

The kinship terms and the establishment of early medieval dynasties

Constructed kinship is one of the most effective mechanisms of military union management in early medieval societies, but it is not explored quite enough on the Old Russian materials. Traditionally manifestations of this phenomenon, like an indirect usage of kinship terms “brother”, “father” and “son” were considered as an indicator of social status or vassalage, although the arguments of this explanation are not without its contradictions. In my Ph.D. thesis I reveal a number of historical situations, in which constructed kinship is a part of framework of the political union and show, how exquisite this mechanism could be.

Constructed kinship

In time of the establishment of the most important society structures one of the leading ideas was the concept of kin, household and the place of an individual in it. This idea was very natural for the people who not so long ago had been living according to the rules of blood feud. Guiding by this conception, they have formed principally new structures on its base. This process is explored very profound now on the materials of Germanic world, partly by the researching the remains of these ideas in the organization of the fighting squads, holding hostages and institutes of fosterage and patronage. As it have been subtly shown by Thomas Charles-Edwards, people from the group of “given friendship” move to the “constructed friendship” and backwards very easily¹. These processes could be described as inherent not only to the Anglo-saxon society but to another social structures in Slavic and Germanic world.

Military milieu

The most ancient borrowings of kinship terms to other spheres are concerning to the organization of military group and description the bonds between war leader and nobilities that fight for him. In this milieu could be marked out two models of constructed kinship. One of them depicts a prince, a Scandinavian king or a jarl as a “father” of his army. This could be traced well by Germanic and Slavic sources. In Icelandic sagas king avenged of his man’s murder², in *Gesta principum Polonorum* by Gallus Anonymous Duke Bolesław I Chrobry named as a “father” of his guiltier nobles³. Prince Iziaslav named in *Hypatian codex* as a “father” of Petr Borislavich, his nobleman⁴. By the same way could be attributed the names of the parts of military groups in Old Russian chronicles: “отроки” (“adolescent boys”), “детский” (“childish”), “чадъ” (“children”), the term “огнищанин” is coming from “огнище”

¹ Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Anglo-saxon kinship revisited// The Anglo-saxons from the migration period to the eighth century. An Ethnographic perspective*. Ed. By John Hines. 2003.

² For example, what is at issue when Þormóður Kolbrúnarskáld met Ólafs konungs in *Fóstbræðra saga* is his notion of necessity of the revenge for Þorgeirs Hávarssonar. *Fóstbræðra saga*, chapter 18.

³ *Gesta Principum Polonorum: The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles (Central European Medieval Texts)*, Edited and translated by Paul W. Knoll. 2003.

⁴ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 461.

("bonfire cite") and perhaps means initially "the member of household"⁵. Another manifestation of the kinship model in the military environment is the idea of brotherhood of all members of army, which is close to the concept of phratry and the first meaning of this term⁶. This concept is indicated the best in Russian chronicles in addressing such as "братья и дружина" ("brothers and fighters"). Connection between using words "brothers", "father" and the most major moments of the fight, that are described in Russian chronicles give us possibility to suppose that this terms are referred to the real oral speeches of the heads of the forces and their nearest nobilities.

Christian communities.

Traditionally the terms of kinship are used in Christian societies and pointed on the community of goods, unity in Christ and spiritual affinity. «Brothers and sisters» is the most widely-spread Christian form of address among laymen and monks. "Father" is the common addressing to the priest or bishop and "fathers and brothers" is the most ancient form of addressing to the Christian people, preserving in the New Testament⁷. The authors of the first Russian Chronicles were monks, and the fundamental idea of brotherhood of all Christians surely took place in their words. For example, one of the addressing to the potential readers is «братья» («brothers»), and the special attention is paying to the idea of affinity and brotherhood of Russian princes which is closely related to the cult of St. Boris and Gleb. Beside this, could be noticed very specific moments, like the addressing of Vasilko Vladimirovich, which enumerated the name of the bishop in the list of his family members⁸. That may be the evidence of the very special place of him in ruler's family.

International etiquette

Another aspect of using kinship terms in Old Russian Chronicles is the medieval international etiquette for the heads of states. This issue reveals in correspondence between Russian princes and members of the Piasts, the Přemyslids and the Árpáds. However, in Russian chronicles it carries less sense of social rank that is more peculiar for the Western world, for example to the polish chronicles.

The meanings of constructed kinship

The connection between using kinship terms (and the constructed kinship in more broad sense) and the social hierarchy is one of the most discussing questions. For example the tradition of fosterage

⁵ The most convincing argumentation for this explanation was offered by Aleksandr. E. Presnjakov: Пресняков А.Е. Княжое право в древней Руси. Лекции по русской истории. Киевская Русь. М.: Наука, 1993.

⁶ Трубачев О. Н. История славянских терминов родства и некоторых древнейших терминов общественного строя. М.: Издательство АН СССР, 1959.

⁷ For example: New Testament, Acts of the Apostles, 2:44.

⁸ "спси рабы твоа чада моя . Бориса . и Глѣба . и шца И моего епспа Кирила (and in Suzdalskji edition there is continuation: " и женѹ мою Мрѣю .)" PSRL, Vol. II, St 323.

commonly comprehends in the scope of constructing of the social ladder⁹. The clear reason is that in some sagas of islanders it is said that the man, who takes the child for the upbringing and became his foster-father, is less noble than the parents of the child. But if one takes a special look on the context of these episodes, there could be find the humorous inflection of this expression or a reference to the old custom. For example, in *Harðar saga ok Hólmverja* Sigmund took the baby of Grímkell and Signý and said that “One, who is the foster-father is less noble than the parents of the baby” («Er okkar sá mannamunur þó að eg fóstri þér barn því að það er talað að sá sé minni maður er öðrum fóstrar barn»¹⁰). But from the context we know, that Sigmund was a beggar, and this act was like a mockery over his father, so the mechanism that has been described above does not work. By the contexts in another mentions in sagas, concerning this tradition, we learn, that this could not be considered as a real practice of the dividing by noble and less noble, but only the joking or the accessing to the “old habit”¹¹ and at the same time some episodes could be found in which a foster-father is clearly more outstanding, than father, like in *Hænsa-Þóris saga* where Þórðr gellir is a foster-father of Þuríð, daughter of Gunnarr.

The question of the possible manifestations of social ranking and its concerning to the constructed kinship and indirect usage of kinship terms is the hardest one. The terms “rank” and “social rank” are applying to the actual of vassalage of High Middle Ages and to the reality of Icelandic Commonwealth thought the meanings are different. This became more complicated in the comparison of the anthropological models that has done by Kirsten Hastrup and her comparing “child-givers” and “wife-givers”¹².

But it seems that constructed kinship and indirect usage of kinship terms as a part of this mechanism are so movable and adjusted to the environment and conditions of live so even in the related societies they could be used to the opposite meanings. This way in Iceland at the time of Commonwealth people lived in farms and bred sheep that required a lot of space around for the

⁹ Otto Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde.*, 1923., Kirsten Hastrup, *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

¹⁰ *Harðar saga og Hólmverja*, chapter 9.

¹¹ *Heimskringla*, *Saga of Harald Hårfagre*, chapters 39-43, in the end of “exchanging” it is said that “From these transactions between the two kings, it appears that each wanted to be held greater than the other; but in truth there was no injury, to the dignity of either, for each was the upper king in his own kingdom till his dying day.” (“Í því líkum viðskiptum konunga fannsk þat, at hvárr þeira vildi vera meiri en annarr ok varð ekki misdeili tígnar þeira at heldr fyrir þessar sakar; hvártveggi var yfirkonungr síns ríkis til dauðadags.”) and another example could be find in *Laxdæla saga*, 24. Where Ólafur became a foster-father of his nephew Ólafur, but the author says that Ólafur was looked as a more noble than his brother.

¹² Kirsten Hastrup, *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985

pastures, and tradition ties between members of one kin became weaker¹³. Beside this the feuds, that could blaze up at any time required a number of close people who are ready to take part in it. So the tradition of fosterage functioned for strengthening new bonds and describes them in common terms that implies revenge for the murder, paying dowry and other kinds of support that are usual between members of a real kin. This ties strengthen also between other members of two families (especially, between foster-father and real father). In medieval Norway and Sweden at the same time the existing on king position and his nearest and more distant nobles gives more fruitful material for the hierarchy. But in the relations between kings of different lands and between kings and jarls the tradition of fosterage could figure only as a joke too, without wounding the dignity of one of them. The child of the rival could be found in the hostile camp only as a hostage.

What could be said about using kinship terms in the addressing between members of Rurik dynasty? Most of researches examine this tradition as an indicator of social hierarchy too. By Sergey M. Solovjev¹⁴ it was a kin hierarchy, by J.A. Goljashkin¹⁵ it was a political authority and by V.T. Pashuto¹⁶ it was the ties of vassalage. For my investigation the comprehension by J.A. Goljashkin is the nearest to the reality. What could be said about the privileges of the Prince of Kiev in relation to other princes? At first, it meant territory distribution and organization of the military campaigns against Polovtsians. There were more prosperous lines like Monomachovishy and less, but every member of Rurik dynasty had an indubitable right to take place in ladder for general heritage of Jaroslav the Wise with all responsibility for the Russian lands and that is what made all of them “brothers” beside real blood relations. By this understanding social ranking was not essential and the strengthening of the horizontal lines was far more significant. This was the special feature of Old Russian society, instead of reality of Polish and Czech dynasties, that were involved in politics of Western monarchies and were tied with them by more closed bonds, got parted in their politics. Arranged dynastic marriages and social hierarchy was one of the essential parts of this interaction.

To be more precise in the describing the processes that lie under the using kinship models and kinship terms I decided not to use the idea of social rank, but try to replace it by the conception of the specified “place” of an individual in a “family”. It might be a military alliance, a monk community or other structures. This transference of the well-known way of organization to the new structures looks very naturally. The special place of “brother” or “son” don’t accentuate the higher or lower position, but point directly at the extent of the authority and social charges. Two members of “family” operated like

¹³ Sørensen, Preben Meulengracht. *Saga and Society*. Trans. John Tucker. Odense: Odense University Press, 1993.

¹⁴ Соловьев С.М. *История отношений между русскими князьями Рюрикова дома*. М.: Издательство Московского университета, 1847.

¹⁵ Голяшкин А.Я. *Очерк личных отношений между князьями Киевской Руси в половине XII в. Рефераты, читанные в 1896 и 1897 гг.* М., 1898. Т. 2.

¹⁶ Пашуто В.Т. *Внешняя политика Древней Руси*. М. 1969.

the right and left hand, helping each other in compliance of abilities and recourses of every member. And so, operating together actually builds up bonds and trust and cooperation. Youngest member is not the lowest, but one, who has more energy than authority. The elder has less strength but more wisdom and the cooperation is the sharing of the possibilities of each member. The closest scheme could be found in ego-centred system of terms, mentioned by Kirsten Hastrup, but frequently concentrated among more than one "ego". This concept confirms well by the lexicon that surrounds kinship constructions, when after the death of one member of the family he is replaced by another. The most ordinary example could be found in Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar where Bárðr leaving by the will his wife and a child to Þórólfr and certified this testament by king's will. After the death of Bárðr, Þórólfr got better and married Sigríðr and therefore became foster-father for Grímr, son of Bárðr¹⁷. In Finnboga saga ramma Finnbogi asked jarl Hákon if he can take the place of Álfur which had been killed by Finnbogi, and after the series of examinations he replaced Álfur in Hákon's fighting squad. The point is that Finnbogi in his request and jarl Hákon in his answer use term "stað": "Kom nú í stað Álfs og ver mér hollur"¹⁸. Also in the dramatization of the offering of patronage in Þorsteins saga stangarhöggs Bjarni have said to Þórarinn "ek vera þér í sonar stað"¹⁹.

This term and the concept of "replacing" is very similar to the Old Russian expression "быть в отца место" ("to be in the place of my father") that is wild spread in the dialogs between members of Rurik dynasty. Also very nearest formulation is the warning of Kiev citizens to Iziaslav about the possible revenge of Olgovichi "убить в место Игоря" – "to kill in the place of Igor"²⁰ that imply the same principle.

Kinship terms in Hypatian Codex and other Russian Chronicles

In my Ph. D. thesis I consider the indirect usage of kinship terms in Russian chronicles from the view of every historical situation around which these terms are concentrating. The dialogs between members of Rurik dynasty in the text of Hypatian Codex are attributed to the most ancient form of language style²¹. Therefore the indirect usage of kinship terms that contained in this text is the object of special attention. Today there is another wave of scholar interest to the term-analysis as a tool to investigate the Old Russian society²². In the Old Russian Chronicles there are four kinship terms that are using with regularity: "son", "brother", "elder brother" and "father". As all Russian princes were the members of one dynasty, the terms "brother" and "elder brother" were more natural and were used very common.

¹⁷ Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar, 9.

¹⁸ Finnboga saga ramma, 16 -18.

¹⁹ Þorsteins saga stangarhöggs, 7.

²⁰ PSRL, Vol. II, St 345.

²¹ Зализняк А.А. Древнерусские энклитики. Языки славянских культур. М.2008.

²² Лукин П.В. Древнерусские «вои». IX – начало XII в.//Средневековая Русь. М., 2004. Вып.5. С 5-58; Стефанович П.С. Понятие верности в отношениях князя и дружины на Руси в XII – XIII в.//Древняя Русь: вопросы медиевистики. 2008. №1(31)б с72-82.

The terms “father” and “son” were less common and were used in more specific situations. There are some peculiarities of indirect kinship terms usage in Old Russian Chronicles:

- The indirect usage of terms of kinship is the feature of the dialogs and messages between princes. In the “author’s speech” the terms of the real kin ties took their place.
- The first and second cousins could name each other as “brother” without any special reason.
- The indirect kinship terms don’t reconstruct real family ties: the real son of the one prince, who is “elder like father” can be a “son” to the same person.²³ Prince that address to another “father” may be called “brother” in the answer²⁴. This last case has complicated the theory that explains kinship terms as a marker of social rank.
- These terms tended to be used together as a kinship emphasis: “brother and son”²⁵, “brother, elder brother, brother-in-law, elder like father”²⁶ and others.
- Most of kinship terms have been closely associated with one historical case or person. This fact introduced into evidence of personal nature of these terms.
- Kinship terms had broad distribution in addressing to the relatives by marriage
- In most cases when kinship terms have been used, they are accompanied with a military treaty. The words, that attended these treaties, contained the kinship vocabulary too.

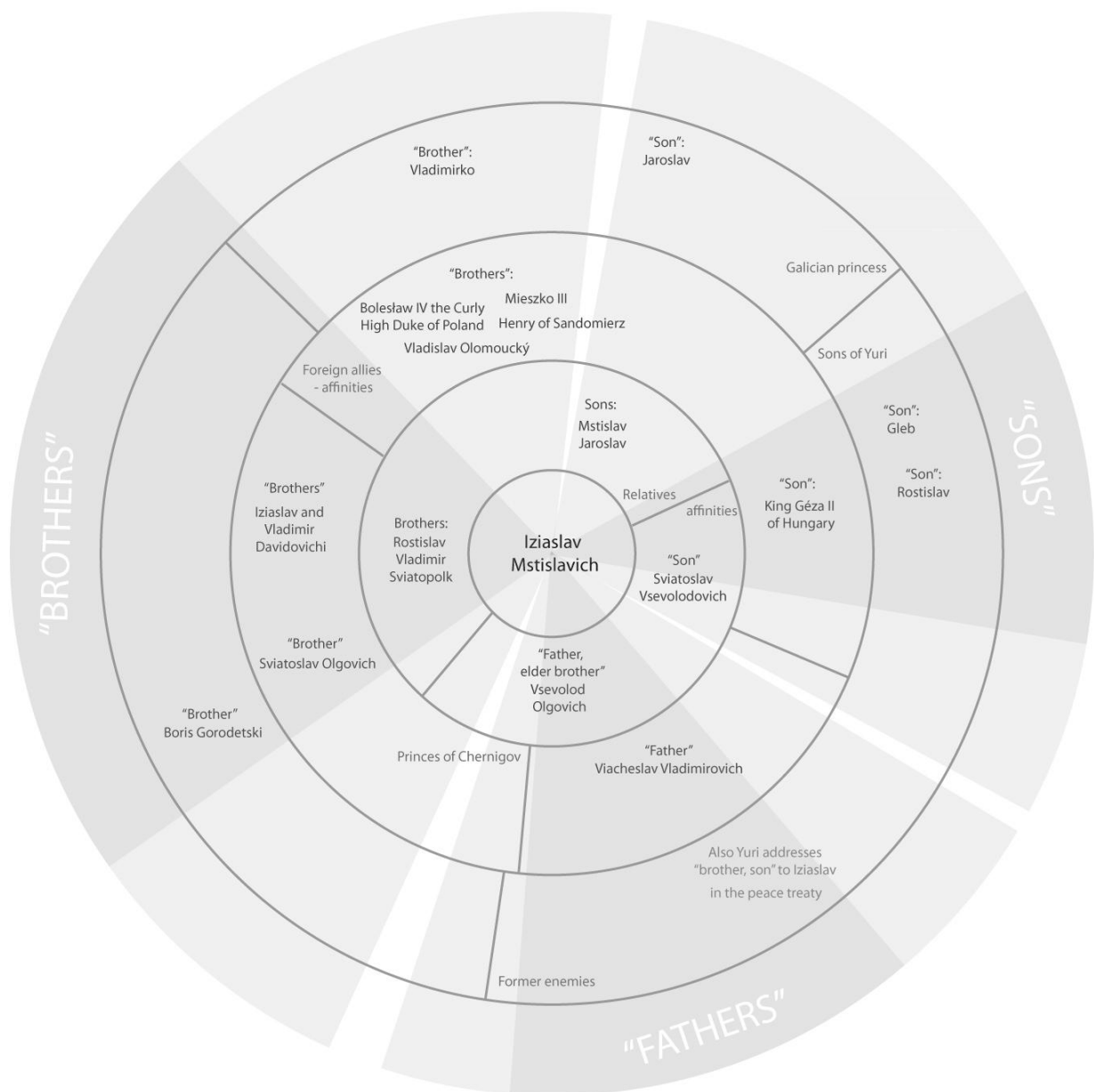
One of the most representative groups of kinship terms surrounds the activity of Iziaslav Mstislavich. In the beginning of the conflict with his uncle Yuri Dolgorukiy he has reorganized his family (its male members) into an accomplished military alliance. His brother Rostislav Mstislavich promptly reacts to any motion of Yuri, his half-brother Vladimir Mstislavich was responsible for the negotiations with the friendly members of Arpads by the reason that his blood sister Euphrosyne has been married to King Géza II of Hungary.

²³ This scheme could be seen in the addresses between Iziaslav Mstislavich and Vsevolod Olgovich: «старѣи мене ѿко шѣць» (PSRL, Vol. II, St.323) and Iziaslav Mstislavich and the son of Vsevolod, Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich: «внѣ же речѣ снѣоу тако...» (PSRL, Vol. II, St. 343).

²⁴ As in this correspondence between Iziaslav Mstislavich and Geza II: «нѣи же брате гадаи ѿ семь» (PSRL, Vol. II, St 444), «король же Володимеру речѣ ѿпущаѣ его ѿцю моему и своему брату поклонишиѣ Изаславу...» (PSRL, Vol. II, St. 407).

²⁵ «а ты же мои снѣ ты же мои братъ» (PSRL, Vol. II, St. 418).

²⁶ «Всеволода есми имѣль въ правду брата старишаго занеже ми братъ и зать старѣи мене ѿко шѣць», PSRL, Vol. II, St.323.



The eldest son of Iziaslav - Mstislav Iziaslavich participates in every battle or military march of his father, as he grew up, he takes all the duties that had been earlier in the competence of Vladimir Mstislavich, brother of Iziaslav. Another son – Jaroslav Iziaslavich rules in the one of the most important north cities Veliky Novgorod. The high level of coordination and allocation of responsibilities in this alliance, suggests an idea to use this model to another allies, including them in the system and called them by the kinship terms. Iziaslav and Vladimir Davidovichi became “brothers” to Iziaslav Mstislavich. In the peace agreement between these tree princes we can see the very notable words “to be as one brother”, “to be together towards offence”²⁷ The young king of Hungary Géza II has named as “brother” too²⁸. Here we meet one of the most difficult cases because in the answers to Iziaslav Géza II uses the

²⁷ «и быти всимъ за шдинъ братъ», томъ ако кде твоа шбида боудеть а намъ быти с тобою». (PSRL, Vol. II, St. 366, 370).

²⁸ PSRL, Vol. II, St 444.

term “father”²⁹. Only in one situation Iziaslav addresses to him with the term “son”³⁰. This very strange scheme of addresses: “father” – “brother”, “father – “son” is not singular in Russian chronicles. The analogous terms can be traced in the dialogs between princes, tied by affinity: son- and father-in-law and brothers-in-law³¹

In the invitation to take part in the struggle with Yuri Vladimirovich Iziaslav uses a word “brothers” to another group of foreign rulers: Bolesław IV the Curly, High Duke of Poland and his brothers Mieszko III the Old and Henry of Sandomierz³², but their part in the further developments were inessential and terms, that were used in messages rather could be attributed to the competence of etiquette. Vsevolod Olgovich (he was married to the elder sister of Iziaslav Mstislavich) got the set of terms: “brother and brother-in-law, elder brother, elder like the father”³³. This address has been given after the death of Vsevolod and has for an object the idea of legitimate succession the title of the ruler of Kiev. For the son of Vsevolod Sviatoslav has been used the term “son”³⁴. Position of Sviatoslav is the hardest one, because in both sides he has closest male relatives – his uncles.

The most important figure among the allies of Iziaslav Mstislavich was his uncle Viacheslav Vladimirovich. Iziaslav offer him to be his “father” in the initial period of the conflict, but Viacheslav prefer to keep himself with Yuri. When his nephew began to take the leading stand, Viacheslav concluded this agreement. The chronicle gives a detailed account of this ceremony.³⁵ After some time position of Iziaslav and Viacheslav become more stable and they invite Rostislav Mstislavich to Kiev. There they repeated the agreement, but now between Rostislav and Viacheslav. Further these three princes acted together. Obviously, these magnificent ceremonies were necessary for the securing the Kiev under the rule of main members of Iziaslav alliance (the roles of “sons” give Iziaslav and Rostislav more rights to stay in Kiev, because Viacheslav was the elder member of Monomachovichi). The agreement between Viacheslav and Iziaslav is the most interesting moment since it has united two different traditions. First it develops the very common custom, which has been spread for a long time. It concluded an agreement between two brothers - members of Rurik dynasty that defines protection for children if one of them will die. These agreements were one of the most common motives to address “father” to uncle.³⁶ This custom corresponds well with the general Indo-European tradition of the close

²⁹ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 407.

³⁰ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 448.

³¹ Yuri Vladimirovich and Svjatoslav Olgovich PSRL, Vol. II, St. 334, 339; Rurik Rostislavich and Roman Mstislavich 686, 688.

³² PSRL, Vol. II, St. 385.

³³ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 323.

³⁴ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 448.

³⁵ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 399-400

³⁶ For example, the speech between Yuri Vladimirovich and Vladimir Andreevich: PSRL, Vol. II, St. 488. More detailed account of this tradition: Литвина А.Ф., Успенский Ф.Б. Выбор имени у русских князей в XV-XVI вв. Династическая история сквозь призму антропониими. М.: Индрик, 2006.

relationship between uncle and nephew³⁷ and Scandinavian custom to bring a child for the fosterage to the relations, especially brothers or parents³⁸. But more clearly this situation could be considered under the view of tradition that we have known from sagas of islanders, where the youngest and the strongest man takes under the protection the elderly one. This tradition could be well examined from the Eyrbyggja saga, where Arnkell took Úlfar under protection and inherited his property after the death of Úlfar “as if he would be his son”³⁹ In case of Viacheslav and Iziaslav the inheritance would be the Kiev lands. Another very close situation, where a young man takes a protection under the elder could be found in Þorsteins saga stangarhöggs and Þorsteins saga hvíta. The most essential point is that in all described situations a “son” have no real “father” and a “father” have no real “son” – the moment that underlined twice in the agreement between Iziaslav whose father Mstislav were died and Viacheslav have no children.

When Yuri began to lose his positions, former enemies Vladimirko of Galicia and Sviatoslav Olgovich also became the “brothers” of Iziaslav⁴⁰. Earlier, after the quarrel with his father, Rostislav Yuryevich was named by Iziaslav “brother and son”⁴¹, another one son of Yuri, Gleb says significant phrase “you are my father as Yuri is my father”⁴², that, as I suppose, underlines that his father is not dead, although he is concluding the agreement, that is oriented on the constructed kinship.

The most noticeable peculiarity of context that accompanied the terms of kinship in Hypatian Codex is that words of agreements between “brothers” Iziaslav and Vladimirko and “father” and “son” Viacheslav and Iziaslav were the same: “to be with him (with Iziaslav) in all places” (но на всіх мѣстѣхъ с нимъ бѣти») “not to separate in well-being or evil” (“не ѿлучити не брѣ ни въ лиць но всегда с нимъ бѣти”⁴³) and an expression that is contained in the message of Viacheslav and Iziaslav to Géza II confirms this: “You have done for us what could do only a brother to his own brother and a son for the father”⁴⁴ The main is idea of kin, not the hierarchy or a social rank.

Another group of kinship terms surrounds the description of political activity of Rurik Rostislavich, Roman Mstislavich, Vsevolod Yuryevich and Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich. As Iziaslav Mstislavich has successfully used the dynastic marriages of his sisters, so Rurik Rostislavich has used the marriage ties of his daughters. One of them, Predslava, gets married to Roman Mstislavich that was the reason for Rurik to use the term “son” to Roman several times.

³⁷ Usually it is concerned the ties between sister son and mother’s brother. More detailed account of this tradition: Jan Bremmer, "Avunculate and Fosterage." *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4:1976.

³⁸ For example, children of Harald hárfagra were given to the relatives of their mothers: «Börn Haralds konungs váru þar hver uppfœdd, sem móðerni áttu...» Haralds saga hins hárfagra, chapter 1.

³⁹ “bað þá eigi ákall veita um fé þetta því að hann kvaðst halda mundu sem föðurarfi sínum” Eyrbyggja saga, 32

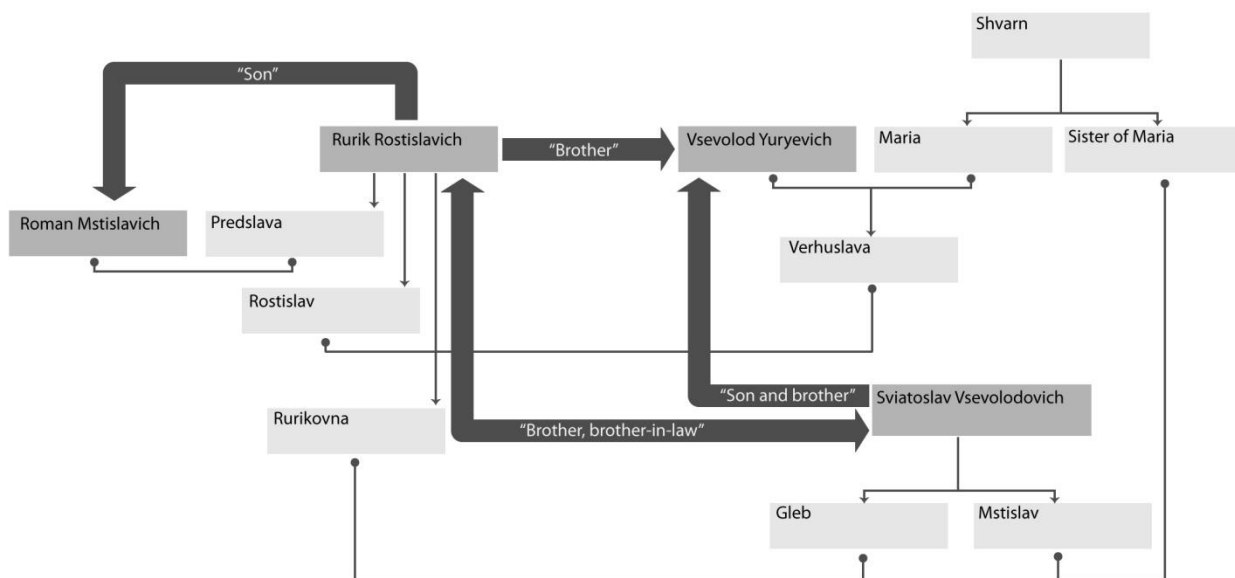
⁴⁰ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 376, 462.

⁴¹ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 366-367.

⁴² PSRL, Vol. II, St. 395.

⁴³ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 453.

⁴⁴ «Бѣ ти помози брате . вже на еси тако помогль . толико можетъ такъ оучинити братья роженъи . или снѣ ѿдѣю како же ты нама еси оучинилъ» PSRL, Vol. II, St. 420.



Another Rurik's daughter gets married to Gleb Svyatoslavich, son of the elder prince of Rurikovichi. Rurik and Svyatoslav have made a set of marches against Polovtsians and address to each other "brother" and "father of the son (daughter)-in-law"⁴⁵ very frequently.

Brother of Gleb, Mstislav Svyatoslavich got married to the sister-in-law of Vsevolod Yuryevich, so father of Gleb, Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich has named him "son and brother"⁴⁶ in spite of the military might of Vsevolod. Another daughter of Vsevolod, Verhuslava got married to Rostislav Rurikovich, son of Rurik Rostislavich so Rurik calls Vsevolod "brother"⁴⁷. Thus we could see an ordered scheme: three politically strongest princes of ruling dynasty have tied with relationships by marriage (of their daughters, sons and sister-in-law). Another very ambitious prince, Roman Rostislavich is the son-in-law and named "son" to the one of them, Rurik Rostislavich. This system really works to support the consent in resolving inner problems and maintaining the unity against Polovtsians. The interests of members of ruling dynasty were joined with the unity of dynastic matrimonies and were strengthened by using kinship terms on the etiquette tradition of addressing. Rurik Rostislavich has received two politically strongest "brothers" – one of them, Sviatoslav was the elder in members of the kin and another one Vsevolod hold the real military might, but hadn't wishes to rule in Kiev. Owing to this Rurik was able to organize the union and remained among the top of ruling princes, spend prolonged time as a ruler of Kiev.

That is not the only groups that are filled with kinship terms. Another gathering of them surrounded the activity of Galician princes Vladimir Vasilkovich and his cousin Mstislav Davidovich (Their

⁴⁵ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 653.

⁴⁶ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 619.

⁴⁷ PSRL, Vol. II, St. 685.

dialogs preserved in Galician-Volhynian chronicle that also is a part of Hypatian Codex). Similar group can be founded in Laurentian Codex in the dialogs between sons of Vsevolod Yuryevich.

The single cases of using kinship vocabulary can be also very significant. In the beginning of the Primary chronicle we can find an invitation from Vladimir the Great to his brother's (there was a military conflict between them) voivode Blud. Vladimir offers him to leave his patron Jaropolk and "be as a father to Vladimir"⁴⁸. This episode was a cause for a short scholar's bewilderment. But this case could be clearly explained by the analogy with Scandinavian sagas. In *Heimskringla*, two leaders of the opponents of Olaf Haraldson – Einar Thambarskelfir and Kalf Arnason went over to Magnus, son of Olaf after the death of his father in the battle of Stiklestad. They make a journey to Rus' and offer him their support. As the guarantee of their faithfulness they become his "fathers"⁴⁹. In both situations it was not mentioned the real parent care, but rather loyalty to the former foe. In some sense their position was similar to hostages.

There could be told some words about brotherhood. As in Scandinavia it was initially a part and a consequence of fostering (a child of a foster-father and a foster-son were tied by the *fóstbroeðralag*) and then this custom, that means the bonds between the families at first was developed into a agreement between two men, that carried out the rite of blending blood together, and further the contract without sacred oath and usually had been concluded by people, who are going to a trade voyage like Einarr and Þorsteinn in the *Þorsteins saga hvíta* or vikings like Bróðir and Óspakur in *Brennu-Njáls saga*. This last meaning was the most common in the Old Russian society. All but one evidences of existing brotherhood are attributed to unions with foreign people.

We know about Pretich, that became, by all appearances, a sworn brother of polovitian prince⁵⁰, three sworn brothers, that fought together in the battle for Constantinople were a Greek, a German and a Hungarian⁵¹, and the prohibition of Theodosius of Kiev to make a brotherhood union with Catholics⁵². These scanty examples indicated that the bonds of sworn brotherhood were needed mostly among the people in war march or commercial trip, and whose near relations are in a long way.

This reassessment of the indirect usage of kinship terms in Old Russian Chronicles brings up important issues. Although the proposed model isn't without its shortages, there is a set of essential peculiarities that it explains more clearly than traditional model of social hierarchy. The personal character of kinship terms usage shows how a very ancient conceptions of kinship commitments can

⁴⁸ PSRL, Vol. I, St. 76.

⁴⁹ *Heimskringla*, *Saga Ólafs hins helga*, chapter 251, *Sagan af Magnúsi góða*, chapter 23.

⁵⁰ PSRL, Vol. I, St. 67.

⁵¹ The story about the Fall of Constantinople: *Повесть о взятии Царьграда турками в 1453 году* // ПЛДР. Вторая половина XV века. М., 1982.

⁵² *Киево-Печерский патерик*, ПЛДР, т.4 РАН. ИРЛИ; Под ред. Д. С. Лихачева и др.– СПб.: Наука, 1997. – Т. 4: XII век.

work in the political and military events up to the XIII century. As we have seen the real mechanism of its action the charges of the real kinsmen become more understandable too.

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