERS OF THE LIVONIAN COMMUNITY (UNTIL THE END OF THE 13TH CENTURY)

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Abstract

One of the more interesting rituals that functioned in Old Rus' for centuries is the custom of cross kissing (*крестное целование*), accompanying legal processes, such as taking oaths, public obligations, writing legal deeds, or concluding peace treaties. The earliest records of this ritual are evidenced clearly by the earliest chronicles and references in documents from that era. Due to the chronological structure and character of this work, which is clearly defined in the title of the article, the author's attention is focused on the initial period of its functioning, until the end of the 13th century, in relation to contacts between Old Rus' (Ruthenia) and Livonia. From Livonia, the parties participating in this ritual were Catholic bishops, Teutonic Knights, councillors from Livonian towns (Riga, Viljandi, Tartu and others), and even ordinary merchants. From Old Rus', they were also participants in governments, merchants and warriors. From the historical sources, it can be stated here that the ceremony of kissing the cross was used quite commonly in legal acts between Old Rus' and Livonia.

KEY WORDS: kissing the cross, ritual, peace treaty, Old Rus', Livonia.

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Anotacija

Vienas iš įdomesnių ritualų, šimtmečiais veikusių Senojoje Rusijoje, buvo kryžiaus bučiavimo (*крестное целование*) paprotys, glaudžiai susijęs su teisinės veiklos praktikomis, pavyzdžiui, priesaika, viešaisiais įsipareigojimais, sudarant notarų tvirtinamus aktus ar taikos susitarimus. Šio ritualo buvimą rodo ankstyvųjų kronikų ir kitų dokumentų įrašai. Atsižvelgiant į straipsnio pavadinime aiškiai apibrėžtą chronologinę darbo struktūrą ir pobūdį, autoriaus dėmesys telkiamas į pradinį šio ritualo veikimo laikotarpį, t. y. iki XIII a. pabaigos, santykių tarp Rusios ir Livonijos kontekste. Iš Livonijos pusės šiame rituale dalyvaudavo katalikų vyskupai, vokiečių riteriai, Rygos, Viljandžio, Dorpatu (Tartu) ir kitų miestų tarybų nariai bei paprasti pirkliai, o iš Senosios Rusios – taip pat vyriausybių atstovai, pirkliai, kariauninkai. Remiantis istoriniais šaltiniais, straipsnyje teigiama, kad kryžiaus bučiavimo ritualas dažnai naudotas Senosios Rusios ir Livonijos santykiuose.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: kryžiaus bučiavimas, ritualas, taikos sutartis, Senoji Rusija, Livonija.

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One of the more interesting customs that was practised in Rus' for centuries is the kissing of the cross (*крестное целование*), which accompanied certain legal procedures, such as the making of vows and public promises, the drawing up of notary's deeds, and the signing of peace treaties. The ceremony has an early Medieval origin, as is evidenced by chronicles and other documents. This article deals with the beginning of this practice up to the end of the 13th century, with reference to Livonia.

The subject of kissing the cross in performing legal procedures is not unknown in academic literature. Not surprisingly, the issue has been explored mainly by Russian historians.¹ However, some Polish² and German,³ and even a small number of Czech⁴ and American⁵ researchers, have also investigated this topic.

- ¹ СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, Измаиль. *Материалы для Словаря древне-русского языка по письменным памятникам*. Т. 1: А-К. Санкт Петербург, 1893, стб. 1235–1237; СЕРГЪЕВИЧЪ, Василій. *Русскія юридическая древности*. Т. 2: *Власти*. Вып. 1: *Въче и Князь*. Санкт Петербург, 1893, с. 190–210; ФИЛЮШКИН, Александр. Институт крестоцелования в средневековой Руси. *Клио: журнал для ученых*, 2000, № 2, с. 42–48; СТЕФАНОВИЧ, Петр. Крестоцелование и отношение к нему церкви в Древней Руси. *Средневековая Русь*, 2004, вып. 5, с. 86–113; STEFANOVIČ, Petr. Der Eid des Adels gegenüber dem Herrscher im mittelalterlichen Rußland. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 2005, Bd. 53, Hf. 4, S. 497–505; АНТОНОВ, Дмитрий. Клятва на кресте как феномен русской средневековой книжности. *Источниковедение культуры: альманах*, 2007, вып. 1, с. 93–153; АНТОНОВ, Дмитрий. Клятва и крест: проблема судебной присяги в древнерусской правовой культуре XVI–XVII вв. In *Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики*, 2009, № 1, с. 42–53; АНТОНОВ, Дмитрий. Клятва, присяга и крестоцелование в Средневековой Руси (XI–XVII вв.): общественная практика и ее культурное осмысление. *Труды Историко-архивного института Российского государственного гуманитарного университета*, 2011, вып. 38, с. 363–372.
- ² ŁOWMIANSKI, Henryk. Dokumenty i listy ruskie do początku XIII wieku. In *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*. T. 1: A–E. Red. Władysław KOWALENKO, Gerard LABUDA, Tadeusz LEHR-SPLAWIŃSKI, Zygmunt WOJCIECHOWSKI. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, 1961, s. 361–366; BARTNICKI, Mariusz. Ceremoniał powoływania władców na Rusi w XII wieku na przykładzie intronizacji książąt Igora Światosławowicza i Iżjasława Mściśławowicza w 1146 roku. *Res Historica*, 2013, nr. 36, s. 73–85; BARTNICKI, Mariusz. *Władca i poddani w historiografii ruskiej XI–XIII wieku*. Lublin, 2015, s. 113–119; MIKA, Norbert. „Крестное целование” – geneza i praktyka stosowania przez władców ruskich, polskich i węgierskich (do końca XII wieku). In *Rus' a kraje kultury łacińskiej (X–XVI w.)*. *Materiały VI międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej, Kraków, 26–28 listopada 2015 r.* (Colloquia Russica, series I, vol. 6). Red. Vitaliy NAGIRNYI. Kraków, 2016, s. 111–129; MIKA, Norbert. Tatarská otázka v politických misích císařských kurýřů a poslů k moskevskému dvoru v letech 1587–1589. In *Rus' and the world of the nomads (the second half of the 9th–16th c.)*. *Publication from the 7th International Scientific Conference, Plzeň, 23rd–26th November, 2016* (Colloquia Russica, series I, vol. 7). Ed. by Vitaliy NAGIRNYI. Kraków, 2017, s. 434–435; MIKA, Norbert. „Силу честного креста”. Krzyż i praktyka jego całowania na Rusi w obliczu zagrożenia i najazdów tatarskich (do końca XV wieku). In *Religions and beliefs of Rus' (9th–16th centuries)*. *Publication from the 8th International Scientific Conference, Lviv, 15th–18th November, 2017* (Colloquia Russica, series I, vol. 8). Ed. by Vitaliy NAGIRNYI. Kraków, 2018, s. 365–384.
- ³ RÜSS, Hartmut. Eid – Altrussland. In *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Bd. 3. Hrsg. von Norbert ANGERMANN, Robert-Henri BAUTIER. München, Zürich, 1986, S. 1690–1691; ROHDEWALD, Stefan. «Iсториста мир.» Friede als Kommunikationselement in der Rus' (10.–12. Jahrhundert) und im spätmittelalterlichen Novgorod. In *Wege der Kommunikation in der Geschichte Osteuropas. Carsten Goehrke zum 65. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von Nada BOŠKOVSKA, Peter COLLMER, Seraina GILLY, Rudolf MUMENTHALER, Christophe von WERDT. Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2002, S. 147–172.
- ⁴ KOMENDOVÁ, Jitka. *Středověká Rus a vnější svět: obraz cizích kultur v písemnictví Rusi 11.–14. století*. Olomouc, 2005, s. 110–114; KOMENDOVÁ, Jitka. Rituály a komunikace mezi kulturami ve středověké východní Evropě. In *Rituály, ceremonie a festivity ve střední Evropě 14. a 15. století* (Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia, 12). Přípr. Martin NODL, František ŠMAHEL, Krzysztof KOWALEWSKI. Praha, 2009, s. 137–146; KOMENDOVÁ, Jitka. *Světce a šaman. Kulturní kontexty ruské středověké legendy*. Praha, 2011, s. 105–113; KOMENDOVÁ, Jitka. Ritual in Intercultural Communication in Medieval Eastern Europe. In *Processes of Cultural Exchange in Central Europe, 1200–1800*. Ed. by Veronika ČAPSKÁ in collaboration with Robert ANTONÍN, Martin ČAPSKÝ. Opava, 2014, pp. 331–343.
- ⁵ DEWEY, William, H.; KLEIMOLA, Marie, A. Promise and Perfidy in Old Russian Cross-Kissing. *Canadian Slavic Studies*, 1968, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 327–341.

What was 'крестное целование'?

The answer to this question can be found in numerous performances of the ceremony by members of the Orthodox Church in Rus'. The easiest way to explain it is that it was a public and religious act, aiming at binding a party participating in the ceremony to keep their promise. On these occasions, a proper legal document called *gramota* was issued. The kissing of the cross itself was quite an intimate act: after all, a person had to touch a sacred symbol of the Christian faith, a symbol of the Saviour's Passion, with their mouth. This served as proof that they were telling the truth, and appealed to the supreme witness, Christ himself, described in the Bible as 'the faithful and true witness'. One could claim, then, that the verbal commitment and the gesture were given a supernatural status; it was not a mortal who was called on to witness it, but the immortal Son of God, portrayed symbolically. In other words, kissing the cross warranted the presence of the one who was hanging on it. Depending on whether the person broke or kept the promise, they experienced either condemnation or salvation. Words from the Bible referring to Jesus himself could be applied here: He is 'destined to cause the falling and rising of many'.⁶

The phrase 'kissing the cross' is colloquial. Sources use different words to define the same religious and legal action. Apart from the most common word, employed most in this work, authors of Medieval Rus' used the following terms: 'cross vow', 'confirming with the cross', 'leading to the cross', 'leading to the vow', 'leading to the vow and the cross', 'concord before the holy cross', 'kissing the worthy cross', and even simply 'kissing' or 'vow'.⁷

The custom of kissing the cross when making a vow or taking an oath was common for people of Orthodox Rus', for whom it was virtually the only way to make a public promise. In the Western Christian world, there were various other forms of vow. One of them was swearing on the cross without kissing it: a person stretched out a hand towards the cross, or put their fingers on it, and then made a vow.⁸ As well as

⁶ *Grecko-polski Nowy Testament: wydanie interlinearne z kodami gramatycznymi*. Tłum. Remigiusz POPOWSKI, Michał WOJCIECHOWSKI. Warszawa, 1993, s. 1169, 251.

⁷ *Полное собрание русских летописей*. Т. 1, изд. 2-е: *Лаврентьевская летопись*. Ред. Евфимий КАРСКИЙ. Вып. 1: *Повесть временных лет*. Ленинград, 1926, стб. 32, 53–54, 162, 172–173, 219, 230, 256–257, 258, 265; Вып. 2: *Суздальская летопись по Лаврентьевскому списку*. Ленинград, 1927, стб. 335, 362; Т. 2: *Ипатьевская летопись*. Изд. 2-е. Ред. Алексьй ШАХМАТОВЪ. Санкт Петербургъ, 1908, стб. 23, 41–42, 151, 210, 221, 231, 233, 239, 299–300, 312, 315, 318, 322, 324, 333–334, 342–343, 345–346, 360, 362, 399, 418, 445–446, 448–454, 461–462, 474–475, 487–490, 494–495, 501, 505, 509–511, 533, 536, 542–543, 561, 596–597, 661–662, 667–668, 670, 674, 685, 701, 858, 930–931, 934; Т. 7: *Летопись по Воскресенскому списку*. Ред. Авраамъ НОРОВЪ. Санкт Петербургъ, 1856, с. 80; *Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего извода* (hereafter, *НПЛ*). Ред. Арсений НАСОНОВ. Москва, Ленинград, 1950, с. 21, 22, 51, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 63, 68, 70, 85–89, 183, 186, 190, 204–205, 325.

⁸ KAPRAS, Jan. *Mezní přísaha v českém právu. Příspěvek k dějinám českých ordálů. Sborník věd právních a státních*, 1915, r. XV, s. 286–298; BOROWSKI, Stanisław. *Przysięga dowodowa w procesie polskim późniejszego średniowiecza*. Rozprawa doktorska. Warszawa, 1926, s. 37–62; DUDA, Michalina; JÓŹWIAK,

the cross, some also swore on the Bible, an altar, holy relics, the handle of a church door, a ring, a sword, a king's throne, or insignia of authority, as well as on the sun, a particular stick, hair, or even a beard.⁹

Despite the variety of forms of vow, the Catholic neighbours of Rus' sometimes departed from the common Western tradition, kissing the cross when it was called for. However, this was only done with the people of Rus', seeing that members of the Orthodox Church expected and even requested it. It was done, for instance, by representatives of Livonia on the Baltic Sea. Interestingly, this has not been reported by Latin or German sources, but rather in documents written in the Cyrillic script, issued for the use of recipients from Rus' (naturally within the timeframe of this article, that is, up to the end of the 13th century).

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The first written testimony by Catholic inhabitants of the east shore of the Baltic Sea performing this Orthodox ceremony can be found in an undated document from 1262 or 1263 by Prince Alexander Nevsky.¹⁰ It concerns a peace and trade agreement between Great Novgorod and Gotland, along with Hansa towns represented by Lübeck.¹¹ Although it was not stated explicitly, this case also concerned trade centres in the area of present-day Livonia, since they also belonged to the Hanseatic League. In the document issued on this occasion, Prince Alexander Nevsky, his son Dmitri Alexandrovich, and officials from Novgorod, declare that they are ending hostilities and will keep the terms of the treaty, concluding with the words 'на томъ крестъ цѣлуемъ'. The document contains one more interesting piece of information, that the ceremony of kissing the cross accompanied a treaty made a few decades earlier, and that it was performed not only by the people of Rus', but also by Han-

Sławomir. *Ze świata średniowiecznej symboliki. Gest i forma przysięgi w chrześcijańskiej Europie (X–XV w.)*. Kraków, 2014, s. 68–150.

⁹ SEMKOWICZ, Władysław. *Przysięga na słońce: studium porównawcze prawno-etnologiczne* (Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Bolesława Orzechowicza, t. 2). Lwów, 1916, s. 304–377; KOLMER, Lothar. *Promissorische Eide im Mittelalter* (Regensburger Historische Forschungen, Bd. 12). Kallmünz, 1989, S. 233–243.

¹⁰ The editor suggests the date of the issue of the document (1262/1263), which seems quite probable, taking into account the fact that Alexander Nevsky went to Mongol Khan Berke in the middle of 1263, where he fell ill and, having returned to Rus', died on 14 November that same year. Prior to his death, he became a monk. The reason for his death could have been poisoning, see БОГУСЛАВСКИЙ, Владимир Александр Ярославич Невский. In *Славянская энциклопедия: Киевская Русь*. Т. 1: А–М. Сост. Владимир БОГУСЛАВСКИЙ. Москва, 2001, с. 18–19. The document could have been issued in 1259, see GOETZ, Leopold Karl. *Deutsch-Russische Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Hansische Geschichtsquellen, NF, Bd. V). Lübeck, 1922, S. 39.

¹¹ VOGEL, Walther. *Kurze Geschichte der Deutschen Hanse*. München, Leipzig, 1915, S. 21; KATTINGER, Detlef. Zum Charakter der sog. „Gotländische Genossenschaft“. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 1999, Bd. 79, S. 9–23; WECZERKA, Hugo. Hansische Handelswege in den nordwestrussischen Raum. In *Novgorod: Markt und Kantor der Hanse*. Hrsg. von Norbert ANGERMANN, Klaus FRIEDLAND. Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2002, S. 16; МЕЛЬНИКОВА, Елена. К предыстории Готского двора в Новгороде. In МЕЛЬНИКОВА, Елена. *Древняя Русь и Скандинавия: Избранные труды*. Ред. Галина ГЛАЗЫРИНА, Татьяна ДЖАКСОН. Москва, 2011, с. 372.

seatic Germans. The following words are evidence of this: 'цѣловали отци ваши и наши крестъ'.¹² The cross was probably also kissed by the Catholic representatives of the Hansa while signing a treaty in 1262–1263, although no document referring to it has survived. It should be noted, however, that, conventionally, both sides kissed the cross in order to ratify a peace treaty.

The occurrences quoted above have an analogy in events mentioned in another undated document from Rus' from between 1 January 1264 and 31 June 1267.¹³ The office of Iziaslav Briachislavich, the Prince of Polotsk, which issued it, provided a more detailed text of the vow when describing an agreement between Iziaslav Briachislavich and Konrad von Mandern (or Otto von Lutterberg), the Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, Albert Suerbeer, the Archbishop of Riga, and the town's inhabitants. Before making the vow, Iziaslav Briachislavich said to the Livonians, 'къ мне целовати кр(е)стъ въ правду, любовь имѣти и миръ, какъ было при первыхъ княз(е)хъ полочьскы.' After this sentence, he uttered the customary phrase, 'на семъ же целуите ко мнѣ крестъ'.¹⁴ The passage quoted from the document demonstrates that there had been some earlier misunderstandings between the Prince of Polotsk and the Livonian Master and the town of Riga; they could even possibly have engaged in open conflict.¹⁵ While agreeing to the peace treaty (*миръ*), the parties involved in the conflict, especially the Master of the Teutonic Order, the Archbishop of Riga, and representatives of the town, made the expected vow to keep the terms of the treaty by kissing the cross. Once again, they referred to a similar event in the past, when 'крестное целование' was made by Albert Suerbeer and the townsmen of Riga, who remain unnamed, predecessors of Konrad von Mandern (or Otto von Lutterberg).

Some interesting insights arise from a note written in the 'First Novgorod Chronicle', concerning events which took place at the end of 1267 and the beginning of 1268.¹⁶ When the diocesan clergy and local monastic authorities of Riga, Viljandi and Tartu saw the growing danger from Great Novgorod and the princes of Rus' under the

¹² *Русско-ливонские акты* = *Russisch-livländische Urkunden* (hereafter, *РЛА*). Ges. von Karl Eduard NAPIERSKY. St. Petersburg, 1868, № 16, S. 8–9; *Грамоты Великого Новгорода и Пскова* (hereafter, *ГВП*). Ред. Сигизмунд ВАЛК. Москва, Ленинград, 1949, № 29, с. 56–57: 'for that we kiss the cross' and 'fathers of ours and yours kissed the cross' (transl. N. M.).

¹³ The dates given above are the likely period of the reign of Iziaslav Briachislavich in Polotsk, cf. BAUMGARTEN, Nicolas de. *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes: du Xe au XIIIe siècle*. (Orientalia Christiana, 1927, vol. IX–1, num. 35). Roma, 1927, Table 8; ВОЙТОВИЧ, Леонтий. *Князя доба: портрети еліти*. Біла Церква, 2006, с. 294–295.

¹⁴ *РЛА*, № 25^о, S. 13; *Полоцкие грамоты XIII – начала XVI века*. Т. 1. Ред. Анна ХОРОШКЕВИЧ. Москва, 2015, № 2, с. 59: 'you kiss the cross in truth [to Annot. N. M.] have love and peace, as it was in times of the first princes from Polotsk'.

¹⁵ The events were not recorded in the valuable work by BONNELL, Ernst. *Russisch-livländische Chronographie von der Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1410*. St. Petersburg, 1862, S. 76–78.

¹⁶ БЕРЕЖКОВ, Николай. *Хронология русского летописания*. Москва, 1963, с. 272–273.

rule of Yaroslav Yaroslavich and Dmitri Alexandrovich,¹⁷ they sent a delegation to Rus' asking for the cessation of planned military action. Renouncing their relations with the Livonian Master Otto von Lutterberg and the Teutonic centres of Tallinn and Rakvere, with whom the Archbishop of Riga and the inhabitants of Novgorod were in conflict, the envoys proposed peace to Rus', asking to mark the agreement by kissing the cross. This was soon done (*и целоваша послы крестъ*).¹⁸ However, the people of Rus' were not fully satisfied with the gesture, sending their representative Lazar Moisieievich to Riga, Veljada and Juriev. Lazar Moisieievich *'водилъ всѣхъ ихъ къ кресту, пскуповъ и божиихъ дворянь'*.¹⁹ The vow that was made according to the Orthodox convention saved the southern part of Livonia from an invasion by the Rus' alliance. The northern part of the country, however, was attacked and badly damaged on 23 January 1278. On 18 February, westward-bound troops from Novgorod, Pskov, Vladimir and Suzdal, led by Prince Yaroslav III Yaroslavich and Prince Dmitri Alexandrovich, defeated the Livonian forces of the Master Otto von Lutterberg, as well as a Danish unit and the Estonian militia supporting them.²⁰ The losses on the defeated side were estimated at 12,000, and on the victorious side at 5,000, although these numbers may be exaggerated.²¹ Among the dead was Alexander, the Bishop of Yuriev (*bischof Alexander tôt*),²² one of the *'пскуповъ'* who had kissed the cross as a sign of their peaceful intentions. This seems to indicate that the Livonians endorsing the treaty were not sincere in their vow to the people of Rus'.

It would naturally be a mistake to conclude that the Catholic clergy did not treat the ceremony of kissing the cross very seriously, and that only the rulers of Orthodox Rus' kept their public promises. According to the latest research on the period from the beginning of the 11th century to the end of the 12th century, about a third of the vows completed by the gesture of kissing the cross were not kept by the princes of Rus'.²³ Despite this finding, we should mention that breaking a public promise was treated as reprehensible, regardless of which party it concerned. Thus, the con-

¹⁷ BAUMGARTEN, N. Op. cit., Table 8; DWORZACZEK, Włodzimierz. *Genealogia*. [T. 2: *Tablice*.] Warszawa, 1959, tab. 22; ISENBURG, Wilhelm Karl, Prinz zu. *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*. Bd. 2: *Die außerdeutschen Staaten*. Marburg, 1965, Taf. 95; ВОЙТОВИЧ, Л. Op. cit., с. 570–571.

¹⁸ НПЛ, с. 85–86: 'and the legates kissed the cross'. This event took place during a conflict between Otto von Lutterberg, the Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, and Albert Suerbeer, the Archbishop of Riga. The latter, struggling with the Teutonic dignitary, made a separate peace treaty with Novgorod the Great and the coalition of Princes of Rus', and also made an alliance with Count Gunzelin von Schwerin. After the war, Otto von Lutterberg imprisoned the cunning archbishop Albert Suerbeer, and only released him after forcing him to refrain from lodging a complaint to Rome, por. CHRISTIANSEN, Eric. *Krucjaty północne*. Poznań, 2012, s. 176–177.

¹⁹ НПЛ, с. 86: 'led all of them to the cross, bishops and religious knights'.

²⁰ *Livländische Reimchronik*. Hrsg. von Franz PFEIFFER. Stuttgart, 1844, S. 204–207.

²¹ МАТУЗОВА, Вера; НАЗАРОВА, Евгения. *Крестоносцы и Русь: конец XII в. – 1270 г. Тексты, перевод, комментарий*. Москва, 2002, с. 252, 280–282; FAURE, Gunter; MENSING, Teresa. *The Estonians: The long road to independence*. London, 2012, p. 74.

²² *Livländische Reimchronik...*, S. 206. Cf. BONNELL, E. Op. cit., S. 78.

²³ МИКА, Н. „Крестъное целование“..., с. 111, 127.

tracting parties did not always want to kiss the cross. After the above-mentioned war ended, the office of Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich drafted an agreement with the Livonians which did not include kissing the cross. This, in turn, did not meet with the approval of Otto von Lutterberg, the Master of the Teutonic Order, who made it clear in a letter dated 1 April 1269 addressed to the Hanseatic headquarters in Lübeck.²⁴

Not surprisingly, if concerns arose that a vow on the cross might not be respected in the future, efforts were made to prevent it. This occurred, for instance, at some point before 19 September 1299,²⁵ when the people of Vitebsk in Rus' made unjustified claims against the citizens of Riga. Expecting an armed attack from Fyodor Rostislavich, the Prince of Mozhaysk, Smolensk and Jaroslav, allied with Constantine Tevtivilovich, the ruler of Vitebsk, the Archbishop of Riga²⁶ wrote a very placatory letter to Fyodor. Assuring him of his blessing, and calling him his beloved son, he asked him for permission to act as an arbitrator in the conflict. The last sentence in this document is particularly telling: '*ныне я молюся вамъ, както мозите стояти у тои правдѣ, и у крестномъ человании.*'²⁷ The Metropolitan of Riga reminds the Prince of Mozhaysk, Smolensk and Jaroslav that he signed the treaty and kissed the cross, and so too, probably, did the Livonian side. Undoubtedly, the archbishop expected Fyodor Rostislavich to fulfil the promise he had made to him, or possibly to the inhabitants of Riga, considering that the vow included the cross: a holy symbol of the faith.²⁸

At this point, it should be mentioned that there was an attempt to engage Prince Mikhail Konstantinovich, the son of Constantine Tevtivilovich, in a conflict between the merchants of Riga and Vitebsk. Mikhail Konstantinovich was the ruler of Vitebsk, governing the city even partially during his father's lifetime, probably from 1270/1280 to 1310 (when he died).²⁹ The city of Riga wrote a rather long letter to Prince Mikhail in the language of Rus', hoping that this way he would fully understand their allegations and arguments; this was not unusual, seeing that Hanseatic cities, including Riga, employed translators who spoke the language of Rus', helping to foster trade

²⁴ GOETZ, L. K. Op. cit., S. 39.

²⁵ The term *ad quem* of the event is the date of the death of Prince Fyodor Rostislavich, namely 19 September 1299, cf. ВОЙТОВИЧ, Л. Op. cit., c. 526–527. It is possible, however, that the said ruler of Mozhaysk, Smolensk and Jaroslav died in 1298, cf. БОГУСЛАВСКИЙ, Владимир; БУРМИНОВ, Владимир. *Древняя Русь: Рюриковичи: Иллюстрированный исторический словарь*. Москва, 2009, c. 535.

²⁶ In the period discussed, the metropolitans in Riga were successively: Johannes I von Lune (1273–1284), Johannes II von Vechten (1285–1294) and Johannes III von Schwerin (1294–1300), cf. *Index corporis historico-diplomatici Livoniae, Esthoniae, Curoniae*. Theil 2. [Hrsg. von Karl Eduard NAPIERSKY.] Riga, Dorpat, 1835, S. 356; MOOYER, Ernst Friedrich. *Verzeichnisse der deutschen Bischöfe seit dem Jahr 800 nach Chr. geb.* Minden, 1854, S. 91; GROTE, Hermann. *Stammtafeln. Mit Anhang: Calendarium medii aevi*. Leipzig, 1877, S. 522.

²⁷ РЛА, № 34, S. 17–18: 'now I am asking you if only you can stand by this truth and by kissing the cross.'

²⁸ The cross as a Christian symbol was of exceptional value in Livonia. This was mentioned in the work by the 13th-century chronicler Henry of Livonia, cf. *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, 31). Ed. Leonid ARBUSOW, Albertus BAUER. Editio altera. Hannoverae, 1955, p. 24.

²⁹ ВОЙТОВИЧ, Л. Op. cit., c. 596–597.

relationships with the east.³⁰ At the very beginning of the letter, the desperate city of Riga made an allegation against Mikhail Konstantinovich, before even coming round to disclosing their exact problem: *‘Забыль еси, княжо, своего крестнаго челования, занеже самъ ведаешь, княжо, како не тако есть миръ доконцань.’* Evidently, the Rus’ subjects of the Prince of Vitebsk had broken a vow made on cross by him; this violation, in turn, was deemed so substantial that prior agreements between him and the city of Riga were considered void. This inference is confirmed in a later part of the letter. Interestingly, the letter also includes a *passus*, with the details of an infringed agreement. Here is an extract from it: *‘такo было и вамъ по крестному челованию обиды не створити, ни малу ни велику, нашей братии правда дати, товара силою не грабити, челоуѣка не мучити безъ вины.’*³¹ Did Mikhail Konstantinovich respond to this unrefined letter? If so, did he intervene in a way that satisfied the Livonian merchants? We do not know.

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Not only did the people of Riga complain, but also the other party, especially the merchants from Great Novgorod. Considering that almost all documents from Rus’ from this period lack the *actum et datum* formula, it is impossible to determine when exactly the event took place. The date *a quo* may be 28 June 1300, this being the beginning of the pontificate of Feoktist, the Archbishop of Novgorod, whose office had written an undated letter.³² A religious dignitary of Rus’, together with the clerk Andrew Klimovich and an unnamed military commander of a unit numbering a thousand men, demanded that the German townsmen of Riga return the stolen goods and hand over the bandits who had earlier robbed a Novgorod merchant. At the same time, he promised: *‘за то вамъ богъ помози, аже есте разбоиниковъ изыскали по хръстному челованию.’*³³ This way, the Orthodox archbishop was convinced that the careful implementation of the decisions made during the ceremony of kissing the cross would bring God’s support to Catholics. It can be added that the clergy in Rus’ were particularly interested in promoting the ritual of kissing the cross in the military world, and openly condemned oath breakers.³⁴

³⁰ REITEMEIER, Arnd. Sprache, Dolmetscher und Sprachpolitik im Rußlandhandel der Hanse während des Mittelalters. In *Novgorod...*, S. 157–176.

³¹ РЛА, № 49, S. 25–28: ‘You forgot, prince, about your kissing the cross, as you know, prince, that peace had not been made that way’, ‘Crossing the cross you should do no light or severe harm, give justice to our brothers, not plunder goods, be punished for oppressing someone.’

³² Э., К. Феоктисть (Орловский). In *Русский биографический словарь*. Т. 25: Яблоновский – Фоминъ. Санкт-Петербургъ, 1913, с. 377–378. The Novgorod clerk Andrew Klimovich, who attached his seal to the archbishop’s letter, worked in the years 1286–1291, 1294–1295, 1299–1300, 1301–1302, 1303–1304, cf. ЯНИН, Валентин. Андрей (Андрейко) Климович. In *Великий Новгород. История и культура IX–XVII веков: энциклопедический словарь*. Ред. Валентин ЯНИН. Санкт-Петербург, 2007, с. 70; БОГУСЛАВСКИЙ, Б.; БУРМИНОВ, Б. Ор. cit., с. 22. He did not work in his position in the years 1303–1310, as previously claimed, cf. ГВНП, № 36, с. 64–65.

³³ РЛА, № 50, S. 28–29; ГВНП, № 36, s. 64–65: ‘God will help you because you sought the bandits in accordance with kissing the cross.’

³⁴ МИКА, Н. „Крестное целование“..., s. 117.

In conclusion, it needs to be said that the ceremony of kissing the cross, which had been performed in Orthodox Rus' since the early Middle Ages, and accompanied vows and peace treaties, was an action that obliged participants to keep their public promises. The same was expected of representatives of Western Christianity who decided to enter into agreements with the people of Rus', marking it by kissing the cross. Needless to say, every now and then, the vow or terms of a treaty were broken by one side or the other. From the very few sources regarding cases of kissing the cross between princes from Rus' and representatives of Livonian society in the 13th century, we can conclude that they referred mainly to the economic sphere, and more rarely to politics. The parties participating in this ritual were Catholic bishops and archbishops, Teutonic Knights, burghers from Livonian towns (Riga, Viljandi, Tartu), and even ordinary merchants. Nearly all these occurrences are found in sources written in the language of Rus', which obviously does not mean that they are less reliable. It can be stated here that the ceremony of kissing the cross was used quite commonly in legal acts between Rus' and Livonia. The reason for this is that for the people of Rus', it was almost the only known way of making a public promise and peace treaty, whereas the Catholic representatives of Livonia, despite being familiar with other ceremonies and ways of making a vow, did not oppose kissing the symbol of the Passion on these occasions.

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KRYŽIAUS BUČIAVIMO RITUALAS SUDARANT SUTARTIS IR TAIKOS SUSITARIMUS TARP RUSIOS KUNIGAİKŠČIŲ IR LIVONIJOS BENDRUOMENIŲ ATSTOVŲ (IKI XIII AMŽIAUS PABAIGOS)

Norbert Mika

Santrauka

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Frazė *kryžiaus bučiavimas* (*крестное целование*) viduramžiais buvo vartojama kaip įprastas kasdienis apibūdinimas. Viduramžių šaltiniuose ir mums aktualesniuose Senosios Rusios metraščiuose galima rasti daug frazių ir žodžių, žyminčių tapačias religines ir teisines veiklas. Antai Senosios Rusios šaltiniuose, be minėtos frazės *kryžiaus bučiavimas*, buvo vartojami jai tapatūs tokie terminai kaip *kryžiaus priesaika*, *kryžiaus patvirtinimas*, *vedimas prie kryžiaus*, *vedimas prie priesaikos*, *vedimas prie priesaikos ir kryžiaus*, *bučiavimas prie švento kryžiaus*, *pagarbus kryžiaus bučiavimas* ir neretai pasitaikantis paprasčiausias apibūdinimas – *bučiavimas* arba *priesaika*. Taigi šaltiniuose kryžiaus bučiavimo gestas buvo tapatus teisiniam taikos ar bet kurio kito susitarimo sudarymui, patvirtinamam priesaika. Priesaikos davimas čia suvoktinas kaip kryžiaus bučiavimo ritualą papildanti labai svarbi dalis, kryžiaus bučiavimo dalyvius susaistanti viešam įsipareigojimui, kurio nevalia sulaužyti ir paniekinti. Kryžiaus bučiavimo ritualas nuo seniausių Rytų Bažnyčios įvedimo Senojoje Rusijoje laikų buvo svarbi priesaikos skelbimo ir taikos sudarymo ritualo dalis. Tai buvo ritualinis gestas, įpareigojantis žmones atidžiai vykdyti savąjį viešą įsipareigojimą. To paties ritualinio gesto buvo viliamasi ir iš Vakarų Bažnyčios atstovų, kurie, atvykę sudaryti taikos sutarčių su Senosios Rusios valdančiais sluoksniais, taip pat bučiuodavo kryžių kartu su rusėnais. Žinoma, kartais nutikdavo taip, kad abiejose pusėse būdavo pažeidžiamos sutarties sudarymo nuostatos arba sulaužoma priesaika, tačiau tai nepažeidžia paties ritualo išskirtinumo ir iškilmingumo.

Negausūs XII a. šaltiniai, minintys kryžiaus bučiavimo atvejus sudarant sutartis tarp Senosios Rusios ir Livonijos žemių atstovų, rodo, kad minėtas ritualas dažniausiai buvo atliekamas sudarant ekonominio, o ne tik politinio ir karinio pobūdžio sutartis. Šaltiniai mini, kad šį kryžiaus bučiavimo ritualą sudarius sutartis su rusėnų atstovais atlikdavo katalikų dvasininkai (įskaitant ir aukštus postus užimančius ganytojus, tokius kaip Rygos arkivyskupas Albertas von Suerberis, Dorpat (Tartu) vyskupas Aleksandras), Livonijos krašto magistrai (pavyzdžiui, Konradas von Mandernas, Otonas von Lutterbergas), Livonijos miestų, tokių kaip Ryga, Felinas (Viljandis), Dorpatas (Tartu), magistratų nariai ar šiaip pavieniai pirkliai. Senosios Rusios interesams šiose XIII a. sutartyse dažniausiai atstovaudavo Polocko kunigaikščiai iš Briačislavų giminės, Možaisko, Smolensko ir Jaroslavo kunigaikštis Fiorodas (Teodoras) Rostislovičius, Vitebsko kunigaikštis Michailas Konstantinovičius, Didžiojo Naugardo arkivyskupas Teofilis (Feoktistas). Atskirai tokio ritualo dalyviu paminėtinas Didžiojo Naugardo bojarinas Lazaras Moisejevičius.

Pabrėžtina, kad beveik visi šie kryžiaus bučiavimo ritualo paminėjimai yra išlikę rusėniškuose šaltiniuose, parašytuose senąja rusėnų kalba, bet tai neduoda pagrindo abejoti pateikiama informacija. Iš to galime daryti išvadą, kad kryžiaus bučiavimo ritualas buvo dažnai naudojamas abipusiuose – rusėnų ir livoniečių – teisiniuose veiksmuose (pirmiau-

sia siekiant ekonominės naudos ir taikos). Šio ritualo gajumui įtakos turėjo faktas, kad Senojoje Rusijoje, perėmusioje Rytų Bažnyčios tradicijas, tai buvo bene vienintelė sutarties sudarymo ir kitų viešųjų įsipareigojimų bei jų sustiprinimo priesaika forma, tuo tarpu Vakarų Bažnyčios tradicijas atstovaujančioje Livonijoje, nors žinota ir kitų priesaikos bei sutarčių sudarymo ceremonijų, nebuvo jokio reikalo nesutikti su būtent tokia rusėniška sutarčių sudarymo forma. Juolab pats bučiavimas bažnytinėje tradicijoje reiškė Jėzaus kankinystės simbolį, taigi turėjo gilesnę prasmę, o atsisakymas bučiuoti kryžių reiškė išdavystę ir kitas piktas paskatas, nesuderinamas su pavyzdiniu krikščionišku gyvenimu. Šiuo atveju nebuvo prieštaravimo, kad sudarydami prekybines ar taikos sutartis kryžių bučiuodavo Vakarų ir Rytų Bažnyčių atstovai.