

NATALIA POLONŠKA VASYLENKO



**UKRAINE-RUS**  
**AND WESTERN EUROPE**  
**IN 10th-13th CENTURIES**

**T**he State of Kievan Ruś which flourished in the 10th to 13th centuries in Eastern Europe was the first form of political organisation of the ancestors of the present-day Ukrainians well-documented by history. The Ukraine-Ruś of the Middle Ages, which was a powerful State on a par with Byzantium and the German Empire, had close contacts with both as well as with other kingdoms of Europe, including Scandinavian States, England and France. The political, economic and cultural bonds made it an inalienable part of Europe. Professor Natalia Polonśka-Vasylenko traces ancient Ukraine's relations with Western Europe, in particular the close dynastic links between the ruling houses of Kiev and West European States.

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The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain hope that this little book will find an appropriate response among the Western European readers, especially among the students of East European history, and thereby will fill, at least partly, some gaps in the English-language publications on the historical subjects of the medieval Ukraine-Ruś.

*The Publishing Department  
of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.*

## PREFACE

The English-speaking reader, opening this book by Professor Natalia Polonśka-Vasylenko, a well-known Ukrainian scholar of history, may be interested to learn more about its author.

Professor Natalia Polonśka-Vasylenko, Doctor of Historical Sciences, can look back upon a long, interesting and fruitful academic career. As confirmed by another Ukrainian historian, Professor Borys Krupnytsky, she is one of the first Ukrainian women (and, it may be added, one of the first women in the Russian Empire of the time) to achieve a position in the world of learning. What is more, the position achieved by her is far from being a minor one.

Professor Polonśka was born in 1884 in Kharkiv. Having graduated from the Faculty of History of the Kiev Women's College, she devoted herself to academic work, and in 1909 she took part in archaeological excavations in various parts of the Ukraine. At the same time she continued her studies and in 1913 graduated from the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the St. Volodymyr University of Kiev.

Her first works were published in 1909, inaugurating for her a splendid career: she first became an assistant to the Chairs of History and Methodology of History at the Women's College, and in 1916 a *privat-docent* of the University of Kiev, teaching archaeology and being in charge of the Archaeological Museum of the University.

In 1917-1942 the author was a professor of the State University of Kiev and of a number of other seats of higher education in Kiev, and from 1924 she was also a senior research fellow of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kiev.

In 1944, having emigrated, she became a professor of the Ukrainian Free University, first in Prague and then in Munich, where the University had to move in the course of the war, and occupied there the chair of Ukrainian history.

The range of her scholarly interests and research is very wide, and the number of her works has reached an impressive figure of 150.

This little book is the result of her interest in the history of the Ukraine-Ruś of the Kievan princes' period. Having gathered from various historical sources evidence of the ties of the Ukraine-Ruś of the 10th-13th centuries with Western Europe, the author proves beyond any doubt the truth of her conclusion that the Ukraine-Ruś of that period was closely connected with Western Europe and formed its part.

It may be added that this conclusion of the author could be logically extended and augmented by the assertion that the Ukraine-Ruś of that period, being in close contact with Western Europe and being undoubtedly a political power in Europe, must have exercised a significant influence on the course of events in the whole Europe.

Books on the history of Europe produced to date have been in fact histories of Western Europe alone, devoting only little space to Western Europe and treating it rather as something exotic.

Perhaps this little book will suggest to the younger generation of historians to devote their researches to this particular aspect of the history of Europe, and then ultimately the history of the *whole* Europe will be written.

NATALIA POLONŠKA-VASYLENKO

## UKRAINE-RUŚ AND WESTERN EUROPE IN 10th-13th CENTURIES

'Not in a poor and unknown country they reigned, but in the land of Ruś known in the four corners of the earth.'<sup>1)</sup> It was in these words that the Metropolitan of Kiev, Ilarion, described the reign of Volodymyr the Great in 1051.

Since then a long time has elapsed and much has happened in Ukraine-Ruś: she attained the peak of her development and went into decline: wars and invasions ravaged her territory: the glorious past was forgotten and the words of Ilarion who used to address his flock, the Kievans of 11th century, as 'the people filled with book-learned wisdom'<sup>2)</sup> seemed no more than a figure of speech.

The object of this booklet is to review in the light of documentary sources those events which bear witness to the relations between the Kievan state and Western Europe in the 10th-13th centuries.

1) *Pribavleniya k tvoram svyatykh ottsov v russkom perevode, izdavayemyye pri Moskovskoy Dukhovnoy Akademii*. T. II. Moskva, 1884, pp. 233-249; O. Iryney Nazarko Ch. SVV., *Svyatyy Volodymyr Velykyy, Volodar i Khrystyteľ Rusy-Ukrayiny (960-1015)*, Rym, 1954, pp. 199-202.

2) I. Zhdanov, *Slovo o zakonye i blagodati*, Sochineniya, vol. I, SPB, 1904; M. Voznyak, *Istoriya ukrayinśkoyi literatury*, L'viv, 1920, T. I.; D. Tschizhevsky, *Geschichte der altrussischen Literatur im XI-XII und XIII Jahrhundert*. Kiever Epoche. Frankfurt, 1948.

Iarion's words were not a figure of speech. Indeed, in the 11th century Ukraine-Ruś with her capital in Kiev was well known in Western Europe. This was due to the geographical situation of Kiev at the crossroads of trade routes from the North to the South, and from the East to the West. It was the famous route 'from Varangians to Greeks' along the Dnieper river to the Baltic Sea, 'the Varangian Sea.' And from the East the route was from India and China, crossing the Dnieper river near Kiev and from the Desna to the Prypyat' river, and on to Cracow, Prague, and Germany, linking the Chinese Empire with the Holy Roman Empire. Ever since the 6th and 7th centuries precious goods had been streaming from all the ends of the earth along these routes and Ukraine-Ruś participated in this trade exchange for centuries, not simply as a territorial intermediary but also by selling her own produce like costly furs, honey, beeswax as well as articles of jewelry and above all *chelyad'* i.e. slaves.<sup>3)</sup>

The first references to the relations of Kievan Ruś with the West date from the middle of the 9th century, while the undated references go back into more distant centuries.

In 839 the Bertinian Annals relate that in Ingelheim, the capital of emperor Louis the Pious, there

<sup>3)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy*, T. I., L'viv, 1904 (New York 1956); A. Szelaowski, *Najstarsze drogi z Polski na wschód w okresie bizantyjsko-arabskim*, Kraków, 1909; M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky, *Istoriya ruskogo narodnogo khozyaystva*, vol. I, Praga Cheshskaya, 1931, p. 391; P. Kovalevsky, *Istori-cheskiy put' Rossii*, Paris, 1949, p. 107; M. de Taube, *Rome et Russie avant l'Invasion des Tatars (IX-XIII x.)* Paris, 1947, p. 90; T. Arne, *La Suede et l'Orient*, Upsala, 1914; E. Shmurlo, *Kurs russkoy istorii*, vol. I, Praga Cheshskaya, 1931.

arrived ambassadors from the Byzantine emperor: the Chalcedonian metropolitan Theophilos and the imperial spatharios Theophilos, with letters from the emperor, and they were very well received. Together with them arrived certain people calling themselves 'Ros', whose ruler ('rex') sent them to Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor asked Louis's permission for them to pass through German territory, since the way which they had taken from Constantinople was cut by the barbarians who had attacked their country. Emperor Louis did not believe that they were the envoys of the king of Ruś, but suspected that they were Norwegians, or Swedish scouts.<sup>4)</sup> It may be assumed that the barbarians who cut across the steppes were Hungarians or Pechenegs.

Then we have information concerning the epoch of the Kievan prince Askol'd and his famous expedition against Byzantium in 860, which was recorded in Byzantine sources of the 10th century, notably in the 'General epistle' by Patriarch Photius and Emperor's Basil biographer, Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Among the results of this expedition was a mass baptism of Ruś and the appointment of the first bishop to Kiev.<sup>5)</sup> To the reign of Askol'd belongs also the first Statute regulating trade and customs duties, issued by Louis the German (843-876) in Raffelstetten

<sup>4)</sup> *Annales Bertiniani*, ad annum 839, Mon. Germ. Hist. I 739 (r.v.); O. Isydor Nahayevsky, *Kyrylo-Methodiyivske khrysty-yanstvo v Rusi-Ukrayini*, Rome, 1954, p. 7.

<sup>5)</sup> E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya Russkoy Tserkvi*, Moskva, 1901, vol. I, part I; M. de Taube, *op. cit.*, passim; O. Isydor Nahayevsky, *Kyrylo-Methodiyivske khrystyyanstvo v Rusi-Ukrayini*, Rym, 1954, pp. 43-54.

in Bavaria which mentions merchants from Ruś (Rugii) who used to bring to the country beeswax, slaves and horses. This statute was confirmed by Louis the Child in 906.<sup>6)</sup>

Knowledge of Ukraine-Ruś, a rich country, continued to spread to Western Europe and her fame grew not only as a country exporting slaves and beeswax, horses and furs, but also as a country where craftsmanship of high artistic value was practised.

In the middle of the 10th century, Theophilus, a monk in the monastery of Helmarshausen near Paderborn (Hessen), mentioned in his **Notes on Handicraft** that "Ruś has been leading in enamelling..."<sup>7)</sup>

This scrap of information comes at a time barren of documentary evidence on the relations between Ukraine-Ruś and Western Europe. Perhaps there was a break in historic records but it is also possible that Ruś during the reigns of Oleh and Ihor was too much preoccupied with fighting against neighbouring tribes, consolidating the immense state headed by Kiev, and with her relations with Byzantium and Caucasus, to pay any attention to the West.

The reign of Princess Olha was known throughout the world. In 957 she went on a ceremonial visit with a great entourage to Byzantium. This visit was

<sup>6)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 292; Th. Ediger, *Russlands älteste Beziehungen zu Deutschland, Frankreich und der römischen Kurie*, Halle, 1911; V. Pashuto, *Ocherki po istorii Galitsko-Volynskoy Rusi*, Izdaniye Akademiyi Nauk SSSR, 1950, p. 170.

<sup>7)</sup> V. Vasil'yevsky, "Drevnyaya trgovlya Kiyeva s Regensburgom", (Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodn. Prosv., SPB, 1888, vol. 258, No. VII, pp. 142-147; M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky, *ibid.*; B. Rybakov, *Remeslo drevney Rusi*, Izd. Akad. Nauk SSSR, 1948, pp. 393-519.

described in detail by Constantine Porphyrogenitus but as to its object he reports only that Olha talked with the Emperor about her affairs of State.<sup>8)</sup> Doubtless the object of the visit was to strengthen the Kievan State's diplomatic relations with Byzantium.

In 959 Olha sent a mission to King Otto I (in 962 Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation), and in 961 a mission from Otto headed by Adalbert arrived in Kiev.<sup>9)</sup> Thus Olha had established peaceful diplomatic relations with the two powerful rulers of Europe — emperors of the Eastern and Western Empires.

It is possible that relations of Kievan Ruś with the West were not confined to this exchange of missions alone. Some hints in this connection might be seen in the fact that Olha's son Svyatoslav wanted to transfer the capital of his state to Pereyaslavets on the river Danube because there "all goods converge: gold and wine from the Greeks, silver and horses from the Czechs and Hungarians, and furs, beeswax and slaves from Ruś."

At any rate it is interesting to note that after Svyatoslav's death in 973 envoys from his son

<sup>8)</sup> Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, M.R.G., CXII; *Povest' Vremennykh Let*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1950; E. Golubinsky, *op. cit.*, vol. I, part I, p. 45; M. Priselkov, *Ocherki po tserkovno-politicheskoy istorii kiyevskoy Rusi X-XII st.*, SPB, 1913; N. Polonskaya, "K voprosu o khristianstve na Rusi do Vladimira", (Zhurnal Minist. Narodn. Prosv., SPB, 1917, No. IX); I. Dvornik, *Les slaves, Byzance et Rome à IX s.*, Paris, 1926.

<sup>9)</sup> *Continuator Reginonis*, M.G.H., SS I; *Annales Hildesheimenses*, *ibid.* III; *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, *ibid.*; H. Koch, "Byzanz, Ochrid und Kiev." (Kyrios, 1938, IV); O. I. Naha-yevs'ky, *Rivnoapostol'ska Svyata Ol'ha*, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 29-36.

Yaropolk (972-979) were present at the Diet session in Quedlinburg, and in 979 envoys from the Pope arrived in Kiev.<sup>10)</sup>

It should be borne in mind that the Ukrainian chronicles were subject to frequent re-editing and their wording has been considerably changed, especially under the influence of Greek clergy, who, being hostile to Rome, made a habit of eliding all reference to Kiev's relations with Rome. It seems that only by accident have such references been preserved in the **Nikon Chronicle** of the middle of the 16th century, whose author is hostile to Catholicism, and in the **Joachim Chronicle** which was used by V. M. Tatischev.

During the reign of Volodymyr (980-1015) relations with Western Europe became closer, and, what is more important, multilateral. His marriage to a Byzantine princess connected him not only with the Eastern Empire but also with the Western because princess Anna's sister, Theophano, was the wife of Emperor Otto II (973-989) and mother of Otto III (983-1002),<sup>11)</sup> Volodymyr's contemporary, and exercised a great influence both on her husband Otto II and her

<sup>10)</sup> *Povest' Vremennykh Let*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1950; V. Parkhomenko, "Khristianstvo na Rusi do Vladimira Svyatogo" (Vera i Razum, SPB, 1912, No. IX); W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacyi Kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi*, Lwów, 1904; E. Shmurlo, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-409; V. Zayikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukrayini za chasiv Yaropolka I", (Zapysky ChSVV III, kn. 1-2, 3-4, L'viv, 1930); O. Iryney Nazarko, *ibid.*, pp. 39-43; S. Tomashivsky, *Istoriya Tserkvy na Ukrayini*, Philadelphia, pp. 73-74.

<sup>11)</sup> J. Moltmann, *Theophano, die Gemahlin Otto II in ihrer Bedeutung für die Politik Ottos II.*, Schwerin, 1878; O. I. Nazarko, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

son Otto III; during the latter's minority she was regent. She helped to spread Byzantine culture in Europe.

In 999 Herbert, once Archbishop of Rheims, and a prominent scholar and teacher of Otto III, was enthroned as Pope Sylvester II.

All these circumstances may have helped to strengthen Volodymyr's relations with Rome.

His first relations with Rome date from 988 when, after his capture of Chersonese, Pope John XV sent envoys to him bringing relics as a Papal token. It is believed that these were relics of Pope Clement found by St. Constantine and St. Methodius in Chersonese and brought by them to Rome.<sup>12)</sup> N. Chubaty considers that this mission with relics to Volodymyr was "some kind of congratulation on the occasion of a christening."<sup>13)</sup>

Shortly after, in 991, envoys of Pope John XV came to Volodymyr "with love and esteem" and under 994 the chronicle mentions the return to Kiev of Volodymyr's envoys from Rome. It might be assumed that they had left Kiev in 993 or possibly in 992.

In 1000 envoys of Pope Sylvester II, accompanied by envoys of the Bohemian and Hungarian kings, arrived in Kiev and in 1001 Volodymyr sent his envoys to the Pope.<sup>14)</sup> Thus, during Volodymyr's

<sup>12)</sup> S. Tomashivsky, *ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>13)</sup> M. Chubaty, *Istoriya Ukrayin'skoyi Tserkvy*, Hirschberg, 1946, p. 39.

<sup>14)</sup> *Nikonovsky Letopis. Polnoye Sobraniye Russkikh Letopisey*, vol. II, *Povest' Vremennykh let*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1950.



reign, there were three missions from Rome to Kiev and two missions from Volodymyr to Rome. This shows how Volodymyr's relations were with the Popes of Rome.

An interesting fact which also tends to confirm the existence of relations between Kiev and Rome is the arrival in Kiev in 1006 of the missionary Bruno-Boniface of Querfurt on his mission to the Pechenegs and his return in 1007 via Kiev.<sup>15)</sup>

Volodymyr maintained diplomatic-political and friendly relations with many West European rulers including the King of Norway, Olaf Tryggvasson<sup>16)</sup>, the Hungarian king St. Stephen, Prince Andrych of Bohemia and Boleslaw, King of Poland.<sup>17)</sup> His children were married into some of Europe's most powerful royal families: one of his daughters, Predyslava, was married to Boleslav III of Bohemia, Premyslava married Laszlo the Bald, king of Hungary, Maria-Dobroniha married king Casimir of Poland and yet another daughter was married to the Margrave Bernhard of Nordmark. Volodymyr's sons contracted

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<sup>15)</sup> A. Voronov, "Latinskiye propovedniki v Kiyevskoy Rusi X-XI vv.", (Trudy Ist. Ob-va Nestora Letopistsa, Kiev, 1879, III, p. 9); P. Pierling, *La Russie et Saint Siègè*, Paris, 1896; I. Franko, "Brunon z Kverfurtu, hist' Volodymyra v 1007" (Prychynky do Istoriiy Ukrayiny-Rusy, L'viv, 1913, pp. 111-123); W. Abraham, *op. cit.*, p. 13; S. Tomashivský, *op. cit.*, p. 85; L. Vynar, "Pereyidz Bruna z Kverfurtu cherez Kyyiv chasiv Volodymyra Velykoho", (Rozbudova Natsiyi, Denver, 1955, Nos. 1/16).

<sup>16)</sup> N. Baumgarten, *Olaf Tryggwason roi de Norwège et ses relations avec S. Wladimir de Russie*, Rome, 1931.

<sup>17)</sup> *Povest' Vremennykh let*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1950.

marriages as follows: Svyatopolk with a daughter of the Polish king Boleslaw the Brave (Chrobry), Yaroslav with Ingigerd-Irene the daughter of the Swedish King Olaf, and Boris with a Bohemian princess.<sup>18)</sup>

In their foreign relations Volodymyr's sons followed the path of their father.

It is interesting to note that the struggle of the two brothers Svyatopolk and Yaroslav for the throne of the Kiev Grand Prince assumed European dimensions.

When in 1016 Svyatopolk was driven from Kiev by Yaroslav, he appealed for help to his father-in-law Boleslaw the Brave.

Yaroslav countered this in 1017 by turning for help to the Emperor, Henry II, and to King Stephen of Hungary. Thus a local Ukrainian conflict became of European importance. Henry, who was then at war with his vassal Boleslaw the Brave, promised to help Yaroslav, but it was not long before he came to terms with Boleslaw and even lent him German and Hungarian troops with whose help Svyatopolk in 1018 took Kiev and established himself there for some time.

However, the final victory in this struggle was on the side of Yaroslav: in 1019 with the help of Varangian mercenaries he defeated Svyatopolk who fled to the West and disappeared without trace.

Yaroslav was undismayed by the failure of his alliance with Germany and after the death of Boleslaw the Brave began to interfere in Poland's affairs: in

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<sup>18)</sup> N. de Baumgarten, "Genealogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes. Du X au XIII s." *Orientalia Christiana*, v. IX, Roma, 1927, tab. I.

1041 and 1043, in alliance with the Emperor Henry III, he helped his son-in-law Casimir, (married to his daughter Maria-Dobroniha), to restore the Polish State.<sup>19)</sup>

The marriages contracted by Yaroslav's children prove his close relations with rulers in Western Europe. Of all his children only Vsevolod was married to a Byzantine princess. Izyaslav married the Polish Princess Gertrude, while Volodymyr and Svyatoslav married German princesses. Of his daughters, Anastasia married the Hungarian King Andrew<sup>20)</sup>, Anna married King Henry I of France. In 1049 or 1051 a solemn embassy, led by three bishops, came from the king to Kiev to ask for Princess Anna's hand for King Henry I, who had been previously married to the daughter of Emperor Conrad II. When they brought the Princess to Rheims, she was accompanied by a caravan of camels bearing her precious dowry. On May 14th 1051, in the Cathedral of Rheims both the marriage and the coronation of Anna, France's first Queen, took place. It was then that she presented the Cathedral with a Slavonic Gospel, which was subsequently used at all French coronations.<sup>21)</sup> In later life Anna proved herself to be a highly cultured woman to whom Popes, grateful to her for her good influence upon her husband, wrote respectful letters. Anna founded the St. Vincent Monastery in Senlis. After the death of Henry I, as their son Philip I was

<sup>19)</sup> N. de Baumgarten, *ibid.*, tab. I.

<sup>20)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 33-34; Bernard Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, Paris, 1924, pp. 152-154; D. Doroshenko, *Narys istoriyi Ukrayiny*, Warsaw, 1932, vol. I, p. 48.

<sup>21)</sup> P. P. Kurinnyy, *Reymška Evanheliya*, Zbirnyk Svitlana, Augsburg.

a minor, Anna became regent, and her signature has been preserved on state papers.<sup>22)</sup>

Elisabeth married Harald Hardrade, King of Norway. When the latter was killed at the battle of Stamford Bridge in England in 1066, she, being then 40 years of age, married King Sweyn of Denmark.<sup>23)</sup> It is also known that Yaroslav planned to marry one of his daughters to Henry III but in the course of diplomatic talks in this connection the Emperor found another bride.

Many West European rulers found their refuge at the Kievan court during political upheavals in their countries. In 1029 Canute the Great conquered Norway; King Olaf the Saint was driven out and fled to Yaroslav. Their wives were sisters: Olaf's wife was Astrid, Ingigerd's sister. Olaf was accompanied by many *jarls* as well as by his half-brother, Harald Hardrade. In 1030 Olaf returned to Norway, but left in Yaroslav's care his young son Magnus who was then brought up by Yaroslav and Ingigerd.<sup>24)</sup> Harald Hardrade later married Elisabeth, Yaroslav's daughter. During the internecine war in Hungary, the sons of Laszlo the Bald and Premyslava, Volodymyr's daughter, Andrew, Bela, and Leventa, also stayed there. Andrew married Princess Anastasia. In 1016 when the Danish King Canute the Great attacked England and King Edmund Ironside, was killed, his widow with her sons Edwin and Edward fled to

<sup>22)</sup> Vicomte de Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie, reine de France*, Paris, 1895; I. Borshchak, "Anna Yaroslavna", *Stara Ukrayina*, L'viv, 1925.

<sup>23)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 32-33; B. Leib, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

<sup>24)</sup> V. V. Mavrodin, *Narysy z istoriyi SRSR*, p. 169.

Sweden, and from there to Ruś. This is related by Adam of Bremen. Edward "fled into the country of the Rugs, which we call Russia, where the king of the Slavs (*rex slavorum*) became his protector," as related by Florence of Worcester.<sup>25)</sup>

All this was certainly well known to Metropolitan Ilarion, a Kievan by origin, when he mentioned in 1051, that Yaroslav's State was famed throughout the whole world. Such was the State left by Yaroslav to his sons.

Yaroslav was linked by family and diplomatic relations with almost the whole of Europe. The Scandinavian sagas, poems (Harald's songs dedicated to Elisabeth), and other literary works spread the glory of Kiev through the length and breadth of the Continent.

One of the German soldiers who was in Kiev in 1018 was greatly impressed by its wealth, its markets and its multinational population — despite the fact that it was during war time — and conveyed his impressions to Thietmar of Merseburg.

Adam of Bremen considered Kiev to be a rival of Byzantium.

Subsequently Kiev's relations with Western Europe became still closer as we can see if we study the reigns of Yaroslav's heirs.

When in 1073 Izyaslav was deprived of the throne by his brothers he fled to the West: first of all to the Polish King Boleslaw the Bold (Smialy) to whom he

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<sup>25)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 31; B. Leib, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Mavrodin, *loc. cit.*

offered rich gifts. Failing however to obtain help from him, he proceeded to the Margrave Dedi of Saxony, who accompanied him to Mainz where the Emperor Henry IV was then resident. Izyaslav besought the Emperor to help him to regain Kiev and offered Henry "priceless gifts in gold and silver plates and dishes, and precious dresses" according to the contemporary chronicler Lambert. However, this was not a propitious moment for Izyaslav as Henry was then involved in his struggle with the Pope for the right of investiture and the whole of Europe was divided into two camps: Southern Germany and Bohemia were on the side of Pope Gregory VII, while Northern Germany and Poland were on the side of Henry. Thus it was inopportune for Henry to enter into the internecine struggles of the princes of Ruś and he therefore preferred to settle Izyaslav's affairs peacefully.

He therefore sent a mission to Kiev headed by Bishop Burchardt, who was charged to "threaten to use German arms" if Svyatoslav refused to return the throne to Izyaslav. However the matter was complicated by the fact that Svyatoslav was married to the Bishop's sister. Accordingly the relatives settled the problem peacefully: in return for non-interference in the case of Izyaslav, Svyatoslav bestowed on Henry's mission so many precious articles that — as chronicler Lambert records — Germany had never seen so much wealth. From this episode we may judge how wealthy Ruś was at that time: a princely refugee bears with him riches which amaze the Germans. And

Svyatoslav offers gifts surpassing those of Izyaslav. "No doubt," writes M. Hrushevsky, "the contemporary Rus' could impress the poor and culturally undeveloped Germany of that time with her richness, splendour, and her refined art drawn from Greek and Oriental sources.<sup>26)</sup>

Izyaslav however did not wait for the results of the mission and sent his son Yaropolk-Peter to Pope Gregory VII. In 1075 the Pope issued two Bulls: one, to Boleslaw, ordered him to return treasures to Izyaslav while in the other the Pope proclaimed the hereditary right of Izyaslav and his son Yaropolk to the Kievan throne.<sup>27)</sup>

It is interesting to note that Izyaslav knew his way about in Germany. He, of course, knew the Margrave Dedi, but he also appealed for help to the Emperor and then to the Pope despite the fact that twenty years had elapsed since the schism. Izyaslav's appeal to the Pope was recorded in the **Psalterium Trevirense**, which was kept under the name of 'Gertrude Codex' at the Monastery of Cividale. The **Psalterium** has three appendices: 1. Gertrude's prayer in Latin; 2. records of a chronological character including the names of the Emperor, Boleslaw III (Krzywousty), and the dates of death of family members of Swabian origin, notably the Counts of Berg, and the Hingen-Foburg and Andex families; 3. five fine miniatures.

<sup>26)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 64; A. M. Ammann, *Storia della Chiesa Russa*, Torino, 1948, p. 23.

<sup>27)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 65; S. Tomashivsky, *ibid.*, p. 126-132; B. Leib, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-160; M. Hotsiy, 'Chy t. zv. "Dal'matyka Karla Velykoho" v Rymi koronatsiynny odyah Yaropolka?' (Khrystyansky Holos, Munich, 1951, nos. 17-18).

One of those miniatures depicts the Apostle Peter with his keys; before him lies prostrate a woman in princely apparel, on either side of whom stand a prince and a princess above whose heads are the inscriptions 'Yaropolk' and 'Irene'. The second miniature depicts Christ crucified; at the foot of the Cross a princess collects Christ's blood in a goblet. The third miniature depicts Christ holding chaplets above the prince and princess, behind whom are their patron saints, the Apostle Peter and St. Irene.<sup>28)</sup>

The second document bearing witness to Izyaslav's appeal to the Pope is a pall with Izyaslav's name, sent by the latter to be laid on the grave of the missionary Wojciech-Adalbert in Gniezno.<sup>29)</sup>

Not everything is clear in these miniatures: was Gertrude a Polish Princess, Prince Mieszko's daughter and the second wife of Izyaslav? Names of Swabian families cast some doubt on this. It is possible that these names were borne by Yaropolk's wife, Kune-gunde of Orlamünde, who, after Yaropolk's death in 1087, returned to Germany and was married twice: first to Cuno von Beichlingen and after his death to Wipprecht von Groitsch.<sup>30)</sup> It is possible that her name was also Irene.

<sup>28)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, 'Kyivski miniyatyury Trirskoyi psaltyri' (Zapysky Nauk. T-va im. T. Shevchenka, L'viv, vol. IX; W. Abraham, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; M. Shaytan, 'Germaniya i Kiev v XI st.' (Letopis' zanyaty Postoyannoy Istorichno-Arkeograficheskoy Komissii, Leningrad, 1927, vol. I-II; S. Tomashivsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny. Starynni i seredni viky*, München, 1948, p. 50.

<sup>29)</sup> I. Linnichenko, 'Novootkrytoye svidetel'stvo o vremeni v. knyazya Izyaslava' (Arkheologich. Izvestiya, SPB, 1894, No. 4, p. 129; Z. Lewicki, 'Napis na pallium z XI w.' (Kwartalnik Historyczny), 1893, p. 497.

<sup>30)</sup> N. de Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. V.

Izyaslav's journey is of great importance: the Kievan prince entered into relations with the two most powerful rulers in Europe.

The life and reign of Emperor Henry IV were strangely linked with the Kievan ruling family.

By their generous gifts Izyaslav and Svyatoslav helped the Emperor to fight his vassals. In 1083 Prince Vsevolod's younger daughter, the niece of Izyaslav and Svyatoslav, Eupraxia-Prokseda, bride of the Margrave of Stade, Henry the Tall, was brought to Germany from Kiev. She was then only 12 or 13 years old and for three years she stayed at the Quedlinburg convent where the Emperor's sister was prioress. The German chronicles record the rich dowry brought by the daughter of the "Emperor of Ruś." This dowry was laden on camels and consisted of beautiful dresses, jewelry, and "countless priceless treasures."

Thus for the third time in a decade Germany was dazzled by the wealth of the Kievan prince.

In 1086 Eupraxia-Prokseda-Adelheid, as she was called in Germany, married Henry the Tall but next year he died.

In 1089 she married the Emperor Henry IV and was formally crowned in Cologne. However this marriage was a tragedy for the young Empress and for a time it attracted the attention of the whole of Europe.

It is difficult to say what led to this marriage: was it due to genuine love of the fifty-year old Emperor for the young widow, or was it only a calculated plan to raise more funds from the Kievan Prince for his struggle with the Pope?

There are certain indications that diplomatic talks took place between Henry and Vsevolod.

Henry's marriage with Adelheid was a failure. Not only did he behave cruelly toward her but he proved to be of immoral character. Intercession of Henry's son, Conrad, on behalf of his step-mother only aggravated her plight. During his expedition to Italy, Henry imprisoned his wife in Verona but she succeeded in informing the Margravine Mathilde of Tuscany, Henry's sworn enemy, of her fate. Mathilde helped Adelheid to escape from prison whereupon the latter became an obedient instrument in Mathilde's hands. It was on Mathilde's advice that Adelheid appealed to the Pope to defend her against Henry's cruelties and her complaint was made public at the Synod of Constance in 1094. At the behest of Pope Urban II Eupraxia-Adelheid appeared personally before the Synod in Piacenza and before a crowd of 30,000 and without sparing herself, she repeated her charge of immorality against Henry and exposed his debauchery. The Pope and the Synod exculpated Adelheid and condemned Henry and excommunicated him. This public appearance of Adelheid was a blow after which Henry IV never recovered and his son Henry V forced him to abdicate.

However, by her public confession Adelheid had also committed social suicide. It was impossible now for her to have a personal life and she returned to Kiev. She entered the Kiev-Pechersky Convent but for a long time she did not take the veil, doing so only after Henry's death in 1106. She herself died in 1109, and the chronicler recorded briefly: "...passed

away Eupraxia, Vsevolod's daughter... and she was interred in the Pechersky Monastery near the Southern Gate and a chapel was erected over her grave."<sup>31</sup>)

Thus ended the adventurous life of the wife of the German Emperor.

In 1943 there arrived in Kiev a German official, commissioned by the German Government to find the grave of the Empress and to transfer it to Berlin. However, this proved impossible as the Cathedral of the Kiev Pechersky Monastery had been destroyed by Soviet mines during their withdrawal from Kiev and only a heap of debris remained. The fate of the grave is unknown at present.

The great reign of Vsevolod was distinguished by close relations between Kiev and the West. It is no accident that Vsevolod knew five foreign languages which proves his interest in foreign countries. It is safe to assume that if the prestige of the Grand Prince of Ukraine-Ruś stood high in Western Europe, this was due not only to his wealth.

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<sup>31</sup>) M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 79-80; Leib, *op. cit.*, p. 164-167, 172; In the small town of Zwiefalten in Swabia there is a hand of the Archdeacon Stephen. On its mounting there is an inscription in Church Slavonic explaining that the hand was given as a blessing to one of the daughters of Grand Prince Yaroslav's heirs who married a German prince. (Vs. Velychenko, 'Svyati sered nas', (Ridna Tserkva, Karlsruhe, 1960, No. 42, p. 8). It is a pity that the author did not give the name of the princess. Maybe it was Eupraxia-Prokseda. S. Rozanov, 'Yevpraksiya-Adelgeyda' (Izvestiya Akad. Nauk SSSR, VII seriya gumanitarnykh nauk, 1929, No. 8), pp. 618-646; N. Polonśka-Vasylenko, 'Yevpraksiya-Adel'heyda, knyazhna Kyivśka, tsisareva Nimetśka', (Nashe Zhyttya, Philadelphia, 1959, No. 8). Metropolitan Ilarion, Blyskucha zorya v ukrayinśkiy dukhoviy kul'turi. Prepodobna Anna Vsevolodovna, Winnipeg, 1960.

Of particular interest is the story of the unification of the churches which were divided in 1054. There had been attempts from time to time to re-unite them.

Pope Gregory VI, Henry IV's antagonist, did his utmost to bring this about. In this connection he maintained correspondence with the Emperor Michael VII Ducas of Byzantium, who, hoping to get assistance against the Turks, was glad to collaborate with the Pope. However, in 1078, Michael was deprived of his throne and in 1085 Gregory died.

Even before Gregory's death, Henry IV supported the anti-Pope Clement III (1084-1100). It is possible that under the influence of Henry who had but recently married Adelheid and who was bent on strengthening the position of Clement, the latter sent a letter to the Kievan Metropolitan John II Prodromos in regard to the unification of the churches. Clement's letter has not been preserved but John's answer to it is known. Polite in its tone, John's answer expresses his respect for Clement as "the most holy and most reverend brother and co-minister... Pope of the ancient city of Rome." However, as far as the essence of the letter is concerned, he advises Clement to contact the Patriarch. This event is variously dated 1089 or 1095.<sup>32</sup>)

At the same time, the rightful Pope Urban II also explored ways of reconciliation between West and East, which was reflected in his correspondence with the Emperor Alexis Comnenus of Byzantium.

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<sup>32</sup>) A. Pavlov, *Kriticheskiye opyty iz istoriyi drevne-russkoy polemiki protiv latynyan*, SPB., 1898, pp. 159-186; M. Priselkov, *ibid.*, pp. 142-148; W. Abraham, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29; A. M. Ammann, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

In such circumstances it was very convenient for Urban's antagonist, anti-Pope Clement, to enter into relations with the Grand Prince of Ukraine-Ruś.

Another important event is connected with the reign of Vsevolod.

In the 11th century there emerges in the history of the Ukrainian Church the shadowy figure of Bishop Efrem, who became Metropolitan of Pereyaslav. Efrem held an important post in Izyaslav's court and later he took orders at the Kiev Pechersky Monastery. He travelled to Constantinople, returned from there as Bishop, and obtained the See of Pereyaslav.

During the absence of a Greek Metropolitan from Kiev (i.e., between the death of John II Prodromos in 1091 and the arrival of Metropolitan Nicholas in 1098) he appears in the role of Metropolitan of Pereyaslav.<sup>33)</sup> His name is connected with important relations between Kiev and Italy.

In 1087 Italian seafarers brought the relics of St. Nicholas of Myra in Lycia to the city of Bari, and in 1089, when construction of the Basilica in which the relics were to be interred, was completed, solemn rites were held which were described by several eyewitnesses. Among these reports the most interesting was that of an Ukrainian from the Chernihiv region or Kiev. In his report he mentions the princes who were ruling at that time, Volodymyr Monomakh of Chernihiv and Grand Prince Vsevolod of Kiev. He also mentions with great esteem the Pope Herman (doubtless a copyist's error for 'Urban') and

<sup>33)</sup> W. Abraham, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29; S. Tomashivśky, *Istoriya Tserkvy na Ukrayini*, pp. 140-141.

Bishops of the Latin rite. It is evident from the tone of the report that its author does not distinguish between Catholics and Orthodox believers; for him they are all Christians.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the author of this report was Efrem, Metropolitan of Pereyaslav. Sometime in 1090 this *Skazaniye* appeared in Ukraine-Ruś and soon afterwards a solemn Mass on the occasion of the transfer of relics was written and the event was celebrated on the 9th May. A Litany to this feast was also composed in which miracles by St. Nicholas of Myra in Lycia, in Bari, and in Ruś were described.<sup>34)</sup> It is obvious that in Byzantium the transfer of the St. Nicholas relics to Bari could not be celebrated.

One more event has been connected with the reign of Vsevolod. Under 1091 the chronicles record that in Kiev arrived "Feodor, Metropolitan Greek", from the Pope, "from Rome and brought many relics of Saints." Everything in this sentence is vague. Some students consider that it was a Greek, sent to the Pope by Metropolitan Efrem who now returned with relics.<sup>35)</sup> Others are of the opinion that it was "a Metropolitan of Greek nationality."<sup>36)</sup> Whoever it was, one thing is clear: in 1091 there were obscure but undeniable relations between Vsevolod and the

<sup>34)</sup> P. Vladimirov, *Istoriya russkoy literatury kiyevskogo perioda*, Kiev, 1900, pp. 147, 208; S. Tomashivśky, *Istoriya Tserkvy...* p. 141-142; B. Leib, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67; W. Abraham, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>35)</sup> S. Tomashivśky, *Istoriya Tserkvy...*, p. 142.

<sup>36)</sup> B. Leib, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

Pope.<sup>37)</sup> And taken together all three facts: Clement's letter, the arrival of the Greek Metropolitan, and the transfer of relics to Bari, show the existence of fairly close relations between the Popes and Kiev.

Let us now consider relations between Kievan Ruś and England. In the battle of Stamford Bridge (1066) Elisabeth's husband King Harald Hardrade of Norway was killed, whereupon she married King Sweyn of Denmark. Less than a month later, Harold, King of England, was also killed in the battle of Hastings, after which William I "the Conqueror" subdued England. Harold of England left three sons and two daughters by his first wife and a postumous son by his second wife, the queen. His elder daughter Gytha, after the Conquest, took refuge at the court of King Sweyn, together with other members of Harold's family. Later she married Volodymyr, the son of the Grand Prince of Kiev, Vsevolod. There can be little doubt that Elisabeth was in contact with her nephew Vsevolod, and may have had a hand in bringing about this marriage.<sup>38)</sup>

This marriage was of great importance to Ukraine-Ruś because from then onwards many English mercenary soldiers came to Kiev as did the Varangians in former times. Adam of Bremen was right: the way from England to Kiev was well known then. Some scholars are of the opinion that Gytha brought with her to Kiev English culture, literary works, and the like. She may have had much to tell there about the

<sup>37)</sup> N. Nikol'sky, *Povest' vremennykh let kak istochnik dlya nachal'nogo perioda russkoy piśmennosti i kul'tury*, Lenin-grad, 1931.

<sup>38)</sup> N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. V.

work of a prominent scholar, King Edward's friend, Bishop Leofric and his **Fatherly Instructions**, although the **Instruction for Children** by Volodymyr Monomakh is superior to that of Leofric both by virtue of its artistry and its autobiographical value. It is however possible that Leofric's work may have had some influence on Volodymyr Monomakh's **Instruction**.<sup>39)</sup>

It is also possible that an event, which has been recorded in St. Emmeram's life story, was due to relations between England and Ruś. At the beginning of the 12th century, Irish monks described as 'Scots' established the monastery of St. James and St. Gertrude in Regensburg and began to construct a church in it. However, they lacked money and in order to collect some funds for the purpose a monk named Maurice and a novice were dispatched to Kiev. Here they were received "by the King" who donated generous gifts and precious furs, to the monastery, while Kiev's **stariyshyny** (elders) also donated many furs. The monks sold the furs and were able to finish building the cathedral which became an adornment of the whole of 12th century Europe.<sup>40)</sup>

Unfortunately it has not been possible to date this event with precision; most probably it happened during the reign of Volodymyr Monomakh. Mr. Korduba thinks 1119-1125 a likely date. This fact

<sup>39)</sup> *Kul'tura drevney Rusi*, Moskva, 1951, vol. II, p. 192; V. Vasil'yevskiy, *ibid.*, pp. 134-136.

<sup>40)</sup> M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky, *ibid.*, pp. 108-109; W. Abraham, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66; N. Polon'ska-Vasylenko, *Kyyiv chasiv Volodymyra ta Yaroslava*, Praha, 1944; M. Shaytan dated the journey of St. Maurice to Kiev 1086-87 and linked it with carrying by him Henry IV's instructions connected with Henry's engagement to Adelheid-Eupraxia, *Germaniya i Kiev*, pp. 18-23.



proves how well the way to Kiev was known in the West in the 12th century and what a good reputation the Kievan Prince enjoyed in Europe, and, on the other hand, what tolerance was exercised in Kiev with regard to questions of religious denominations. Here we may quote Volodymyr Monomakh's words from his **'Instruction for Children'** whom he exhorts to be kind to a foreign guest, to be hospitable and to offer him gifts, because guests can spread good and bad repute about their host throughout the world.

From the reign of Volodymyr the Great onwards Ukraine-Ruś maintained constant relations with the Scandinavian states and a great number of marriages strengthened those relations. Volodymyr himself was in friendly relations with Olaf Tryggvasson.

Yaroslav was married to Ingigerd, a daughter of the Swedish King; Olaf the Saint lived for a long time in Kiev before he ascended the Norwegian throne, and Yaroslav's daughter married Harald, King of Norway. These relations became closest during the reign of Mstyslav-Fedor-Harald, son of Volodymyr Monomakh and Gytha. Mstyslav, during the life of his father, married Christine, daughter of the Swedish King Ingvo. There were 11 children from this marriage and the fate of two daughters, i.e., Ingeborg and Malfride is particularly interesting. Ingeborg married Canute II, Duke of Schleswig and King of Obotrites, while Malfride was engaged to Eric Emune, King of the Danes, and came to Denmark to marry him. However, at the King's court she met the famous hero of the Crusades, Sigurd I King of Norway, fell in love with him and married him instead of the King

of Denmark. When after twenty years, Sigurd died, Malfride married Eric Emune to whom she had been affianced twenty years earlier.<sup>41)</sup>

This romantic story was celebrated in the Scandinavian sagas. It is worth noting that the official genealogy of the Kings of Denmark, drawn up on their order, stressed the relationship of the Danish royal families with Princes of Ruś as a proof of the dignity of the Danish dynasty.<sup>42)</sup> Valdemar I the Great, King of Denmark, was Malfride's son. It is possible that this name was given to him in order to commemorate Malfride's grandfather, Volodymyr Monomakh.

About 1140 Volodymyr, grandson of Volodymyr Monomakh and son of Prince Vsevolod of Chernihiv, married the daughter of the Polish King Boleslaw IV, Ryxa, then widow of Magnus, King of Denmark. After Volodymyr's death Ryxa once more re-married the King of Sweden, Swerker I. Sophie, daughter of Volodymyr and Ryxa, married the king of Denmark, Valdemar I the Great.<sup>43)</sup> Ingeborg, the daughter of Valdemar the Great and Sophie, married the King of France, Philippe-Auguste, was renowned for her beneficence and high moral standards and was canonized a saint. In the veins of this woman of whom France can be proud, there flowed the blood of Kievan princes on both her father's and her mother's side.

Of equal interest is a series of marriages between

<sup>41)</sup> N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. V, Nos. 19, 20.

<sup>42)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 117; W. Leib, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-149.

<sup>43)</sup> N. Baumgarten, *Sofiya, koroleva Daniï*; N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. V, No. 45.

princes of Volodymyr's House and the Hungarian royal family.

Premyslava, daughter of Volodymyr the Great was married to Laszlo the Bald; later, princess Anastasia-Agmunda married Andrew, King of Hungary. In 1104 Predslava, daughter of the Grand Prince Svyatopolk-Michael married Almos, a son of King Koloman,<sup>44</sup>) and in 1112 Koloman himself married Eufemia, daughter of Volodymyr Monomakh. The latter marriage was a failure and in 1113 Eufemia returned to Kiev where she gave birth to a son, Boris.

This marriage, the departure from Hungary and the birth of the son played a very important role in Hungary's history and therefore deserve more detailed treatment. These events have been a source of acute controversy among contemporaries and later scholars. The terse nature of the statement offers no elucidation.

The Hungarian historian Fesler thinks that it was the low cultural level of his Kievan bride that estranged Koloman from her, the more so, since his first wife was a daughter of Roger, King of Sicily. This, Fesler thinks, was the cause of the failure of the marriage.

One can hardly agree with such an opinion. The court of the Kievan Grand Princes in the 11th-12th centuries was well-known throughout Europe for its high cultural standards. It is enough to mention Volodymyr Monomakh's 'Instruction for Children', the chronicles, works of various writers, artistic monuments such as cathedral richly adorned with mosaics and frescoes, to say nothing of the opinions

<sup>44</sup>) N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. II, No. 11; K. Grot, *Iz istorii Ugrii i slavyanstva v XII v.*, Varshava, 1899.

of contemporaries of Kiev's culture, to refute the notion that the Kiev princely court could ever be considered as deficient in culture. We have already quoted opinions on contemporary Kiev expressed by such distinguished writers as Thietmar of Merseburg and Adam of Bremen. And the fact that there lived and worked in Kiev such writers and scholars as Metropolitan Ilarion, Bishop Cyril of Turov, various chroniclers, the author of the **Lay of Igor's Campaign** and many others is proof of the high cultural level prevailing in Ukraine-Ruś in the 11th-12th centuries. It is also hardly possible to believe that the cause of estrangement between Koloman and Eufemia was Eufemia's conjugal infidelity; it was not until later when her son came forward with his claims to the throne of Hungary that she was blamed on this score. Such a scandal on a European scale by Eufemia would hardly have persuaded Volodymyr to take her back along with her illegitimate son. It is much more likely that Eufemia left Koloman's court, which contemporaries likened to Babylon, of her own will.

The question of Boris' legitimacy was raised several times and remained a focal point of European attention.

In 1131 after the death of Koloman's son and heir, King Stephen, Boris declared his claim to the Hungarian throne as Koloman's son. This stirred up the whole of Europe: Boris, being married to a relative

<sup>45</sup>) V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoy istoriografii*, vol. II, part I, p. 145; M. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 111-112, 114; N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. V., No. 14; S. Rozanov, 'Eufimia Vladimirovna i Boris Kolomanovich', (Izd. Akad. Nauk, Otd. gumanitarnykh nauk, 1930, No. 8, pp. 586-599).

of Emperor John Comnenus, received the support of the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, and of the Polish King, Boleslaw Krzywousty. Boris' opponent Bela was supported by the German Emperor Lothar II. In 1135, at the Diet in Quedlinburg, Lothar persuaded Boleslaw to change sides and in 1138 the latter died.

In 1139 Eufemia died and Boris lost direct connection with Ukraine-Ruś. His situation became still more complicated when King Geza II married Eufrosinia who was Boris' niece, daughter of Mstyslav I Harald, and sister of Grand Prince Izyaslav II. This marriage was precipitated by Geza's desire to obtain support of the "friends of Ruś" at the Hungarian court. In 1146 the situation was further complicated: now Boris had the support of the new Emperor Conrad II, Emperor Manuel Comnenus, the Bohemian King Vladislav II, and the King of France Louis VII. With such protectors victory seemed to be on Boris' side but he was not fated to see it; he died before attaining his goal.

One of the interesting features of this struggle is that both opponents sought the support of "friends of Ruś" and tried to utilise their relations with Princes of Ruś. The Hungarian historian K. Grot has pointed out that Eufrosinia, Mstyslav's daughter, who was a wise and energetic woman, took an active part in the reign of Geza II and started a new trend in Hungarian policy by connecting it with the interests of Ruś.

During her lifetime many of the Hungarian elite were members of the Orthodox Church and the

Slavonic tongue prevailed at the Hungarian court.<sup>46)</sup>

Of great importance are the events connected with Kiev's struggle with Suzdal', in which the first blow against Kiev was struck, when the Kievan throne was ascended by Izyaslav II, grandson of Volodymyr Monomakh and son of Mstyslav-Harald. It was then that Yury Dolgoruky, junior son of Volodymyr Monomakh (by a concubine), Prince of Rostov-Suzdal', raised his claim to the Kievan throne. During the eight years of Izyaslav's reign (1146-1154) Yury several times drove him from Kiev but was each time compelled to yield in his turn. Izyaslav was supported by the Kievans who liked him for his chivalrous character, humaneness, generosity and bravery, while they hated the cruel and unchivalrous Yury who always brought his Suzdalians with him. When finally, after the death of Izyaslav, Yury became Grand Prince of Kiev only to die shortly after (in 1157), the Kievans sacked not only his palaces but also the houses of his Suzdalian courtiers.

Yury's struggle for Kiev ended fifteen years after the death of Izyaslav when Yury's son Prince Andrew Bogolyubsky of Suzdal in 1169 invaded Kiev with his Suzdalian army and sacked and pillaged the city. In the Izyaslav-Yury struggle there participated: on Izyaslav's side, in addition to the princes of Volyn', Turov-Pinsk, Smolensk, Pereyaslav, and Ryazan' also the Hungarian King Geza II, who was then married to Izyaslav's sister Eufrosinia, the Polish King Boleslaw

<sup>46)</sup> K. Grot, *ibid.*, pp. 26-44, 78, 94; V. Ikonnikov, *ibid.*, vol. II, part I, p. 145; M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 144, 152, 157, 166; N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. V, No. 29; S. Rozanov, 'Eufimia Vladimirovna i Boris Kolomanovich' (Izd. Akad. Nauk, Otd. gumanit. nauk, 1930, No. 9, pp. 649-671).

Kędzierzawy, the Bohemian King Vladislav II, King Charles Roger of Sicily and the German Guelfs (Charles Roger was married to a relative of the Emperor Frederic); on Yury's side there were Svyatoslav of Chernihiv, Polovtsi, Volodymyrko of Halych, as well as Byzantium and the Hohenstaufens.

The **Hypatian Chronicle** relates the attempts of Geza and the Polish Princes, Boleslaw and Henry, to reconcile Izyaslav and Yury in 1149, and quotes them as saying to both opponents: "We are all of Christian faith and brothers to each other." It is important that the monk-chronicler recorded their words exactly in this fashion.<sup>47)</sup>

We shall say nothing of the many marriages of princes of Ruś to Polish princesses. Suffice it to say that already in 1103 a special dispensation of Pope Paschal was needed for the marriage of Boleslaw III Krzywousty to Zbyslava, Svyatopolk-Michael's daughter — so closely were the princely families of the two states interrelated. Thereafter the number of such marriages went on increasing.<sup>48)</sup>

In the 12th century the Kievan State began to decline. For this there were many reasons.

The change in trade routes from the East — the discovery of a direct connection with Southern Europe during the time of the Crusades — deprived Ruś of the transit trade which was one of the sources of her wealth; the invasions of the Polovtsi, who occupied the southern steppe regions, sacked towns and cut routes

<sup>47)</sup> S. Tomashivsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, pp. 64-69; N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. V, No. 23.

<sup>48)</sup> N. Baumgarten, *op. cit.*, tab. II, No. 13; W. Leib, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

to the Black Sea; and finally internal strife among princes made the population sparser and poorer and Kiev saw many changes of rulers. In one century — from 1146 to 1246 — there were 24 princes on the Kievan throne, including one who occupied it 7 times, and there were 35 reigns lasting only one year each. The Kievan state was divided into small principalities and lost its importance as the 'Golden Throne', at least to touch which before his death, was the dream of every prince.<sup>49)</sup>

The political centre shifted now from Kiev to the more settled principalities and two chief pretenders to the splendour of Kievan Ruś came to the fore.

One was the Vladimir-Suzdal' principality in the North-East, which had been growing and gaining strength ever since the reign of Yury Dolgoruky, the illegitimate son of Volodymyr Monomakh. Situated far to the North and separated by a number of principalities from Western Europe, it followed its own path isolated from European influences and tinted by the heritage of those non-Slav tribes among which the Slav population had settled.

The second claim to the Kievan Ruś heritage was raised by two powerful states in the South-West: the Volyn' and the Halych Lands. The last Grand Princes of Kiev were closely connected with the Volyn' state which frequently played the role of a reserve defence line in the struggle for Kiev.

During the decline of the Kievan State there reigned in Volyn' Roman, grandson of Izyaslav II and son of Grand Prince Mstyslav and the Polish Princess Agnes.

<sup>49)</sup> S. Tomashivsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, p. 72.

He spent part of his youth in Cracow and Germany which fact considerably influenced his political views.

This was the epoch of absolute authority of the ruler who relied not on the aristocracy but on the broad circles of townspeople whose importance was now growing. Roman introduced these principles, particularly after he had succeeded in uniting Volyn' with the Halych Principality. There he began a struggle against feudal lords which was supported by the townspeople. Nowhere in Ruś were the **boyars** so powerful as in Halych Principality. They had their own castle strongholds, their own troops, and even in external appearance they resembled West European knights. This was probably the reason why the Hungarians called the **boyars** of Halych 'barons'.<sup>50)</sup>

It is not clear how Yaroslav-Osmomysl, the Prince of Halych, came to be a vassal of Emperor Frederick I, Barbarossa. This vassal relationship was utilised by his son Volodymyrko, when after Yaroslav-Osmomysl's death in 1187 the boyars of Halych were reluctant to have Volodymyrko as their prince, while Halychyna was seized by the King of Hungary, Bela III who installed his son Andrew as a 'viceroy.' Volodymyrko fled to Frederick Barbarossa, and renewed his father's feudal oath, whereupon Frederick ordered the prince of Cracow, Casimir II, married to Olena, the daughter of Grand Prince Rostyslav (1163), to re-install Volodymyrko on the throne of Halych. Casimir II obeyed Frederick's order, and the Hungarians gave

<sup>50)</sup> V. Pashuto, *ibid.*

way without a struggle. Volodymyrko remained Prince of Halych till his death in 1198.<sup>51)</sup>

Roman was involved in the struggle which was then splitting Europe into two parts — that between the Guelfs and the Hohenstaufens. In 1205 Roman marched with his troops to assist Philip but was killed at the battle of Zawichwost.

Not long before his death he conquered Kiev but confined himself to installing there a vassal prince. Kiev drew him no longer. The centre of political life had shifted already to the West.

Roman's relations with the Pope were very interesting. His alliance with the Emperor put him in the camp of the anti-Papal forces, since the Emperor was waging war against Pope Innocent III in Italy. Probably that is why in 1204 he declined a proposal to be crowned by the Pope, but the fact that the proposal was made is itself very important.

Being a son of a Catholic mother, Agnes, Roman was not inimical to Catholicism and this can be proved by the fact that in the records of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter in Erfurt it is recorded that Roman donated 30 marks (hryven) of silver to the monastery.<sup>52)</sup>

Roman's death in 1205 was a heavy blow to his state in which he united the greater part of the Kievan Ruś lands. Almost at once after his death, Poland and Hungary, which wanted to conquer the Principality of Halych, began to interfere in its affairs, but the

<sup>51)</sup> S. Tomashivsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny, Starynni i seredni viky*, Ukr. Vil'n. Universytet, Munich, 1948, p. 76.

<sup>52)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, v. II, p. 485; V. Pashuto, *ibid.*, p. 172.

united efforts of Roman's widow, Anna and the Volynian **boyars** preserved the state for his sons, Danylo and Vasyl'ko.

Danylo's reign was a difficult one as he had to deal with revolts of local princes and **boyars** of Halych and defend the country against the Tartar invasion. He acted in alliance with Hungary and through Hungary became involved in Austrian affairs.

In 1252 his son Roman married Duchess Gertrude Babenberg of Austria, widow of Vladislav of Bohemia and Count Hermann of Baden. As a Hungarian vassal he was supposed to settle in Vienna but he had to fight Ottokar II of Bohemia who declared war against him. As the forces of King Bela and those of Danylo were engaged in fighting Tartars and could not assist Roman, he was forced to leave his wife and return to his country.<sup>53)</sup>

In his internal policy Danylo was a ruler of West European character. He constructed new towns and fortified them in the European manner, reorganised the army, created a heavily armed peasant infantry, encouraged Western artisans to settle in his country and relied upon the town population. During his reign, Western influences spread in the country and Western state structure and administration were adopted. Danylo was well known in the West.

In 1247 Pope Innocent IV offered him the crown, but Danylo, afraid that this might impair his relations with the Tartars, declined it. Only in 1253 was he crowned King of Ruś.

<sup>53)</sup> S. Tomashivsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, p. 93; A. Florovsky, *Chekhi i vostochnyye slavyane*, vol. I, Praha, 1935, p. 213; V. Pashuto, *ibid.*, pp. 255-257.

This act is of great symbolical importance because the crowning of Danylo as 'Rex', King of Ruś, stressed the fact that the Grand Prince of Halych-Volyn' and not that of Suzdal' was the heir of the Kievan Grand Princes.<sup>54)</sup>

Danylo's relations with the West also resulted in a series of marriages contracted by his children and grand-children with members of Western royal and princely families. His son Lev, King of Halych and Ruś, married Constance, the daughter of King Bela IV of Hungary.

His daughter Sofia married Günther VIII Count of Käfernburg. The latter marriage left its traces in history. One of the daughters of Sofia and Count Käfernburg married Count Schwarzburg and the other married Henry von Plauen. The latter's son was given the name 'der Reusse' (from his mother) and he later founded the Reuss Princely House.<sup>55)</sup>

It is obvious that the above-quoted facts of genealogy and political-diplomatic relations of Ukraine-Ruś with the West also entailed trade and cultural exchanges between the East and the West of Europe.

We have already mentioned the Raffelstetten customs code of the 10th century. It was only the first of a long list of similar acts.

<sup>54)</sup> N. Polonśka-Vasylenko, 'Korol' Danylo na tli istorychnoyi doby' (Vyzvol'ny Shlyakh, London, 1954, No. IX); A. H. Velyky, OSBM, Problema koronatsiyi Danyla, *Analecta*, Roma, 1954, vol. II, pp. 95-104; V. Kaminśky, 'Korona Danyla v pravno-politychniy strukturi', *ibid.*, pp. 119-125; I. Khoma, 'Skhidno-evropeyska polityka Inokentiya IV', *ibid.*, pp. 126-136; M. Stasiv, 'Korona Danyla i Tatory', *ibid.*, pp. 137-152.

<sup>55)</sup> R. P., 'Rid knyaziv Roys (Z materiyaliv shcho podav prof. Dr. M. Miller)' (Rid ta znameno, 1947, p. 12-13).

In the 11th-12th centuries, trade between Kievan Ruś and Germany was pretty well developed; costly furs were the principal merchandise exported from Ruś. These furs were very fashionable in the West at that time. We have a record from the end of the 11th century that a transport of furs was dispatched from Kiev to Regensburg by merchants who stayed at the time in Kiev.<sup>56)</sup> At the same time a caravan of Jewish merchants was returning to Regensburg via Hungary.<sup>57)</sup>

In Jewish literature of the 10th-13th centuries, the Jewish merchants who travelled to Ukraine-Ruś are called 'Holchei russia'<sup>58)</sup>; at Regensburg they were called *ruzarii*.<sup>59)</sup>

The routes leading through the Bohemian Forest, Moravian Gate and Cracow were dangerous both because of natural obstacles such as forests, mountains and marshes, and because of bandits, but these dangers were offset by the good profits to be made.<sup>60)</sup>

Some attempts were made to avoid these dangers. So, for instance, in 1173 and 1180 we find it recorded in books of St. Emmeram Monastery in Regensburg that a certain member of the Monastery resident in Kiev donated 18 pounds of silver to the Monastery, which sum he ordered his debtor in Regensburg to pay to the Monastery.

56) M. Shtayn, 'Irlandskiye emigranty v sredniye veka', *Sbornik: Srednevekovyy byt*, Leningrad, 1925.

57) A. V. Florovsky, *ibid.*, pp. 187-191.

58) A. V. Florovsky, *ibid.*, p. 189.

59) V. Vasil'yevsky, *ibid.*, pp. 142-147.

60) M. Shtayn, *ibid.*, *Germaniya i Kiev*, p. 52.

It is possible that others used this method, too.<sup>61)</sup>

There are many documents proving the existence of Western trade relations with Ruś. We may mention just a few of these: customs regulations of the town of Ems from the mid-twelfth century;<sup>62)</sup> charters of Frederick of Saxony of 1180;<sup>63)</sup> the charter of Emmeric, King of Hungary for the Esztergom Monastery dating from the end of the 12th century.<sup>64)</sup>

After the Tartar invasion, Rubruquis the envoy of Louis IX wrote about fur exports from Ruś<sup>65)</sup> and in the 13th century "castles of Ruś" were known in Bohemia.<sup>66)</sup>

Costly silk fabrics from the East were transported through Ukraine-Ruś and in France of the 12th century silk fabrics were called "fabrics of Ruś."

Naturally close trade relations meant that foreigners had to stay in Kiev. In this connection it should be noted that in Kiev there was a 'Hungarian quarter' and 'Lyadski (Polish) Gate.'

In 1018 a German soldier noted that in Kiev such foreigners as Danes, Franks, Greeks, Normans, Armenians and others were to be found.

61) V. Vasil'yevsky, *ibid.*, pp. 142-148; M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky, *ibid.*, p. 109; A. Meiller, *Oesterreichische Stadtreiche und Satzungen aus Zeit der Babenberger*, Archiv für Kunde d. Oester. Geschichtsquellen, Bd. X., Wien, 1853.

62) M. Shtayn, *Germaniya i Kiev*, p. 4.

63) V. Pashuto, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

64) V. Pashuto, *ibid.*, p. 171.

65) V. Pashuto, *ibid.*, p. 172-173. The poet Hartman von Aue, who died in 1210, wrote enthusiastically about grey furs from Ruś. *Ibid.*

66) A. Yasinsky, *Cheshskoye svidetelstvo o russkom metallicheskom proizvodstve*, Sb. Uch. Literat. Ob-va pri Yur'yevskom universitete, vol. I, 1893, p. 54.

In the 12th century there was in Kiev the Catholic church of the Holy Virgin Mary, founded by Irish monks<sup>67)</sup> and in 1228 Dominican monks built their church, also named after the Holy Virgin Mary. Catholic churches were also to be found in other towns, for example in Pereyaslav.<sup>68)</sup>

After the Tartar invasion, Plano de Carpini saw in Kiev in 1247 many merchants from Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Poland, Austria and France.<sup>69)</sup>

People in Ukraine-Ruś were interested in events in Western Europe. In connection with the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa the following note was recorded in the chronicle: "...those Germans together with their Emperors are shedding their blood for Christ like the Holy martyrs... and if any one of them is killed... he will join the host of martyrs..."

The chronicler commented with feeling on the death of Emperor Philip in 1208<sup>70)</sup> and wrote about Countess Elisabeth of Thuringia who "has done a great deal for God's glory." **The Volynian Chronicle** even mentions such an event as floods in Holland.

B. Leib describes the journey of Eric the Good, King of Denmark, to the Holy Land, which took place during the reign of Svyatopolk-Michael. The latter gave him a guard for his journey and the journey itself through Ruś was a festival: in towns, Eric was

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<sup>67)</sup> A. Storozhenko, 'O sushchestvovanii v Kieve rimskokatolicheskikh khramov', Sbornik statey v chest' prof. N. Dashkevicha, Kiev, 1906, pp. 243-245.

<sup>68)</sup> N. Baumgarten, *Chronologie ecclesiastique*, p. 81.

<sup>69)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 8.

<sup>70)</sup> N. Baumgarten, *Chronologie...*, pp. 116, 129, 132.

met by clergy who greeted him with Holy relics and chanting and the bells rang from all the belfries.<sup>71)</sup>

A feeling of unity with Europe permeates all the literary works of the Princely Age. Thus, for instance, Danylo the Pilgrim who visited the Holy Land in 1106, wrote of the kindness accorded to him by King Baldwin, and of his visits to the Catholic and Orthodox monasteries, without making any discrimination between them. He also recorded that in Jerusalem there were high ranking personalities from Kiev and Novgorod, some of whom were persuaded by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus to join the Crusaders' Army.

The same spirit of unity of Christian religions we find in the words of Metropolitan Cyril, who advised Danylo Prince of Halych to ask the King of Hungary for help, and said: "Go to him, he is a Christian just as you are."<sup>72)</sup>

Cyril was a prominent politician during Danylo's reign: he was the 'Keeper of the Seal (Pechatnyk)', the chancellor, who kept the great seal of state, and he contributed much to the strengthening of Danylo's reign.

It is possible that he was the author of that part of the **Halych-Volynian Chronicle** known as the 'Kholm

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<sup>71)</sup> B. Leib, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

<sup>72)</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya ukrayinskoj literatury*, Kyiv-L'viv, 1922-23, vol. I, p. 82. As a proof of complete tolerance in religious problems are prayers including the names of Saints not recognised by the Greek (Orthodox) Church: one of the prayers to the Holy Mother includes such Saints as Magnus, Canute, Olaf, Beowulf, and Alban. (A. Sobolevsky, *Otnosheniye drevney Rusi k razdeleniyu tserkvey*, Izv. Imp. Akad. Nauk, 1914, p. 38).



Chronicle.' The main feature of the latter is its international character since it contains news from Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Lithuania, Austria and Germany. Cyril could get these materials from the State Chancery.<sup>73)</sup>

Nor can there be any doubt that the West was as fully informed about the East as was the latter about the West.

Such information is preserved by various sources in Western Europe. For instance, the so-called Bavarian geographer whose name is unknown, dated in the 11th century, quoted passages from an older source of the 9th century. In these passages information is given about Ukrainian tribes: Buzhany ('Buzanu'), who had 230 towns, Ulychi ('Ulizi'), "a numerous people," with 318 towns, Volynyany ('Volunianu'), 70 towns. He had other sources than our chronicle, for he gives different facts.<sup>74)</sup>

We have already mentioned the plentiful information about Kievan Ruś contained in the Scandinavian and Icelandic sagas. Alfred the Great, the King of England, knew from the widely-travelled trader Othere about a distant land 'Roshuasko' on the Upper Don in the **eighties or nineties** of the 9th century.<sup>75)</sup>

And with time more and more information appeared in various West European documents. The 13th century English author Bartholomeus knew about 'Ruthenia'; and Halych Ruś is mentioned in an anonymous treatise in the French National Library.

<sup>73)</sup> V. Pashuto, *ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>74)</sup> V. V. Mavrodin, *Narysy z istoriyi SRSR*. K. p. 16.

<sup>75)</sup> *Loc. cit.*

As they watched events in the West people in Ukraine-Ruś were convinced that everything happening in their country interested those living in Western Europe. Whence in 1111, after Volodymyr Monomakh's victory over the Polovtsi, the **Hypatian Chronicle** recorded: "The glory of his deeds will spread to all remote countries — to Hungarians, Greeks, Lyakhs (Poles), Bohemians, yes even to Rome itself."

The **Laurentian Chronicle**, recording under 1125 Volodymyr Monomakh's death wrote: "His name spelled fear in all countries and the news of his death will spread through the whole world."

In 1152 Izyaslav II recalling the glory of past years told his wife: "God permit us to preserve our honour in all foreign countries" — as recorded in the **Hypatian Chronicle**.

Very interesting are some thoughts expressed in the **Lay of Igor's Campaign**. Describing Svyatoslav's victory over the Polovtsians, the **Slovo** says: "Here the Germans and the Wends, here the Greeks and the Moravians sing Svyatoslav's glory."

And so during an entire century, which was a century of immense changes, wars and invasions, there prevailed in Ukraine-Ruś the firm conviction — which can be traced as a leitmotiv in the literary activities and practical policies of the Princely Epoch — that Ukraine-Ruś was closely tied to and constituted part of Western Europe.



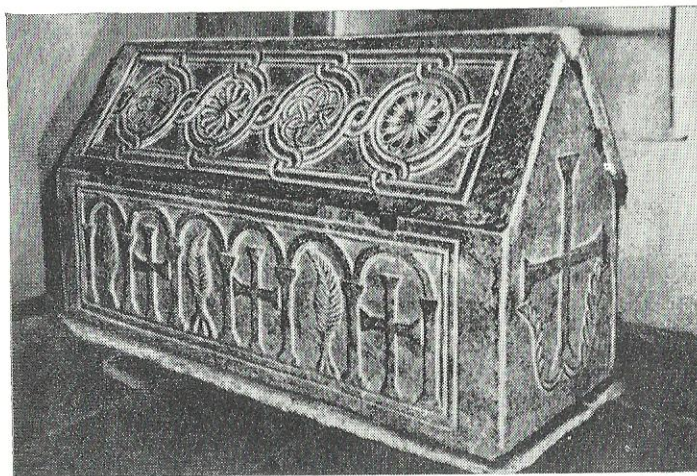
I. Trident on brick from a Prince's palace in Kiev.



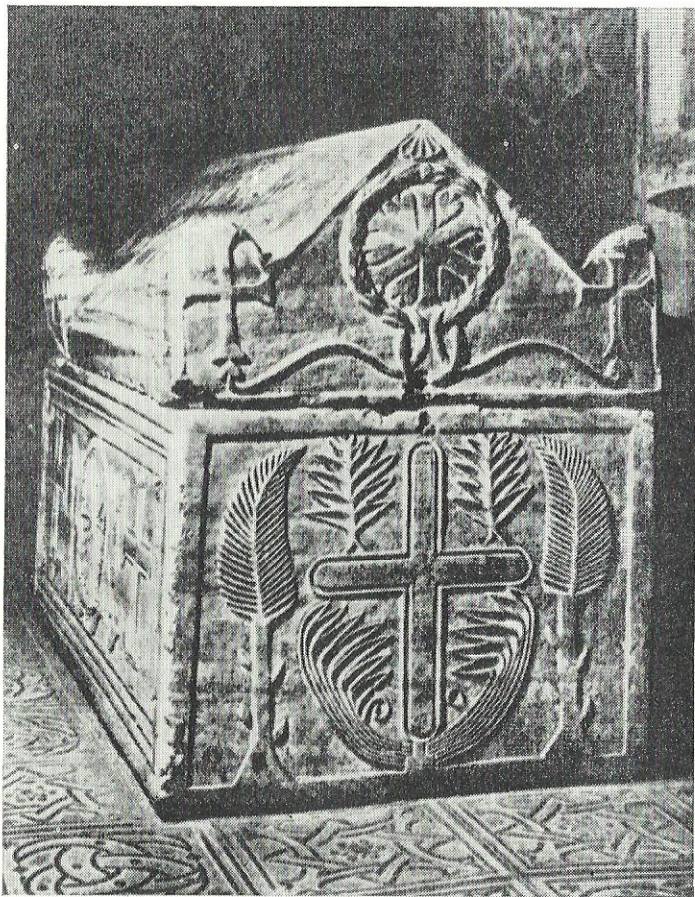
II. Coins of St. Volodymyr and Yaroslav the Wise.



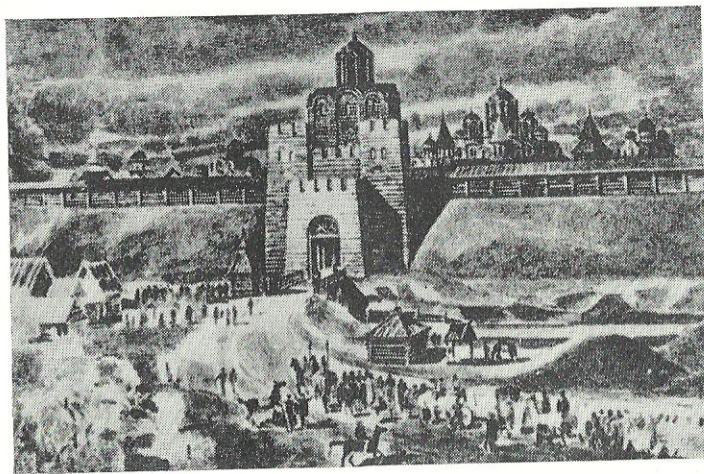
III. Trident-like designs from the frescos of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev.



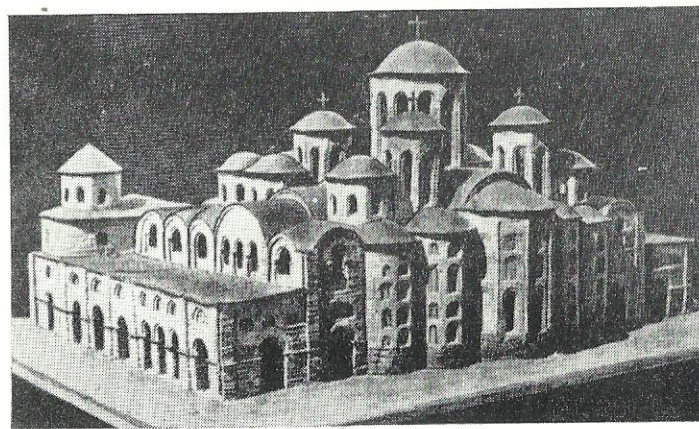
IV. Ornamented slate sarcophagus from the 10th century (attributed to Princess Olha), found during the excavations of the Tithe Church in Kiev.



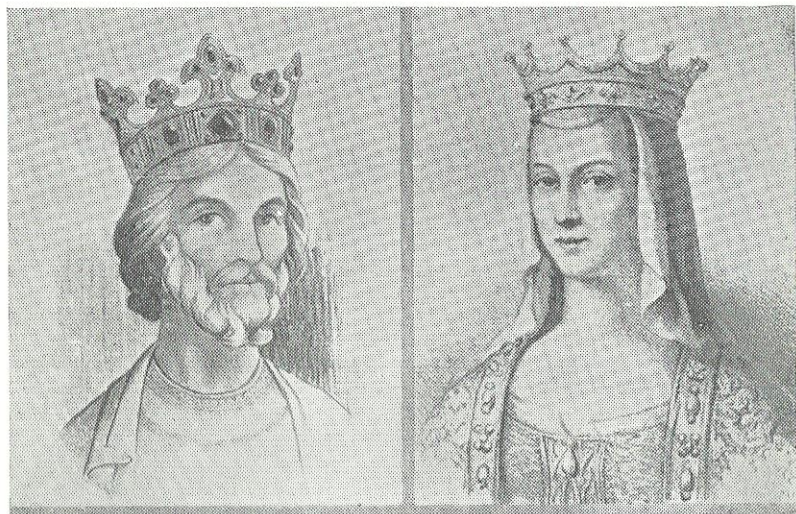
V. Marble sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054) in St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev.



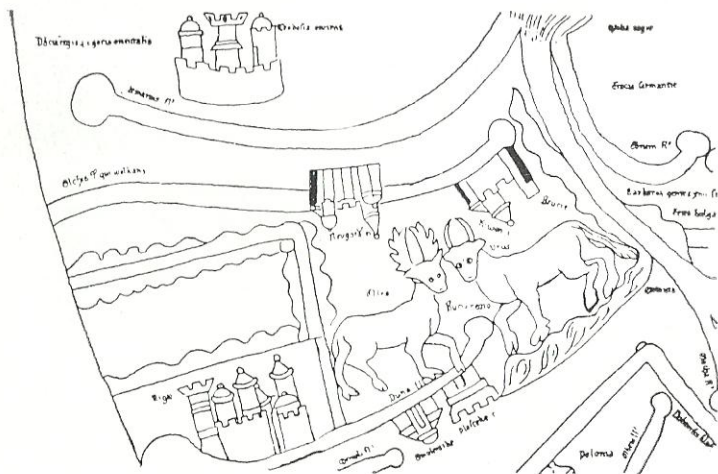
VI. Restoration sketch of the Golden Gate in Kiev. (By Architect Olena Korzh.)



VII. Reconstruction of the original aspect of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev (after I. Morhyhevsky). A scale model.



VIII. King Henry I of France and his wife, Queen Anna, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise.



IX. A section of the Ebstorf map of the world (13th C.). In the Ukrainian territory there is the inscription "Rucia regio", with the city of "Kiwen."



X. St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev at present.



XI. Holy Virgin. A mosaic in St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev (1037).



XII. One of the daughters of Yaroslav the Wise.  
Part of the 11th C. fresco composition  
"Yaroslav's the Wise family" in St. Sophia's  
Cathedral in Kiev.



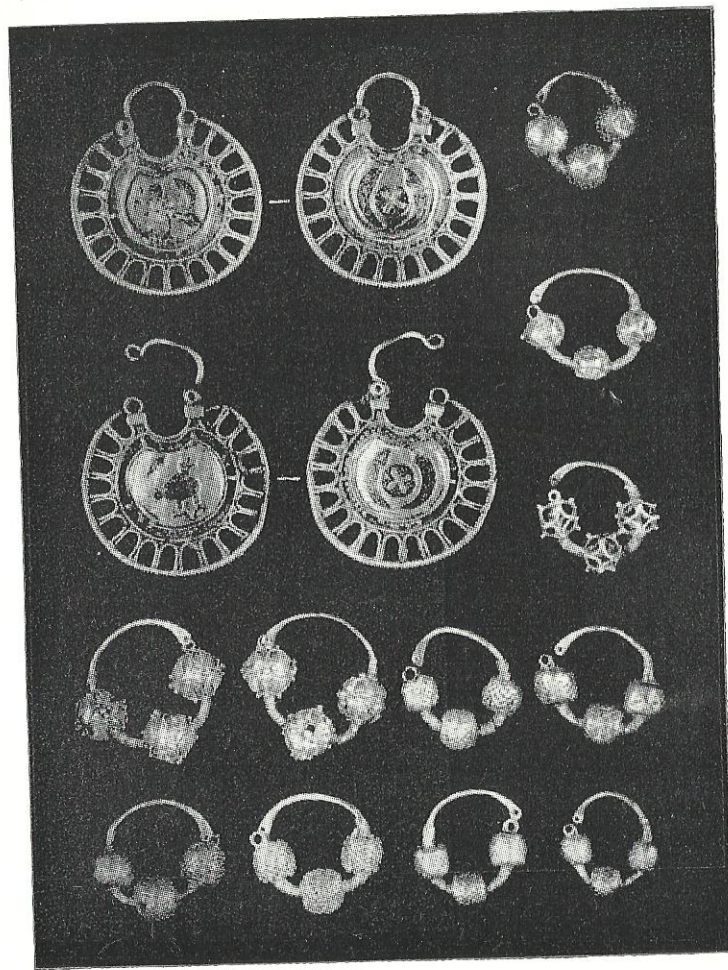
XIII. One of the sons of Yaroslav the Wise.  
Part of the 11th C. fresco composition  
"Yaroslav's the Wise family" in St. Sophia's  
Cathedral in Kiev.



XIV. The mission of Peter-Yaropolk, son of Izyaslav,  
to Rome in 1075. From "Gertrude's Codex", 11th C.,  
in Cividale, part of fol. 5 v.



XV. Yaropolk and Irene are crowned by Christ;  
St. Peter and St. Irene standing by.  
From "Gertrude's Codex", fol. 10 v.



XVI. Golden jewelry of the Kievan Rus' period.  
Treasure found in Kiev in 1955.





XVII. Detail of the Western portal of St. Panteleymon's Church in Halych (about A.D. 1200).



Король Данило.

XVIII. Danylo, King of Halych and Rus' (1233-1264).



XIX. Lev, Prince of Halych and Ruś (1264-1301).  
(Reproduction from an old painting.)  
The city of Lviv has been named after him  
by his father, King Danylo.

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