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Dynastic Burials in Kiev before 1240

Introduction

Around 880 Prince Oleg proclaimed Kiev to be the ‘mother of all Rus’ towns’.¹ The descendants of Rurik, the alleged progenitor of the dynasty of Rus’, became its rulers. It served as their capital and, for a number of them, also as their burial ground. To date no study has been made of the dynastic burials that were recorded by the chronicles for Kiev before 1240, when the Tatars devastated the town.

According to the so-called testament of Yaroslav the Wise, which he issued at an unspecified date before his death in 1054, Kiev was not to become the hereditary possession of any one of his sons. Included among his diverse directives was the instruction concerning the method of succession to Kiev. He instituted a type of ladder or rota system for his three eldest surviving sons Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod, the triumvirate or the inner-circle.² According to his plan, the eldest surviving son Izyaslav would succeed him to Kiev. After he died Svyatoslav, the next in seniority would replace him, and Svyatoslav would be followed by Vsevolod. After the latter died, the eldest eligible nephew would succeed him. That presumably would be Izyaslav’s eldest surviving son. After his death succession went to his younger brother(s) and then, in genealogical progression, to each remaining eligible cousin of the Svyatoslavichi, and then to the Vsevolodovichi and so on. According to this process, Kiev and its domains would never become the patrimony of any one dynasty descended from a triumvir.³

By allocating a section of Kiev to each of the three brothers Yaroslav made it more difficult for any one of them to make the capital his personal possession. During Izyaslav’s rule (1054 to 1078) each brother built a monastery in his district. Izyaslav founded the Monastery of St. Dmitry on the hill between Vladimir’s town and the Dnepr. Svyatoslav built the Monastery of St. Simeon in the Kopyrev suburb (*Kopyrev konets*) northwest of Yaroslav’s town. And Vsevolod founded the Monastery of St.

1 *PSRL* 2: 17; *PSRL* 1: 23.

2 For Yaroslav and his sons, see N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides Russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle* (Orientalia Christiana), 9, nr. 35 (Rome, 1927), I, 8, 23, 25, 26.

3 M. Dimnik, “The ‘Testament’ of Yaroslav ‘The Wise’: A Re-examination,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 29, nr. 4 (1987), 369–386.

Michael at Vydbichy south of the Caves Monastery.⁴ According to this arrangement, no matter which of the brothers was prince of Kiev, the other two had the right to visit their districts. Yaroslav's plan for succession to Kiev and his allocation of personal districts confirmed that he intended the capital to become the common possession of all three brothers.

Since no dynasty had the right to claim Kiev as its patrimonial domain, it followed that no princely family had the exclusive privilege of burying its members in the churches of Kiev. The purpose of this investigation is to examine the dynastic burials in Kiev to determine if Yaroslav's wish that Kiev become the common capital of all the brothers of the triumvirate was respected.

Following are the questions we will attempt to answer.

- 1) What was the nature of dynastic burials before the reign of Yaroslav the Wise?
- 2) In what churches were Yaroslav's descendants buried?
- 3) Did any one dynasty use more churches as mausoleums than the other dynasties?
- 4) Was any one dynasty given preferential consideration for burials in Kiev?
- 5) Was any dynasty prohibited from burying its members in Kiev?
- 6) Were all princes who ruled Kiev and died there buried in Kiev?
- 7) Were only princes who ruled Kiev and died there buried in Kiev?
- 8) Who decided what dynasts would be buried in Kiev and where?
- 9) What criteria qualified a princess for burial in Kiev?
- 10) What was the role of a princess in her husband's burial?
- 11) Were dynasts buried in Kiev in any one period more than in any other?

Before beginning our investigation let us explain our use of the term dynasty. The princes of Rus' were all descended from the half-legendary Rurik and formed one dynasty. In this investigation, however, we will refer to the descendants of Yaroslav's sons as individual dynasties rather than as branches of Rurik's dynasty. We believe that we are justified in doing so because, before his death, Yaroslav created a new political system by inaugurating a different form of succession to supreme rule in Kiev. In addition he also granted hereditary domains to his six sons: Vladimir got Novgorod, Izyaslav got Turov, Svyatoslav got Chernigov, Vsevolod got Pereyaslavl, Igor got Vladimir in Volyn', and Vyacheslav got Smolensk.⁵ Therefore, in the light of the revised political system and the newly created hereditary domains, Yaroslav's sons will be treated as the progenitors of separate dynasties in Rus'.

We should also explain that not all the churches where dynasts were buried in Kiev were built on the citadel (*detinets*) within the town's walls, that is in Vladimir's

4 In 1096 the Polovtsy attacked Kiev and set fire to Vsevolod's court (Krasnyy dvor) located on the hill of Vydbichy (*PSRL* 1: 233; *PSRL* 2: 223). Karger observes that the existence of Vsevolod's court next to his monastery at Vydbichy leaves no doubt that this monastery, as well as a number of other more important monasteries of the eleventh and twelfth century, were princely family monasteries (M. K. Karger, *Drevniy Kiev*, 2 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1961), 288–289). See also Yu. S. Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kieva* (Kiev, 1982), 75; M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1054–1146* (Toronto, 1994), 24; and M. Sahaydak, "Medieval Kiev from the Perspective of an Archaeological Study of the Podil District," *Ruthenica*, 4 (Kyiv, 2005), 158.

5 Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," 379–385.

town, Yaroslav's town, Izyaslav's town (*Mikhaylovskoe otdelenie*), and Svyatoslav's *Kopyrev konets*. The princes also built such churches in the suburbs like Berestovo, Dorogozhichi and in Kiev's northern outpost of Vyshgorod. Since all these churches were not only located in the Kievan principality but more specifically in the environs of Kiev, we will include them in our investigation.

Finally, let us keep in mind that the chronicles do not record all the dynastic burials that took place in Kiev. Even though we are working from an incomplete list, it nevertheless provides us with the names of most of the dynasts that were buried in Kiev during this period including the most important ones. Thus it serves as a reliable guideline for determining the general pattern of the dynastic burials in Kiev.

Burials before the Death of Yaroslav the Wise (1054)

Let us begin our examination by looking at the nature of dynastic burials before the death of Yaroslav the Wise. The first princes of Rus' descended from or related to Rurik were pagans. Rurik himself died around 879, probably in Novgorod, where he was buried⁶. Oleg, who was 'of his kin', took Rurik's infant son Igor' and travelled to Kiev where he established his rule. According to popular tradition, he died in 912 after stepping on the skull of his favourite horse from which a snake emerged and dealt him a poisonous bite from which he died. The *Povest' vremennykh let (PVL)*, or the *Primary Chronicle*, reports that he was buried in a grave on the hill called Shchekovitsa outside the walls of Kiev⁷. Igor' succeeded Oleg and ruled as prince until 945, when his greed for more tribute incited the Derevlyane to kill him. He was buried in a grave near Iskorosten where he was killed⁸.

Igor's widow Olga was unique. After her husband's death she assumed the role of regent for their son Svyatoslav and was also the first member of the ruling dynasty to become a Christian. According to the *PVL* she died in Kiev in 969 and was buried by a priest in the place that she had selected, probably with other Christians and perhaps in a church⁹. It is generally believed that her body was transferred to the Church of the Mother of God, or the Tithe Church (*Desyatinaya*) built by her grandson Vladimir, and placed into a slate sarcophagus¹⁰.

Olga's son Svyatoslav remained a pagan. In 972, when travelling up the Dnepr while returning from a campaign against the Greeks in Byzantium, the Pechenegs attacked him at the cataracts and killed him. The chronicler tells us that the nomads

6 *PSRL* 1: 22; *PSRL* 2: 16.

7 *PSRL* 1: 39; *PSRL* 2: 29.

8 *PSRL* 1: 55; *PSRL* 2: 43.

9 *PSRL* 1: 68; *PSRL* 2: 55–56.

10 M. Berlinskiy, *Kratkoe opisanie Kieva* (Kiev, 1991), 47, 65, 151–152. Karger found Berlinskiy's observations reliable in many cases and referred to him as 'the first archaeologist of Kiev' (1764–1848), (*Drevniy Kiev*, 1 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1958), 31–33). Concerning the sarcophagus, see A. M. Miletskiy and P. P. Tolochko, *Park-Muzei 'Drevniy Kiev'*, (Kiev, 1989), 86. For the location of the Tithe Church, see P. P. Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya v epokhu feodal'noy razdroblennosti XII–XIII vekov* (Kiev, 1980), 54–55, nr. 1.

made a cup out of his skull and drank from it.¹¹ They presumably left his body at the cataracts as carrion for scavengers. At best his corpse was buried in the field near the spot where he was killed.

The next two princes to die were Svyatoslav's sons Oleg and Yaropolk. In 977, Oleg fell in battle at the gates of his town Vruchiy in the Derevlyane lands and was buried in a grave at Vruchiy¹². Yaropolk, was prince of Kiev. In 980 Vladimir came from Novgorod, usurped control of Kiev, and had his henchmen kill Yaropolk¹³. Although the chronicles do not report the place of his burial, his grave was undoubtedly in Kiev.

The second princess whose death is reported by the *PVL* was Rogned, one of Vladimir's wives and the mother of Yaroslav. She died in 1000¹⁴. The chronicle does not tell us where she died or where she was buried. Under the year 980, however, the *PVL* reports that Vladimir provided Rogned with a residence on the Lybed River south of Kiev where she raised her family¹⁵. Since Vladimir Christianized Rus' in 988 she probably became a Christian at that time and, as such, would have been buried in a church in Kiev. Since the chronicle tells us that Vladimir began building the Tithe Church in 989, it would have been completed by the time of Rogned's death¹⁶. She may therefore have had a Christian burial in Vladimir's church, but we are not told.

Vladimir's Greek wife, Princess Anna, died eleven years later, in 1011¹⁷. The chronicle does not report where she was buried. M. Berlinskiy tells us, however, that when Metropolitan Petro Mohyla rebuilt the Tithe Church he discovered the graves of Vladimir and Princess Anna among others¹⁸. According to this evidence, Princess Anna was buried in the Tithe Church.

In 988, Vladimir was the first prince of Rus' to become a Christian. He died on 15 July 1015 at the settlement of Berestovo outside the walls of Kiev. From there his body was transported to the Tithe Church where it was laid in a sarcophagus¹⁹. With his burial Vladimir initiated the practice of being buried in the church that he

11 *PSRL* 1: 74; *PSRL* 2: 62.

12 *PSRL* 1: 75; *PSRL* 2: 63.

13 *PSRL* 1: 78; *PSRL* 2: 66.

14 *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshogo i mladshogo izvodov*, (abbreviated NPL), edited by A. N. Nasonov, (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), 168; "*Gustinskaya letopis'*," (abbreviated Gust.), *PSRL* 2 (St. Petersburg, 1843), 47.

15 *PSRL* 1: 79–80; *PSRL* 2: 67.

16 *PSRL* 1: 121; *PSRL* 2: 106. According to Aseev and Karger, the Tithe Church was built between 989 and 996 (Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kieva*, 28; Karger, *Drevniy Kiev*, 2, 10). Compare A. I. Komech who suggests the dates 991 and 996 (*Drevnerusskoe zodchestvo kontsa X-nachala XII v.* (Moscow, 1987), 168).

17 *PSRL* 1: 129; *PSRL* 2: 114; NPL, 168.

18 Berlinskiy, *Kratkoe opisanie Kieva*, 65, 152. Karger confirms that in 1635 Petro Mohyla found many tombs of Russian princes in the ruins of the Tithe Church (*Drevniy Kiev*, 2, 13.) He does not, however, refer specifically to the existence of the tomb of Princess Anna.

19 *PSRL* 1: 130; *PSRL* 2: 115; NPL, 168–169. According to Archimandrite Innokenty [Gizel] who died in 1683, Vladimir's head was in the Church of the Assumption in the Cave's Monastery in his day (*Sinopsis*, [ninth printing, St. Petersburg, 1810], 84). According to Berlinskiy, in 1634 Metropolitan Petro Mohyla removed Vladimir's head from the Tithe Church. It was first placed into the Church of St. Spas at Berestovo and from there moved to the Caves Monastery where it was still in 1820 in Berlinskiy's day (*Kratkoe opisanie Kieva*, 39, 65, 152, 169).

had built. As the first Christian prince, he was also the first prince to be buried in a church. Furthermore, as prince of Kiev he was buried in Kiev. Although his wife Princess Anna was evidently laid to rest in the same church, in the future as we shall see, it would not become a hard and fast rule that a wife would be entombed next to her husband.

Vladimir's sons about whom we have any information are few. As prince of Kiev, his eldest son Svyatopolk sought to attain sole authority in Rus' by seizing the domains of his brothers. In 1019, he died in the wilderness among the Poles as a fugitive from Yaroslav. The chronicler reports that he was buried where he died²⁰.

Four years earlier, according to the *PVL*, he had his younger brothers Boris and Gleb murdered. His henchmen killed Boris on the River L'ta, and Gleb in a wood near Smolensk. Friends brought the body of Boris in secret to Vyshgorod and interred it in the Church of St. Basil. At a later date Gleb's body was also brought to Vyshgorod and laid to rest next to that of Boris²¹. As Christians they merited burial in a church. What is more, as the first martyrs of Rus' they deserved to be buried in Kiev, the dynasty's capital. The reason why they were not buried there was probably the consideration that their brother Svyatopolk, who had ordered their deaths, was prince of Kiev. This observation is supported by the news that the body of Boris was brought to Vyshgorod in secret²². It suggests that, since Svyatopolk would have objected to his interment in Vyshgorod, he certainly would not have permitted the burial to take place in Kiev.

In 1044, ten years before his death, Yaroslav the Wise arranged for a unique ritual to be performed. He had the bodies of his uncles Yaropolk and Oleg Svyatoslavichi exhumed, baptized, and interred in the Tithe Church where their half-brother Vladimir was buried²³. As we have seen, in 977 Oleg had been killed at Vruchiy. Three years later Vladimir had Yaropolk the prince of Kiev murdered. To judge from the evidence that Yaroslav had them both baptized posthumously they had died as pagans. In 1039 Yaroslav had the Tithe Church re-consecrated after he repaired the damage caused by the fire of 1017²⁴. It is possible that the exhumation and reburial of the two bodies was associated with Yaroslav's renovation of the church. The *PVL* does not tell us.

On 10 February 1050 Yaroslav's wife Ingigerd-Irene died²⁵. We are not told where she was buried. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of her or anyone else's burial in St. Sophia prior to that of Yaroslav in 1054. However, the *PVL* reports that the monastery of St. George, Yaroslav's patron, and the monastery of St. Irene, the patron

20 *PSRL* 1: 145; *PSRL* 2: 132.

21 For Boris, see *PSRL* 1: 134; *PSRL* 2: 121; *NPL*, 172. For Gleb, see *PSRL* 1: 137; *PSRL* 2: 124; *NPL*, 174.

22 *NPL*, 172. In 1072 the triumvirate translated the bodies of the two brothers into a new church (*PSRL* 1: 181–182; *PSRL* 2: 171–172). Later, in 1115, Oleg Svyatoslavich translated their bodies, into the church that his father had begun to build and Oleg completed (*PSRL* 2: 280–282). See also M. Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich and his Patronage of the Cult of SS. Boris and Gleb," *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (Toronto, 1988), 349–370.

23 *PSRL* 1: 155; *PSRL* 2: 143.

24 *PSRL* 1: 142, 153; *PSRL* 2: 130, 141; Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kievna*, 28.

25 *PSRL* 1: 155; *PSRL* 2: 143; see also *The Russian Primary Chronicle (Laurentian Text)*, translated and edited by S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 254, note 138.

saint of Ingigerd-Irene, were the first monastic complexes in Kiev²⁶. The chronicles do not tell us when the Church of St. Irene was completed. Nevertheless, according to the view of one specialist, it was built by 1050²⁷. If this view is correct, it is very likely that Ingigerd-Irene was buried in her monastery of St. Irene that was dedicated to her patron saint.

Burials During the Second Half of the Eleventh Century

Vladimir's son about whom the chronicles tell us the most was Yaroslav the Wise. In 1019 he became prince of Kiev²⁸. Among his most notable religious achievements was the construction of the Cathedral of St. Sophia. He died 20 February 1054 and was the first dynast to be entombed in it²⁹. Thus we see that, in imitation of his father Vladimir, he was buried in the church that he had built.

Vladimir's last son to be buried in Kiev was Sudislav of Pskov whom Yaroslav had thrown into prison³⁰. Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod seemingly had pity on their hapless uncle. They released him from prison, but after making him renounce all his political rights they forced him to adopt the monastic habit³¹. In 1063, he died and was buried in the Church of St. George, in the monastery to which his three nephews had evidently confined him³². Sudislav was the first prince who never ruled Kiev to die in the town and to be buried in it. One motive for interring him there was that he was a son of Vladimir Svyatoslavich who was buried in Kiev. Another compelling reason was that he had become a monk in the monastery of St. George. As a monk he merited burial in the institution that he had died. Moreover, Sudislav's family relationship to Yaroslav may have been an added incentive for burying him in his brother's monastery on the citadel rather than in a less prestigious location in the outskirts of Kiev.

In 1073 Svyatoslav violated Yaroslav's plan for peaceful succession to Kiev by deposing his elder brother Izyaslav. Three years later, on 27 December 1076, Svyatoslav was the first of the triumvirs to die³³. The chronicles do not record any disquiet in Kiev to suggest the citizens' displeasure with his rule that may have prevented his burial in Kiev. Nevertheless, he was the first ruler of Kiev who died as its prince not to be buried in the capital, even though he evidently had the option of being interred in one of three churches. He could have been buried in the Church of St. Simeon that he himself had built in the *Kopyrev konets*³⁴. Presumably, he could have been laid to rest

26 *PSRL* 1: 151; *PSRL* 2: 139.

27 P. A. Rappoport says that the church was built between the years 1047 and 1050 (*Drevne-russkaya Arkhitektura* (Sankt-Peterburg, 1993), 260). Compare Tolochko who suggests the years 1051 and 1053 (Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 54).

28 *PSRL* 2: 133; *PSRL* 1: 146.

29 *PSRL* 1: 161–162; *PSRL* 2: 150–151; *NPL*, 182. For the location of St. Sophia, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 54–55, nr. 12.

30 *PSRL* 2: 139; *PSRL* 1: 151.

31 *PSRL* 2: 151; *PSRL* 1: 162; compare *NPL*, 183.

32 *PSRL* 1: 163; *PSRL* 2: 152; *NPL*, 183.

33 *PSRL* 1: 199; *PSRL* 2: 190.

34 Concerning the location of the monastery, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 55–56, nr. 26.

in the Cathedral of St. Sophia where his father Yaroslav was buried. Or he could have been interred where his brother Izyaslav would later be entombed, in the Tithe Church with his grandfather Vladimir. Instead, for reasons unexplained, Svyatoslav rejected all three options and chose to be buried in the Cathedral of the Transfiguration of Our Lord or the Holy Saviour Cathedral in Chernigov, his patrimonial capital.

Two years later, on 3 October 1078, Izyaslav was killed in battle fighting against Svyatoslav's son Oleg and the Polovtsy. His body was brought to Kiev and laid to rest in the Tithe Church³⁵. Izyaslav was the first of Yaroslav's descendants to die in battle and whose body was brought from the field for burial in a church. In retrieving his brother's body Vsevolod adopted the practice initiated with the burials of SS. Boris and Gleb whose bodies had also been collected from the spots where they had been murdered.

Izyaslav was not entombed in the Cathedral of St. Sophia that his father Yaroslav had built. As we shall see, Vsevolod, who succeeded Izyaslav to the throne of Kiev and was responsible for his burial, was probably reserving that honour for himself. Even more surprisingly, however, Vsevolod did not inter Izyaslav in the Church of St. Dmitry, in the monastery that he had founded in his district of Kiev³⁶. It has been suggested that Izyaslav's Church of St. Dmitry was built of wood³⁷. If this was the case it may explain why Vsevolod did not bury him there but in the Tithe Church which, being built of stone, was a more lasting structure. What is more, since it contained the remains of their grandfather Vladimir the Christianizer of Rus', it was also the more prestigious edifice.

On 22 November 1087 Izyaslav's eldest son Yaropolk, after returning from the Poles, was murdered near Zvenigorod and his body taken to Kiev by his retainers. There, the chronicler reports, it was met by Vsevolod and his sons Vladimir Monomakh and Rostislav, the metropolitan, monks, priests and the citizens. They robbed his body and on 5 December placed it in a marble sarcophagus in the Church of St. Peter that he had begun to build in Izyaslav's monastery of St. Dmitry³⁸. Thus, in imitation of Yaroslav who had built St. Sofia and Vladimir before him who had built the Tithe Church, Vsevolod buried Yaropolk in the church that he had founded and begun to build³⁹.

Significantly, he had never ruled Kiev. Nevertheless, being an Izyaslavich of the inner-circle whose members were given Kiev as their patrimonial capital, and since his father was already buried in the Tithe Church, he also had the right of burial in the town. This is attested to by the welcome his body was given by Vsevolod, his sons,

35 *PSRL* 1: 201–202; *PSRL* 2: 193.

36 See under the year 1051, *PSRL* 1: 159; *PSRL* 2: 147. Karger points out that the Monastery of St. Dmitry was built by 1062 when Izyaslav appointed Abbot Varlaam to the institution (Karger, *Drevniy Kiev*, 2, 262). Concerning the location of the monastery, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 54–55, nr. 23.

37 Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kieva*, 93–94.

38 *PSRL* 1: 206 (under the year 1086); *PSRL* 2: 197–198. For the location of the church, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 55–56, nr. 24.

39 Karger points out that since Vsevolod expelled Yaropolk from Rus' in 1085 he probably founded the church before that year (*Drevniy Kiev*, 2, 262).

the clergy, and the inhabitants of the town. Moreover, he was the genealogically eldest living prince of the Izyaslavichi. This meant that he was in line to succeed Vsevolod to Kiev after his death. Finally, the consideration that he founded a church in Kiev gave him the right of burial in that church.

Vsevolod, the third member of the inner-circle, died on 13 April 1093, and was buried in St. Sophia beside his father Yaroslav⁴⁰. Thus, of the three brothers, only Vsevolod was laid to rest in his father's church, the metropolitan's cathedral of Kiev. Why was this so? The answer lies in the directive that Yaroslav seemingly gave to Vsevolod before his death.

If God grant that you succeed your brothers upon my throne justly and without the exercise of violence, may you lie beside my tomb where I lie when God takes you from this world, for I love you more than your brethren [i.e. brothers]⁴¹.

Since Yaroslav did not proffer the same invitation to Izyaslav and Svyatoslav, was he granting Vsevolod and his descendants preferential consideration by giving them the exclusive right of burial in St. Sophia? His instruction to Vsevolod implies that this was the case. We shall see if later evidence supports this view.

In the light of Yaroslav's instruction, it is not surprising that Vsevolod was not interred at Vyduhichi, in the monastery that he had built in the district allotted to him by Yaroslav. Under the year 1070 the chronicler reports that Vsevolod founded Vyduhichi Monastery one and a half miles south of the Caves Monastery where he built the Church of St. Michael⁴². Although, as we have seen, each of the three brothers built a monastery in the district allotted to him, it is noteworthy that not one of them was buried in the church of his monastery. Izyaslav and Vsevolod were buried next to an immediate ancestor. Svyatoslav broke ties with Kiev and with his immediate ancestors by being buried in Chernigov.

Less than two months after Vsevolod's death, on 26 May 1093, his younger son Rostislav, Monomakh's brother, drowned in the Stugna River while fighting the Polovtsy. His body was retrieved from the river, brought to Kiev, and buried next to his father in the Cathedral of St. Sophia⁴³. It is noteworthy that Rostislav's body was brought from the field of battle, just like the bodies of SS. Boris and Gleb were collected from the sites of their murders, and just as Izyaslav's corpse was brought from the battlefield. Rostislav, like Yaropolk Izyaslavich had not ruled Kiev but as a Vsevolodovich he belonged to a dynasty of the inner-circle. Consequently, he, like his Izyaslavichi cousin, had the right of burial in the town where his father and grandfather were buried, and even in the same church. Indeed, Rostislav's burial in St. Sophia suggests that it was being reserved as a mausoleum for Vsevolod's family. Svyatopolk Izyaslavich, the prince of Kiev at that time, obviously concurred with this

40 *PSRL* 1: 215–216; *PSRL* 2: 207; *NPL*, 202.

41 Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 174; *PSRL* 1: 216; *PSRL* 2: 207.

42 *PSRL* 2: 164; *PSRL* 1: 174. For the location of the monastery see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 56–57, nr. 43.

43 *PSRL* 1: 220–221; *PSRL* 2: 211–212.

practice since, to judge from the silence of the chronicles, he expressed no objection to the burial.

On 1 October 1093 Izyaslav's grandson Rostislav Mstislavich died. On 16 November he was interred in the Tithe Church where his grandfather was buried⁴⁴. Like the latter, he may not have been laid to rest in his grandfather's monastery of St. Dmitry because it was made of wood. His burial once again demonstrated that a prince of Izyaslav's dynasty, even though he had never ruled Kiev, had the right of burial in the same church with his ancestor. Presumably, he also enjoyed the right because Kiev was the common capital of the princes of the inner-circle and their common burial ground.

Burials During the First Half of the Twelfth Century

On 4 January 1107 Izyaslav's Polish wife Gertrude, the daughter of Mieszko II, died⁴⁵. The chronicles do not report where she died or where she was buried. Most likely, both events occurred in Kiev since her son Svyatopolk was prince of Kiev at that time. He could have interred her in the Tithe Church next to her husband, since other princesses like Olga and Anna were already entombed there. Nevertheless, burying a princess in a church with her husband was not a hard and fast rule. As we shall see, Vsevolod's second wife Anna was not interred beside him in St. Sophia. Since neither Izyaslav nor his sons had founded a monastery for women, Gertrude could not be buried there. Vsevolod, as we shall see, had built such a monastery for his daughter Yanka. Nevertheless, to judge from later information it was not customary for a princess or prince to be buried in another dynasty's mausoleum. Consequently, Gertrude may have been entombed with her eldest son Yaropolk in the Church of St. Peter. In any case, her final resting place was probably next to a relative, either her husband or her son.

Within a period of some five years Vsevolod Yaroslavich's second wife and three daughters died in Kiev and were buried there. On 11 July 1108 his daughter Catherine passed away⁴⁶. The place of her death and burial are not reported. Presumably she died in Kiev and was most likely buried in the Church of St. Andrew in Yanka's monastery. On 10 July 1109 Vsevolod's daughter Evpraksia died and was buried in the Caves Monastery by the southern gate. Later a chapel was built over her grave⁴⁷. Since she died as a nun she was buried in the monastery where she had taken the veil. Three years later, on 3 November 1112, Vsevolod's daughter Yanka died and was buried in the Church of St. Andrew, in the monastery that, in 1086, her father had built for her⁴⁸.

44 *Gust.*, 64; "Radzivilovskaya letopis'"; *PSRL* 38: 90.

45 *PSRL* 2: 259; Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, I, 23.

46 *PSRL* 2: 260; *PSRL* 1: 283.

47 *PSRL* 1: 283; *PSRL* 2: 260. She was married first to Henry the Long, Margrave of the Nordmark who died in 1087; in 1089, she married Emperor Henry IV who died in 1106; after that she became a nun (Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 284, note 385; Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, V, 4).

48 For Yanka's death, see *PSRL* 2: 273–274. Concerning the construction of the monastery, see *PSRL* 2: 197. For the location of the monastery, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 54–55, nr. 7.

She died as the abbess of that institution and was therefore, like her sister Evpraksia, buried in the monastery where she had become a nun.

It should be noted that Vsevolod built the Church of St. Andrew and Yanka's monastery in Vladimir's town on the citadel, and not at Vydbubichi, the district that Yaroslav had allotted to him in the outskirts of Kiev. Being relegated to the suburb of Vydbubichi was undoubtedly demeaning for Vsevolod since it placed him on a seemingly lower political rung to his brothers whose districts were at the heart of Kiev on the citadel. Thus it appears that as prince of Kiev, in order to build Yanka's monastery on the citadel, Vsevolod appropriated a portion of Vladimir's town to himself. Moreover, his Church of St. Michael at Vydbubichi, founded in 1070, was not consecrated until 1088, two years after the Church of St. Andrew was founded. The delayed consecration of St. Michael may have been caused by unexplained complications at the Vydbubichi monastery that may have given Vsevolod additional cause for appropriating a section of Vladimir's town. Unexplained difficulties can also be inferred from the evidence that no member of Vsevolod's dynasty was ever buried in the Church of St. Michael.

The year before Yanka's death, on 7 October 1111, Princess Anna, Vsevolod's second wife passed away and was buried in the Church of St. Andrew in Yanka's monastery⁴⁹. It is noteworthy that her body was not placed in St. Sophia next to her husband's body. This is firm testimony that it was not customary practice to bury a princess with her spouse. To judge from this instance, it was preferable to entomb a princess in a women's monastery, normally one founded by a relative.

David Igorevich died on 25 December 1112 and was buried at Klov, in the Church of the Mother of God of Blachernae, which had been founded by Stephen, the former abbot of the Caves Monastery⁵⁰. Earlier, under the years 1097 and 1100 the chronicles reported that he died in Dorogobuzh located on the boundary between the lands of Kiev and Volyn⁵¹. Even though David's father Igor' was one of Yaroslav's sons, Yaroslav had debarred him from succession to Kiev. Thus he could not claim Kiev as his common patrimony like the members of the inner circle. Consequently, Igor' did not build a church in Kiev in which he or David could be buried. Instead, David was interred in a monastery founded by Abbot Stephen at Klov, a Kievan suburb. Despite this relegation, it is noteworthy that his contemporaries believed his dynastic status to be of such importance that his body deserved to be taken from the small provincial town of Dorogobuzh and interred in the capital of Rus'. An additional reason for the transfer of the body to Kiev was perhaps the consideration that at that time Dorogobuzh fell under the jurisdiction of Kiev rather than of Vladimir in Volyn⁵².

49 *PSRL* 2: 273; *Gust.*, 289.

50 *PSRL* 2: 273; *PSRL* 1: 289 (under the year 1113). The monastery at Klov was located south of Yaroslav's town, west of Berestovo; see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 56, nr. 37. See also Rappoport, *Drevne-russkaya arkhitektura*, 40–41, and Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kiev*, 108–109.

51 *PSRL* 1: 273, 274; *PSRL* 2: 248, 250.

52 According to the sources, it was Svyatopolk Izyaslavich the prince of Kiev who had given him Dorogobuzh (*PSRL* 1: 274; *PSRL* 2: 250).

The most important political death during the first two decades of the twelfth century was that of Svyatopolk Izyaslavich who, on 16 April 1113, died in Kiev. He was buried in the Church of St. Michael the Golden Domed (*Zlatoverkhaya tserkov*) that he had founded in 1108 in his father's district of the citadel next to the churches of St. Dmitry and St. Peter⁵³. After him no other Izyaslavich would rule Kiev, even though, as we shall see, Izyaslav's dynasty did not die out with Svyatopolk's death.

Political rivals and insubordinate princes who died in Kiev as captives were interred either in a church on the citadel (like Sudislav) or in a church in a Kievan suburb. Thus, on 13 September 1119, Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk, who was not descended from Yaroslav the Wise but belonged to the dynasty of Polotsk, died in Kiev as the captive of Vladimir Monomakh⁵⁴. Under the year of his death the chronicles fail to report where he was buried. Nevertheless, under the year 1158 we are told that his widow Anastasia was buried next to her husband in the Church of the Assumption in the Caves Monastery to which the couple had been great benefactors⁵⁵. Thus, even though Gleb had been Vladimir Monomakh's political enemy, the monks of the Caves Monastery, ignoring his political situation, gave him an honourable burial owing to his great benefactions.

On 17 January 1121 Christina the first wife of Monomakh's eldest son Mstislav died⁵⁶. We are not informed where she died or where she was buried. Nevertheless, we are told that since 1117 Mstislav, Monomakh's designated successor to Kiev, had been living in Belgorod. Consequently, his wife most likely died in that town⁵⁷. Although a wooden church undoubtedly existed in Belgorod, the *PVL* has not reported any dynastic burials in that Kievan outpost. Christina's body was therefore most likely transported to Kiev. The chronicles do not specifically refer to any female dynasty whose body was transferred from a Kievan outpost to Kiev. However, we may assume that this was done in Christina's case since transporting bodies of princes to Kiev appears to have been customary practice⁵⁸. In Kiev Christina was probably buried in Yanka's monastery where princesses from her husband's dynasty were interred.

Four years later, on 28 February 1125 Svyatopolk's widow, Barbara, died⁵⁹. Again, the chronicles fail to report where she died or where she was buried. Since Vladimir Monomakh, who succeeded Svyatopolk as prince of Kiev, had been on amicable terms with Svyatopolk, he probably allowed the widow to remain in Kiev after her husband's death. There are various possibilities for her burial site. If, as a widow, she had entered the Caves Monastery she was buried there. Alternatively, if she did not become a nun, she might have been interred in the same church as Izyaslav's wife Gertrude, whether that was in the Tithe Church or the Church of

53 *PSRL* 2: 275; *PSRL* 1: 290 (under the year 1114). See Karger, *Drevniy Kiev*, 2, 273–274. For the location of the Church of St. Michael, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 54–55, nr. 22.

54 *PSRL* 1: 292; *PSRL* 2: 285. See Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, VIII, 6.

55 See below, p. 82.

56 *PSRL* 2: 286; compare *PSRL* 1: 292.

57 Concerning Mstislav's move to Belgorod, see *PSRL* 2: 284; *PSRL* 1: 291. Compare V. N. Tatishchev who claims that she died in Novgorod (*Istoriya Rossiyskaya*, 2, (Moscow-Leningrad, 1963), 134).

58 Concerning princes whose bodies were transferred to Kiev, see below, p. 89–90.

59 *PSRL* 1: 293 (under the year 1124); *PSRL* 2: 289; Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, II, 3.

St. Peter. It has also been suggested, however, that she was buried in her husband's Church of St. Michael the Golden Domed⁶⁰. It is most unlikely that she would have become a nun and died in Yanka's monastery since that belonged to the dynasty of Vsevolodovichi.

As has been noted, Vsevolod's eldest son Vladimir Monomakh succeeded his cousin Svyatopolk Izyaslavich to Kiev. On 19 May 1125 he died on the L'ta River in the church of St. Boris that he had built. His sons and boyars took his body to Kiev and entombed it in St. Sophia, where his father and younger brother Rostislav were interred⁶¹. His burial once again buttresses the observation that Vsevolod and his heirs had the sole right of burial in the metropolitan's cathedral.

Monomakh's third wife, a Polovtsian princess, died a year or two after his death, either on 11 June 1126 or 11 July 1127⁶². The chronicles fail to report where she was buried. As before, Yanka's monastery is a strong candidate for the burial of a princess married to a prince of the Vsevolodovichi dynasty. Nevertheless, it has been suggested, probably correctly, that she was buried in the Church of St. Spas at Berestovo which, as we shall see, was built by Vladimir Monomakh⁶³.

According to the chronicles, Bryacheslav, the son of Svyatopolk Izyaslavich died on 28 March 1127 and was buried on 5 April⁶⁴. In the following year, Izyaslav, another of Svyatopolk's sons died on 13 December 1128 and was buried on 24 December⁶⁵. The sources do not report where the two princes died or where they were buried. Since, however, they were entombed several days after their deaths this suggests that they died at locations outside of Kiev, probably in the Turov principality, and that their bodies were brought to Kiev for burial. There they would have been interred in the Church of St. Michael the Golden Domed with their father who had built the church⁶⁶.

Vladimir Monomakh's son Mstislav died on 15 April 1132 after ruling Kiev for seven years. He was buried in the Church of St. Fedor that he had built in 1129 in his monastery⁶⁷. Thus we see that Mstislav, like other princes who had built churches, was buried in his own church. Indeed, he was the first prince to be interred in the Church of St. Fedor. Since he founded it and was buried in it the monastery became popularly known as 'Father's [Monastery]' (*Otchiy*) by his descendants. It is also noteworthy that he was the first Vsevolodovich to found a monastic complex on the citadel after his grandfather Vsevolod had built Yanka's monastery. To be sure, Mstislav erected his

60 According to Berlinskiy she was buried in the Church of St. Michael (*Kratkoe opisanie Kieva*, 85, 176.)

61 *PSRL* 1: 293–295; *PSRL* 2: 290 (under the year 1126).

62 *PSRL* 1: 296 gives the date 11 June 1126; *PSRL* 2: 290 gives the date 11 July 1127. Monomakh's second and unidentified wife died on 7 May 1107 (*PSRL* 1: 281; *PSRL* 2: 258). Since he was prince of Pereyaslavl' at that time she was probably buried there. The date of death of his first wife is unknown.

63 Karger, *Drevniy Kiev*, 2, 377–378.

64 *PSRL* 1: 296.

65 *PSRL* 1: 299 (under the year 1127); *PSRL* 2: 293.

66 This, as we shall see, was how their relatives Svyatopolk Yur'evich (Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, II, 22) and Gleb Yur'evich (Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, II, 24), princes of Turov, would be buried in the 1190s. See below, p. 84–85.

67 *PSRL* 2: 294. Concerning the construction of the church, see *PSRL* 2: 293. For its location, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 54–55, nr. 6.

church next to Yanka's institution. Thus he buttressed his grandfather's appropriation of that section of Vladimir's town for the dynasty of Vsevolodovichi.

The chronicles report that on 4 April 1138 Monomakh's daughter Evfimia died and was buried in the Church of St. Spas at Berestovo⁶⁸. There is no chronicle evidence as to who built St. Spas or when. As already noted, however, Monomakh's Polovtsian wife, who died in 1127, was probably buried there. Nevertheless, Evfimia was the first reported dynast to be entombed in that edifice. In addition to the two princesses, as we shall see, in 1157 Monomakh's son Yury Dolgorukiy would be laid to rest there, and in 1172 Yury's son Gleb would be interred there. Investigators are generally agreed that the evidence of these burials shows that it became the monastery of the Monomashichi and testifies to Monomakh's patronage of the institution⁶⁹. Consequently, Evfimia was interred in her father's church, one that belonged to the dynasty of Vsevolodovichi.

In the same year, on 18 February 1138, Yaropolk Vladimirovich, the prince of Kiev died. His burial arrangements were most unusual. Not only was he interred in St. Andrew's women's monastery where his aunt Yanka had been the abbess, but he was also buried in the graveyard beside the church rather than in a tomb inside the Church of St. Andrew⁷⁰. The chronicles give no explanation for this anomaly. Understandably, since Yaropolk was not a Mstislavich he was not buried in his brother's *Otchiy* monastery of St. Fedor. Nevertheless, his contemporaries would most likely have looked upon his interment in Yanka's monastery as humiliating on two counts. First, despite his status as former prince of Kiev he was buried in a graveyard outside the church. Second, he was interred in a monastery where, until then, seemingly only female dynasts had been buried. To judge from his burial, there was evidently no hard and fast tradition stipulating that only female dynasts were to be buried in Yanka's monastery.

Nonetheless, the demeaning burial was set aright by the prince's widow. In 1145, seven years after his death, Princess Elena had her husband's body exhumed and transferred from the graveyard into the Church of St. Andrew. The chronicler tells us that the prince's remains were moved to a place of honour near his aunt Yanka⁷¹. Vsevolod Ol'govich of Chernigov, who was prince of Kiev at that time, evidently did not object to the translation perhaps because it had only moral rather than political significance. Yaropolk's exhumation and translation into the church reflected those of Olga, Yaropolk and Oleg in that their bodies had been disinterred from their original graves and transferred into tombs in a prestigious mausoleum.

Around the middle of the 1140s Kiev also witnessed a unique princely burial. We will discuss it because of its importance even though the chronicles do not record it. It

68 *PSRL* 1: 305; *PSRL* 2: 301 (under the year 1139). For the location of the Church of St. Spas, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 56–57, nr. 39.

69 Karger, *Drevniy Kiev*, vol. 2, 377–378. It is generally believed that Vladimir Monomakh built the Church of St. Spas between the years 1113 and 1125: see Berlinskiy, *Kratkoe opisanie Kieva*, 45, 149; Rappoport, *Drevne-russkaya arkhitektura*, 46; Komech, *Drevnerusskoe zodchestvo*, 293; and Iu. S. Aseev, *Arkhitektura Kyivs'koi Rusi* (Kyiv, 1969), 86–87.

70 *PSRL* 1: 306; *PSRL* 2: 302 (under the year 1139).

71 *PSRL* 1: 312; *PSRL* 2: 319.

is exceptional because the prince was a Svyatoslavich of the Chernigov dynasty who became the first prince-monk of Rus'. In 1143, Svyatoslav Davidovich, popularly known as Svyatosha, died in the Caves Monastery where he had lived much of his life and where he was placed to rest in one of the caves. He was the first Svyatoslavich to be buried in Kiev⁷². Thus we see that because he was a monk his body was interred in the institution where he had lived and died rather than taken to his grandfather's family monastery of St. Simeon on the citadel. Vsevolod Ol'govich prince of Kiev had no objection to Svyatosha's burial in the Kievan suburb since he was the deceased prince's cousin and the two had been on amicable terms⁷³. If any of the Kievans had wished to object to the burial, Vsevolod's approval probably deterred them from doing so.

Vsevolod Ol'govich usurped power in 1139, just as his father had done in 1073. In this way he became only the second prince of Chernigov to rule Kiev. On 1 August 1146 he died at Vyshgorod where he was interred in the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb, which his grandfather Svyatoslav had begun building and his father Oleg had completed⁷⁴. Thus, he was buried in the Kievan outpost and not, like the Izyaslavichi and Vsevolodovichi, within the town's walls. He could have chosen one of two other churches as his mausoleum. He could have been interred in his grandfather's church of St. Simeon on the citadel. Or, he could have been entombed in the Monastery of St. Cyril in the suburb of Dorogozhichi which, as we shall see, he himself had founded⁷⁵. Ultimately, he chose to be entombed in his father's church in Vyshgorod that housed the prestigious relics of SS. Boris and Gleb. It has been pointed out that, during the course of the eleventh and twelfth century, Vyshgorod and its relics of the first princely 'passion sufferers' (*strastoterptsy*) of Rus' were at the center of church-political life in Kiev⁷⁶. Accordingly, Vsevolod's burial in Vyshgorod was probably looked upon as one of the greatest honours that could have been bestowed on a prince.

In the same year, on 20 January 1146, Maritsa, a daughter of Vladimir Monomakh, was buried in the church where, we are told, she had taken the veil as a nun⁷⁷. This vague statement fails to identify the monastic institution where she died and the church in which she was buried. Presumably this happened in Kiev. There, on the one hand, she could have entered the monastery of her aunt Yanka and been buried in the Church of St. Andrew. On the other hand, which is more likely, she may have entered the family monastery of St. Spas at Berestovo where her father Monomakh had built the church and where her sister Evfimia was buried.

The year 1147 witnessed one of the most atrocious crimes committed by the Kievans against a dynast. On 19 September a mob rose up against Igor' Ol'govich,

72 R. V. Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh po Lyubetskomu sinodiku i o chernigovskom knyazhestve v Tatarskoe vremya* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 261; E.E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya kanonizatsii svyatykh v russkoy tserkvi*, second edition (Moscow, 1903), 203–204; Berlinskiy, *Kratkoe opisanie Kiev*, 170.

73 In 1142 Vsevolod had asked Svyatosha to intervene on his behalf in a political dispute, see *PSRL* 2: 312.

74 *PSRL* 2: 321; concerning the date of his death, see Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1054–1146*, 410.

75 Concerning the death of his son Svyatoslav where the chronicles report that he was buried in the monastery of his father, see below p. 85.

76 Karger, *Drevniy Kiev*, 2, 310.

77 *PSRL* 1: 314–315.

who had been deposed as prince of Kiev and was living as a captive monk in the Mstislavichi monastery of St. Fedor, and murdered him. They rebelled against him because he was an Ol'govich and they feared that he might usurp power from Izyaslav Mstislavich, their preferred prince from the dynasty of Vsevolod. Igor's desecrated body was buried in the Svyatoslavichi dynastic monastery of St. Simeon, in the *Kopyrev konets*⁷⁸. He thus became the first prince of Chernigov to be interred within the walls of Kiev. As we have seen, Yaroslav's brother Sudislav had been a captive monk in the Monastery of St. George and was buried there. In Igor's case, because he was a Svyatoslavich, his body was not entombed in the Monastery of St. Fedor that belonged to the hostile Mstislavichi even though that is where he had been held captive as a monk and even though he died as a member of that institution.

Nevertheless, the Church of St. Simeon turned out to be his temporary resting place. Svyatoslav Ol'govich prince of Chernigov wished to have his brother's remains interred in the dynastic capital of Chernigov. While relations remained strained between Svyatoslav Ol'govich and Izyaslav Mstislavich the latter evidently refused to grant permission for the body to be transferred. After Yury Dolgorukiy, an ally of the Ol'govichi, became prince of Kiev, he permitted Svyatoslav to translate Igor's body. Consequently, in 1150 Svyatoslav transferred Igor's remains to Chernigov and placed them in a tower of the Holy Saviour Cathedral.⁷⁹ The Church of St. Simeon was thus denied a dynastic burial.

Burials in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century

In 1151 the unnamed wife of the prince of Kiev, Izyaslav Mstislavich died in Kiev⁸⁰. We are not told where she was buried. It is unlikely that her body was interred in the men's monastery of St. Fedor that her father-in-law Mstislav had built. As the wife of a Mstislavich and the prince of Kiev, however, we may assume that she was buried in a church belonging to the Vsevolodovichi. Her body was most likely placed in a tomb in Yanka's Church of St. Andrew.

Three years later, on 13 November 1154, her husband Izyaslav Mstislavich himself died as prince of Kiev. As was to be expected, he was buried in the Church of St. Fedor, in *Otchiy* monastery where his father was entombed⁸¹. Later in the same year his uncle and co-ruler of Kiev, Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, died. He, however, was buried with his father Vladimir Monomakh, and his grandfather Vsevolod, in the Cathedral of St. Sophia⁸². From the evidence of these two Vsevolodovichi burials it would appear that, ideally, a prince was interred next to his immediate ancestor. It would appear that just as a prince had the right 'to sit on the throne of his father' he also had the right to be buried in the church of his father.

78 *PSRL* 1: 318; *PSRL* 2: 353–354.

79 *PSRL* 2: 408; *Gust.*, 300; see M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov. 1146–1246* (Cambridge, 2003), 59–62.

80 *PSRL* 1: 336 (under the year 1152); *PSRL* 2: 446.

81 *PSRL* 1: 341–342; *PSRL* 2: 469.

82 *PSRL* 1: 342–343; *PSRL* 2: 472–473.

After another three years had passed, on 15 May 1157, Yury Dolgorukiy of Suzdalia died as prince of Kiev. His body was taken outside the walls of Kiev to the monastery at Berestovo where he was interred in the Church of St. Spas⁸³. He, like Vyacheslav, was also one of Monomakh's sons. Yury, however, had challenged the Mstislavichi for control of Kiev, whereas Vyacheslav had been their ally. Thus, as Monomakh's son and as prince of Kiev Yury merited being buried in Kiev. Nevertheless, as the enemy of the Kievans' preferred rulers, the Mstislavichi, he was in their disfavour. In fact, the townsmen poisoned him. As a sign of his unpopularity, it would seem, he was not buried next to his father Monomakh in St. Sophia like Vyacheslav had been. Just the same, as has been noted, the Church of St. Spas had been built by Monomakh. Accordingly, tradition was respected in that he was buried in the church of his father.

The year 1158 witnessed an extraordinary burial. Anastasia, the widow of Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk and the daughter of Yaropolk Izyaslavich, died on 3 January. On the following day she was interred in the Church of the Assumption in the Caves Monastery in her husband's grave next to that of Abbot Feodosy⁸⁴. Her burial was unusual for two reasons. Her husband Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk belonged to the dynasty of Polotsk and had died in Kiev as a captive. Nevertheless, both her father Yaropolk and grandfather Izyaslav were buried in Kiev. Thus she merited burial in Kiev as a member of Izyaslav's dynasty. More importantly, the chronicler reports that she and her husband had great love for the Church of the Assumption and for the monastery's abbot St. Feodosy. They had donated gold, silver, and lands to the monastery. It is no doubt because they were such generous benefactors that the monks honoured them by interring them next to St. Feodosy. As we have seen, in 1109 Vsevolod's daughter Evpraksia had been buried in the Caves Monastery. Thus, since Svyatosha of the Svyatoslavichi was also buried in that institution, the monks there showed no favoritism towards any particular dynasty. Moreover, they buried not only monks and nuns but also lay men and women.

On 6 March 1161 Izyaslav Davidovich a Svyatoslavich of Chernigov, who had been prince of Kiev but had lost control of it, was killed fighting to regain possession of the town. His body was taken to the monastery of St. Simeon in the *Kopyrev konets*. A few days later, on 13 March, it was transferred to Chernigov and entombed in his father's Church of SS. Boris and Gleb⁸⁵. Thus we see that Izyaslav was the second prince descended from Svyatoslav whose body was temporarily stored in the patrimonial monastery of St. Simeon, which served as a staging post for the body as it were, before it was transferred to the dynastic capital of Chernigov.

After the death of his brother Izyaslav, and that of his uncle Yury Dolgorukiy, Rostislav Mstislavich became the senior prince of both the Monomashichi and the Mstislavichi. As a result he became the dynasty's undisputed ruler of Kiev. He died

83 *PSRL* 1: 348; *PSRL* 2: 489, under the year 1158.

84 *PSRL* 2: 492–493; see also Archimandrite Innokenty who calls her Anastasia (*Sinopsis*, 112–113). See Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, VIII, 6; II, 5.

85 *PSRL* 2: 518.

on 14 March 1168 and on 21 March he was entombed, like his brother Izyaslav, in the Church of St. Fedor, in *Otchiy* monastery that his father Mstislav had built⁸⁶.

Two years later, on 7 March 1170, Rostislav's nephew, Yaropolk Izyaslavich prince of Buzhsk in Volyn', died on the way to do battle with the Polovtsy. His body was taken to Kiev and buried in the Church of St. Fedor, in his grandfather's monastery⁸⁷. Yaropolk was never prince of Kiev, nevertheless he was granted burial in the *Otchiy* monastery of the Mstislavichi. His interment was unusual in that, although his domain was Buzhsk and he died at the start of a campaign, his body was brought to Kiev for burial next to his father Izyaslav. He was granted this consideration because of his bloodline. He was a Mstislavich and their mausoleum was the Church of St. Fedor.

On 28 January 1170 Vladimir Andreyevich, prince of Dorogobuzh and a grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, died⁸⁸. Before his widow could bury him, however, Mstislav Izyaslavich evicted her from Dorogobuzh. Following the example set in 1112 by the burial of David Igorevich who, as we have seen, had also died in Dorogobuzh, Vladimir's widow took his body to Kiev. There she arranged for it to be entombed in the Church of St. Andrew in Yanka's monastery⁸⁹. Since Vladimir was descended from Vsevolod Yaroslavich he deserved burial in a Vsevolodovichi institution. Although he was a Monomashich he had not ruled Kiev. As a result he evidently did not merit being placed in the Cathedral of St. Sophia with his grandfather Monomakh. Not being a Mstislavich he did not qualify for burial in the Church of St. Fedor in Mstislav's *Otchiy* monastery. He was, however, eligible for burial in his grandfather's Church of St. Spas at Berestovo. Nevertheless, his wife probably rejected that site because of its location in a Kievan suburb and, more importantly, because he would have been buried with the unpopular Yury Dolgorukiy. Consequently, she had him entombed among other Vsevolodovichi in Yanka's monastery where his uncle Yaropolk, who had ruled Kiev, was also buried. Thus it appears that Yanka's monastery served as a catch-all for Vsevolodovichi dynasts, male and female, who could not be buried in any other church founded by a Vsevolodovich.

Vladimir Mstislavich, evidently the youngest son of Mstislav Vladimirovich, died two years later, on 30 May 1172, after having ruled Kiev for only a few months⁹⁰. As Mstislav's son and prince of Kiev he was buried in the Church of St. Fedor, in his father's monastery.

On 20 January 1172 Gleb the son of Yury Dolgorukiy died as prince of Kiev. His body, like that of his father, was interred in the Church of St. Spas in the monastery at Berestovo⁹¹. As the prince of Kiev and as a grandson of Vladimir Monomakh he deserved burial in Kiev. In imitation of his father, however, he had challenged the

86 *PSRL* 2: 532.

87 *PSRL* 2: 539; see Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, V, 40.

88 He was the son of Monomakh's youngest son Andrew, who was prince of Pereyaslavl' when he died in 1141 and was buried there (*PSRL* 2: 309). See Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, V, 31.

89 *PSRL* 1: 362; *PSRL* 2: 546–548, under the year 1171. For a more detailed investigation of his burial, see M. Dimnik, "The Princesses of Chernigov (1054–1246)," *Mediaeval Studies* 65 (Toronto, 2003), 182–185. For Mstislav Izyaslavich, see Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, V, 36.

90 *PSRL* 2: 567, under the year 1174. See Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, V, 30.

91 *PSRL* 1: 363–364; *PSRL* 2: 563–564 (under the year 1173).

Mstislavichi and Rostislavichi, whom the Kievans preferred to have as their princes. Thus the two Monomashichi from Suzdalia, who were murdered as princes of Kiev, were consigned to burials in one of Kiev's suburbs, albeit in Monomakh's patrimonial monastery.

The last princess whose burial in Kiev the chronicles report was Maria, the widow of Vsevolod Ol'govich and the daughter of Mstislav Vladimirovich. She died in 1179 and was buried in the Church of St. Cyril that she allegedly had built, in the monastery that her husband had founded at the suburb of Dorogozhichi⁹². She was interred there because she was married to a Svyatoslavich who belonged to the inner circle of princes. As a Mstislavich by birth she also merited burial in Yanka's monastery on the citadel. Nevertheless, her status as the widow of a Svyatoslavich prince of Kiev was evidently more important so that she was buried in her husband's monastery in a Kievan suburb. The fact that she was entombed in the Church of St. Cyril implies that she was living in Kiev with her son Svyatoslav who was prince of Kiev at the time of her death. She was the only princess of Chernigov, albeit through marriage, to be reported buried in a Kievan monastery. If the information given by the Hypatian Chronicle is correct, she was also the only princess of Kiev who was entombed in the church that she herself had built.

During the month of May in 1187, Mstislav Davidovich, a minor Rostislavich from the dynasty of Smolensk, died in Vyshgorod. Even though he had never ruled Kiev his body was taken to the capital of Rus' and buried in the Church of St. Fedor⁹³. Although his grandfather Rostislav Mstislavich had been prince of Kiev, he had not founded a church there. To be sure, as we have seen, he also had been buried in the Church of St. Fedor, in his father's *Otchiy* monastery. Consequently, Mstislav Davidovich was interred in the church where his grandfather Rostislav was entombed. It is noteworthy that his body was not kept in Vyshgorod and placed in the renowned shrine of SS. Boris and Gleb where the Chernigov prince Vsevolod Ol'govich had been laid to rest in his father's church. Consequently, if we can make a judgement from this one instance, princes of the dynasties descended from Svyatoslav (d. 1076) and Vsevolod (d. 1093) were not interred in one another's churches.

The early 1190s witnessed two burials of princes who were not descended from Svyatoslav or Vsevolod but from their elder brother Izyaslav. Svyatopolk Yur'evich died on 19 April 1190 when Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov ruled Kiev. We are not told where he died but he was buried in the Church of St. Michael the Golden Domed built by his ancestor Svyatopolk Izyaslavich (d. 1113)⁹⁴. Gleb Yur'evich of Turov, Svyatopolk's brother, died five years later in March of 1195 when Ryurik Rostislavich, a Mstislavich, ruled Kiev. They brought Gleb's body from Turov to Kiev

92 *PSRL* 2: 612; *Gust.*, 317. Concerning who built the monastery and the church, see Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1054–1146*, p. 390 and *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146–1246*, 140–141. See below under the death of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich p. 85. For the location of the Church of St. Cyril, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 54–56, nr. 36.

93 *PSRL* 2: 654–655; *Gust.*, 321.

94 *PSRL* 2: 665–666; *Gust.*, 322. See Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, II, 22.

where it was met by Ryurik, the metropolitan and all the monks. They entombed it with that of his brother Svyatopolk in the Church of St. Michael the Golden Domed⁹⁵.

To judge from the available information neither of the two princes of Kiev, Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich descended from Svyatoslav and Ryurik Rostislavich descended from Vsevolod, objected to the two burials. Prior to them, the last reported Izyaslavich interment in Kiev had taken place in 1125 when Svyatopolk's wife was entombed. Thus, after a hiatus of some sixty-five years, we learn that princes of Izyaslav's dynasty were not only still living but continued to have the right of burial in Kiev. Significantly, neither Svyatopolk nor Gleb had served as prince of Kiev. To be sure, their dynasty had become debarred from ruling Kiev in 1125, when Vladimir Monomakh's son Mstislav succeeded him to Kiev. Despite the political demotion of the Izyaslavichi, the other two dynasties of the inner circle and the Kievans continued to look upon Kiev as the rightful burial ground of Izyaslav's descendants.

Under February 1195 the chronicles report another princely death and burial in Kiev, but again not of a ruling prince of Kiev. In that year Izyaslav Yaroslavich *menshiy*, the great grandson of Mstislav Vladimirovich, was buried in the latter's monastery in the Church of St. Fedor. Moreover, the chronicler reports that he was interred near the tomb of his father Yaroslav Izyaslavich prince of Lutsk in Volyn' who, in 1173, had briefly ruled Kiev but died elsewhere⁹⁶. This is the first chronicle reference to Yaroslav's death and burial. Since, however, both Yaroslav and Izyaslav were descended from Mstislav Vladimirovich, they merited burial in the *Otchiy* monastery.

In 1194, between the burials of the two Yur'evichi and Izyaslav Yaroslavich, the chronicles report the death of a prince from the dynasty of Chernigov. Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich prince of Kiev died in July of that year and was buried in his father's monastery in the Church of St. Cyril⁹⁷. Thus Svyatoslav, like his father Vsevolod and his sainted uncle Svyatosha, was entombed outside the precincts of Kiev proper. Like his father, he eschewed burial in the dynasty's patrimonial monastery of St. Simeon in the *Kopyrev konets*. Moreover, unlike most Izyaslavichi and Vsevolodovichi princes who were buried in a church next to a male ancestor, Svyatoslav chose to be entombed beside his mother.

The First Half of the Thirteenth Century

According to chronicle information, in 1228 Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy fell ill en route from Galich to Kiev and died. Before he passed away he took the vows of the great habit (*skhima*), the strictest monastic observance in the Orthodox Church⁹⁸.

95 *PSRL* 2: 694; *Gust.*, 325. See Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, II, 24.

96 *PSRL* 2: 690; see also Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146–1246*, 128; Berlinskiy, *Kratkoe opisaniye Kieva*, 71, 166–167; and Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, XIV, 4; and V, 39.

97 *PSRL* 2: 680; *PSRL* 1: 412, under the year 1195; see Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146–1246*, 209–210. See above p. 85.

98 *PSRL* 1: 450; "Moskovskiy letopisnyy svod kontsa XV veka," *PSRL* 25 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949), 122.

The chronicles do not report the place of his death, but Archimandrite Innokenty, in his *Sinopsis*, states that Mstislav died at ‘Torsk’. This was most likely the outpost of Torchesk south of Kiev, of which he was the last reported ruler in 1220.⁹⁹ From there his body was taken to Kiev and buried in the Church of the Lord’s Holy Cross (*Krestovozdvizhenskaya*) that he had built in 1212¹⁰⁰.

Thus we see that Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy, like his ancestor Mstislav Vladimirovich, was buried in the church that he had built. It is noteworthy that like the Church of St. Fedor that his ancestor had built, his church was also located in Vladimir’s town, a neighbour to Yanka’s monastery. As noted above, this was the district that Vsevolod had seemingly assumed control of as his personal possession for building Yanka’s monastery. Since Mstislav Mstislavich was descended from Vsevolod, it is understandable that he would have built his church in the district of Kiev that Vsevolod had appropriated to himself for his dynasty.

There is great confusion in the chronicles concerning the date and place of death of Rurik Rostislavich prince of Kiev. They proffer such dates as 1208, 1211, 1215, and 1219, and a number claim that he died in Kiev while others say Chernigov. It has been argued elsewhere that he died in 1208 as prince of Kiev¹⁰¹. Since he was a Mstislavich, and if, as is highly probable, he died in Kiev, he was eligible for burial in the Church of St. Fedor. This would make him the second prince of Kiev to die during the first half of the thirteenth century, and the ninth princely burial in the *Otchiy* monastery. In light of the unreliability of the conflicting chronicle reports, however, we will not add his name to our list of dynastic interments in Kiev.

Answers to the Questions

1) What was the nature of dynastic burials before the reign of Yaroslav the Wise?

This question addresses the burials of pagans and Christians. A pagan dynast was buried in a grave, often near the place of his death especially if he died outside of Kiev. Princes Oleg, Igor’, Svyatoslav, and his sons Yaropolk and Oleg were buried in this manner. Svyatopolk Vladimirovich may have been a Christian but he died as a fugitive in a wilderness among the Poles and was buried there. After Vladimir Svyatoslavich adopted Christianity in 988 he and all the princes whose burials took place in Kiev were interred in churches. Princess Olga, who had adopted Orthodox Christianity before Vladimir was, according to her wishes, buried by a priest perhaps in a plot with other Christians. Whether her body was initially placed in a church is not reported by the chronicles.

99 *PSRL* 25: 118.

100 Archimandrite Innokenty, *Sinopsis*, 120–121. See Berlinskiy who seemingly used the *Sinopsis* as his source and reiterated its information (*Kratkoe opisanie Kieva*, 72, 189). Karger suggests that the church may have been located on the site of the present day Church of St. Andrew (*Drevniy Kiev*, vol. 2, 473–476; see also Aseev’s *Arkhitektura drevnego Kieva*, 144). For the location of Mstislav’s church, see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, 54–55, nr. 9.

101 M. Dimnik, “The Place of Rurik Rostislavich’s Death: Kiev or Chernigov?” *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (Toronto, 1982), 371–393, and *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146–1246*, 264–265.

As noted above, Yaropolk and Oleg had died as pagans. In 1044 Yaroslav the Wise had their bodies exhumed, baptized, and entombed in Vladimir's Tithe Church. It is noteworthy that Yaroslav did not disinter and baptize Oleg (Ryurik's kin) and Igor' (Ryurik's son) even though the location of their graves was known. As for Igor's son Svyatoslav, the site of his grave by the Dnepr cataracts was probably unknown. We are not told why Yaroslav singled out the two brothers for exhumation and baptism. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that since he had no actual record of his uncle's baptism "but knowing of his uncle's Christian proclivities decided to have them posthumously baptized."¹⁰² Moreover, his intention may also have been to place them next to Olga, the grandmother of the three princes, whose body had probably been disinterred and placed in a sarcophagus in the Tithe Church by Vladimir. As a Christian she had most likely instructed all three grandsons in the Christian faith.

Why did Yaroslav inter the brothers in the Tithe Church and not in his own St. Sophia which was undoubtedly completed by that time? The most likely reason was that he wished to place them near their half-brother Vladimir who, as the first Christian prince, was buried in the church that he had built. As we have seen, according to customary practice princes were normally interred next to their most immediate ancestor. In this instance Vladimir was their nearest of kin. In light of the posthumous baptism of the two princes, it could be said that the three half-brothers formed the first generation of Christian princes and deserved a common burial ground.

2) In what churches were Yaroslav's descendants buried?

It will be useful to list the churches that were used for the burials of Christian dynasts. We will also record the names of the male and female dynasts who were either reported by the chronicles as being buried in those churches, or dynasts whom we presume to be buried in them. The name of a dynast that we presume to be buried in a church is given in brackets.

The Tithe Church: (Olga, Rogned, Princess Anna, Izyaslav's widow Gertrude), Vladimir Svyatoslavich, Yaropolk Svyatoslavich, Oleg Svyatoslavich, Izyaslav Yaroslavich, Rostislav Mstislavich who was Izyaslav's grandson; has 5 confirmed burials of male dynasts and 4 presumed burials of female dynasts.

The Church of St. Basil (Vyshgorod): SS. Boris and Gleb; has 2 confirmed burials of male dynasts.

The Church of SS. Boris and Gleb (Vyshgorod): SS. Boris and Gleb; Vsevolod Ol'govich; has 3 confirmed burials of male dynasts.

The Cathedral of St. Sophia: Yaroslav the Wise; Vsevolod Yaroslavich; his sons Rostislav and Vladimir Monomakh; has 4 confirmed burials of male dynasts.

The Church of St. George: Sudislav; has 1 confirmed burial of a male dynast.

The Church of St. Irene: (Ingigerd-Irene); has 1 presumed burial of a female dynast.

The Church of St. Peter: Yaropolk Izyaslavich; has 1 confirmed burial of a male dynast.

102 John Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church to 1448* (Longman: London and New York, 1995), 32.

The Church of St. Fedor: Mstislav Vladimirovich; Izyaslav Mstislavich; Rostislav Mstislavich; Vladimir Mstislavich; Yaropolk Izyaslavich prince of Buzhsk; Mstislav Davidovich, a minor prince of the Smolensk; Izyaslav Yaroslavich *menshiy*; his father Yaroslav Izyaslavich prince of Lutsk; has 8 confirmed burials of male dynasts.

The Church of St. Andrew: Yanka, Vsevolod's daughter; Anna, Vsevolod's second wife; (Christina, the first wife of Vladimir Monomakh's eldest son Mstislav; the wife of Izyaslav Mstislavich); Yaropolk Vladimirovich; Vladimir Andreyevich of Dorogobuzh; has 4 confirmed burials of female and male dynasts and 2 presumed burials of female dynasts.

The Church of St. Spas: Vladimir Monomakh's daughter Evfimia; (his daughter Maritsa; his Polovtsian widow); his son Yury Dolgorukiy; Yury's son Gleb; has 3 confirmed burials of female and male dynasts and 2 presumed burials of female dynasts.

The Church of St. Cyril: Maria, the widow of Vsevolod Ol'govich and daughter of Mstislav Vladimirovich; her son Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich; has 2 confirmed burials of female and male dynasts.

The Church of St. Simeon: Igor' Ol'govich; Izyaslav Davidovich; was a temporary repository for the bodies of 2 male dynasts.

The Church of St. Michael the Golden Domed: Svyatopolk Izyaslavich; (his widow Barbara; his sons Bryacheslav and Izyaslav); Svyatopolk Yur'evich; Gleb Yur'evich; has 3 confirmed burials of male dynasts and 3 presumed burials of female and male dynasts.

The Church of the Mother of God at Klov: David Igorevich of Dorogobuzh; has 1 confirmed burial of a male dynast.

The Monastery of the Caves: Evpraksia, Vsevolod's daughter; Svyatosha Davidovich; Anastasia, the widow of Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk and the daughter of Yaropolk Izyaslavich of Turov; Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk; has 4 confirmed burials of female and male dynasts.

The Church of the Lord's Holy Cross: (Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy); has 1 presumed burial of a male dynast.

Thus we see that, according to the chronicles, Christian dynasts were buried in sixteen churches in Kiev and its environs. According to this list the Vsevolodovichi had the largest number of burials in Kiev. The busiest mausoleum was that of St. Fedor. This information reveals that the *Otchiy* institution built by Mstislav was the family monastery of the Mstislavichi to the end of the twelfth century. In addition, Vsevolodovichi were buried in Yanka's Church of St. Andrew, which recorded both male and female burials. All the dynasts buried in it were either descended from Vsevolod or were in-laws of the Vsevolodovichi. Their burials were also recorded in the Cathedral of St. Sophia, in the Church of St. Spas, the Caves Monastery, and the Church of the Lord's Holy Cross. The chronicles report the total number of 20 Vsevolodovichi interments, with another 4 presumed burials, but undoubtedly there were more.

The Izyaslavichi had the next largest number of reported and presumed burials. These were located in the Tithe Church, the Church of St. Michael the Golden

Domed, the Church of St. Peter, and the Caves Monastery. In all, the chronicles report 7 Izyaslavichi interments with 4 additional ones presumed in the Tithe Church and St. Michael's.

The Svyatoslavichi had no permanent burials on the citadel. The bodies of Igor' Ol'govich and Izyaslav Davidovich, however, were temporarily stored in the Church of St. Simeon in the *Kopyrev konets*. Svyatosha Davidovich was buried in the Caves Monastery and his cousin Vsevolod Ol'govich was entombed in Vyshgorod. The latter's wife Maria and their son Svyatoslav were interred in the Church of St. Cyril. In all, there were only 4 permanent Svyatoslavichi burials and these were outside of the town's walls.

For the churches of St. Basil, SS. Boris and Gleb, St. George, St. Fedor, St. Peter, St. Simeon, the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the monastery at Klov, and the Church of the Lord's Holy Cross the chronicles report only male dynastic burials. The Church of St. Irene may have contained one female dynast. The other mausoleums had both princes and princesses interred in their precincts. These included the Tithe Church, the churches of St. Andrew, St. Spas, St. Michael, St. Cyril, and the Caves Monastery. There seems to be no reported criterion for making some churches purely single sex mausoleums and others of both sexes.

Ironically, not one church built by a triumvir in his patrimonial district of Kiev became a mausoleum. No dynasts were interred in Izyaslav's Church of St. Dmitry, or in Svyatoslav's Church of St. Simeon (except in transit so to speak), or in Vsevolod's Church of St. Michael at Vydubichi. Instead, the other dynastic mausoleums became popular burial sites. Indeed, dynasts who died in locations other than Kiev were also transported to these churches for burials.

As we have seen, the bodies of princes of the inner circle who fell in battle were normally brought to Kievan churches (e.g. Rostislav Vsevolodovich was buried in St. Sophia and Izyaslav Yaroslavich was interred in the Tithe Church). Yaropolk Izyaslavich prince of Buzhsk and a Mstislavich died on the way to do battle with the Polovtsy. His corpse was taken to Kiev and interred in his grandfather's Church of St. Fedor.

To judge from the available evidence, the body of a Vsevolodovich who died in a Kievan outpost was seemingly always brought to Kiev for interment. Thus, the corpse of Vladimir Andreyevich was transported from Dorogobuzh, that of Mstislav Davidovich was transferred from Vyshgorod, and that of Mstislav Udaloy was translated from Torchesk. Likewise, as has been suggested, Christina, Mstislav's wife who died in Belgorod, was probably buried in Kiev¹⁰³. Thus we see that the churches in Kiev also served as the mausoleums for the Vsevolodovich who died in outlying Kievan towns.

The bodies of Vsevolodovich princes were brought to Kiev from towns located even beyond the Kievan lands. It appears that even though Yaroslav Izyaslavich of Lutsk and his son Izyaslav Yaroslavich *menshiy* died in their domains in Volyn', they were transported

103 Concerning Vladimir Andreyevich, see above p. 83; concerning Mstislav Davidovich, see above p. 84; concerning Mstislav Udaloy, see above p. 85–86; concerning Christina, see above p. 77.

to the *Otchiy* monastery in Kiev¹⁰⁴. Yaroslav's remains may have been brought to Kiev because in 1173 he had served briefly as its prince. Moreover, since they were Mstislavichi, both father and son were eligible for burial in the Church of St. Fedor.

The Izyaslavichi also brought the bodies of their deceased princes to Kiev. The reported delay of several days between the deaths and burials of Svyatopolk's sons Bryacheslav and Izyaslav suggests that they died in their patrimonial Turov lands and that it took several days to transfer their bodies to Kiev where they were interred in their father's church¹⁰⁵. The brothers Svyatopolk Yur'evich and Gleb evidently both died as princes of Turov and their bodies were also taken to Kiev for burial in the same Church of St. Michael¹⁰⁶. Thus, to judge from the available information, the Izyaslavichi seemingly treated their mausoleum in Kiev as the most important burial site of their dynasty.

The Svyatoslavichi of Chernigov, unlike the Izyaslavichi and Vsevolodovichi, refrained from sending the bodies of their deceased dynasts for burial in Kiev or Vyshgorod. Perhaps this was because they considered Chernigov and not Kiev to be their true patrimony, 'the town of their father', since Chernigov and not Kiev was where Svyatoslav the progenitor of their dynasty was buried.

3) Did any one dynasty use more churches as mausoleums than the other dynasties?

Our list of churches reveals that the Vsevolodovichi built three mausoleums in Vsevolod's personal district, namely, St. Andrew's, St. Fedor's, and the Church of the Lord's Holy Cross. They also used St. Spas at Berestovo and St. Sophia. This made it five mausoleums. The Izyaslavichi were buried in two churches that they built in Izyaslav's patrimonial district, namely, St. Peter's, and St. Michael's. Their dynasts were also interred in the Tithe Church and the Caves Monastery. This made it four churches. In light of their handful of burials, the Svyatoslavichi used a relatively large number of churches. These were St. Simeon's, the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb at Vyshgorod, and St. Cyril's at Dorogozhichi. The Svyatoslavichi therefore built three churches as mausoleums but also used the Caves Monastery for one of their burials. Thus we see that, ranging from four to five mausoleums, the number of edifices used for burials by the three dynasties was almost identical.

If a prince built a church he was normally buried in it (e.g. Svyatopolk Izyaslavich built St. Michael's and Mstislav Vladimirovich built St. Fedor's). Alternately, he was buried in the church of his father (e.g. Vsevolod Yaroslavich in St. Sophia, Izyaslav Mstislavich in St. Fedor's, and Vsevolod Ol'govich in SS. Boris and Gleb). If his father did not build a church, a prince was also interred in his dynastic church built by an earlier ancestor (e.g. Yaropolk Vladimirovich in St. Andrew's and Vladimir Andreyevich in St. Andrew's). A prince was also laid to rest in the monastery where he became a monk (e.g. Sudislav in St. George, and Svyatosha in the Caves).

104 See above p. 85.

105 See above p. 78.

106 See above p. 84–85.

A princess who became a nun was also buried in her monastery (e.g. Evpraksia in the Caves). A benefactress of a monastery could also be buried in a church in that monastery (e.g. Anastasia in the Caves). Rarely, she was buried in a church that she herself had founded; this was evidently the case with Maria who was buried in St. Cyril's. In the main, however, princesses were buried in dynastic churches built by an ancestor. Thus Yanka was buried in St. Andrew's that her father had founded; Evfimia was interred in St. Spas that had been built by her father Vladimir Monomakh. Surprisingly, the chronicles never report a widow being buried in the same church with her husband. Just the same, it is possible that Svyatopolk's widow, Barbara was interred near him in St. Michael's. It is also possible that Izyaslav's widow Gertrude was laid next to him in the Tithe Church. Finally, a number of investigators believe that the body of the Greek Princess Anna was placed near her sainted husband Vladimir in the Tithe Church.

4) Was any one dynasty given preferential consideration for burials in Kiev?

From among the members of the triumvirate, we have seen that Izyaslav was buried in the Tithe Church, Svyatoslav in the Holy Saviour Cathedral in Chernigov, but Vsevolod was interred next to their father in St. Sophia. It would appear that Yaroslav's wish (if he expressed such a wish) that Vsevolod be buried next to him was treated as a directive by the three sons that, of the three, only Vsevolod was to be interred in St. Sophia. Later, in addition to Vsevolod, his two sons and a grandson were also interred in St. Sophia. The information that the latter served as the mausoleum for only Vsevolod and his offspring suggests that the cathedral was reserved for his family. This certainly bespoke preferential status. What is more, of the three dynasties of the inner circle the 20 recorded interments of Vsevolodovichi dynasts greatly outnumbered the burials of the other two dynasties. This also implies that they were the favoured dynasty.

Vladimir Monomakh attempted to make Kiev his dynasty's patrimonial town, more specifically he wished to make it the patrimony of his eldest son Mstislav and his descendants the Mstislavichi. Before his death in 1125 he designated Mstislav to succeed him rather than turning the capital over to the genealogically senior Izyaslavichi or Svyatoslavichi¹⁰⁷. The burials of the dynasts in Kiev reflect his political transgression, namely, his violation of the rota system of succession to Kiev that Yaroslav had envisioned. Following Monomakh's death, his descendants registered the majority of dynastic burials in Kiev. As we have seen, his relatives were buried in St. Spas and Yanka's monastery, while the Mstislavichi, who constituted the largest single group of burials, were interred in the Church of St. Fedor.

The Monomashichi, however, were not a united family. Yury Dolgorukiy of Suzdalia and his son Gleb were buried in the Church of St. Spas at Berestovo that Monomakh had built. Their burials thus acknowledged their Monomashichi status. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Yury was not interred in the Church of St. Andrew like his brother Yaropolk had been, or in St. Sophia with his brother Vyacheslav. That

107 *PSRL* 2: 289; *PSRL* 1: 293–295.

is, Yury and Gleb were not buried in a mausoleum on the citadel inside the walls of Kiev but in one of its suburbs. Their relegation to outside the town, albeit to a church built by Yury's father Monomakh, no doubt was dictated, in part, by the consideration that they had been political rivals of the Mstislavichi.

Thus we see that the Monomashichi burials in Kiev were not limited to the Mstislavichi, but included members of Monomakh's family as a whole, both male and female. This could be construed as a witness to Monomakh's aspiration that Kiev was to be their hereditary capital. It also testified to the political reality that the Monomashichi, and more specifically the Mstislavichi, ruled Kiev more frequently than members of any other dynasty.

5) Was any dynasty prohibited from burying its members in Kiev?

Although not directly stated by the chroniclers, circumstantial evidence suggests that princes not descended from Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, or Vsevolod were denied burial inside the town's walls¹⁰⁸. As we have seen David, the son of Igor' a younger brother of the triumvirate, was denied burial in a church on the citadel. Those mausoleums had been founded by or appropriated for dynasties of the inner circle and a prince was customarily never interred in another dynasty's mausoleum. (The Tithe Church had been seemingly appropriated for Izyaslav Yaroslavich and his family and St. Sophia had been seemingly appropriated for Vsevolod Yaroslavich and his sons.) Instead he was entombed in the Klov monastery on the southern outskirts of Kiev. He was undoubtedly accorded the privilege of a Kievan burial because he was a grandson of Yaroslav the Wise. In another instance, Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk was not descended from Yaroslav the Wise but belonged to the dynasty of Polotsk descended from Vladimir. For similar genealogical reasons, and the consideration that he was hostile to the prince of Kiev when he died, he was interred outside the walls of Kiev. Since, however, he had been a generous benefactor to the Caves Monastery he was buried there rather than at the one at the Klov monastery.

Svyatoslav Yaroslavich of course was a triumvir but even so not one of his descendants was accorded a permanent burial in the dynastic monastery of St. Simeon. As we have seen, the bodies of Igor' Ol'govich and Izyaslav Davidovich were temporarily kept there before they were taken to Chernigov. The information that the Kievans allowed the bodies to be placed in the monastery shows that they did not object to their burials in that institution. Nor did the Mstislavichi object. Indeed, in both instances it was owing to directives given by a Mstislavich that the body was transferred to the monastery. In 1147, Abbot Ananiya of the monastery of St. Fedor, on the directive from Vladimir Mstislavich, took Igor's body for burial in the Church of St. St. Simeon¹⁰⁹. In 1161, after Izyaslav Davidovich was killed, the victor Mstislav Izyaslavich ordered that his body be taken from the battlefield to the Church of St.

¹⁰⁸ As we have seen, Sudislav had been an exception in that, as Yaroslav's brother, he belonged to the earlier generation. Moreover, since he was a monk in Yaroslav's monastery of St. George, he was buried there as that was where he had taken the monastic habit.

¹⁰⁹ *PSRL* 2: 354.

Simeon¹¹⁰. This evidence shows that the Mstislavichi and the Kievans considered St. Simeon's to be the Svyatoslavichi mausoleum. To judge from indirect evidence, it was the Svyatoslavichi themselves who chose not to leave the corpses in Kiev. The chronicles do not inform us why they moved the bodies to Chernigov. However, the permanently latent and at times overtly violent antagonism of the townspeople to the Svyatoslavichi presence in Kiev must have been an overriding factor.

The chronicles report that the Kievans developed a deep-seated hatred for Svyatoslav's son Oleg because of his connivance with the Polovtsy in bringing them on a number of occasions to raze Rus' and, in particular, to pillage the lands of Kiev.¹¹¹ This antagonism of the townspeople towards Oleg and his descendants the Ol'govichi was not there during Svyatoslav's lifetime. It arose almost immediately after his death when Oleg had to fight his uncles Izyaslav and Vsevolod to regain control of his patrimonial domain of Chernigov. The townspeople, that is a faction of them, expressed their hatred towards the Ol'govichi most dramatically when they murdered Oleg's son Igor' even though he was a captive monk in the Monastery of St. Fedor. They argued that his presence in the town posed a political threat to their prince Izyaslav Mstislavich while he was away campaigning. Since the mob had already desecrated Igor's remains once, by moving his body to Chernigov his brother perhaps hoped to obviate a repetition of such atrocious behaviour¹¹².

Although the Kievans were hostile to the princes of Chernigov they permitted a number of them to build churches in the suburbs and to be buried in them. Svyatoslav founded the stone church of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod where Oleg's son Vsevolod was later buried. The latter was allowed to build the monastery of St. Cyril where his wife and son were later buried. There may have been a dynastic reason for the Kievans' leniency concerning their permissions to Vsevolod's family. His wife Maria was a daughter of Mstislav, Monomakh's eldest son. Thus, it may have been because of Vsevolod's marital tie to the Mstislavichi that the Kievans seemingly did not object to him being buried in Vyshgorod. It may also be the reason why they granted him permission to build the Church of St. Cyril and to bury Mstislav's daughter Maria and their son Svyatoslav in it. Although the chronicles do not state this openly, the blood tie that Vsevolod's wife and son had with the Mstislavichi may have persuaded the Kievans to be accommodating to Vsevolod's family.

6) Were all princes who ruled Kiev and died there buried in Kiev?

Yaroslav bequeathed Kiev to his three eldest surviving sons. The chronicles do not tell us why Izyaslav and Vsevolod were buried in Kiev and Svyatoslav was not. Why did not Svyatoslav buttress his right and that of his descendants to rule Kiev by being buried in it? Instead, his sons transported his body to his patrimonial capital of Chernigov where he was interred in the Holy Saviour Cathedral. He was thus the first

110 *PSRL* 2: 518.

111 Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1054–1146*, 185, 189, 196–198; B. A. Rybakov, *Kievskaya Rus' i russkie knyazhestva XII–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982), 443–444, 449.

112 For additional reasons why Svyatoslav moved Igor's body to Chernigov, see Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146–1246*, 59–62.

and only prince of Kiev who, having died in Kiev, was buried in another town. We are not told who made the decision that he not be entombed in Kiev, whether it was the Kievans, he himself, his sons, or Vsevolod who succeeded him to Kiev. It is unlikely that his usurpation of power disqualified him from burial in Kiev. After all, both his father Yaroslav and grandfather Vladimir had usurped power and were loved by the Kievans. It is most likely that Svyatoslav decided to be interred in his patrimonial capital with the consent of his sons. His burial in Chernigov would be very important to later generations of Svyatoslavichi. It would confirm Chernigov as ‘the town of their father’ and the capital of their patrimony. In the future his descendants would be able to point to Svyatoslav’s tomb as the incontestable proof of their inheritance¹¹³.

7) Were only princes who ruled Kiev and died there buried in Kiev?

As we have seen, not only princes who ruled Kiev and died in it were interred there. The first exception occurred in 1044 when Yaroslav the Wise had the bodies of the brothers Yaropolk and Oleg exhumed and buried in the Tithe Church. Although Yaropolk had been prince of Kiev when Vladimir had him murdered, Oleg had been prince of Vruchiy when he died in battle. Thus, by translating Oleg’s remains, it was Yaroslav who introduced the practice of burying in Kiev princes who had not ruled the town.

After Yaroslav had established the precedent, other princes who had not ruled Kiev were also buried there. It would appear that such a prince could be from any dynasty. However, the dynasty that he belonged to normally determined where he was buried. If he was descended from Izyaslav, like his eldest son Yaropolk who was murdered before he became prince of Kiev, he was buried in the monastery of St. Dmitry founded by his father Izyaslav. If he was descended from Vsevolod, like his son Rostislav or Vladimir Andreyevich, he was buried in a Vsevolodovichi foundation like St. Sophia or St. Andrew. Svyatosha of the Svyatoslavichi was an exception in that he became a monk in the Caves Monastery. As such he was buried in the monastic institution that he had joined. If a dynast was not an Izyaslavich, Svyatoslavich, or Vsevolodovich he would be buried in a church in a Kievan suburb which did not belong to one of the dynasties of the inner circle. Thus David Igorevich was buried in the monastery of Klov, and Gleb Vseslavich was buried in the Caves Monastery.

8) Who decided what dynasts would be buried in Kiev and where?

The chronicles do not tell us who had the authority to arrange a dynast’s burial. Nevertheless, during the first half of the eleventh century, it appears that the prince of Kiev was in charge. As we have seen, as prince of Kiev Svyatopolk Vladimirovich objected to the bodies of Boris and Gleb being buried in Vyshgorod therefore he certainly would not have allowed their burial to take place in Kiev. According to popular belief Vladimir had the body of his grandmother Olga removed from her original grave and placed in a sarcophagus in the Tithe Church. As we have seen, it was Yaroslav who as prince of Kiev had Oleg and Yaropolk’s bodies disinterred,

113 See also Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1054–1146*, 127–128.

baptized, and reburied in the Tithe Church. Moreover, he allegedly decreed that his favourite son Vsevolod would be buried next to him in St. Sophia.

The authority for arranging burials continued to rest in the hands of the incumbent prince of Kiev during the twelfth century. Normally, he respected the memory of the dead and was guided by customary dynastic practice. Thus, it appears that neither Vsevolod Ol'govich nor Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of the Svyatoslavichi, as princes of Kiev, objected to Izyaslavichi and Vsevolodovich burials in their churches in Kiev. We also have no chronicle evidence that the prince of Kiev ever forbade a prince of Svyatoslav's dynasty from being buried in Kiev. On the contrary, we have seen that it was two Mstislavichi princes, Vladimir Mstislavich and Mstislav Izyaslavich, who instructed that the bodies of Igor' Ol'govich and Izyaslav Davidovich to be taken to the Svyatoslavichi Church of St. Simeon.

In many instances the place of burial was determined by custom. For example, after Vladimir was buried in the Tithe Church that he had built it would become standard practice for a prince to be buried in a church that he had built. This was the case with his son Yaroslav, Yaropolk Izyaslavich, his brother Svyatopolk, Mstislav Vladimirovich, and Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy. If the prince himself did not found a church in Kiev, but his father had built one, then the son was buried in the church of his father (e.g. Vsevolod Yaroslavich, Yury Dolgorukiy, and Izyaslav Mstislavich). In like manner a grandson was buried in the church of his grandfather, and so on. Princesses seemingly founded no churches in Kiev, except perhaps for Maria who may have built the Church of St. Cyril. As a result, a princess was normally buried in a church built by a male relative whether it was a father, father in law, or grandfather (e.g. the Church of St. Andrew and the Church of St. Spas).

In the case of a dynast, whether male or female, who died as a nun or a monk, custom dictated that such a person be buried in his or her monastery. A generous benefactor of a monastery could also be interred in that institution. In the case of a prince who was not descended from a triumvir but who died in Kiev, the reigning prince would undoubtedly authorize the burial. According to our evidence, the deceased would not be buried on the citadel in one of the churches founded by a member of the inner circle. He would be interred in a monastery outside the town's walls like that at Klov or the Caves, which did not belong to particular dynasty. It is noteworthy that the Caves Monastery was founded and built by the monastic community itself and not by a princely patron. This made it independent from a prince's authority¹¹⁴. Consequently, the monastery was not restricted to burying dynasts from only the patron's dynasty, but could inter members of all dynasties. The Caves Monastery and the one at Klov, which was also built by monks, were thus the only mausoleums in Kiev that buried members of any dynasty.

9) What criteria qualified a princess for burial in Kiev?

A number of princesses buried in Kiev were born into the dynasties of Vsevolodovich (e.g. Yanka) and Izyaslavichi (e.g. Anastasia). None born into the dynasty of Svyatoslavichi are reported being buried in Kiev. Nevertheless, being born

114 Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kiev*, 77.

into a triumvirate dynasty was not the only criterion that qualified a princess for burial in Kiev. An important determining factor was also to whom the princess was married. That is, if she married a member of the triumvirate dynasty she could be interred in her husband's church (e.g. Monomakh's Polovtsian wife). Such a princess would normally be the spouse of a prince who had ruled Kiev and was buried there. Another consideration evidently was if she was living in Kiev at the time of her death as seemed to be the case in all of the instances cited on our list. Finally, if a widowed princess of the inner circle or one who had married a prince of Kiev became a nun in Kiev she was normally buried in her monastery.

10) What was the role of a princess in her husband's burial?

There is little chronicle information recounting the duties of a widow concerning her husband's funeral. Nevertheless, we have two important episodes which reveal that it fell upon the shoulders of the widow to orchestrate her husband's burial. As we have seen one princess, whose name is not given by the chronicles, arranged for the proper interment of her husband Vladimir Andreyevich. She escorted his body over a long distance from Dorogobuzh to Kiev where she had him buried in the Church of St. Andrew. The widow of Yaropolk Vladimirovich organized the translation of her husband's remains from a demeaning plot in a church graveyard into the Church of St. Andrew. She had the body entombed in a suitable sarcophagus next to that of his aunt Yanka, the abbess of the monastery. As we have seen, in 1094 Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich died as prince of Kiev. His wife is the only princess whom the chronicles describe attending her husband in his last hours¹¹⁵. Nevertheless, her devotion to him during his dying moments suggests that she also arranged his burial in St. Cyril's monastery next to that of his mother Maria. Although it is difficult to draw general conclusions from these three instances, there can be no doubt that the widows played a prominent role in the burial arrangements of their husbands.

11) Were dynasts buried in Kiev in any one period more than in any other?

Except for the few reported burials for the second half of the eleventh century after the death of Yaroslav (5 dynasts of which 2 were princes of Kiev), almost all of the remaining reported burials occurred in the following century. Of these the majority took place during the first half of the twelfth century (21 dynasts of which 6 were princes of Kiev). The second highest number was during the second half of the twelfth century (17 dynasts of which 6 were princes of Kiev). Thus the twelfth century witnessed almost forty reported dynastic burials in Kiev of which twelve were of ruling princes. The remaining burials were of minor princes mainly from the dynasties of Vsevolodovich and Izyaslavichi, and of diverse princesses.

It is noteworthy that during the first half of thirteenth century the chronicles record no dynastic burials in Kiev. This silence bespeaks political instability. According to the chronicles, only one dynast, Mstislav Romanovich, died as prince of Kiev. Nevertheless, he fell in battle at the Kalka River in 1223 and was evidently not buried

¹¹⁵ Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146–1246*, 209.

in Kiev. The report of the one burial that did take place in Kiev, that of Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloj, was made by a non-chronicle source. Moreover, he was not the prince of Kiev at the time of his death. Whenever a prince who ruled Kiev for a period of time did not die there, as was most often the case during the first half of the thirteenth century, he was ousted by a rival or served as a stop gap appointment or a lieutenant of a more powerful prince. Such princes of Kiev usually died elsewhere and their bodies were not brought to Kiev for burial.

Conclusion

In conclusion we have seen that before the reign of Yaroslav the Wise a pagan prince was interred in a burial mound according to pagan custom, whereas a Christian dynast was laid to rest in a church. After the Christianization of Rus' all dynasts were normally buried in churches. The descendants of Yaroslav the Wise were laid to rest in thirteen churches according to their dynastic affiliation. The churches that served as mausoleums were the Tithe, St. Sophia, St. Peter, St. Michael, St. Andrew, St. Fedor, St. Spas, St. Cyril, SS. Boris and Gleb, St. Simeon, the Lord's Holy Cross and the monasteries at Klov and the Caves. Many of these churches were a part of a monastic complex. Each of the dynasties descended from the triumvirate — the Izyaslavichi, Svyatoslavichi, and Vsevolodovichi — built at least one monastery in the district of Kiev bequeathed to the progenitor of the dynasty by Yaroslav the Wise. The Vsevolodovichi owned the greatest number of mausoleums and registered the greatest number of burials.

The chronicles do not report that any dynasty was prohibited from burying its members in Kiev. Nevertheless, the available evidence shows that of the triumvirate dynasties the Svyatoslavichi were the least liked by the Kievans. The hierarchy of burial sites supports this view. The Izyaslavichi and the Vsevolodovichi were laid to rest in churches located on the citadel inside the walls of Kiev including the most prestigious edifices the Tithe Church and St. Sophia. The Svyatoslavichi and members of other dynastic lines, including Monomashichi like Yury Dolgorukiy and his son Gleb who were rivals of the favoured Mstislavichi, were interred in churches located in the suburbs of Kiev.

Not all the princes of Kiev who died there were buried in the town. The notable exception was Svyatoslav Yaroslavich whose remains were taken to Chernigov. Nor were all the dynasts buried in Kiev descended from the triumvirate. Princes who neither ruled the town nor died in it were also interred there. Most of these were minor Vsevolodovichi but included among their number were also princely captives who died in Kiev and Svyatosha of Chernigov who died as a monk in the Caves Monastery.

To judge from the exhumation and reburial in the Tithe Church of Yaropolk and Oleg conducted by Yaroslav the Wise, it was the prerogative of the prince of Kiev to determine the place of burial for a dynast. Nevertheless, it appears that the ruler of Kiev seldom violated traditional burial practices. According to these the dynastic affiliation of a prince or princess was always a determining factor. That is, a dynast was normally placed to rest in a church that belonged to his or her dynasty. Accordingly, a prince who built a church was customarily buried in it. Beginning with Vsevolod

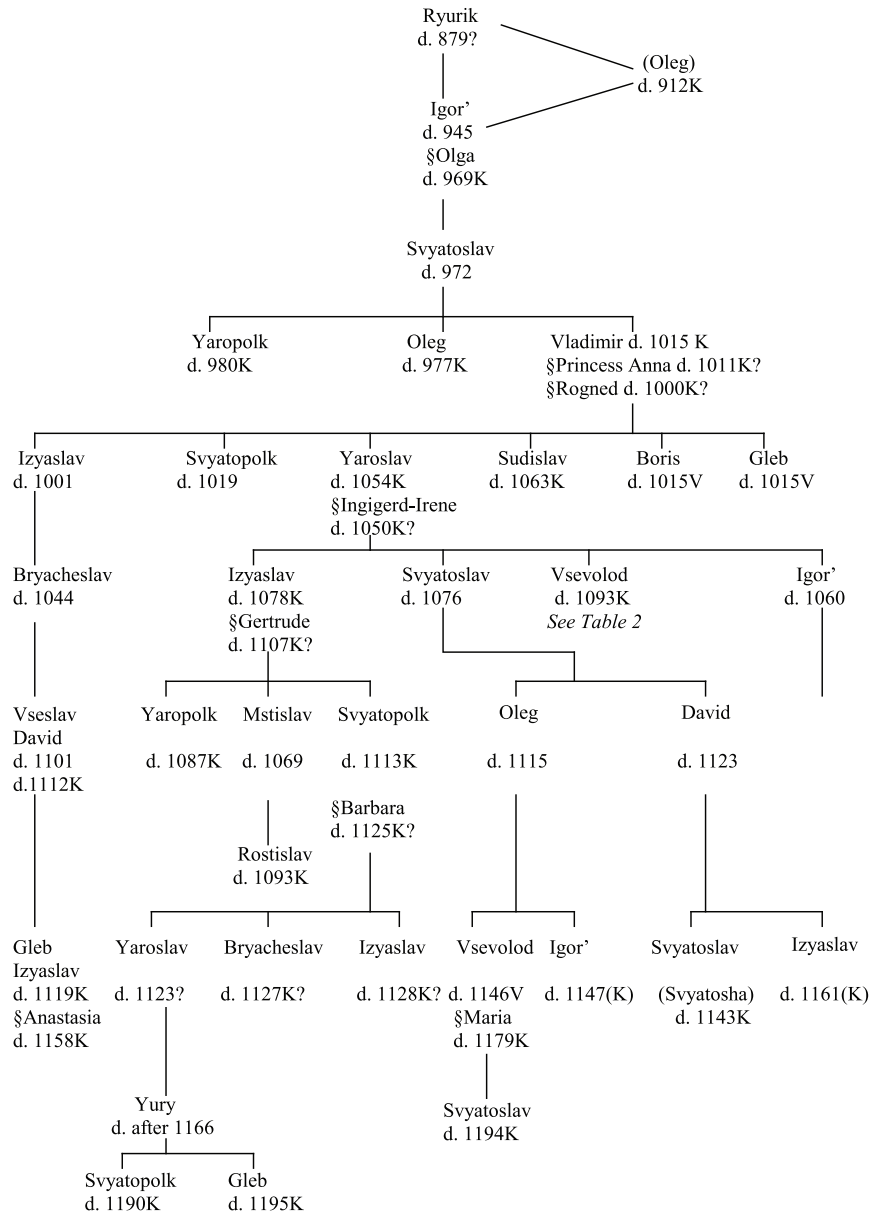
Yaroslavich, who was interred in his father's church of St. Sophia, later dynasts were also buried in their father's church or in one founded by an earlier ancestor. In the case of a dynast, male or female, who entered a monastery, he or she would be buried in it. Princes who were not descended from one of the triumvirs were interred in a monastery outside the walls of Kiev, as were princes who died as captives in Kiev and benefactors of monasteries.

Not only a princess born into a dynasty of the inner circle earned burial in Kiev. Indeed, she need not even be descended from Rurik but could be of foreign blood. Such a princess would be eligible for burial in Kiev if she married a prince of the inner circle especially if he became a prince of Kiev, if she died in Kiev, or if she had entered a Kievan monastery. To judge from the few known instances, a princess was responsible for seeing that her husband received a burial befitting his office. She was expected to make the burial arrangements and to attend his funeral.

We must remember that the burials of other dynasts that are not reported by the chronicles must have also taken place in Kiev during this period. Nevertheless, a count of the reported burials from the time of Yaroslav the Wise to the sack of Kiev in 1240 provides useful information. To judge from the increase in burials in the twelfth century, Rus' experienced a significant growth in dynastic numbers, especially among the Vsevolodovichi. Moreover, princely burials reflected relative political stability for succession to Kiev. That is, when a prince of Kiev died in office it meant that the deceased was normally not succeeded by a usurper. The absence of any reported burials for the first half of the thirteenth century suggests a more unstable political state of affairs in Kiev. Since its princes did not die in office they were normally deposed by rivals.

According to customary practice in Rus', the princes of the ruling dynasty of a town were normally buried in a church of that town. Consequently, since the Kievans allowed members from all three dynasties of the triumvirate to hold burials in Kiev, this supports the view that members from each of the three had a rightful claim to rule the capital of Rus' and to be buried in their dynastic churches in the town. Therefore, the dynastic burials in Kiev confirm that Yaroslav's wish for Kiev to remain the common domain of all three brothers was observed. Nevertheless, as the Vsevolodovichi recorded the largest number of burials, we may conclude that they achieved the greatest success in their rivalries for control of Kiev with the two other dynasties. Concomitantly, it suggests that, of the three dynasties, the Vsevolodovichi, and above all the Mstislavichi, enjoyed a preferred status among the town's inhabitants.

Dynastic Burials Table 1



d.= died; K= buried in Kiev; (K)= temporarily buried in Kiev; V= buried in Vyshgorod;
 §= married to; ?=date uncertain; K?= place of burial not documented;
 [= conjectured date and place of burial;

Dynastic Burials Table 2

