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**Storia Militare Medievale**

a cura di  
MARCO MERLO, FABIO ROMANONI E PETER SPOSATO



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Direzione, Via Bosco degli Arvali 24, 00148 Roma  
Contatti: [direzione@nam-sigm.org](mailto:direzione@nam-sigm.org) ; [virgilio.ilari@gmail.com](mailto:virgilio.ilari@gmail.com)

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Sigillo di Leszek I di Polonia detto il Bianco (Leszek Bialego)  
Grafika pochodzi z książki: *Poczet królów i książąt polskich*, Czytelnik,  
pod red. Andrzeja Garlickiego, Warszawa 1984.  
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*Gloria et Virtus:*  
 Hastiludium in Ruthenian Lands and Beyond  
 XII-XV centuries\*

by KHRYSTYNA MERENIUK

ABSTRACT: The spread of hastiliudi (military competitions) in the Rus' is an unexplored issue in modern medieval studies. A comprehensive analysis of Rus'ian and European sources shows that Ruthenian warriors were good at jousting and military competitions. The study indicates that the Rus'ian term *угра* (*igra*) is the equivalent of the Latin *hastiludium*. The first mention of hastiludium in Kyiv dates back to 1150, but it refers to competitions between Hungarian warriors. In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the first hastiludi were recorded, in which Ruthenian princes took part. At the same time, during the reign of the Romanovids dynasty, there were successful military campaigns in Europe. This influenced the emergence of the image of the Ruthenian king as an active participant in tournament competitions in European literary works. Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Ruthenian warriors have been participating in the Hungarian and Polish kingdoms' hastiludi. This paper opened a new perspective on the spread of jousting culture in Rus' and defined the image of Rus' warriors as skilled in European tournaments.

KEYWORDS: RUS', HASTILUDIUM, ROMANOVIDS, GALICIAN-VOLHYNIAN STATE, MILITARY COMPETITIONS.

This paper represents a continuation of my research on military competitions within the Ruthenian territories. Several years ago, based on comprehensive material from the all-Rus' chronicles (Kyivan, Galician-Volhynian, Nikonian, and Trinity), I proposed several hypotheses regarding the dissemination of jousting traditions across the Rus' lands<sup>1</sup>. However, it is now es-

\* This research was carried out with the financial support of the *Deutsch-Ukrainische Historische Kommission* (German-Ukrainian Historical Commission, DUHK), which operates with funding from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

1 See: Khrystyna Mereniuk, «“Tournaments” and “games” in Rus’: tradition or single mentions?», *Problems of the history of wars and military art*, 3 (2021), pp. 57–69; Khrystyna Mereniuk, «Military «игра» in Rus’: Terminological and original questions», *Ukraine: Cultural Heritage, National Identity, Statehood*, 38 (2023), 41–52.

essential to focus specifically on particular military elements of Ukrainian history tied to the Ruthenian regions of Kyiv, Chernihiv, Halych, and Volodymyr (“Volhynia”). As the analysis reveals, these regions, particularly the Galician and Volhynian principalities, were more inclined to adopt European customs<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, selecting these territories for study holds promise, especially in the exploration of knightly rituals and competitions.

The Middle Ages are often associated with the military prowess of Western Europe, while Eastern lands are typically viewed through the lens of the Byzantine world, with its distinct developmental trajectory. In reality, Rus’ – as a borderland – absorbed influences from both the Greek East and the medieval West<sup>3</sup>. Its strategic location at the crossroads of significant trade and cultural routes facilitated the inheritance of military traditions from the European world of the time, albeit with localized adaptations. In this context, the Galician and Volhynian principalities stand out for their close ties with knightly communities from the Holy Roman Empire, the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Teutonic Order, the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Polish principalities. The unified Galicia-Volhynia state emerged in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century when Prince Roman Mstyslavovych (1152–1205), a scion of the Monomachos dynasty, annexed the Romanized Galician principality and incorporated it into Volhynian lands. The union is also referred to in historiography as the State of the Romanovids. Prince Roman’s successors – including Danylo (1201–1264), Vasylko (1203–1269), Lev (1225–1301), Mstyslav (d. after 1292), Volodymyr (1247–1288), Yurii (1252–1308), and Andrii and Lev (both d. in 1323), along with the Olhovych rulers of Chernihiv – consolidated and nurtured these traditions, which were increasingly shaped by European influences.

From the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, tournament culture began to emerge in Europe and, by the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, spread to the Ruthenian lands through neighbouring Polish territories and the Kingdom of Hungary. In Western Europe, the term tournament served as a collective designation for various forms of competition. The term most akin to *torneamentum*, in terms of its broad scope of inter-

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2 Myroslav Voloshchuk, *Ruthenians (the Rus’) in the Kingdom of Hungary (11th to mid-14th Century.) East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450*, Leiden, BRILL, 2021.

3 Khrystyna Mereniuk and Illia Parshyn, «Military Units and Symbolism: Utilization of Imagery From Medieval Rus in the Russian-Ukrainian War», *Trames. Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 28, 3 (2024), p. 296-297.



Fig. 1 Knights on horseback in a hastilude.  
Manuscript *Les Voeux du Paon* Add MS 30864, c. 10v

pretations, is *hastiludium*, which is literally means as a “lance game”<sup>4</sup>. This word is frequently cited in English and French chronicles from the period between 1100 and 1400<sup>5</sup>. Tournament combat of this nature could be conducted either on a large scale or in the form of individual duels. While the Latin term *hastiludium* is absent in Rus’ian chronicles due to the use of Cyrillic script, its equivalent in the Ruthenian context is the term “игра” (“igra”), which appears in numerous militarized contexts<sup>6</sup>.

4 Khrystyna Mereniuk, «Knight’s Tournaments in England and France from the 11th to the 14<sup>th</sup> Century: The Problems of Sources and Terminological Aspects», *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie*, 14, 18 (2022), pp. 131, 135. Also see: Francis Henry Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France*, Toronto, B. Quaritch, 1918, p. 15

5 Richard Barber, and Juliet Barker. *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge, 1989, p. 213. These scholars believed that although there is proof that tournaments existed in Hungary as early as the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the first official mention dates back to 1291, when King Andreas III sent several nobility to a tournament in Vienna. The house of Anjou controlled Hungary starting in 1310, and as soon as Karoly I (1288 – 1342) established himself in his new realm, he imported western sports and chivalric values.

6 Khrystyna Mereniuk, «Military «игра» in Rus’», pp. 41–52.

A notice in the Kyivan Chronicle from 1150 recounts the competition of Hungarian soldiers at the walls of Yaroslav's court in Kyiv: "Тогда же Оутре на фарехъ и на скокохъ играхуть ина Ёрославлѣ дворѣ многое множество Киѣны же дивахутса Оутромъ множеству и кметьства ихъ и кономем ихъ..." (Back then, Hungarians on horseback (фарехъ) were completing near Yaroslav's Court. Many Kyivans also came and marvelled at the Hungarian numbers and their military skills)<sup>7</sup>. The quoted fragment represents the first chronicle mention of military competitions in Rus'. However, it is difficult to determine whether Ruthenian warriors participated in these events, as the chronicler only refers to the Hungarians. Additionally, the people of Kyiv were astonished by this military spectacle, suggesting that it was previously unknown to them. It is also challenging to establish how well-known knightly competitions were in Hungary itself. There is some ambiguity here: according to scholars, they began to spread in Hungary only from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In their joint monograph, Richard Barber and Juliet Barker note that tournaments became known in Hungary by the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, with the first definitive report dating to 1291, when King Andrew III (1265–1301) sent several nobles to participate in a tournament in Vienna<sup>8</sup>. According to the research of the Polish historian of knightly culture Jan Szymczak, the first known knightly competitions in the Kingdom of Hungary took place in Požon (modern Bratislava) in 1220<sup>9</sup>. If it is assumed that a tournament indeed took place near Yaroslav's court, this notice would be the first to attest to the participation of Hungarian and Rus' soldiers in such competitions.

In the analysed chronicle passage, attention is also drawn to the use of the term "farekh" (фарехъ), which is quite rare in chronicles<sup>10</sup>. A brief analysis of this concept indicates a thoroughbred horse that differed from other animals in its characteristics (although this term in chronicles is usually found only in conjunction with references to Hungarian warriors)<sup>11</sup>. Some scholars associate this atyp-

7 Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej, Ipatevskaya letopisej. Izdavaemoe Arheograficheskoy komissii, Sankt-Peterburg, 1908, col. 416.

8 Richard Barber, and Juliet Barker, *cit.*, p. 103.

9 Jan Szymczak, «Knightly tournaments in medieval Poland», *Fasciculi archaeologiae historicae*, 8 (1995), p. 10.

10 Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej, Ipatevskaya letopis, col. 416.

11 Khrystyna Mereniuk, and Illia Parshyn, «"Фаръ" in chronicles of Rus': Features of interpretations», *Ukraine: Cultural Heritage, National Identity, Statehood*, 34 (2021), pp. 3–12.



ical horse with the well-known “destrier” in the West<sup>12</sup>. These horses were used for tournament competitions and were therefore extremely expensive. They were trained for tournaments for a long time, which further increased their cost. On the one hand, there is not enough source material to draw such parallels, but there are some records of the Rus’ian elite’s acquaintance with the “destrier” breeds. One of the most famous examples is the gift of German knights to the Prince of Polotsk. This act was supposed to symbolise the conclusion of a political agreement, so much attention was paid to the gifts<sup>13</sup>. Receiving a “destrier” horse also implies that the Rus’ian prince must have known about tournaments and the true value of this horse, whose main use was during the hastilude.

The spread of destrier among the Ruthenian nobility is known from knightly poems. One of them, *Chanson d’Antioche*, was composed around 1180. Its main purpose is to tell about the events of the First Crusade and the capture of Antioch by the Crusaders. It is believed that the first version of this work was written down by the Flemish knight Richard de Pelerin under the walls of Antioch<sup>14</sup>. However, its text has not survived to this day, and the final version was created at the court of the French King Louis VII (1120–1180). This text incorporated some historical details, as it was created not to blindly glorify knightly prowess, but to try to tell a true story. In particular, King Louis VII himself was a member of the Crusader movement, so he did not want to hear frankly fictionalised events.

This approach to the literary heritage of the Middle Ages was general at that time. In particular, the Crusades had a tangible impact on literary production throughout medieval Europe. The beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was especially important, when interest in events in the Holy Land seems to have reached its peak. The First Crusade already led to a noticeable movement in the development of chivalric literature, which was influenced by various songs. For example, the “*Chanson de Roland*” was formed during the First Crusade. However, songs associated with the actual Second Crusade began to appear actively during the 1150s<sup>15</sup>. A similar fate also befell the “*Chanson d’Antioche*”, which was dedicat-

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12 Vladimir Gucul, «Tarannyj boj v srednevekovej Rusi», *Colloquia Russica*, 5 (2015), p. 209–210.

13 Ibidem, p. 210.

14 Susan B. Edgington, *The Chanson d’Antioche An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, translated by Carol Sweetenham, New York, Routledge, 2016, p. I.

15 Michael Routledge, «Songs», *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, Oxford, University

ed to the events of the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, but nevertheless described the realities of the 1180s.

Description of the military campaign against the Saracens mentioned horses from Rus', which were "destriers": "Et s'a cescuns destrier boin courant de Roussie"<sup>16</sup>. Although this reference is the only one in the text, it nevertheless shows that some knightly ideas were spread to the Rus'. The appearance of such expensive horses indicates the existence of certain links between the realities of 12<sup>th</sup> century Rus' and the ideas of French authors. Such a record appeared in the environment of the crusader king. In general, the circumstances of the Third Crusade have some "Ruthenian plots": another participant in the campaign, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1122–1190), had contacts with Ruthenian princes during his march to Asia Minor. In particular, the emperor hosted an exile from the Galician throne, received a personal oath of allegiance from him, and received money gifts. In return, he obliged the Polish princes to help the exile return to Galicia. The sudden death of Frederick I during a river crossing in Asia Minor cut short this rather promising direction of Ruthenian politics. However, even the emperor's participation in the Crusade was enough to make a positive impression on Ruthenian chroniclers, who noted his strength and desire to regain Jerusalem from the hands of his enemies<sup>17</sup>. Although the French army belonged to a different European camp, it is possible that some echoes of contacts with Rus' also entered local memory and were distinguished in reports of special Rus' horses.

Specially trained horses from Rus' are also mentioned in another popular medieval French epic. The story of the adventures of the knight Mogris, one of the heroes of the chansons de geste, takes place at the legendary court of King Charlemagne. The popularity of such stories grew especially from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and in the 13<sup>th</sup> century all the stories were finally edited into four verses: *Maugis d'Aigremont* (the young years of Maugis), *Mort de Maugis* (the story of his death), *Vivien de Monbranc* (the story of Maugis's brother), *Bueve d'Aigremont* (the story of Maugis's relatives who rebelled against Charlemagne)<sup>18</sup>. It

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Press, 1995, pp. 91–94.

16 Jan A. Nelson (ed.), «The Old French Crusade Cycle», vol. 4, *La Chanson d'Antioche*, University of Alabama Press, 2003, p. 219.

17 Mari H. Isoaho, «Battle for Jerusalem in Kievan Rus': Igor's Campaign (1185) and the Battle of Hattin (1187)», *Palaeoslavica*, 25, 2 (2017), p. 57.

18 Kathleen Jarchow, «Magic at the Margins: The Mystification of Maugis d'Aigre-



Fig. 2 A rider on a horse. A fresco from St Sophia Cathedral, Kyiv

is in the work “Maugis d’Aigremont” that two destriers from Rus’ who “found themselves” in the French service are mentioned: “Ne il ne descendi dou destrier de Roussie, Tant qu’il vint a Monbrant la fort cite garnie”<sup>19</sup>. Just as with the pre-

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mont», *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*, edited by Albrecht Classen, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, 2017, pp. 439–441.

<sup>19</sup> Maugis D’aigremont, *Chanson de geste*, par Ferdinand Castets, Montpellier, Camille Cou-

vious knightly epic, it is difficult to fully trust the reports that medieval France valued “destriers” from Rus’. Perhaps the author was referring to some extraordinary animals that were little-known in European society at the time. However, this also does not deny the fact that the compilers of the poem knew about Rus’ and tried to include it in the French epic.

One of the tactical and technical components of the tournaments was the mounted shock combat, which meant a knight’s usual military technique. Ruthenian chronicles periodically draw attention to the tactics of military elites. A striking example of the use of mounted shock combat in Rus’ is an episode described in the chronicle of 1151, when princes Andriy Yuriyovych (1111–1174) and Izyaslav Mstyslavovych (1097–1154) were fighting for the Kyiv throne. The chronicler tells us that Andriy Yuriyovych, having gone ahead of his opponent “broke his lance” (изломив копье). Prince Izyaslav did the same when he attacked enemy troops. The use of such tactics may indicate the spread of the mounted shock combat in the Ruthenian territories as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century. A lance can be broken in a fight only by a direct powerful blow because the weapon breaks only under critical loads<sup>20</sup>.

Other records of the *hastilude* are found in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle. In 1230, Prince Vasylo Romanovych faked a tournament attack to play a joke on the boyars: “and he unsheathed his sword and fenced with a subject of the king, while someone else took [down] a shield and feigned battle”<sup>21</sup>. In the Cyrillic original, the phrase “играа на слоугоу королева” is used, which is interpreted as “attacked the enemy like in a real *hastilude*”.

An important example of *hastiludium* in the Galician-Volhynian lands occurred in 1245, when Prince Rostyslav Mykhailovych of Chernihiv (1219–1262), an opponent of the Romanovychs in the struggle for the Galician throne, organized a military competition near the city of Yaroslav. Rostyslav’s allies included Hungarian soldiers. Unable to capture the city immediately, Rostyslav, out of boredom, decided to initiate a military competition: “He continued boasting in this manner and then held a tournament outside the city [to pass the time of the

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let, p. 250.

20 Gucul, *cit.*, p. 206.

21 Georg Perfecky (trans.), *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973, p. 38.



Fig. 3. The mounted shock combat. *The Radziwill Chronicle*, fol. 84; 178.

siege.] As he jousted with Vors, his horse fell beneath him, and he sprained his shoulder. And this forebodes ill for him...<sup>22</sup>. The chronicle story allows us to restore several other important aspects. Prince Rostyslav Mykhailovych fought in a duel with an unknown knight Vors. Based on available sources, it is difficult to determine the biographical details of his life or ethnicity. The origin of Vors, taking into account the composition of Prince Rostyslav's army, should be sought between Hungarian or Polish nobles. Polish researchers were the first to make a

<sup>22</sup> Perfecty (trans.), *cit.*, p. 55.

thorough identification of this fighter. Their hypothesis was that the name Vors is similar to Vars, who is mentioned in Polish sources<sup>23</sup>. The alleged Vars could have belonged to the family of the Sandomirian gentry. This version is supported in Ukrainian historiography<sup>24</sup>. On the other hand, M. Hrushevskyi pointed out that Vors could have been Hungarian<sup>25</sup>. The hypothetical identification of the knight Vors was continued by I. Parshyn, who studied the diplomas of Hungarian kings and suggested that the proposed “Vors” is similar to the spelling of the famous Hungarian family “Bors”<sup>26</sup>. Despite the existing hypotheses, there is no doubt that Prince Rostyslav Mykhailovych’s opponent in the tournament near the city of Yaroslav was a skilled knight who inflicted severe wounds. Perhaps this incident decided the fate of the next battle for the city, in which Prince Rostyslav was defeated by the Romanovych troops.

Another confirmation of the good knowledge of Western European military traditions in Rus’ is a notice by a Volhynian scribe in 1252. At that time, the Galician-Volhynian Romanovids joined the struggle between the Lithuanian princes. In one of the battles, Ruthenian troops pursued German soldiers as if in a ‘tournament’: “The next day the Germans rode out [of the city] with their crossbows, but the Rus’ians and Polovcians showered them with arrows and the Jatvingians attacked them with their lances. [Tevtil’s forces] pursued [the Germans] through the field [of battle] as in a tournament and from there they returned to Zemoit”<sup>27</sup>. The analogies used by the chronicler point to some important aspects of such competitions. First of all, it confirms that the competitions in Rus’ took place on horseback, i.e. it was an elite entertainment available to the military class. The analysis of these chronicle fragments also shows the use of different weapons:

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23 Dariusz Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz. Król Rusi (ok. 1201–1264). Biografia polityczna*, Krakow, Avalon, 2012, p. 255.

24 M. Voloshchuk noted that Polish Vars was genealogically linked to the Odrowąż family, whose representatives were active missionaries and preachers of the Catholic Church in the lands of Rus: Myroslav Voloshchuk, «Prosopohrafichni studii bytvy pid Yaroslavom 17 serpnia 1245 roku», *Colloquia Russica*, 2017, p. 119.

25 Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus’*, Vol. 3: To the Year 1340, Edmonton, Toronto, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2016, p. 6.

26 Illia Parshyn, «Poiedynok kniazia Rostyslava Mykhailovycha ta lytsaria Vorsha – preliudii do Yaroslavskoi bytvy 1245 roku», *Problemy istorii viin i viiskovoho mystetstva*, 2 (2019), p. 153.

27 Perfecky (trans.), *cit.*, p. 63.

Prince Vasylo drew a sword, and the Javtvingians chased their opponents with lances. Unfortunately, the information in the Galicia-Volhynia Chronicle comes to an end when describing the events of the early 1290s. It is possible to complete the picture of Rus' military culture only on the basis of other sources. In the literary source "Digenis Akritas" a monument of Ruthenian translation writing of the 11<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, which is an arbitrary retelling of the lost Byzantine poem of the same name. It described the story of the son of a Muslim king and a Greek woman who defended the country's borders against the Saracens, personifying the knightly ethos. The Rus'ian version absorbed the traditions of the martial epic, pointing to the ideal medieval warrior. The source mentions the value of horses, which must be fast, skilful, and hardy for tournament combat: «His horse is fast, skilled in military games...., and the young man can tournament with various weapons»<sup>28</sup>. Unfortunately, the limited number of reports on the development of tournament culture makes further analysis difficult. From the sources found, it is evident that tournament culture was widespread in Ruthenia (primarily in Galicia and Volhynia). This situation can be explained by the fact that these lands were closest to Western Europe, so certain knightly ideals and ideas about them spread here. Some manifestations of *hastiludium* can be studied on the basis of Polish medieval sources, but in some cases, they are quite biased towards Rus.

The image of Ruthenians warriors in jousting was also popular in German chivalric epics. Chronologically, all of these works were created in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the heyday of the Galicia-Volhynia state. Thus, the reign of the Romanovids dynasty was reflected in the European literary tradition. Representatives of this dynasty had long-standing contacts with the Teutonic Order and the elites of the Holy Roman Empire, so the spread of stories about Rus' kings in the Germanic epic can be considered a natural consequence of this process. It is not known whether the Ruthenian nobility actually participated in tournaments, but they were certainly familiar with the known practices of chivalry. The military achievements of the soldiers also had an impact on the popularity of Ruthenian stories. In particular, in the battle near the Leith River in 1246, the Austrian Duke Frederick II (1211–1246) was believed to have been killed by the Ruthenian king. This event had an impact on the perception of Rus' in German literature of the

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28 Oleg Tvorogov (ed.), «Devgeniyevo deyaniye», *Pamyatniki literatury Drevney Rusi: XIII vek*, Moskva, Nauka, 1981, p. 27–62.

Middle Ages. Therefore, it can be assumed that this event was partly responsible for some references to lands that were “exotic” for German poets in the works of the Minnesingers.

The poem “Biterolf and Dietlieb” identifies two distinct and hostile spheres: the southeastern one under the leadership of the king of Huns - Etzel and the northwestern one dominated by the Rhineland court in Worms<sup>29</sup>. Scholars note that such a division could be a purely literary interpretation, since at the time of the compilation of the texts, the “southeastern” rulers in Europe were well known to the German nobility (the Kingdom of Bohemia, for example, was even part of the Holy Roman Empire)<sup>30</sup>. More correct, it seems, are the scholars who argue that certain political perceptions have been formed that have influenced the emergence of the east-west divide<sup>31</sup>. The poem refers to a tournament, during which it turns out that none of the Eastern European warriors in the text (Huns, Poles, Bohemians, Prussians, Vlachs, and Cumans) can fight in a tournament with a lance on a horse<sup>32</sup>. At the same time, the text also emphasises that the Huns did not know how to hold tournaments, as did the Prussians and Poles, who “did not care” about these entertainments: “Wir Hünen gesahen doch nie mer wie turnieren sy getan / die preussen vnd die polan / haben sein selten icht gephelegen”<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, these ethnic groups, regardless of which side they are on in the confrontation, are equally incompetent in the art of tournament fighting<sup>34</sup>. It is noteworthy that Rus’ is not included among the countries that do not know about the tournaments. It is difficult to determine the reason for this. It can be assumed that Rus’ and its elite were compared to Scandinavian heroes in epic poems, so they

29 Alexander Sagger, «Eastern Europe and the cultural poetics of the chivalric tournament in medieval Germany: Biterolf und Dietleib, Ottokar von Steiermark’s Österreichische Reimchronik and Ludwig von Eyb’s Turnierbuch», *Germano-Slavica*, 14 (2003), pp. 5–6.

30 Michael Curschmann, «Biterolf und Dietleip», *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters Verfasserlexikon*, Berlin, New York, Die Gruyter, 1978, v.1, pp. 879-883.

31 Fritz Peter Knapp, «Sagengeographie und Europäischer Krieg in “Biterolf und Dietleib”», *Pöchlerner Heldenliedgespräch: Die historische Dietrichepik*, ed. K. Zatloukal, Vienna, Fassbaender, 2 (1992), pp. 69–77.

32 “welt jr turnierens phlegen / Sy wundert daz vnns auf den wegen / mit streite in disen Lannden / noch nyemant hat bestanden / Nu wolten die von Hunen lanndt”. Mario Klarer (ed.), *Ambraser Heldenbuch. Gesamttranskription mit Manuskriptbild. Biterolf und Dietleib*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, 9 (2022), p. 445.

33 Sagger, *cit.*, p. 6; Klarer (ed.), *cit.*, p. 437.

34 Sagger, *cit.*, p. 7.



belonged more to the “northwestern” world. In addition, the anonymous author of the poem “Biterolf and Dietlieb” was well aware of the Ruthenian warriors (the author uses *Riuzen* several times when describing wars). About Dietrich, who fights against his tutor and “master” Hildebrand, it is written: “er haete in also gerne sam einen Riuzen erslagen”. It seems that in this context, “Riuze” has become a hallmark of the hostile stranger, who is treated with suspicion and killed whenever the opportunity arises.

According to the text of the poem “Dietrich and Wenezlan” which originated in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and survives only in one version and in fragments, the protagonist Dietrich served at the court of the Hun’s king “Etzel”. His fame attracted the attention of the ruler of Venetia, the prince of the Poles: “vürste von Bôlân”. The Polish ruler sought glory in a duel with Dietrich and even captured his friends to blackmail him. The decisive battle resembled a tournament, which was attended by a large army of Poles, including Ruthenians: “den Bôlân triben began vaste durch der Riuzen her dan”<sup>35</sup>. Beautiful ladies watched the joust, and both knights skilfully demonstrated their knightly skills. The ending of the poem is lost: the narrative is interrupted at the final description of the joust.

In other poems of Dietrich’s cycle, one can find more information about the presence of Ruthenian warriors at jousts or larger competitions, such as tournaments. In some cases, this information is fragmentary, but in some poems it is rich in detail (descriptions of the participants, their armour, and their fighting skills). In this German cycle of poems, an important place is occupied by *Rosengarten* (The Rose Garden). Scholars have pointed to the existence of five general versions of the poem: A, DP (version D in the Vulgate), F, C, and the Middle Low German version. The poem contains a wealth of information about various heroic chivalric traditions through detailed references to objects (tournament swords, armour, horses, names of heroes) and processes (the beginning of the competition, descriptions of tournaments and ceremonies)<sup>36</sup>. An anonymous poet described a “journey to Worms on the Rhine”, where famous knights would compete<sup>37</sup>. For

35 Julius Zupitza (ed.), «Dietrich und Wenezlan», *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, Berlin, Weidmannshe Buchhandlung, 5 (1870), p. 273.

36 Victor Millet, *Germanische Heldendichtung im Mittelalter*, Berlin, Boston, de Gruyter, 2008, p. 360-361.

37 In Worms, the beautiful Kriemhilt lived with her father Gippich. Her father had a garden “full of red gold and riches”. In the garden were 12 of the bravest knights that King Gip-

this research, the versions C and D (DP) are important, as they mention a king from Rus’.

In these versions, King Gippich chose twelve knights for the competition. The ninth was Hartung (or Hertnit, Hartnit) – “the rich king from Rus”<sup>38</sup>. In D Hartnit’s main opponent is the knight Walther from Kerlingen. Version D is richer in detail than the previous ones, showing Hartnit as a wealthy king who seeks glory. Hartnit came to the duel with his coat of arms, which had a specific heraldic figure - a wheel: “Dö liuop er bi dem künege under einer banier guot: daz rat vuorte von Riuzen Hartnit der höchgemuot”<sup>39</sup>. Walter’s coat of arms depicted an azure lion: “ein lewe von lāsüre an sime schilte was”<sup>40</sup>. As a result of the joust, both soldiers inflicted tangible wounds on each other and were rewarded for their courage: “und schietsie von einander und gap iede wederm den pris”<sup>41</sup>. At the end of the plot, Hartnit returned to Rus’: “dö vuor heimge in Riuzen Hartnit ein künece

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pich could gather to protect it. According to the storyline, Gippich sent a challenge to King Etzel (the rich king of the Huns). He offered the following deal: if Etzel wanted to see the garden, he would come with 12 heroes. If he lost, Gippich would serve him (John M. Ludlow, *Popular epics of the Middle Ages of the Norse-German and carlovingian cycles*, London, Macmillan and Co, 1865, p. 280).

- 38 He appears as Hertnit, Hartnit, Hartung, and Hartunc in a number of listings. Hertnit of Ruthenia also mentioned in another 13<sup>th</sup> century Middle High German poem from the cycle about Dietrich of Bern, Dietrich’s Flight. In the plot, the knight Dietrich was betrayed by his uncle Ermanaric, who expelled him from the kingdom in northern Italy. Dietrich found himself at the court of Etzel (the king of the Huns), and several times he gathered knights and defeated Ermanaric. But he was unable to regain his homeland. *Hertnit von Riuzen* appears in one of the convocations of knights from different lands (Ernst Martin, «Dietrichs Flucht», *Deutsches Heldenbuch Alpharts Tod. Dietrichs Flucht. Rabenschlacht*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1866, p.148. Hartung is also mentioned in the poem The Death of Alphart, which is also part of a cycle of epic works dedicated to the figure of Dietrich of Bern. This poem is believed to have been written in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but the earliest surviving manuscript dates from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. No details of Hartung’s identity are given - he is referred to by his first name (“Hartunc”) in one of the literary scenes of the military assembly. In this case, he can be considered the “King of Rus” only by referring to the poetic tradition established earlier. (Martin, *cit.*, p. 11. The Thidrekssaga, which appeared in Norway in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, features two Hertnites who are the rulers of the Ruthenian land. Viktor Rydberg, «Teutonic mythology», *Nottingham.ac.uk*, <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/-sczsteve/Rydberg.pdf>
- 39 Georg Holz, *Die gedichte vom Rosengarten zu Worms*, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1893, p. 132.
- 40 Ibidem, p. 131. The Lion is Walter’s horse in the German epic *Waltarius*.
- 41 Ibidem, p. 132.

rîch”<sup>42</sup>. The joust ended in a draw.

According to the plot of *The Rose Garden C*, Hartung also went to a tournament in Worms. In version C, he was invited to fight Stüefinc, who was the king of Ireland (“künec Stüefinc von Îrlant”).<sup>43</sup> A Ruthenian warrior arrived at the battle with a large lance: “er fuort in siner hende ein vil grozzez sper”<sup>44</sup> The text goes on to describe the fierce battle as the two warriors tried to demonstrate their best skills. At first, the fighters jousted with lances, then took up swords: “Zwei Speere sie verstachen mit ritterlicher Hand; Da griffen zu den Schwerten die Recken auserkant”. Hartung rushed forward and defeated the enemy: a powerful blow from the Ruthenian king pierced Stüefinc’s armour, and the Irish knight’s helmet fell at the feet of the Ruthenian king: “Hartnit üf in mit grimme sluoc sin ewert, daz was guot/ er sluoc im durch die ringe, daz darnach vlöz daz bluot / durch heim...gap er im einen slac, / daz der heim und daz houbet vor sinen vüezen lac”<sup>45</sup>. Similar to other literary works, the competition for the Ruthenian ruler ends with the kiss of a beautiful lady<sup>46</sup>.

The University of Heidelberg Library holds a manuscript of the *Rose Garden (D)*, dated 1418-1420. On folio 40v is a depiction of a duel between Hartung and Walter<sup>47</sup>. Both warriors are wearing classic 15th century full armour and are armed with long two-handed swords. Their looks are complemented by knightly surcote cloaks of green and red hues. The miniature is complemented by the image of wounds. However, the King of Rus’ has no special heraldic figures or helmet ornaments that would indicate his identity.

While scholars have formed certain stable concepts about the previous poems, the Ruthenian themes in the work of Konrad from Würzburg (1220/1230-1287) have not been studied. In the medieval Latin tradition, he is known as a “vagus” (wandering singer), while German-`king medieval poets called him “Master

42 Ibidem, p. 166.

43 Holz, *cit.*, p. XLVI.

44 Elisabeth Lienert, Sonja Kerth und Svenja Nierentz, “*Rosengarten C*”, *Teilband I: Einleitung, <Rosengarten> A*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2015, p. 476.

45 Holz, *cit.*, p. XLVII; Elisabeth Lienert, Sonja Kerth und Svenja Nierentz, *cit.*, p. 476.

46 Khrystyna Mereniuk, «Knight’s Tournaments in England and France from the 11th to the 14th Century: The Problems of Sources and Terminological Aspects», *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie*, 14 (2022), p. 135.

47 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 359, 40v.

Konrad". His works are full of chivalric traditions, domestic aspects, romantic adventures, knightly heraldry, and rich depictions of tournament competitions. He was one of the representatives of the so-called "flower style" in Middle High German poetry: he actively used metapoetic metaphors, which brought descriptions of plants into the sphere of language art<sup>48</sup>. One of the protagonists of the poem "Engelhard" is the king of Rus', Hertnit (von Rinzen kiinic Hertnit). The general plot of the work concerns the extremely strong friendship between the knights Engelhard and Dietrich. However, the text of the poem is full of other knightly plots, in particular, descriptions of tournaments.

The tournament described by Konrad from Würzburg was attended by 2,000 knights<sup>49</sup>. As in an ordinary jousting competition, they were divided into parties. In the first depicted competition, the Scottish king Wahsmuot was in one party ("von was in der einen parte / Schotten kiinic Wahsmuot"), and the other side was led by the king of Rus' ("von Rinzen kiinic Hertnit geschicket was inz ander teil"<sup>50</sup>). The author continued the literary tradition of the wealth of the Ruthenian ruler, who went to his battle wearing an expensive coat of arms made of silk embroidered with gold (samite): er fuorte von er fuorte von samite / vil rîchiu wâpen kleider an<sup>51</sup>. The "Engelhard" is rich in heraldic descriptions, but it is difficult to identify the real coats of arms for the Scottish and Ruthenian kings<sup>52</sup>. The author describes Hertnit as a full-fledged European knight participating in the tournament. The king of Rus' fought a duel with the Scottish ruler, and this battle is described in accordance with all the canons of knightly poetic thought and the customs of military competitions of the time: die Riuzen und die Schotten zein andev sich dô wurren / dô grâzten unde kurren ir ros, wan ei sich frönten, / dô roan begnnde flönten unde tambarieren / in stuont ir justieren / mit vnogen ritterlichen an / dô fingen banier unde Tan<sup>53</sup>. This shows that the idea of a Ruthenian warrior participating in a European jousting competition was quite widespread.

48 Horst Brunner, «Konrad von Würzburg», *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, Berlin, New York, Band 5, 1985, pp. 272–304.

49 Paul Gereke (ed.), «Konrad von Würzburg. Engelhard», Auf. 2, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1963, p. 104.

50 Ibidem, p. 105.

51 Ibidem.

52 Arnold Galle, «Wappenwesen und Heraldik bei Konrad von Würzburg», *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 53, 3-4 (1912), p. 245.

53 Gereke (ed.), *cit.*, p. 106.



Fig. 4 Walter of Kerlingen and Hertnit from Rus'.  
Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 359, c. 40v.

Although Konrad of Würzburg may have added some “exoticism” to his story, his remark that the lances and shields of the Ruthenian and Scottish rulers shone is quite artistic and realistic: *dô glänzten hie spiez, dort der schilt*<sup>54</sup>. After that, the warriors began to fight with sharp swords: *mit scharpfen swerten wart gespilt*<sup>55</sup>.

The fight took place according to the old rules, that is, it generally resembled

<sup>54</sup> Gereke (ed.), *cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*.

an open war, which also involved servants – kippers – usually people of non-noble origin, hired by a knight to collect the enemy’s armour, including from dead opponents. Such servants were also allowed to beat other knights with non-lethal weapons (clubs or sticks) to obtain spoils of war from them<sup>56</sup>. In practice, kippers fulfilled the role of infantrymen in actual combat. Konrad of Würzburg documented the realities of tournament culture in the 13th century, whereas by the late Middle Ages, the participation of servants in such competitions faced growing condemnation.<sup>57</sup> Although the knightly class regarded kippers with disdain, they played a crucial role in executing specific tournament maneuvers, particularly in “restraining” opponents.<sup>58</sup> King Hertnit, as the leader of the opposing team, found himself in a dire situation and was “subdued” by an experienced kipper. According to the poem’s narrative, the servant seized the reins of the noble King of Rus’s horse and attempted to drag him under a tree into his own camp: “den werden kunic von Riuzen / haet er gevangen in den zoum / und wolte in under einen boum / ziehen balde in sinen fride”<sup>59</sup>. This servant also struck the King of Rus’ with a club on his arms and legs, attempting to dislodge the gold, as the Rus’ ruler was “adorned with it like an angel”: “sin kneht der sluoc ûf siniu lide mit einem starken bengel / wand er alsam ein engel gezieret was mit golde / so wolte er hân ze solde”<sup>60</sup>. The opponents sought the horse and armor of the Rus’ king as ransom: “so wolte er hân ze solde / daz roe nnd ouch den harnasch”<sup>61</sup>. At the end of the competition, Engelhard helped the King of Rus’ secure the tournament prize: “er half den Rinzen pris bejagen”<sup>62</sup>. An important detail is the concluding stanza “die werden ritter Uber al von dannen kerten bi der zit”<sup>63</sup>, which highlights the direct integration of the Rus’ warrior into the chivalric milieu. Thus, in the imagination of the medieval German poet Konrad of Würzburg, the presence of Rus’ warriors at knightly tournaments was entirely acceptable and natural.

56 Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 256–257.

57 Ibidem, p. 257.

58 Ibidem.

59 Gereke (ed.), *cit.*, p. 108.

60 Ibidem.

61 Ibidem.

62 Ibidem, p. 112.

63 Ibidem.

In his other poem “Partonopier and Meilleur”, the author significantly expanded the geographical scope of the tournament, featuring participants from various regions, including Norway, Ireland, Navarre, Aragon, Carinthia, Britain, Normandy, Hungary, Portugal, and others. Within this diverse assembly, the inclusion of Rus’ is both natural and contextually appropriate.<sup>64</sup> In the imagination of Konrad of Würzburg, Rus’ warriors are once again mentioned alongside Scots, though this time the author refrains from providing additional “details: ... von Riuzen und von Schotten vier künege mit ir rotten (...four kings with their retinues, from Rus’ and from Scotland).<sup>65</sup> The brief mention is particularly significant as it provides evidence of the participation of Rus’ warriors in knightly tournaments, presenting it as entirely natural from the perspective of a medieval German chronicler. Although they are listed alongside rather “exotic” peoples, knights from the Polish principalities or Bohemia are notably absent from the roster of participants. On one hand, this is somewhat surprising, as these states were well-acquainted with tournament traditions. On the other hand, it may suggest a certain prestige attributed to Rus’ warriors, earned through their prowess in prior battles.

Another source, “The life of Saint Elizabeth”, written after 1297 by an unknown poet, also contains “Rus’ian stories”. This work tells the story of the Landgrave of Thuringia Hermann and his wife Sophie, the life of the knight’s house, and the customs that prevailed in the local environment: feasts, entertainment, and tournaments. One of these tournaments brought together many knights: aus allen deutschen Landen / Ungarn und Russen / Sachsen und Preussen / Dänen mit Wenden / liessen sich auch da finden. / Böhmen und Polen, / mit Grafen auch die slavischen Edlen, / Dienstherren und viel Freie. All these knights had one desire: to compete in jousts: sie alle suchten Ritterspiel / Stechen, kämpfen / was man zur Ritterschaft begehrt. Like other poems from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, this text indicates the direct participation of Ruthenian soldiers in jousting competitions. Given the anonymous author’s emphasis on Slavic nationalities, the report of the participation of Ruthenian, Polish, and Czech knights in the competition may have a real basis.

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64 Galle, *cit.*, p. 253.

65 Karl Bartsch (ed.), *Konrads von Würzburg Partonopier und Meliur, Turnei von Nantheiz - Sant Nicolaus - Lieder und Sprüche*, Wien, W. Braumüller Verlag, 1871, p. 224.

In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Ruthenian lands came under the rule of the Polish crown, so some episodes from the Ruthenian past were included in the Polish chronicle tradition. Since then, some representatives of the Ruthenian nation have been meeting with Polish knights. Polish and Ruthenian knights took part in the campaigns of the Teutonic Order against Prussian pagans in the 1370s. Among them was Ivan of Gorai, who took part in a tournament in Prussia in 1380 (according to L. Jéquier). The sources preserve his coat of arms, which depicts three silver stripes on a red shield field, above which is a helmet with a helmet with a silver dog). Ivan of Gorai's status was also evidenced by the fact that he was a member of the honorary knight's table in Königsberg in 1385, where influential foreign knights took part.

On the occasion of Władysław Jagiełło's (1352/1362 –1434) visit to Buda, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437) staged a well renowned tournament. According to the chronicler Jan Długosz, the *hastilude* (called "hastiludia") started on May 22, 1412, which is Whitsun, or the day after Corpus Christi Thursday. Albrecht II, Duke of Austria; the Silesian dukes Louis II of Brzeg and Legnica, Konrad III of Oleśnica, and Jan II of Racibórz; Ostoja Stjepan Kotromanic, King of Bosnia; Sandalj Hranic-Kosaca, a Bosnian magnate; and Ernest I the Iron, the archduke of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, were among the many notable guests who entered the competition<sup>66</sup>. Warriors of various nationalities took part in the competition: Greeks, Italians, Gauls, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Austrians, knights from Meissen and Rhine, French, Lithuanians, Ruthenians (Ruthenos), Bosnians, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Albanians, and knights from Raska (Serbia)<sup>67</sup>. The scale of foreign involvement is somewhat exaggerated (as is sometimes the case in European medieval sources), but the presence of Ruthenian warriors could have been quite real.

The mention of the names of specific warriors, many of them representatives of Polish nobility, is noteworthy, and it is difficult to identify some individuals. Some of the names may correspond to representatives of the Ruthenian elite, who, as part of the Polish kingdom, preserved the memory of their past. The brothers Domarath and Jacob of Cobyłany (Domarath et Iacobus germani de Cobyłany)

<sup>66</sup> Szymczak, *cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>67</sup> Krzysztof Baczkowski (ed.), *Ioannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Lib. 10-11, 1404-1412*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1997, p. 202.





Fig. 5 Coat of arms of Ivan of Gorai in Armorial Bellenville

took part in the hastilude of 1412. According to O. Odnorozhenko, the Cobyliansky family came from the Ruthenian gentry and these knights could belong to its protoplasty<sup>68</sup>. At the same time, the addition of Germanic roots (*germani*) may be further misleading. However, it is known that students from Rus' were identified as belonging to the Germanic nation in European universities of the time. Similarly, the prefix "of Cobylyany" may refer to a settlement in the modern Lublin Voivodeship, where the Orthodox Church had been operating since at least the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, it is possible that Domarat and Jacob from Cobylyany was of Ruthenian origin. The governor of Galicia, Szibor of Szcziborzycze, also took part in this hastilude. He earned the respect of the Hungarian king and governed the lands under his rule on his behalf. At the time, he fought for the restoration of the Galician principality (under the rule of the Hungarian king) until his death in 1414.

During the coronation celebrations of 1447, a hastilude was held in Krakow, in which Lithuanians, Ruthenians, and Zhemoytes took part: "the whole day was spent at a feast in the castle and in jousting"<sup>69</sup>. There are, however, serious doubts about this mention. There is a fairly respectable historiographical tradition about the participation of Lithuanians, Ruthenians, and Zhemoytes in the tournament. However, these references are based on the report of the early modern Polish author Bernar Wapowski. He indeed described the royal celebrations that took place in Krakow on the day of the coronation. However, his description is rather vague. The text suggests that tournament competitions were held in the city, but the Ruthenians, Lithuanians, and Zhemoytes are mentioned later in a different context. Representatives of these peoples brought their gifts to the new ruler, but the tournaments seem to have ended by then. Thus, the reports known in historiography as evidence of Rus' participation in tournaments also need to be revised. The source base of this issue also needs to be corrected. From the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, the possibility of travelling by the Rus'ian elite to get acquainted with the knightly culture of Europe was enshrined in law. In 1457, King Casimir's (1427–1492) charter granted free travel to other countries, including to partic-

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68 Oleh Odnorozhenko, *Rodova heraldyka Ruskoho korolivstva ta Ruskykh zemel Korony Polskoi XIV – XVI st.*, *Monumenta Rutheniae heraldica*, Vol. 1, Kharkiv, 2009, pp. 187; 215; 281.

69 Bernar Wapowski, *Dzieje Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Ksiestwa Litewskiego*, T. 3, Wilno, Glücksberg Teofil, 1848, p. 27.

ipate in tournaments for Lithuanian, Ruthenian, and Zhemoytian nobility.

The presence of beautiful ladies played an important role in the tournaments. Hastilude not only took place during breaks in hostilities, but also during ceremonies, holidays or weddings. During the wedding celebrations of Prince Boleslaw IV the Curly (1122–1173) and Viacheslava (Anastasia) (1125–1162), which took place in 1141, a hastilude took place in Krakow. Apparently, it was held in honour of a wedding with a Ruthenian princess. A similar competition took place in 1207 in Krakow during the wedding of Leszek the White (1186–1227) to Grzymisława of Luck (1185/1195–1258). The chronicler Jan Długosz noted these military competitions as “*hastarum ludos*” (lance game).

The same chronicler wrote a semi-legendary description of the marriage ceremony of Boleslaw II the Bold (1042–1081) and Wyzesława (1047–1089) in 1067. Describing the festivities, Jan Długosz mentioned “*ludis militaribus et hastarum*”. It is unlikely that knightly tournament culture was so developed in Poland at that time. Obviously, the chronicler transferred the realities of the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the events of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, describing these events in terms he understood. At the same time, it is important not only to mention Rus’ princesses as possible patronesses in Polish monuments, but also to note how local chroniclers described European tournaments.

Similar historiographical curiosities occurred later. To add authenticity to their stories, the authors included some natives of Rus’ in the tournaments. On the one hand, this indicates knowledge about these lands and the military skills of the warriors. However, this approach also demonstrates the realities in which the author lived and worked, rather than the actual participation of Ruthenian warriors in the competitions. Georg Ruxner, a German herald, completed and published his tournament book around 1530. He briefly described the most famous jousting tournaments that took place in the Holy Roman Empire. He started with



Fig. 6. The seal of Grzymisław of Lutsk.

the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In describing one of the first tournaments in 938, which took place in Magdeburg, he named among the honourable participants Prince Wilmar (“Fürst von Reussen”) and Grand Duke Radebotto (“Grossfürst von Reussen”)<sup>70</sup>. It is doubtful that tournaments were actually organised in the German lands in 938. I should agree with the researchers who consider the first few tournaments mentioned by Georg Ruxner to be legendary and not actually taking place. Among these first knightly competitions is also our tournament of 938. However, it is difficult to determine the motivation of the author, who added several Rus’ rulers to the list of participants. Perhaps in this way he was trying to increase the prestige of the competition, which from the beginning of its use in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire had gained such a high status. However, the appearance of such stories does not negate the information about the spread of tournaments in Rus’, in particular *hastilude*. Georg Ruxner, as an expert in knightly heraldry, considered Ruthenia to be part of the European medieval military world, and therefore added them to the legendary description of the competitions.

To sum up, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the first evidence of *hastiludi*, a military game of the time, was recorded in the Ruthenian lands. This tradition developed during the reign of the Romanovids, indicating the penetration of European ideas among local military elites. It is challenging to identify the location of individual competitions, but it is known for certain that the 1150 competition took place in Kyiv, and in 1245 near the city of Yaroslav (in the west of the Galician principality). The close contacts of the Romanovids with European dynasties (Babenbergs, Schwarzburgs, Piasts, Arpads) contributed to the spread of information about the Rus’ troops. Thus, from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, many literary sources mention the presence of Ruthenian kings at tournaments. Polish historical tradition records the participation of many Rus’ warriors in competitions held on the territory of the Hungarian or Polish kingdoms. Not all accounts correspond to historical reality, but they indicate a tendency to further develop knowledge about tournament culture.

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<sup>70</sup> Georg Ruxner, *Turnier Buch*, Franckfurt am Mayn: bey Georg Raben in Verlegung Sigmund Feyrabends vnd Simon Hüters, 1566, p. VI.

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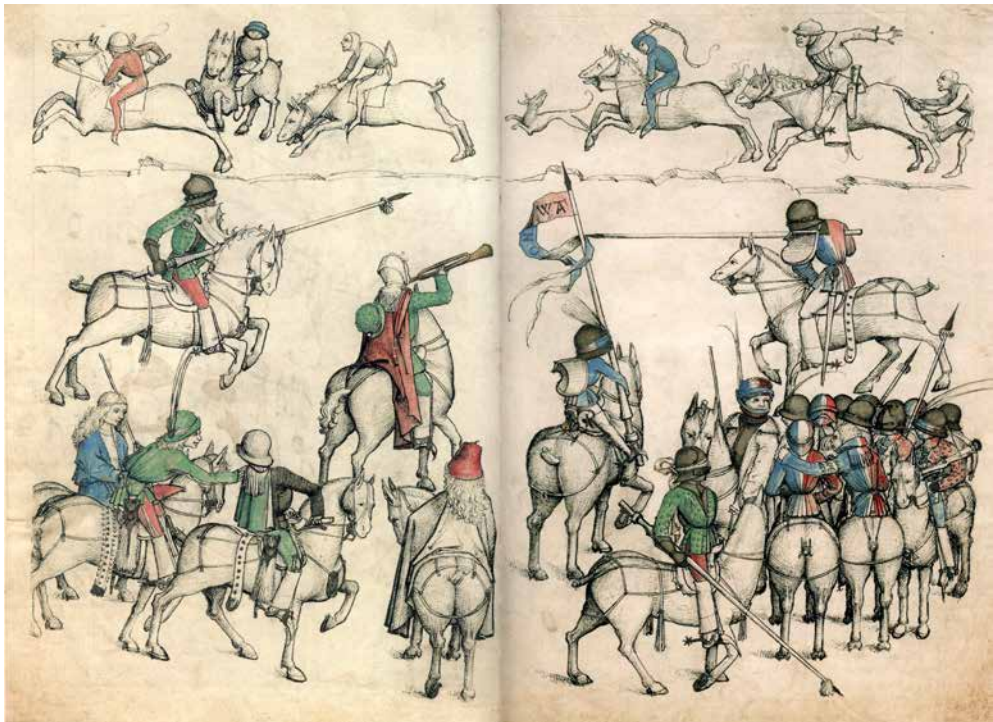
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