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Karolina Gurevich

# THE IMAGE OF THE CUMANS IN MEDIEVAL SOURCES

Dissertation Summary for the purpose of obtaining academic degree Doctor of Philosophy in Philology and Linguistics

> Academic Supervisor: A.F. Litvina, PhD

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#### SUMMARY

The Cumans are known as the most numerous and active Turkic nomadic people of the Eurasian steppe in the XI-XII centuries. Interaction with the Cumans had a significant impact on the history of the Byzantine Empire, the Georgian kingdom, the Hungarian kingdom, Kievan Rus and other medieval states. The Cumans did not leave their own written evidence, but their image was forever imprinted in the historical sources of those cultures with which these nomads came into contact. Enemies raiding the lands of the sedentary population; allies helping to win significant battles; military opposer on the battlefield; relatives strictly observing the interests of the dynastic marriages - these are the contradictory roles of the Cumans described on the pages of various, or even the same medieval texts.

This work studies the ways of representation of the Cumans, analyzes various types of assessments of this steppe people: from those explicitly expressed in the rhetoric of the narrative to latent ones, which require explication with the use of linguistic tools. The paper examines the reflection of the actual political interactions between the Cumans and medieval states in the written traditions of these countries, pays attention to the influence of the author's confessional, political and socio-cultural views on the image of the Cumans that he creates. Here the specificity of the discourse in which each of the sources functions is taken into account, and the peculiarities of its pragmatics are widely discussed.

Particular attention in the study is paid to the Old-Russian written tradition, reflecting the close and, importantly, long-term (lasting about two hundred years), interaction of the Cuman and Russian elites, not only located in territorial proximity to each other, but also connected at the diplomatic and genealogical levels.

#### The relevance of the research

Research falls into a wide field of studies on the image of the "other" in written traditions. Historical imagology (imageology) as a complex discipline focusing on the formation, functioning and historical variability of the images of "self" and "the other" widely spreads in the middle of the 20th century in the works of French researchers who studied the issues of comparative historical literary criticism (J.-M.

Carré, M.-F. Guillard). The discipline receives new methodological foundations in the works of H. Dizerink and M. Fischer and at the end of the 20th century goes beyond the Western European Academy, asserting itself in the comparative works of a wide range of researchers. In particular, in the works of Russian scientists such as N.P. Mikhalskaya, A.F. Stroyev, V.P. Trykov, M.A. Boytsov and others.

Historical imagology is receiving a new round of development in the framework of modern projects aimed at finding the foundations that form the idea of self-identity in the intercultural and social space. The study of the attitude of the medieval author to the Cumans, who, on the one hand, are part of the circle of the closest interaction of the state elite, but, on the other hand, demonstrating striking differences in religious, social and cultural aspects, allows us to expand our ideas about the sources of the image of the "other" and earliest examples in literature.

The distinction between "ours" and "alien"/ "other" falls today into the area of one of the most significant and controversial cultural, historical and philosophical problems. How does a different culture, passing through a series of perceptual processes, transform into a specific assimilated image of the "other"? What is the connection between this image and collective and individual attempts at self-identification and an established picture of the world? Answers to these questions can be formulated in both diachronic and synchronic perspectives, while an attempt to determine the origins and trace the transformation of the image of the "other" can expand the understanding of modern mechanisms of self-determination of large and small communities, assess the role of historical memory in today's practices of individualization presented by a wide range of political and social associations.

The study aimed at analyzing historical examples of the definition of "ours" and "others" is becoming especially relevant today, when in many spheres of culture and socio-political practices, there is, on the one hand, an increase in contradictions between the interests of various groups, and on the other hand, there is a growing demand for effective strategies for building dialogues between them, aimed to overcome separating discourse in favor of finding unifying factors

The parallels between the modern methods of self-determination, actively used in

the media space and the mechanisms for distinguishing between "ourselves" and "the other", which developed in the medieval period, are already revealed at the superficial rhetorical level. For instance, endowing positive features of a group, belonging to which seems to be unconditional, and referring negative characteristics to individual representatives or the whole groups, which must be alienated as much as possible and taken out of the scope of "our own" and "close". Thus, the study draws attention to the numerous negative epithets that define the Cumans in medieval sources and are found in various written traditions, in particular, such collective characteristics as "frivolous and fickle", "insidious in nature", "cursed", etc. , as well as individual ones: "evil boss", "damned", "mangy", etc.

Of course, the correlation of modern models of self-identification and historical attitudes towards censure of the "alien" is possible only with a number of reservations. It is obvious, for example, that military conflicts exacerbate the processes of alienation in oppositional societies and cultures, activating the search for unifying and self-isolating factors (religion, lifestyle, customs, etc.). The work shows how in the case of the Cumans, for example, the phenomenon of confessional difference functions. Polytheism, which, judging by the archaeological data, adhered to the Cumans (despite frequent attempts at Christianization) from the moment of their appearance in the Eurasian steppes up to the Mongol invasion, was used by ancient Russian Christian authors as a pretext to the deployment of a whole complex of pejorative characteristics precisely during the attacks of individual Cuman hordes on sedentary communities. At the same time, the same confessional differentiation turned out to be an insignificant factor in the description of diplomatic practices. Undoubtedly, examples of how the selected factor becomes the basis for the opposition of "ours" and "aliens" during military clashes are observed in the history of recent decades. Hence, we can conclude that an attempt to characterize the relationship of the main "provoking" factors with the representative models existing in historical memory will make it possible to predict modern self-identification processes.

# Subject of study

The subject of this research is the semantics of information about the Cumans (in Russian chronicles, "Kumans" / "Coman" in Byzantine sources, "Kipchaks" in Georgian chronicles), which includes the semantics of evaluative and non-evaluative characteristics, comparative constructions, references and other elements of the narrative.

## **Research goals and objectives**

The aim of the study is to consistently shift the focus from the traditional historical analysis of the interaction of the Cumans and the elites of medieval states to the consideration of the representative aspect of these interactions, that is, to the analysis of the integral image of the Cumans, formed in various medieval traditions, taking into account their specifics. In addition, the target framework of the study should include the assessment of the hypothesis about the existence of a significant discrepancy between the image of the Cumans, proposed by a number of medieval chronicles, and the actual practice of relations between the elites, recorded by the same chronicles; a discrepancy that has not been overcome throughout the entire period of political cooperation and can be directly related to the general rigidity of the "alien" image.

To achieve the goal of the study, the following main tasks were formulated:

1. To accumulate the characteristics of the Cumans at various narrative levels in the medieval written traditions of Ancient Rus, Byzantium, the Hungarian Kingdom and the Georgian Kingdom

2. Develop a system of criteria for comparing the extracted characteristics, taking into account the peculiarities of the historical sources from which they were obtained (the type of source, the type of discourse in which it functions, fullness historical realities records, the degree of further processing of the text, and, finally, the pragmatics of the text).

3. Conduct a comparative analysis of the characteristics obtained, followed by the identification of the invariant features of the image of the Cumans and characteristics that are individual for each written tradition. 4. Reveal literary and rhetorical techniques used to create the image of the Cumans.

5. To develop and test linguistic tools for assessing the role of the image of the "other" in the narrative system of the medieval text.

6. Assess the degree of closeness of the results obtained in the course of linguistic analysis, with the characteristics found in narrative rhetoric.

The consistent implementation of the formulated tasks is able to prove or refute the hypothesis put forward and present the most multifaceted image of the Cumans in various written traditions.

#### **Previous Scholarship**

The Cumans and their interaction with medieval states have oftentimes become an object of observation in the works of historians, linguists, and ethnographers. Nevertheless, if we narrow the focus of attention to the authors who, in the process of reconstruction of social, political and economic mechanisms functioning in the community of these nomads, dwell on the question of the representation of the Cumans in written traditions, the number of works becomes reasonable, but at the same time it still does not give a holistic idea of the image of the Cumans in medieval sources.

It is worth noting that the question of the representation of the Cumans in historical sources, initially aimed at the factual representation of various types of interactions of these nomads with sedentary peoples, is indirectly touched upon in the works of many researchers who initially do not set the task of imagological analysis. This situation is explained by the special choice of the evaluative coordinate system in the sources themselves: with rare exceptions, medieval authors of chronographic texts, when talking about contacts with the Cumans, tend to deviate from the principles of objective and impartial narration and enter into a critical characterization of political opponents or allies. This feature was perceived without proper skepticism in the works of the 18th-19th centuries, in particular in the works of V.N. Tatishchev, who used the materials of the chronicles that were later lost. Tatishchev presented the Cumans as the creators of raids and devastations, whose

inconsistency in battles was recognized even by the Russian princes, who used the Cumans in their own interests. For N.M Karamzin, the Cumans are primarily enemies of the Russian statehood, while it is curious that Karamzin uses the designation "barbarians" as a postcedent to the word "Cumans".

The works of early Russian historiography demonstrate the transition from perception to reception and show, according to I. Shevrel's terminology, how not only individual concepts, but also complex models of perception are borrowed from the annals. In particular, N.G. Ustryalov saw in the Cumans as "fierce villains", the struggle against whom was the most important stage in building relations between the princes. S.M. Soloviev and subsequently V.O. Klyuchevsky, developing the concept of the confrontation between "forest and steppe", attributed the Cumans to the "steppe barbarians", hindering the civilizational development of the sedentary population and justifying many disproportions in the political development of Russia. P.V. Golubovsky saw in the Russian-Cuman conflicts a deterrent factor in the general threat of nomads to European states. Thus, in Russian historiography, the first works on the problem of interaction with the Cumans cannot be regarded as research literature in the topic of interest to us, but still should not be completely excluded from consideration, since, being some kind of "transitional" sources, they clearly demonstrate the process of borrowing a whole complex of representation models, many of which are organically embedded into the modern school canon.

The most complete description of the research literature before 1983 on the issue of interaction between Russia and the Cumans can be found in the work of R.M. Mavrodina. The work overviews, with the inevitable for the Soviet humanities pedaling of the Marxist view on the alliances of the Russian princes with the Cumans, harming the peasant population, the number of studies, starting with pre-revolutionary monographs, ending with works of the 1960s. The works of M.D. Zatyrkevich, V.A. Parkhomenko, V.A. Gordlevsky are marked here as the authors of a positive "secondary" representation of the Cumans. B.A. Rybakov, S.A. Pletneva, G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, who actively addressed to the archaeological data, showed how close the interaction between Russia and the Cumans was, expressed in mutual

influence in the sphere of economic and social practices. A number of scientists' conclusions are used in this work as a basis for assessing the degree of discrepancy between the real practice of Russian-Cuman relations and the chronicle traditions that describes them.

Approaching modern research that has formed a discussion platform for this work, it is worth noting the work of the Cambridge researcher Nora Berend "At the gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and Pagans in Medieval Hungary, C. 1000-C. 1300". Berend focuses on the perception models of the Cumans, tracing the fate of non-Christian minorities in the territory of medieval Hungary. The author dwells on the appearance of the Cumans in Hungary, their subsequent sedenterization and assimilation in Hungarian society, while examining the cases of various socio-political conflicts that accompanied this process. In the sixth chapter of the monograph ('Christian Perception and Attitude'), Berend pays special attention to the confessional factor in the process of integrating a social group into an already formed community.

Linguist Éva Kincses-Nagy traces the fate of the Cumans in Hungary in terms of integrating them into the Hungarian community. The article "A Disappeared People and a Disappeared Language: the Cumans and the Cuman Language in Hungary" is here of the most interest. Analyzing the few linguistic data that can be found in the form of toponyms in the Cuman settlements, records of children's rhymes and the prayer "Our Father", the author comes to the conclusion that linguistic assimilation took place later than it was generally thought, which means that the integration of the Cumans could have been influenced internal demarcation processes characterized by mutual alienation.

In the modern research paradigm, Russian researchers A.F. Litvina and F.B. Uspensky more than once noted that the attitude of the Russian chroniclers towards the Cumans was dictated, on the one hand, by the established written tradition, and on the other hand, coexisted with a set of complex diplomatic practices. L. S. Chekin and A.V. Laushkin examined the image of the Cumans through the system of Christian geography and the prism of eschatology, inherited by the Russian chronicle

tradition from the Byzantine chronicles. This approach prompted our thesis to consider the Byzantine descriptions of the Cumans in comparison with the Old Russian models.

The closest to the research topic are the article by E. L. Konyavskaya "Cumans in the early chronicles: assessments and interpretations of chroniclers", where the author traces the "everyday perception" of the Cumans, noting the transition of the Cumans' image from "non-personalized references" to depicting them as "Individuals"; article by D.A. Dobrovolsky "Perception of the Cumans in the chronicle of the XI-XIII centuries" that emphasizes the absence of mechanical transfer of eschatological characteristics and points out the ambivalence and flexibility of the previously identified stereotypes of perception of this steppe people.

Considering the image of the Cumans in medieval sources, it is impossible to avoid the studies of the phenomenon of barbarism, in particular, "Barbarism and Religion: the First Decline and Fall" by John Pocock, where the author, following Edward Gibbon, reveals the complexity of this definition, overused by the Byzantine tradition and its heirs. In addition, it is worth referring to the works defining the role of the concept of "barbarism" in medieval rhetoric ('The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe' by W. Jones, who considers, on the basis of a number of European medieval chronicles, the religious, territorial, social, ethnic and other aspects of the term 'barbarus' in the Middle Ages).

Finally, the image of the Cumans should be considered within the framework of the historical and imagological discourse that has developed in recent decades in the Western European and Russian academic tradition. Thus, the conclusions of the studies contained in the collection Power and the Image: Essays on Potestarny Imagology (St. Petersburg, 2010), where the authors address the issue of symbolic disclosure of the communicative aspect of power in the Middle Ages – a fruitful approach in the analysis of the interaction of the Cumans and the ruling elites. Among the works of medievalist themes of the Western tradition, on which this study is based, one can cite the collection 'Images of Otherness in Medieval and Early

Modern Times: Exclusion, Inclusion, Assimilation' (Ed. By Anja Eisenbeiß; Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch), 'Of Strangers and Foreigners' (Ed. By Laurent Mayali; Maria M. Mart). The works presented in the collections look from various angles at the construction of certain social (and sometimes purely literary) images of various communities and on the way of functioning of these images in the medieval cultural space.

Thus, the literature used as the basis for the dissertation combines Turkic and source studies, works concerning the discourse of nomadism, barbarism and otherness.

This work takes into account the listed approaches of various disciplines to the study of historical sources, while expanding the prospects for considering individual characteristics of the Cumans in isolated written traditions to the search for a complex image of the Cumans in a medieval text. The method of comparative analysis with combination of linguistic tools illuminates the peculiarities of expressing subjectivity in various genres of medieval texts.

The theoretical significance of this work lies in the fact that the materials accumulated in the dissertation can be useful to researchers who address to the study of the emergence and functioning of the image of an alien in medieval sources, considering the possibility of applying linguistic tools to a medieval text.

The practical significance of the research results lies in the possibility of their use in the development of lecture courses, special courses and special seminars on the history and theory of medieval literature, as well as the history of the Old Russian language.

#### Structure and content of the work

The dissertation research consists of an introduction, four chapters, each of which is divided into sections, conclusions, list of sources and literature.

#### Introduction

The introduction formulates the relevance of the dissertation topic, identifies the object and subject of research, defines its goals and objectives, analyzes the degree of scientific elaboration of the problem, describes the methodological basis.

# First chapter. The image of the ruler interacting with the Cumans: interference of the images.

The Cumans, who early became the most important military and political force on the borders of the Eurasian steppes, had a significant impact on the political behavior of many rulers. Recurring military confrontations with the Cumans invading the sedentary societies were not the only form of interaction with nomads. The rulers of medieval states, already at the stage of the first appearance of the steppe dwellers at their borders, sought to use the Cumans as a tool to gain an advantage both in internal political conflicts and in the foreign policy sphere. The first chapter of the dissertation research examines how the practice of real interaction with the Cumans at various levels was reflected in the image of an ideal ruler. A special place in this chapter is devoted to the consideration of episodes of the Georgian and Old Russian chronicles, which are part of the similar and at the same time in many respects different written traditions. The main difference can be briefly described as a "paradigm difference": the Georgian historian who welcomes the appearance of the Cumans in Georgia as allies of the crowned David IV, from the very beginning uses the "ally" paradigm, which is maintained throughout almost the entire text, while the Russian chronicler resorts to the "enemy", what is explainable in the context of repeated Cuman raids on the ancient Russian principalities. Nevertheless, this paradigm remains unchanged throughout the whole period of Russian-Cuman contacts up to the Mongol invasion. None of the paradigms imply a situational change in assessment, but the "allied" paradigm requires a more stable foundation. The dissertation research established that the figure of King David becomes a similar core of the "allied" paradigm in the Georgian text. The chapter shows how the figure of a wise ruler dominates over the image of the Cumans and at the same time creates it, transferring relations with Cuman relatives from an allied practice to a vassal one, especially noticeable in the descriptions of campaigns. This part of the study also demonstrates that later, in Georgian chronographic texts, unions with the Cumans continue to be considered by the authors as an absolute blessing, which is partly explained by the confessional factor (the part of the Cumans were baptized in Georgia, which contributed to the spread of Christianity in the southern territories), and is partly due to the typification of the representation model.

Comparing Georgian chronicles with Old Russian chronicles, the chapter shows the dependence of the image of an ally or an enemy on the image of an ideal (living and actively acting) ruler. The Russian medieval author, although extremely attentive to Russian-Cuman interactions (he carefully notes common genealogical ties, characterizes the details of mutual diplomatic practices) does not explicitly assess the dynamics of Russian-Cuman "cooperation", tacitly refuting its political significance. Moreover, an analysis of chronicle episodes shows that the image of the Cumans, formed in the descriptions of conflicts with nomads, has a special effect on the characteristics of the Russian princes who entered into alliances with the steppe dwellers. The prince becomes most vulnerable to negative assessments of the author when, as a result of his actions, the interests of the civilian population suffer: the chronicler refrains from direct invectives, but the promises of future retribution leave no doubt about the guilt of the princes who caused the ruin of the "Christians". And here, of course, alliances with the Cumans turn out to be a provoking element. However, the entire complexity of the characterization of the Cuman allies in the ancient Russian chronicle tradition is revealed, as shown in this chapter of the dissertation, by the example of refusal in some cases from the "enemy paradigm" and the scribe's demonstration of a neutral, "permissive" attitude towards the Russian-Cuman alliances. So, in the absence of forays into Russia, the image of the Cumans is harmoniously embedded in the narrative: the statements of the Cumans are made out in the form of direct speech, their advice to act in one way or another unfolds in subsequent episodes into broad narrative structures. That is, for all the rigidity of the chronicler's assessments, the narrative "accepts" and includes the figure of the Cuman allies.

The chapter concludes that the image of the Cumans is multifaceted and contradictory in episodes that record occasional interactions with a medieval ruler and needs an explicit juxtaposing of medieval authors' assessments with a diverse narrative structure.

#### Second chapter. Deixis in Russian-Cuman interactions.

In the ancient Russian chronicles, the Cumans are presented as an auxiliary, but at the same time, a dangerous means in the princely civil strife. In the chapter, this attitude of the chronicler is characterized with the help of the metaphor of a twoedged sword, which princes erect against their enemies, but which inevitably strikes Christian society. Most often, the chronicler speaks only of one side of the sword, keeping silent about the advantages of the alliance for the Russian princes. When observing such a gap between the perception of the Cumans in the chronicle tradition and their active involvement in the political life of Russia, it becomes necessary to develop accurate linguistic tools that allow us to see the difference in the perspectives of the chronicler and the Rurikovich princes in the chronicle tradition. With the development of Russian-Cuman relations, the situation with the image of the Cumans in the ancient Russian chronicles should have changed. Indeed, concluding alliances with the Rurikovichs, the Cumans were gradually involved in diplomatic practices developed and actively used in Russia. In such a situation, the Cumans could not help but accept the existing forms of political behavior. The chronicler, of course, is aware of the participation of the Cumans in political practice: it is no coincidence that quite often the Cumans find themselves in the center of the narrative about a political ceremony. The "Cuman-centeredness" of the diplomatic scenes is especially vividly expressed at the linguistic level: the deictic models used by the chronicler correspond to the perspective of the Cuman, not the Russian, princes. However, the involvement of the Cumans in diplomatic ceremonies does not affect the creation of a positive image of the Cumans. Being "partners" in political affairs, for the scribe, the Cumans remain adversaries in the existential sense: the real dynamics of the interactions of the Russian elite with the nomads is not comprehended or explicitly evaluated by the chronicler, although it is carefully recorded. Formally, the Cuman pagans remain "strangers" to the Christian scribe throughout the entire period of Russian-Cuman contacts. Moreover, the chronicler does not miss an opportunity to unleash a stream of unflattering epithets on the Cumans, indicating their "godless" and "lawless" nature.

Accordingly, there is a contradiction between the successive entry of the Cumans into the sphere of the internal political life of Russia, on the one hand, and the difficult penetration of the image of the Cumans into the pages of the chronicle, on the other. How, in this case, the image of the Cumans is created in the chronicle, and does the chronicler succeed in constructing this image to the very end? In addressing these issues in the annalistic narrative, an important tool is the analysis of the use of deictic constructions - linguistic elements that identify an object through its relation to a speech act.

The fourth chapter explicates how the position of the chronicler, on the one hand, uses the same cliches in describing the Cumans, and on the other hand, tells about the large-scale dynamics of Russian-Cuman relations. In linguistic science, deixis is recognized as a unique category that explicitly characterizes the relationship between language and context, expressed directly in the structure of language, and at all its levels. Deixis is always an expression of a specific point of view, a lack of objectivity in the distribution of the boundaries of space and time. Deixis is a deliberate bias of the narrator in the distribution of "ours" and "others". The analysis of examples with deictic constructions in the fourth chapter allows us to say more about the annalistic image of the Cumans than a simple juxtaposition of the scribe's explicit and extremely monotonous assessments.

# Third chapter. Cuman patronyms in the Old Russian chronicles: the genealogy of the Cuman clans interacting with Russia, and the "longevity" of the Cuman princes

The chapter attempts to overcome the fragmentation of the chronicle data and to trace the Russian-Cuman interaction on the example of several genealogical chains. The chains characterize the importance of observing the steppe by Russian chroniclers and demonstrate a perspective that differs from rigid rhetorical assessments. This section of the study provides analyzes of the Russian-Cuman relations on the example of five Cuman clans.

The main object of the chapter is a Cuman name given by the Russian chronicler. The actual names of the Cuman elite are one of the few written evidences about the Cumans that historians and ethnographers have. Undoubtedly, it is necessary to recognize a certain one-sidedness of these testimonies, since it is highly likely that these names were changed by the consciousness of the Russian scribe. However, it is this fact that turns out to be an advantage in the study of the chronicle image of the Cumans, who did not have their own written tradition.

One of the stages in the history of Cuman (as well as any other foreign language) names inevitably was their Russification. So, the chapter notes that the formants - ich (-vich) in the models of Cuman names, as in the Russian tradition, can denote connections between father and son, as well as describe belonging to a certain ethnic group, geographical location, proximity to a particular prince or the inclusion of a personality in a well-known clan. The main difficulty in each specific case hides in reflection of polysemantic content in one formant.

The chapter illustrates the cases of the use of patronyms, designed to connect individual Cuman princes interacting with the Rurikovichs with an influential Cuman prince who operated long before the events described. The study traces how the chronicler works in such situations with a patronymic form: due to the irrelevance of the initial name for him, the Russian chronicler creates a certain general type of patronymic education with the formant -vich, traditional for Russian anthroponymy.

The genealogical chains that fall into the focus of observation can be both unusually long for a medieval text (up to four or five links) and characterize Russian-Cuman contacts over a century and a half, or consist of a pair of links, one of which only flickers in the juxtaposition of different options for the edition of the annalistic text. The chapter points to a number of cases when the reconstruction of a specific genealogical series is impossible if the research remains within the framework of Russian chronicle sources. The active participation of representatives of the Cuman clans in the political life of the lands adjacent to the steppes makes it necessary to refer to the written traditions of other states that interacted with the Cumans (Georgian, Hungarian, Chinese sources).

In addition to the typological analysis of Russian-Cuman interactions on the example

of the history of specific genera, the chapter records the duration and frequency of these contacts. It is the comparison of the chronicle fragments, scattered in the annals, that makes it possible to reveal a number of inconsistencies in the traditional concept of degrees of kinship in some genealogical chains.

Assuming the likelihood that the chronicle tradition can record the names of only the most famous and influential princes of the clan (in the Cuman and Russian environment), the chapter suggests the existence in the annals of a special way of building genealogical sequences only according to key points, to the supporting figures of the clan, while "intermediate" figures of the same Cuman family, irrelevant for a certain moment, are excluded from this chain, being lost against the background of their "famous neighbors". Thus, the key can be declared the only one, and then the name disappears from history without a trace, followed by a whole generation.

A detailed anthroponymic and historical analysis of the Cuman genealogical chains in the third chapter of the presented study makes it possible to point out the special attention to the Cuman genealogy of the Russian chronicler, which does not correspond to the numerous pejorative characteristics in the narrative of Russian chronicles, and also makes it possible to identify a number of inconsistencies and lacunae in the traditional view of generations of a clan. The results of the study, in addition to formulating the main factual contradictions, allow us to offer possible linguistic and historical explanations for them.

#### Fourth chapter. Evolution of the image of the Cumans

The chapter is focused on expanding the source base to texts adjacent to the annals, but at the same time interacting harmoniously with it. The main purpose of the chapter is to demonstrate the stability of the pejorative characteristics of the Cumans in the Kiev-Pechersk Patericon - a complex of texts from the letters of the Vladimir Bishop Simon and the Pechersk monk Polycarp, chronicle passages, elements of lives, edited up to the 17th century.

In passing to the analysis of patericon episodes, the chapter notes the ambivalence of the perception of the Cumans in the chronicle tradition. Ancient Russian annals, recording the most diverse forms of interaction between Russian and Cuman princes - from a series of armed confrontations to long-term dynastic alliances - reveal a complex system of perception of these nomads. On the one hand, at the rhetorical level, the Cumans in the annals, accumulating extremely negative characteristics and highly unflattering comparisons, are associated with almost absolute evil. Such a negative assessment turns out to be uncompromising and immutable throughout the entire chronicle text. On the other hand, the linguistic study of the chronicle material, in particular the analysis of the distribution of deictic pronouns in the description of space or attention to the Turkic vocabulary, which names the details of diplomatic relations with the Cumans, allows us to talk about the latent perspective of the chronicle, where the Cumans are relatives, whose genealogy the chronicler knows no worse than genealogy Russian princes, allies, interaction with whom determines military victories and defeats, and in general, a familiar element of reality, part of everyday life. And if the first glance at the Cumans turns out to be openly expressed in pejorative characteristics, then the second type of perception is latent and needs additional explication.

In the chapter, the question of such a combination of perspectives is taken outside the framework of the chronicle tradition with its specifics when referring to a text adjacent to the chronicle - the Kiev-Pechersk patericon, which, on the one hand, itself has repeatedly become a source for the chronicle, and on the other, included chronicle passages in the process of revisions.

Although, in general, the Kiev-Pechersk patericon concentrates on the inner world of the monastery, telling about the life of its inhabitants and short visits of secular persons, the general historical context is revealed in the pages of the Patericon in a special way, part of which is the image of the Cumans, with whom Russia actively interacted precisely during the formation of the first patericus legends. The Patericon in many respects opens up a new perspective in the study of the image of the Cumans in the monuments of Old Russian literature, which is largely determined by the genre nature itself and the time of the formation of the Patericon.

The image of the Cumans in the Kiev-Pechersk Patericon differs in the degree of

scaling of images. So, with a degree of convention, two "types" of Cumans can be distinguished as heroes of patericus legends: the "peripheral" Cumans, participating in hostilities, taking place far from the Kiev-Pechersky Monastery, and the "neighbors" Cumans, appearing in the immediate vicinity of the monastery walls or interacting directly with the inhabitants of the monastery.

"Peripheral" Cumans can be both enemies, the battle with which, for example, lies in the future, and allies responsible for the unrighteous deeds of Russian princes in the distant past. The distance, both temporal and spatial, is important, it separates the "peripheral" Cumans from the locus of the monastery. Such Cumans can be mentioned along with hunger, lack of vital goods, civil strife, and other misfortunes. "Neighboring" Cumans appear in the Word "About the humble and long-suffering Nikon" as torturers of the Kiev-Pechersk monk Nikon. The Cumans here through the prayer of the saint suffering at their hands are to become Christians. "Neighboring" Cumans are endowed with emotions, their voice sounds on the pages of the patericon in indirect speech, their image as a whole is depicted in detail.

An analysis of the use of the passive voice in the Patericon in descriptions of clashes with the Cumans, where the latter inflict damage on Christians, showed that the alienation of the Cumans, expressed at the rhetorical level, is already noticeable in the elements of the linguistic plane. At the same time, anti-Cuman point of view is manifested significantly less at the linguistic level of the Patericon, which makes the Patericon's perspective similar to the chronicle's one. The main difference between the texts of different traditions is the functionality of the image of the Cumans. If in the annals the Cumans appear as a kind of "батог" - an instrument for punishing sinners, then in the Patericon it is an instrument for glorifying the righteous.

The emergence and functioning of passive forms in the Kiev-Pechersk patericon, apparently, exploits an important feature of actant derivation - a change in the set of semantic actants. The passive voice is used by the author of the patericon if the Cumans are presented as invaders and enemies. In situations of alliances with the Cumans, which are by no means hushed up by the patericon, the agent does not disappear, the Cumans play the legitimate role of an active figure. However, here,

too, their belonging to the hostile part of the world is emphasized.

The chapter shows that the distinction between active and passive constructions in a special way formalizes the roles of the tormented and tormentors in the Patericon. The passive voice becomes a tool for depiction of suffering. The considered language toolkit is used to create the necessary palette of perception, regardless the extent to which the audience understands the specifics of these languages constructions. Thus, the emergence of forms of active voice or case forms of nouns allows the narrative to regulate the presence of tormentors in the role of an agent or an agent object, in order to emphasize the degree of deservedness of suffering and the measure of responsibility of the tormentors (whether they execute God's providence or accumulate responsibility for ongoing atrocities, sometimes taking it over from other actors). Static and eventfulness are intricately combined in such descriptions, showing that the guilt of the tormentors and the suffering of the tormented are different components of the Old Russian narrative.

The chapter concludes that the depiction of the Cumans in the Kiev-Pechersk Patericon - a text that pays special attention to voluntary and involuntary suffering, their sources and consequences in the earthly and transcendental perspective - although it assimilates the chronicle vision of the Cumans, still opens up a new perspective on the image of these nomads in medieval Russian literature.

#### **Research methods**

To identify the basic principles of the formation of representation models in chronographic traditions, we used the method of hermeneutic interpretation. Comparing the cultural semantics of a specific historical era with specific images of the Cumans, we raised the question of the similarity of code systems and noematic structures of different traditions. Narrative analysis of the texts of the chronicles was carried out at different levels: within one chronicle fragment telling about one or several microevents, within one chronicle article, between different articles of the period of interactions we are interested in, and, finally, between the selected articles of two or more chronicle traditions. The result of the application of a number of

narrative features, their commentary and description of possible functions.

### **Research results**

The work shows a complex palette of characteristics of the Cumans, forming an inextricable complex of both large-scale and secondary features, while forming an elusive, continuously transforming image in some sources and solidifying, unchanged for centuries in others. The study confirmed the hypothesis that there is a significant discrepancy between the image of the Cumans, reproduced by a number of medieval chronicles, and the existing practice of relations with the Cumans, described by the same chronicles, which indicates a significant stability of the image of the "alien", permanently excluded from the discursive plan of the narrative. The linguistic tools developed in this study make it possible to re-evaluate such rigidity in the depiction of the Cumans. Turning from a panoramic view of the described interactions with the Cumans through the characteristics of a specific description, one can find out how confidently and dynamically the figure of the Cumans penetrates into the narrative system of medieval chronicle.

The following statements are submitted to the defense:

1) There is a significant discrepancy between the complex of characteristics attributed to the Cumans at the rhetorical level of the narrative of the considered medieval chronicles and the actual practice of relations between the elites, recorded by the same chronicles. This discrepancy may persist throughout the entire narrative about political cooperation and be explained both by the general rigidity of the image of the "alien" in medieval literature, and by the discursive specificity of individual texts.

2) The image of the Cumans in the medieval text directly depends on its pragmatic tasks, as well as the conditions of its creation and functioning. The pragmatics of the medieval text, varying in its diversity, remains the main factor limiting the evolution of the Cumans' image on the pages of the sources under study.

3) Such a linguistic tool as deixis allows one to reveal the keen interest of the medieval author in the Cumans as participants of the narrative and to overcome the

rigidity of the rhetorical level of the medieval text. Analysis of deictic models in the annals of the alliance with the Cumans allows us to talk about the ability of the narrator to take into account the point of view of the Cumans and to transfer them the right to determine temporal characteristics (deictic constructions with "then", "now", etc.) oppositions ("we" vs. "you", "ours" vs. "yours") and spatial indicators (deictic models with the words "here", "there", "near", etc.).

4) The genealogy of the Cuman clans, built by the considered chronicles along with the genealogy of their own elites, demonstrates the involvement of the medieval author in the process of interaction with the Cumans. Such genealogies reconstruct the sequence of a significant number of generations (up to four), but at the same time rely only on the key figures for the narrative, which leads to the loss of important elements of the genealogical chains.

5) Comparative analysis of medieval written traditions shows that the image of the Cumans turns out to be harmoniously built into the figurative system of the medieval text, interacting with its central components, in particular, with the image of an ideal ruler. The portrayal of the Cumans in a number of chronicles (Georgian, Byzantine, Hungarian) turns out to be subordinated to the image of an absolutely wise king-military leader, whose positive characteristics correct and largely form the image of these nomads.

6) The image of the Cumans includes evolutionary components that can be instrumentalized in fragments of the narrative of later medieval texts. In the narrative of the sources, tasking to include the description of predetermined sufferings, the Cumans become causators, but not determinants of sufferings. Such instrumentalization is also expressed at the linguistic level (in particular, in the replacement of active verb forms with passive participles and the use of agentive addition).

#### The list of publications and conferences

Gurevich K. I. Deiksis v opisaniiakh russko-polovetskikh vzaimodeistvii. / Drevniaia Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki. 2020. № 2 (80). P. 112-131. Gurevich K. I. Ideal'nyi pravitel', vzaimodeistvuiushchii s polovtsami: interferentsiia obrazov (na materiale gruzinskikh i drevnerusskikh letopisei)» / Shagi /Steps. №3(7), 2021. (in print)

Gurevich K. I. Polovtsy v Kievo-Pecherskom paterike / Slovene (in print)

Gurevich K. I. «Polovetskie patronimy v drevneishikh russkikh letopisiakh. Genealogiia polovetskikh rodov, vzaimodeistvuiushchikh s Rus'iu i «dolgoletie» polovetskikh kniazei» / Colloquia Russica, 7, Krakov, 2017, 95-111.

Gurevich K. I. Obraz polovtsev-soiuznikov v rannikh drevnerusskikh letopisiakh. // Tezisy molodezhnoi nauchnoi konferentsii v ramkakh Dnei slavianskoi pis'mennosti i kul'tury. 22–23 maia 2018 g. M.: Institut slavianovedeniia RAN, 2018. P. 18-21.

Gurevich K. I. O drevnerusskom deiksise (na materiale statei Kievskoi letopisi 1149-1151 gg.) // Materialy mezhdunarodnogo molodezhnogo nauchnogo foruma «Lomonosov-2016 / Otv. Red. I.A. Aleshkovskii, A.V. Andriianov, E.A. Antipov. [Elektronnyi resurs] — M.: MAKS Press, 2016. ISBN 978-5-317-05237-9»

July 2019 – XVI International school on Russian literature, Saint-Petersburg. Talk: «Deiksis v konstruirovanii obraza polovtsev (na materiale drevneishikh russkikh letopisei)»

April 2019 – Annual VIII scientific conference «Text. Comments. Interpretation», HSE, Moscow

May 2019 – Scientific conference for young researchers «Slavianskii mir: obshchnost' i mnogoobrazie», Institut slavianovedeniia RAN, 2018

November, 2016 – VII International Scientific Conference *Colloquia Russica* «Rus' i mir kochevnikov (IX v. – XVI v.)», Pl'zen'.

April 2016 - XXIII International Scientific Conference for students and young researchers «Lomonosov», MGU

December 2015 – International school «Filologiia i mezhkul'turnyi transfer v Evrope (ot antichnosti do nashikh dnei)», Warsaw

Talk: «Perevod srednevekovogo teksta na sovremennyi iazyk. Kievskaia letopis'» November 2015– IV International conference for young researchers «Text. Comments. Interpretation» (HSE).

Talk: Deikticheskie universalii v letopisnom tekste: spetsifika perevoda