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THE PECULIARITIES OF GENEALOGY AND MARRIAGE CONDITIONS OF THE KING OF POLAND BOLESŁAW THE GENEROUS (THE BRAVE) AND KYIVAN RUS' PRINCESS VYSHESLAVA (C. 1067)

Rezumat

Caracteristicile genealogiei și circumstanțele căsătoriei regelui Polonei Boleslaw II Generos și Prințesei Vâșeslava din Kiev (aprox. a. 1067)

În articol se analizează circumstanțele unui contract matrimonial dintre Polonia și Rusia Kieveană – a regelui Polonei Boleslaw II Generos (Viteaz; aprox. 1042 – aprox. 1081) și Prințesei din Kiev Vâșeslava (aprox. 1047 – aprox. 1089). Sunt citate date despre moștenitorul unic al cuplului regal – Mieszko (aprox. 1069–1089) și căsătoria sa dinastică cu prințesa din Kiev. Este urmărită genealogia lui Boleslaw II, cel mai mare fiu al lui Kazimir I (1016–1058) și prințesei din Kiev, Doboneghi-Maria (1015/1017–1087), în versiunea noastră – fiica lui Sv. Boris-Roman Vladimirovici (aprox. 990–1015/1017). Este trasată genealogia soției lui Boleslaw II – Prințesa din Kiev Vâșeslava, nepoata sau strănepoata lui Yaroslav Mudrâi. Sunt analizate versiunile genealogice existente și propuse niște versiuni noi ale arborelui genealogic. Sunt propuse argumente în favoarea originii sale din dinastia domnilor Przemysł – descendenți ai lui Vladimir Iaroslavici (1020–1052). Sunt determinate particularitățile vieții și activității cuplului regal – Boleslaw II și Vâșeslava, precum și rolul lor în dezvoltarea culturală a Poloniei în a doua jumătate a secolului al XI-lea. Sunt numite monumentele de construcție de cult, ale căror fondatori sau restauratori sunt considerați Boleslaw II și soția sa. Studiul realizat confirmă existența relațiilor dinastice active între Polonia și Rusia Kieveană în secolele XI–XII ca un factor important al relațiilor interstatale și interculturale.

Cuvinte-cheie: Polonia, Rusia Kieveană, Vâșeslava, Boleslaw II Generos (Viteaz), relații dinastice.

Резюме

Особенности родословной и обстоятельства брака короля Польши Болеслава II Щедрого и киевской княжны Вышеславы (ок. 1067 г.)

В статье проанализированы обстоятельства одного из matrimonialных союзов Польши и Киевской Руси – короля Польши Болеслава II Щедрого (Смелого; ок. 1042 – п. 1081) и киевской княжны Вышеславы (п. 1047 – п. 1089). Приведены данные о единственном наследнике королевской четы – Мешко (ок. 1069–1089) и его династическом браке с киевской княжной. Прослежена родословная Болеслава II – старшего сына Казимира I (1016–1058) и киевской княжны Добонегии-Марии (1015/1017–1087), по нашей версии – дочери Св. Бориса-Романа Владимировича (ок. 990–1015/1017). Прослежена родословная жены

Болеслава II – киевской княжны Вышеславы, внучки или правнучки Ярослава Мудрого. Рассмотрены существующие и предложены новые генеалогические версии ее родословной. Приведены аргументы в пользу ее происхождения из династии перемышльских князей – потомков Владимира Ярославича (1020–1052). Определены особенности жизни и деятельности королевской четы – Болеслава II и Вышеславы, а также их роли в культурном развитии Польши второй половины XI в. Названы памятники культового строительства, основателями или восстановителями которых считают Болеслава II и его супругу. Исследование подтверждает существование активных династических отношений Польши и Киевской Руси в XI–XII вв. как важного фактора межгосударственных и межкультурных отношений.

Ключевые слова: Польша, Киевская Русь, Вышеслава, Болеслав II Щедрый (Смелый), династические отношения.

Summary

The peculiarities of genealogy and marriage conditions of the king of Poland Bolesław II the Generous and Kyivan Rus' princess Vysheslava (c. 1067)

The article analyses the circumstances of one of the Polish-Kyivan Rus matrimonial alliances – between king of Poland Bolesław II the Generous (the Brave; circa 1042 – after 1081) and the Ruthenian princess Vysheslava (c. 1047 – after 1089). Data on the sole heir of the royal couple – Meshko (around 1069–1089) and his dynastic marriage to the Kiev princess are given. The genealogy of Boleslaw II, the eldest son of Kazimir I (1016–1058), and the Kiev princess Dobonega-Maria (1015 / 1017–1087), was tracked, according to our version – the daughter of St. Boris-Roman Vladimirovich (around 990–1015 / 1017). The genealogy of the wife of Boleslaw II – Kiev Princess Vysheslava, granddaughter or great-granddaughter of Yaroslav the Wise is traced. The existing and new genealogical versions of her family tree are considered. The arguments in favor of her origin from the dynasty of Przemysl princes – descendants of Vladimir Yaroslavich (1020–1052) are given. The peculiarities of life and activity of the royal couple – Boleslaw II and Vysheslava, as well as their role in the cultural development of Poland in the second half of the XI century are determined. Monuments of cult construction, whose founders or restorers are considered Boleslaw II and his wife, are named. The research substantiates the existence of active dynastic relations between Poland and Kyivan Rus in the XI–XII centuries as an important factor of interstate and intercultural cooperation.

Key words: Poland, Kyivan Rus, Vysheslava, Bolesław II the Generous (the Brave), dynastic relations.

During the XI–XII centuries, Kyivan Rus (Ruthenia) had a significant international influence and maintained permanent relations with many European states, often strengthening them with dynastic marriages. Matrimonial alliances were a powerful factor in the interaction between Ukrainian (Kyivan Rus) and European cultures.

The topicality of the research is conditioned, on the one hand, by the growth of interest in national history and culture in the society striving for European values, and, on the other, by the lack of systematic studies of the national history of the XI–XII centuries in the context of European civilization and the existence of many «blank spots» (unexplored facts of the history) in native and European genealogies, especially in reference to royal descendants of the female sex.

To cover the chosen topic, the works of Ukrainian and foreign scholars devoted to the study of genealogies were used – Rus' (descendants of Volodymyr the Great) [4; 7; 13; 15; 16; 21; 22; 23; 24; 27; 34; 35; 39; 47, 50] and Polish (Piasts – descendants of Bolesław the Brave) [37; 38; 41; 42; 46; 50, 52; 53; 54; 56; 58; 63; 64; 65; 70], as well as Polish-Ukrainian dynastic relations [18; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; 33; 34; 35; 39] and researches on cultural heritage monuments in Poland in the XI–XII centuries related to matrimonial alliances [44; 45; 48; 49; 51; 57; 59; 61; 62; 67; 68; 69].

The source of the research are national chronicles [19; 12; 31] and European annals and records [1; 2; 3; 5; 6; 8; 9; 11; 14; 17; 26; 28; 30; 32; 33; 36; 43; 55; 60].

The purpose of the article is to find out the peculiarities in the genealogies of the Kyivan princess Vysheslava and the king of Poland Bolesław II the Generous (the Brave), to study the conditions of their matrimonial alliance, the circumstances of their lives and activities, as well as to outline the role of the spouses in the cultural development of the Old Polish state.

Secundum artem, native chronicles often ignored the female representatives of the princely family. Thus, the Hypatian Codex (also known as Hypatian Chronicle) in particular, the personal index, compiled by L. Makhnovets, contains, for example, 169 men's names beginning with letter "B" and only 11 women's names [19, p. 472-478]. Much of the same is true for the names beginning with other letters. Many women's personalities of the Chronicle have been preserved under the nameless notation: "wife", "daughter", "sister", or "unknown".

One of those little known in Ukrainian history is the princess Dobroniga-Maria (circa 1015 /

1017-1087), pursuant to our version – a the daughter of Boris-Roman Volodymyrovych [35, p. 175-193]. Our chronicles mostly even do not know her name, in particular, the Hypatian Chronicle only calls her "a sister of Yaroslav" [19, p. 94]. The exception in this regard is the later Hustynian Chronicle (XVII century.), which gives both names of the princess [12, p. 53]. Obviously, the author of the chronicle based his data on Polish sources (by M. Cromer, M. Belsky and others), which saved more information about Dobroniga [2, p. 345; 5, p. 70; 33, p. 253].

About 1040, Dobroniga was married to the ruler of Poland, Casimir the Restorer (1016-1058) of the Piast dynasty. Within the marriage of Casimir and Dobroniga, four sons were born: Bolesław, Władisław, Mieszko, Otton and a daughter Sviatoslava (Swatawa Polska, 1050-1126), who later became the first Queen of Bohemia, the wife of Vratislav II (1035-1092) [8, p. 51; 37, p. 16].

Their sons – Mieszko and Otton died in young age. Mieszko – at the age of about 20 [22, p. 25], Otton – in his childhood. The two other sons of Casimir and Dobroniga – Bolesław and Władisław married princesses of Ruthenian origin. The younger son, Władisław, at a first glance, is not connected with Kyivan Rus royal family, but in fact – one of his wives and the mother of his chief successor was Judith of Bohemia – the great granddaughter of Grand Prince of Kyiv Yaroslav the Wise, the granddaughter of Anastasia Yaroslavna and András I, king of Hungary.

The elder son of Dobroniga – Bolesław also married a Kyivan Rus princess, the mysterious Vysheslava.

"Praise and reproach" of Bolesław II

The Chronicle of Jan Długosz announces the birth of the eldest son of Casimir and Dobroniga-Maria after 1042: "Polish Queen Dobrogniva gave birth to the first-born son; Polish king Casimir, rejoicing in great joy about his birth, gave him in baptism the grandfather's name Bolesław..." [33, p. 254]. Researchers suggest that this event could have occurred between 1039-1042 [52, p. 153-154]. The celebration in honor of the newborn lasted for several days (Ibid.). So it was advent time of Bolesław II in the Polish history (circa 1039 / 1042-1081 / 2).

Polish chroniclers call Bolesław II three nicknames: Generous [8, p. 53-54], Bellicose (or Cruel) and Brave [5, p. 71; 42, p. 22; 37, p. 93]. In the view of scholars, such names are the best characteristics of this ruler and his period [42, p. 22].

The young prince obtained good education; he knew foreign languages (ibid.). After the death of his father Casimir on November 28, 1058 Bolesław inherited the throne [37, p. 85-87], as it is reported by Gallus Anonymus: "After Casimir left the world of the

living, his eldest son Bolesław, a generous and warlike man, began to rule in the Polish kingdom” [8, p. 53-54]. Since the young prince was only about 16 years old, he often heeded his mother’s advices, who had a significant influence on him for a long time.

Bolesław II continued the activities of his father in the field of church construction. In particular, the reconstruction of the Gniezno Cathedral was completed, and it was consecrated in 1064. During Bolesław II reign, Archdiocese of Gniezno was renewed in 1075 with subordinated dioceses in Krakow, Wrocław, Poznan and the newly created one in Płock [42, p. 23]. With the support of Bolesław II, Płock Cathedral was built in 1075. He also founded the Benedictine monasteries in Lubiń, Płock and Wrocław [63, p. 60]. Some scholars also consider him to be the founder of Abbeys in Tyniec and Mogilno [63, p. 62], however, most likely, Bolesław was the successor of the construction started by his father Casimir [57, p. 31].

Bolesław the Generous became the first Polish ruler who minted his coins in sufficient quantities to drive out foreign “currencies” prevailing in the country at the time of the first Piasts [66, p. 80]. He organized royal mints in Cracow and Wrocław. It had a significant impact on the economy and the development of culture in the state.

It is peculiar that the coin (“denar”) of Bolesław II depicts the church with domes of Byzantine style pertained for Orthodox Kyivan-Rus architecture on its reverse side [54, p. 368-369].

Bolesław tried to pursue a well-balanced international policy, succeeding his father and encircling surrounding himself with his allies, in order to resist the intensive expansion of the Holy Roman Empire. In particular, a peace agreement with the Bohemians was signed and affixed by the marriage of Bolesław’s sister and the ruler of Bohemia [52, p. 176]. However, some researchers consider the internal and external policies of Bolesław II to be fundamentally different from the policy of Casimir I [57, p. 31].

Gall Anonymus states: “King Bolesław was a brave and decisive warrior, hospitable master, philanthropist and the most generous among the generous” [8, p. 54]. The Chronicle describes the examples of incredible generosity of the ruler and his military valor: “He himself, like Bolesław the Great, entered as an enemy the capital of the Rus kingdom – a prominent city of Kyiv – and, by the blow of his sword, left a mark on the golden gates of the city. There he enthroned one of the Ruthenians from his own family, whom the kingdom belonged to, and all the revels, who did not obey him, were removed from power” (ibid.).

Długosz specifies – “one Ruthenian” is Iziaslav – “a relative from his mother’s kinship” [33, p. 271], referring to Dobroniga, who belonged to the family

of Kyiv rulers. In addition, the wife of Iziaslav Yaroslavych was Gertrude – an aunt of Bolesław II, a sister of his father Casimir I the Restorer.

The Hypatian Codex mentions the name of Bolesław II only once – about 1069 concerning the same events – the princely strife in Kyivan Rus: “Went Iziaslav with Bolesław [Lechitic Prince] to war against Vseslav...” [19, p. 106]. Native sources contain no details about the campaign, but the Polish chronicles are rich in such descriptions instead. In particular, Jan Długosz in 1070 states that Bolesław II went to war against Rus under the pretext of restoring the power of Kyivan prince Iziaslav, his relative, but in fact, the chronicler says, – wishing to repeat the feats of his great-grandfather, Bolesław I, “to conquer Rus for himself and the Polish kingdom” [33, p. 261]. From the Chronicle of Jan Długosz we learn that the army of Bolesław stayed in Kyiv “all summer, autumn and winter long” [33, p. 263]. M. Strykowski adds poetically: “...admiring the bliss of the neighborhood and the Kyiv magnificence and handsomeness of wondrous beauty and graceful figures of blond and black-browed girls” [30, p. 230].

On his way back to Poland, Bolesław captured a number of fortified towns on the border along the San River including Peremyśl, exposing the city to a long siege and forcing its inhabitants to suffer from hunger and thirst [33, p. 264-265; 30, p. 231-232].

Several times the Chronicle indirectly refers to Bolesław in the context of Iziaslav’s escape to Poland (in 1068). Circa 1073, Iziaslav arrived at the Polish ruler with rich gifts amid hopes to gain his military support again. But beyond expectation, according to the Chronicle, “everything was grabbed from him by Lechits” and they showed him to the door [19, p. 112].

Iziaslav even appealed to the Pope for help, and also to the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Henry IV, with a request to punish the abuser and help to redeem Kyivan throne, usurped by his brother Sviatoslav [17, p. 119-120]. In the context of these events one document is very interesting – the letter of Pope Gregory VII to Bolesław with “parental guidance”: “For peace and tranquility, – writes the Pope, – ...you should keep the love that you (...) violated by stripping he king of Rus of his money. Therefore, (...) we are very much asking you and convincing (...), order to reimburse him whatsoever was taken from him by you or yours [people]...” [26, p. 112].

From Lambert Hersfeld Chronicle, we learn that the complaints of Bolesław’s treachery were exaggerated – far from “everything” was taken by the Polish prince from Iziaslav, since later he came to the German emperor with “countless treasures” as gifts [17, p. 119-120].

Jan Dluhosz reports on other campaigns of Bolesław against Rus in 1074 and 1075-1076. [33, p. 268-270]. Similar information is contained in the Chronicle of M. Strykowski [30, p. 232]. However, the Hypatian Codex and other Rus Chronicles keep silent about these events, it can testify to their uncertainty, moreover, already in 1076 Rus princes assisted Bolesław in his struggle against the Bohemians: "Vladimir, the son of Vsevolod, and Oleg, the son of Sviatoslav, went to help Lechites against Czechs" [19, p. 121]. It is known that "the help" came exactly to Bolesław II. Also Monomach in his "Pouchennia" ("Homily") mentions this campaign of Volodymyr Monomach and Oleg Sviatoslavych to help Bolesław the Brave [19, p. 458].

Under? In 1078, Jan Dlugosz also mentions the participation of Bolesław II troops in support of Prince Yaropolk Iziaslavich of Volhynia and his reconciliation with Volodymyr Vsevolodovych [33, p. 275].

The sources testify about Bolesław's fight against other adversaries, in particular against the Pomeranians, who, according to Gallus Anonymus, were still pagans in his time [8, p. 54]. With his troops, the Polish ruler drove King Solomon from Hungary (appositely, the son of the Kyivan princess Anastasia Yaroslavna - the Queen of Hungary by marriage) and enthroned Vladislav (Laszlo), the son of Bela I [8, p. 57; 6, p. 358].

On December 25, 1076, Bolesław II, together with his wife, was crowned by Archbishop Bohumil at the Gniezno Cathedral in the presence of the Papal Legate and 15 bishops [58, p. 32].

Summarizing the period of Bolesław II reign, Polish chroniclers highly evaluate his talent of ruler, but also express critical judgments about Bolesław's personal qualities: "He was almost equal to his predecessors with his deeds, but some superfluity of his ambition and arrogance kept him on the alert" [8, p. 53-54].

The title of the last chapter of Dlugosz Chronicle, dedicated to Bolesław II (under? 1081), also sounds meaningful and contradictory: "Praise and reproach to the Polish king Bolesław" [33, p. 276]. The reproach to the ruler was expressed by the chroniclers concerning the tragic death of the bishop of Krakow Stanislaus, later canonized by the Catholic Church. Polish chronicles indicate that after military campaigns, Bolesław severely punished soldiers-fugitives [5, p. 34] and cheating Polish women who were not honest and betrayed their husbands-warriors with slaves [33, p. 273].

Because of frequent wars, Bolesław was compelled to introduce compulsory military service [58, p. 32]. All of this has led to dissatisfaction among the people and

protest against the ruler as chroniclers and researchers admit. The personification of this confrontation was, in particular, the bishop of Krakow Stanislaus.

The Chronicle of Greater Poland (Wielkopolska Chronicle) tells us: "St. Stanislaus (...), seeing that Bolesław, run amuck like a boisterous beast on the sheep, and the blood of innocents pours out of the tyrant's sword (...), denied him the right to attend the church" [5, p. 74]. There are evidences that Stanislaus accused the king of lewdness and other sins in public and accursed him to an anathema [58, p. 32]. Guagnini writes that "because of the sinfulness of the king Stanislaus refused him to receive Holy Communion" [9, p. 88]. And because of this reason it seems to the chronicler, Bolesław sentenced the canon to death. But there are other narratives of the event.

According to the historical sources, bishop Stanislaus was a member of the opposition elite conspiracy against Bolesław II who tried to remove him from power in favor of his younger brother Władysław. This is confirmed by Gallus Anonymus, whose chronicle is the oldest Polish source [8, p. 58]. Bolesław publicly blamed the bishop for treason and sentenced him to death. On April 11, 1079, the king of Poland personally executed Stanislaus during the church mass in Krakow Church of St. Michael at Skalka (now - The Church of St Michael the Archangel and St. Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr and Pauline Fathers Monastery) [5, p. 74-75; 9, p. 88]. Gallus Anonymus, condemning treachery, also does not approve the ruler's act: "One the Lord's Anointed should not penalize another anointed one using corporal punishment. That is, he [Bolesław] was very disserved by the fact that he added one sin to another one, when he ordered to dismember the bishop because of treason. We will not justify the traitor-bishop, but we also do not praise the king, who has revenged improperly..." [8, p. 57-58].

The death of the bishop led to an open rebellion against the king, who was forced to leave the country and found refuge in Hungary, at the court of king Laszlo I, where, according to the sources, he stayed for a short time [5, p. 75]. According to one theory, soon after that Bolesław died under mysterious circumstances, probably, he was poisoned [58, p. 32]. There is also evidence that he was buried in the Tyniec Benedictine Abbey near Krakow that was founded by Bolesław II as some researchers believed [63, p. 62].

There is also a popular legend, retailed by the chroniclers, that after these events c. 1082 Bolesław "retired to a convent in the Carinthian mountains (...) without announcing anyone about his origin, nor about his crime, and he served all the monks there until he died. After his death, the testament was found, written by his own hand, from which it fol-

lows that he was the Polish king Bolesław” [9, c. 88]. M. Strykowski specifies the location of the monastery: “...in Ossia, half a mile from the town of Feldkirchen” [30, p. 239]. This is still the functioning monastery in Carinthia (Austria). The Chronicles report that the monks built a tombstone of marble with the image of a horse and the inscription «*Rex Boleslaus Polonieocisorsancti Stanislai Epi Cracoviensis*» on the grave of the king (“The King of Poland Bolesław, the murderer of St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Krakow”) [30, p. 239]. The gravestone has survived in the monastery to this day.

Before 1069, Bolesław got married to Rus’ princess Vysheslava.

On the origin of Vysheslava (c. 1047– after 1089)

The etymology of the name of the Rus princess – “High (great) glory”, however, did not guarantee her certain mentions in the native chronicles. Because of a disappointing tradition, the sources often ignored female representatives of a princely family. Unfortunately, Vysheslava is not an exception.

Modern historical generalias contain no information about Vysheslava, Queen of Poland, f.e. the Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine. The article devoted to Boleslav II, placed in EHU, contains no information about the Rus princess Dobroniga-Maria, the mother of Bolesław II, and the Rus princess Vysheslava – his wife [10, p. 331–332]. However, we consider the facts of such a dynastic affinity of the kings of Poland with the Kyivan ruling dynasty to be very important.

Polish genealogist O. Balzer considered the information about the wife of Bolesław II insufficient to convincingly testify to her origin [37, p. 98], researcher T. Yurek supposed that Vysheslava could be a representative of the Czech Přemyslid dynasty [53, p. 95–104]. However, the vast majority of researchers and ancient sources clearly indicate her Kyivan Rus origin.

N. Karamzin calls the wife of Bolesław II “an unknown princess of Ruthenia” [15, p. 49]. Vysheslava was also mentioned by: D. Donskoy [13, p. 36-37], A. Ekzempliarski [34, p. 586], J. Hubner [50], M. Kromer [55, p. 426], I. Linnichenko [18, p. 53], L. Voitovych [7, p. 305-306] and others in their researches. Special research devoted to Bolesław II and his family was fulfilled by: M. Rozek [64], N. Wilson, T. Parkinson [69], K. Benyskiewicz [40, 41], T. Biber [42], K. Jasinski [52], Z. Satala [65], N. Delestowicz [46], J. Banaszkiwicz [38], P. Wiszewski [70] and others.

The Hypatian Codex does not mention Vysheslava. The oldest Polish chronicles (Gallus Anonymus, Kadlubek, *Chronicle of Greater Poland*) also do

not know? include the princess’s name. We found information about the princess in later sources, in particular, by Jan Długosz. The Chronicle calls her “a daughter of the Prince of Ruthenia”, however, does not indicate the name of her father [33, p. 259]. A. Guagnini and M. Strykowski call the princess Viszeslava (Wizesławę) [9, p. 88] and “The successor of the Rus princess” [30, p. 229].

L. Makhnovets presents another variant of the name of Vysheslava – Vyslava, and, according to his comments in the Hypatian Codex, she was the daughter of the Grand Prince of Kyiv Sviatoslav Yaroslavych [19, p. 176]. The researcher is referring to the Russian historian V. Tatishchev. The Ioachim Chronicle in Tatishchev’s exposition of 1065 states: “...This year Vysheslava, the daughter of Sviatoslav of Chernigov was given in marriage to Bolesław of Poland” [31, p. 84]. This theory is supported also by I. Linnichenko [18, p. 53], M. Baumgarten [39, p. 13], D. Donskoy [13, p. 36-37] and others.

However, we know from Długosz Chronicle that the bride of Bolesław II was “the only daughter” of the Rus’ prince [33, p. 260]. Consequently, there is a contradiction: Sviatoslav Yaroslavych, as the Hypatian Codex testifies, had also a daughter with the name Predslava, who evidently was wife of the Hungarian king Laszlo (Saint Ladislaus), and after his death (1095) she returned to Rus and ended her life taking monastic vows [19, p. 176].

M. Kromer wrote that Vysheslava father’s name is unknown; J. Hubner in his “Genealogische Tabellen” calls her to be a daughter of Vyslav [15, p. 236].

The Gustian Chronicle calls Vysheslava the daughter of Vyacheslav Yaroslavych, Prince of Smolensk [12, p. 57]. This opinion is supported also by A. Ekzempliarski [34, p. 586]. It is just a weight of N. Karamzin that made the hypothesis very popular and expanded, as A. Nazarenko states (it was supported by K. Krause, V. Timiryazev, F. Brown and others) [24, p. 181-194]. At the same time, Karamzin identified the wife of Vyacheslav Yaroslavych as Oda von Stade [15, p. 25]. However, most researchers consider Oda to be the wife of Sviatoslav Yaroslavych [24, p. 181-194].

“*Annales Stadenses*” reported about the marriage of Oda von Stade to the “king of Rus” (“regi Ruzie”) and her return to the homeland after his death but without naming the ruler of Rus [36, p. 319].

I. Linnichenko wrote that Vyacheslav (born in 1034) at the time of Bolesław’s marriage (1065, according to Tatischev) [31, p. 84], could not have a daughter of a marriage age [18, p. 53]. We agree with J. Długosz and suppose the marriage could take place somewhat later – c. 1067–1068 [33, p. 259-260]. According to the tradition of those times, the girl could

be married at the age of 13–14. Assuming that Vyacheslav married early (at the age of 18–20), it is quite probable that his daughter could already be 14–16 years old in 1068.

In favor of this hypothesis is the fact that Vyacheslav Yaroslavych had no other daughters, and Vysheslava in this case was really “the only daughter of her father” [33, p. 260]. Indirectly the hypothesis is supported by the fact that Bolesław helped Kyivan prince Iziaslav in his struggle against Sviatoslav Yaroslavych (father-in-law of Bolesław II, according to Makhnovets and others). The campaign of Iziaslav Yaroslavych against his brothers – Vsevolod and Sviatoslav happened just after the marriage of Bolesław II to Vysheslava – c. 1069. In our opinion, it's doubtful that the “newly-minted” son-in-law immediately went against his wife's father. Jan Dlugosz and M. Strykowski announce the campaigns of Bolesław exactly against Sviatoslav and Vsevolod [33, p. 268-270; 30, p. 272].

In addition, Dlugosz, recalling the death of Sviatoslav Yaroslavych (in 1072) and his son Hlib, does not mention that this is the closest Rus relatives of Vysheslava [33, p. 267], to whom he devoted a lot of attention in his chronicle.

A unique testimony is also contained in the Chronicles of M. Strykowski – he calls Przemyśl principality to be Vysheslava's homeland. The reigning rulers of these lands later were descendants of another Yaroslavych – Volodymyr. So, according to our original opinion, Vysheslava could be a daughter of Volodymyr Yaroslavych. All the more, some of the historians consider the wife of Volodymyr Yaroslavych to be the same Oda von Stade [39, p. 95-102].

Vysheslava could also be a granddaughter of Volodymyr, a daughter of his son Rostyslav – prince of Przemyśl and the founder of the Halych dynasty (c. 1038-1067). The years of life of the prince are better correlated with the age of Vysheslava.

In addition, the wife of Rostyslav was Lanka of Hungary, daughter of Bela I, who was actively supported by Bolesław II. The wife of Bela himself was an aunt of Bolesław II – Richeza, a sister of Casimir I [33, p. 393-394].

Bela returned the throne of Hungary several times thanks to the military support of the Polish ruler. In the case of kinship, (Bela could have been the grandfather of Bolesław's wife) such support is explainable. Moreover, no other daughters of Volodymyr or Rostyslav are known. Thus, Vysheslava in this case can be the “only daughter” of both princes.

Consequently, the question remains controversial [7, p. 305-306; 16, p. 16-19].

Jan Dlugosz describes that the prince's marriage was promoted by constant blandishments of secular

councilors, in order “to continue the family line” inasmuch as one of the descendants of the throne of Poland – the youngest of Bolesław's brothers – Mieszko (Meczysław) died one year before [33, p. 259].

When the councilors began to learn which of the women could be well-deserved of such a king, “their eyes lay on” the only daughter of the Prince of Ruthenia. Dlugosz does not name the prince, only indicates that the bride “owned a large part of Rus” according to her father's inheritance. The Chronicle points out that the princess “surpassed all the others with her beauty as well as spiritual and physical qualities” [33, p. 260]. According to the ironic remark of the researcher I. Linnichenko, “Dlugosz always knew more than his sources” [18, p. 53], hinting that Dlugosz presumed free conjectures and speculations concerning written evidences which he based his Chronicle on.

Although the Ioakim Chronicle in V. Tatishchev's exposition gives information about the event of 1065, it is more likely that the marriage could be arranged later – c. 1067/1068. The gorgeous wedding took place in Krakow, wedding celebrations included knight tournaments on spears, as Jan Dlugosz wrote [33, p. 260].

Already in the next year (1069), all who were “concerned about the childlessness and infertility of their princess” were announced that the Queen became pregnant. Jan Dlugosz points out even the exact date of birth of the prince's firstborn – April 12 (ibid.). The newborn received “Baptistry Mersion” in Krakow church (evidently Royal Cathedral) from the Bishop Zula (Lampert) and assumed “grandfather's name” Mieczysław (ibid.) – Mieszko. Then the chronicler gives a detailed description of the joyful event celebrations.

In several years, Vysheslava was crowned together with her husband (on the Christmas Day, December 25, 1076) in the Royal Gniezno Cathedral [65, p. 34].

In 1079, Vyshelawa shared the fate of her husband and was exiled in Hungary (ibid.). She became a widow c. 1081/1082, few years later (around 1086), she and returned to Poland together with her son.

Mieszko Boleslavych and Kyivan princess Evdokia Iziaslavna

A tragic fate lay in store for the son of Bolesław II and the Vysheslava – Mieszko (1069-1089). First, the young Prince stayed with his parents in exile in Hungary at the court of king Laszlo I (Vladislav). After the death of Bolesław, the young man remained for some time with his mother in Hungary. Gallus Anonymus writes: “This boy, after his father's death, was brought up by Vladislav, the king of Hungary, who loved him as a son because of respect for his father. The young man, of course, surpassed by beauty and nobility all

his age mates in Hungary and Poland, and attracted everyone with a hope for the future reign” [8, p. 59]. The Chronicle shows that in a while Mieszko's uncle, Władisław I Herman, “...decided (...) to call him to Poland...” (ibid.). However, there is another theory, testified by the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle (*Chronicon Pictum*): In 1089, the Hungarian king made a military campaign against Poland and put Mieszko Bolesławych on the Krakow's throne [60, p. 1360].

Soon, the prince married a “Ruthenian girl”, as Gallus Anonymus says, and further specifies: “This beautiful young man, married at such a young age, behaved himself so wisely and rationally, following the ancient rites of his ancestors, that inspired wonder in all of his motherland” [8, p. 59]. The exact date of the marriage is announced by “*Rocznik Swientokrzyski*” and “*Rocznik Kapituły Krakowskiej*” – 1088 [3, p. 214; 2, p. 345].

Polish chronicles testify to the further fate of the only son of Bolesław II and Vysheslava: “It is alleged that some envious people, apprehended that he [Mieszko] would revenge for his father, poisoned this... young man, and even those who drank with him, narrowly averted death. After the death of young Mieszko, the whole Poland was in mourning like a mother bewailing the death of her only son...” [8, p. 59].

The “Ruthenian girl”, who shared his destiny (she was probably poisoned with her husband), was Evdokia (Eupraxia), according to some researchers – a daughter of Iziaslav Yaroslavych and Gertrude of Poland [33, p. 151]. Długosz indicates her name and origin [33, p. 279] in his Chronicle. However, A. Nazarenko does not consider her to be a daughter, but a granddaughter of Iziaslav – a daughter of his son Sviatopolk, Prince of Turov [23, p. 582]. This theory seems to be more probable taking into consideration the date of the marriage. We also assume that Evdokia could be a daughter of another Iziaslavych – Yaropolk. His principalities (Volhynia and Turov) were close to Poland in terms of location, and, moreover, it's known about the political support of Yaropolk by the Polish king Bolesław II [33, p. 275].

According to the original opinion of the modern Polish researcher K. Benyskiewicz, the wife of Mieszko was Katarina – a daughter of another grand prince of Kyiv Vsevolod Yaroslavych [41, p. 106].

The death of Mieszko opened the opportunity to the younger brother of Bolesław II – Władisław I Herman to ascend to the throne (1042 / 1044–1102). That is why some researchers assume his probable participation in these tragic events.

The death of Mieszko dates back to 1089. Gallus Anonymus describes the suffering of Vysheslava over her son: “...poor mother was lying all the time like a

dead» on the grave of her only son, «and after the funeral bishops barely brought her to life...” [8, p. 59–60]. This was the last mention of Vysheslava in sources. The further fate of the Ruthenian princess and the Polish queen is unknown. Her place of burial, as well as the burial places of her son and daughter-in-law remains unknown.

A number of cultural heritage monuments in Poland are connected with the life and activities of Vysheslava and Bolesław II royal couple – mostly the monuments of religious building and structures of the XI century. These are, in particular – the Wawel Royal Cathedral, which was rebuilt during the time of Bolesław II, and probably served as the place of baptism of his son Mieszko. Bolesław II is believed to be the founder of the Benedictine Abbey in Lubin, Mogilno, Tyniec, Wrocław, Płock [63, p. 60]. However, some researchers consider Bolesław as the successor of the construction of the monasteries in Tyniec and Mogilno, started by his father Casimir [58, p. 31].

The particular monument of Polish cultural heritage associated with the name of King Bolesław II and his wife, Vysheslava, as well as with other figures of Ukrainian-Polish dynastic relations is the Royal Gniezno Cathedral (*Bazylika prymasowska Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny i św. Wojciecha*), situated in Gniezno old city (Greater Poland Voivodship).

It was Bolesław II the Generous who rebuilt Gniezno Cathedral after its destruction. The cathedral was consecrated in 1064, and here in 1076, Bolesław II along with his wife, Vysheslava were crowned [58, p. 32].

Thus wise, the dynastic relations of Poland and Kyivan Rus in the XI–XII centuries were very active and became an important factor in international and intercultural cooperation, as it was shown by the example of the marriage of Bolesław II the Generous and the Ruthenian princess Vysheslava. The research confirms the thousand-year commonality of Polish-Ukrainian dynastic and cultural history.

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Bolesław the Bold. Drawing by Jan Matejko, 1890/1892, pencil on paper, National Museum, Wrocław (Poland)



Cazimir the Restorer. Drawing by Jan Matejko, 1890/1892, pencil on paper, National Museum, Wrocław (Poland)



Dobroniga-Maria. Painting by Vasyl Vasylenko. Oil on wood, 2015 p., private collection



Postage Stamps Series «Kyivan Princess on the thrones of Europe», issued by «Stamps of Ukraine» using O. Yasynetska research results, 2015



Denar of Bolesław II (reverse) [54, p. 268-269]



Vysheslava. By V. Vasylenko, Postage Stamps Series «Kyivan Princess on the thrones of Europe», (fragment) «Stamps of Ukraine» Company, 2015