

**RUTHENIAN-POLISH MATRIMONIAL RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT  
OF THE INTER-DYNASTIC POLICY OF THE HOUSE OF RURIK  
IN THE 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES: SELECTIVE STATISTICAL DATA\***

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**Abstract:** *The directions of matrimonial policy in the Middle Ages, its activity and effectiveness were determined not only by the authority of the individual dynasties in their relations, but also by the resilience of these families. Frequently, their future and stability depended on the successful strategy of marriages with close and distant neighbours. The dynasties, known in historiography as the Rurikids and the Piasts, were among the oldest royal families in European history, according to the duration of their presence on the thrones. The descendants of Vladimir the Great, who was baptized at the Christianization of Kievan Rus', occupied the Muscovian lands until 1610. The Piasts kept the separate lands of Silesia for a longer period of time – until 1675. The peculiar genealogical firmness of both dynasties can be explained by the success of bilateral matrimonial connections during the most active time of the 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Due to mutual marriages, it was possible not only to form favorable sporadic alliances of a military and political nature, but also to influence the bilateral migration processes, as well as the cultural and confessional interferences. Before the death of the last representatives of the Romanovich dynasty "by the sword", Lev and Andriy in 1323, the representative of the Masovian branch of the Piasts Bolesław, had the right "by maternal line" to occupy their vacant throne. After Bolesław's tragic poisoning, in the spring of 1340, the Piasts from the Lesser Poland, for example, the King of Poland, Kazimierz III (and his successors from all further dynasties in this country during the 14<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries) became the temporary successors of the Kingdom of Rus' (Regnum Russiae) heritage, distinctly, until the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was dismantled between 1772-1795. Some statistical data proposed in the article allow a better understanding of the logic and continuity of the matrimonial policy and, generally, of the bilateral relations between the neighbouring dynasties.*

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**Keywords:** Ruthenia, Poland, matrimonial policy, the Rurikids, dynasty, the Piasts, marriages, statistics, genealogy.

**Rezumat: Relațiile matrimoniale ruteano-poloneze în contextul politicii inter-dinastice a Casei Rurikizilor în secolele XI–XIV: date statistice selective.** Direcțiile politicii matrimoniale în Evul Mediu, activitatea și eficacitatea acesteia au fost determinate nu numai de autoritatea dinastiilor individuale în relațiile lor, ci și de capacitatea de reziliență a acestor familii. Viitorul și stabilitatea monarhilor depindea adeseori de strategia de succes a căsătoriilor cu vecinii apropiați și îndepărtați. Dinastiile cunoscute în istoriografie sub denumirile de Rurikidă și Piaștilor au fost printre cele mai vechi familii regale din istoria europeană, având în vedere durata prezenței lor pe tronuri. Descendenții lui Vladimir cel Mare, care a fost creștinat odată cu botezul Rusiei kievene, au ocupat teritoriile moscovite până în anul 1610. Piaștii au păstrat în mâinile lor ținuturile Sileziei pentru o perioadă mai lungă de timp, până în 1675. Longevitatea genealogică specifică a ambelor dinastii poate fi explicată prin succesul legăturilor matrimoniale bilaterale, în special în secolele XI–XIV. Datorită căsătoriilor reciproce, a fost posibilă nu numai formarea unor alianțe sporadice favorabile, de natură militară și politică, ci și influențarea proceselor migraționiste bilaterale, precum și a interferențelor culturale și confesionale. Înainte de moartea „de sabie”, în anul 1323, a lui Lev și Andrei, ultimii reprezentanți ai dinastiei Romanovici, Bolesław, reprezentantul ramurii mazoviene a Piaștilor, a avut dreptul „pe linia maternă” de a ocupa tronul lor vacant. După otrăvirea lui Bolesław, în primăvara anului 1340, Piaștii din Polonia Mică (de exemplu, Kazimierz III, Regele Poloniei, și succesorii săi din toate celelalte viitoare dinastii din secolele XIV–XVIII) au devenit succesori temporari ai moștenirii Regatului Rus (Regnum Russiae), cu titlu distinct, până la dezmembrarea Commonwealth-ului polonez-lituanian în perioada 1772–1795. Datele statistice selectate de autor permit o mai bună înțelegere a logicii și a continuității politicii matrimoniale, dar și a relațiilor bilaterale între dinastiile vecine.

**Résumé : Les relations matrimoniales ukrainiennes-polonaises dans le contexte de la politique inter-dynastique de la maison de Rurik des XI-e – XIV-e siècles: données statistiques sélectives.** Les directions de la politique matrimoniale au Moyen Âge, leur activité et efficacité furent déterminées par l'autorité des dynasties individuelles dans leurs relations; mais celles-ci ont été influencées, aussi, par la viabilité de ces familles. L'avenir et la stabilité des monarques ont dépendu de la stratégie réussie de mariage avec des voisins plus proches ou plus lointains. Les dynasties, connues dans l'historiographie sous les noms de Rurikids et de Piasts, furent unes des plus anciennes familles royales de l'histoire européenne, selon la durée de leur présence sur les trônes. Les descendants de Vladimir le Grand, qui devint chrétien avec le baptême de la Russie kiévienne, y occupèrent les territoires de Moscou jusqu'en 1610. Les Piasts régnèrent sur les terres de la Silésie pour une période plus longue encore, jusqu'en 1675. On peut expliquer la longévité généalogique spécifique des deux dynasties par le succès des liaisons matrimoniales bilatérales, en spécial le long des XIème – XIVème siècles. En raison de la conclusion des mariages mutuels, il était possible non seulement de former des alliances sporadiques favorables politico-

militaires, mais également d'influencer les processus migratoires bilatéraux, ainsi que les interférences culturelles et confessionnelles. Avant la mort violente « de l'épée » des derniers représentants de la dynastie des Romanovici, Lev et Andriy en 1323, le représentant de la branche de Mazovie des Piasts, Bolesław avait le droit « par la lignée maternelle » d'occuper le trône vacant. Après son empoisonnement le printemps 1340, les Piasts de la Petite Pologne (par exemple, le roi de Pologne, Kazimierz III et ses successeurs de toutes les futures dynasties des XIV<sup>ème</sup> au XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècles) devinrent les successeurs temporaires de l'héritage du Royaume de Russie (*Regnum Russiae*), à titre distinct, jusqu'à la division du Commonwealth polonais-lituanien les années 1772–1795. Les données statistiques que l'auteur proposa dans l'article ci-joint permettent une meilleure compréhension de la logique et de la continuité de la politique matrimoniale, mais aussi des relations bilatérales entre les dynasties voisines.

## INTRODUCTION. HISTORIOGRAPHY

The Rurikids' taxes on the main trade routes connecting the Northern seas with the lands of the Black Sea region till the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the acquisition of a number of old (Kyiv, Novgorod, Polotsk, Chernihiv) and new (Volhynian Volodymyr) cities by its representatives provided the princes with an opportunity of more intense matrimonial policy. Christianization and active inter-dynastic relations with their closest western neighbours also played their role. The Piasts were the most important partners for the creation of diverse alliances for the princes of Rus'.

Genealogical studies having been started in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century not only in Europe but also in Poland<sup>1</sup>, brilliantly continued at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when Oswald Balzer founded this very popular, special historical discipline<sup>2</sup>. During the 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries this direction of historical research in Poland, in particular in Toruń, has been often supplied by similar investigations in France<sup>3</sup>, and other countries<sup>4</sup>. The students and followers of O. Balzer, for

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<sup>1</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Genealogia Piastów w historiografii* [The Piasts' Genealogy in historiography], in O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* [The Piasts' Genealogy], Kraków, Avalon, 2005, s. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* [The Piasts' Genealogy], Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1895; Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe 1980; Kraków, Avalon, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> G. Duby, *Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* [Notes on the genealogical literature in France in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries], in "Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres", 111<sup>e</sup> année, N<sup>o</sup> 2, 1967, p. 335–345; idem, *Hommes et structures du Moyen Âge* [Men and structures of the Middle Ages], Paris, Mouton, 1973, p. 287–298.

<sup>4</sup> See for example: S. J. Payling, *The economics of marriage in late medieval England: the marriage of heiresses*, in "Economic history review", LIV, 3 (2001), p. 413–429; M. Howell,

example, Włodzimierz Dworzaczek<sup>5</sup>, Kazimierz Jasiński<sup>6</sup>, Alicja Szymczakowa<sup>7</sup>, Jan Tęgowski<sup>8</sup>, and others determined the number of the bilateral marriages,

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*The Properties of Marriage in Late Medieval Europe. Commercial Wealth and the Creation of Modern Marriage*, in "International Medieval Research", № 11 (2003), p. 17-61; S. Barton, *Marriage across frontiers: sexual mixing, power and identity in medieval Iberia*, in "Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies", vol. 3, № 1, March 2011, p. 1-25; Ch. Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World* (Harvard Historical Studies, 177), Cambridge, Harvard University Press., 2012 (as well as a review of the latest work by prof. Fedor Uspensky, in: "Slověne", 2012, № 2, c. 153-159); S. G. Viksand, *Theory of Dynasticism. Actors, Interests, and Strategies of Medieval Dynasties*, Oslo, University of Oslo, 2017; J. Hertl [Ed.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1982; J. Hertl, J. Wroniszewski (Eds.), *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1987; J. Wroniszewski [Ed.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1989; J. Wroniszewski [Ed.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1993; A. Radziwiński, J. Wroniszewski [Eds.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1996; A. Radziwiński J. Wroniszewski [Eds.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1999; J. Pakulski, J. Wroniszewski [Eds.], *Genealogia* [Genealogy], Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003. Since 1998, the specially created "Genealogical Library" series has been operating in Toruń, where a wide variety of the studies on this problem has been published.

<sup>5</sup> *Genealogia* [Genealogy], oprac. Wł. Dworzaczek, Warszawa, PWN, 1959.

<sup>6</sup> See: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich* [Genealogy of the Silesian Piasts]: w 3 t., Wrocław, Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977, t. 3: *Piastowie Opolscy, Cieszyńscy i Oświęcimscy* [The Opolian, Cieszynian and Oświęcimian Piasts], as well as an extended version of the researches: *Rodowód Piastów śląskich. Piastowie wrocławscy, legnicko-brzescy, świdniccy, ziębiccy, głogowscy, żagańscy, oleśniccy, opolscy, cieszyńscy i oświęcimscy* [Genealogy of the Silesian Piasts. The Wrocławian, Legnician-Brzescian, Świdnician, Ziębiccian, Głogovian, Żaganian, Oleśnician, Opolian and Oświęcimian Piasts], Kraków, Avalon, 2007; Idem, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich* [Genealogy of the Lesser Polish and the Kuyavian Piasts], in M. Górny [Ed.], *Biblioteka Genealogiczna*, Poznań; Wrocław, Wydawnicwo Historyczne, 2001, t. 3; Idem, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów* [Genealogy of the first Piasts], Warszawa; Wrocław, 1993, reprint as well: Idem, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów* [Genealogy of the first Piasts], Poznań, Wydawnicwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół nauk, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> A. Szymczakowa, *Księżniczki ruskie w Polsce XIII wieku* [Ruthenian Princesses in Poland in the 13<sup>th</sup> century], in "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Nauki humanistyczno-społeczne", 1978, seria 1, z. 29, S. 25-42.

<sup>8</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne dynastów polskich i ruskich w średniowieczu* [Family contacts of the Polish and Ruthenian dynasts in the Middle Ages], in T. Chynczewska-Hennel, N. Jakowenko [Eds.], *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie* [Between each other. Polish-Ukrainian Historical essay], Lublin, Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2000, p. 7-36; Idem, *Ruś Halicka i Włodzimierska w kontaktach rodzinnych i politycznych Władysława Łokietka* [Galician and Volodymyrian Rus' in the family and political relations of Władysław Łokietek], in M. Бевз, Ю. Лукомський

corrected a number of mistakes of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century's historiography, partly "having finished" the discussion<sup>9</sup>.

In Ukrainian historiography Leontiy Voytovych from Lviv studied some aspects of the bilateral marriage relations<sup>10</sup>. The researches of the Russian historians Nikolay von Baumgarten and Dmitriy Donskoy did not significantly influence the results of our analysis<sup>11</sup>.

### THE FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

The specific direction of the Piasts matrimonial policy of the Rurik dynasty makes it much easier to understand the patterns of the marriages of the dynasty with its close and distant neighbours in the European context. The commonality of interests of both families, the frequency of marriages over this period transformed them into a large common family where the difference in religion *did*

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[Eds.], *Король Данило Романович: культурна і державотворча спадщина його доби. Монографія* [The King Daniel Romanovich: cultural and state heritage of his time. Monograph], Львів, Растр-7, 2016, с. 262–267.

<sup>9</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich. Studia na dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytucją i genealogią książąt* [The Masovian Piasts Dynasty. Studies about Masovian political history, the titles and genealogy of the princes], Kraków, Avalon, 2012; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich* [The Romanoviches Galician-Volhynian princes' genealogy], in M. Górny [Ed.], *Biblioteka Genealogiczna*, Poznań; Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Historyczne, 2002, t. 6; Idem, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów. Pierwsze pokolenia (do początku XIV wieku)* [The Mstislaviches' genealogy. The first generations (till the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)], Kraków, Avalon, 2008; Idem, *Генеалогія Мстиславичей. Первое поколение (до начала XIV в.)* [The Mstislaviches' genealogy. The first generations (till the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)], К. Ерусалимский О. Остапчук [coord.], Санкт-Петербург, Дмитрий Булаин, 2015; Idem, *Piasten und Rjurikiden vom 11. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhundert* [The Piasts and the Rurikids since the 11<sup>th</sup> till the 13<sup>th</sup> century], in D. Adamczyk, N. Kersken [Eds.], *Fernhändler, Dynasten, Kleriken. Die Piastische Herrschaft in kontinentalen Beziehungsgeflechten vom 10. zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert* [Distance traders, dynasts, clerics. The rule of the Piasts in the continental networks of relationships since the 10<sup>th</sup> to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century], Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz Verlag 2015. p. 155–189.

<sup>10</sup> Л Войтович, *Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти* [The Princely epoch in Rus': the portraits of the elite], Біла Церква, Видавець Олександр Пшонківський 2006.

<sup>11</sup> N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Ruricides Russes. Du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Genealogies and Western Marriages of Russian Rurikids. From the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century], Roma, Pont. Institutum orientalium Studiorum, 1928; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи. Исторический словарь* [The Rurikids. A historical dictionary], Москва, Русская панорама, 2008.

*not play a key role* (sic!) at least in the Latin world<sup>12</sup>, which looked simpler in such cases, as compared to the Greek clergy in Rus'. For example, after the fall of Constantinople on April 13, 1204 and the beginning of the real schism of the Christian Church, nothing prevented the Volhynian Prince Vasyl'ko Romanovich († 1269) from asking Pope Innocent IV († 1254) for the dispensation for his second marriage to the Masovian Prince Konrad's († 1247) daughter, Dubravka, in 1247<sup>13</sup>. There are many such cases, but the statistics and dynamics of the bilateral marriages serve as the best evidence (see below).

Therefore, during the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries there were 25, maybe 26 such marriages: in 17 cases the brides from the Rurik dynasty married in the lands of the Piasts, while in 9 cases – the brides from the Piast family went to Rus' (in proportion – 17/9)<sup>14</sup>.

I would like to point out that at least one *mésalliance* is known today. It was contracted in 1122 by the Silesian nobleman Piotr Włostowic († 1153) with the representative of the Chernihiv Ol'goviches, Maria Olegivna († 1146). The figure of Piotr, his kinship, and versatile activities have been studied quite thoroughly in historiography<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> These conclusions were repeatedly articulated during the 9<sup>th</sup> International Scientific Conference of the *Colloquia Russica* series entitled “*Rus' and Poland (10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries)*”, December 5–8, 2018, Przemyśl, Poland.

<sup>13</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 330, note 1421, and: D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović [Eds.] *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana (Chronica Romanoviciana)*, in *Monumenta Poloniae historica* (further – *MPH*), Kraków; Warszawa, PAU; PWN, 2017, seria II, t. XVI, s. 496–497, 499, 505–507, 509–510, 514–515.

<sup>14</sup> M. Voloshchuk, Ruthenian-Hungarian matrimonial connections in the context of the Rurik inter-dynasty policy of the 10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries: selected statistical data, in “*Codrul Cosminului*”, 2018, vol. XXIV, no. 1, p. 28–29.

<sup>15</sup> See for example: A. Lewicki, *O najnowszych badaniach nad kroniką Piotra Własta* [The latest research on the chronicle of Piotr Włast], in “*Przewodnik naukowy i literacki*”, 1879, t. 7, z. 1, p. 561–576; M. Plezia, *Palatyn Piotr Włostowicz. Sylwetka z dziejów Śląska w XII wieku* [Palatine Piotr Włostowicz. A silhouette from the history of Silesia in the 12<sup>th</sup> century], Warszawa, Państwowe Zakłady wydawnictw polskich, 1947; R. Gansiniec, «*Tragedia Petri Comitis*» [“The tragedy of Comes Piotr”], in “*Pamiętnik literacki*”, Warszawa; Wrocław, 1952, R. 43, s. 52–139; St. Bieniek, *Piotr Włostowicz. Postać z dziejów średniowiecznego Śląska* [Piotr Włostowicz. A figure from the history of medieval Silesia], Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1965; T. Wasilewski, *Kim był komes palatinus Petrus* [Who was palatinus Petrus?], in M. Dembiński [Ed.], *Z dziejów regionu konińskiego* [From the history of the Konin region], Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970, s. 169–183; M. Cetwiński, *Piotr Włostowicz, czy Piotr Rusin?* [Piotr Włostowicz, or Piotr Ruthenus?], in “*Śląski kwartalnik historyczny. Sobotka*”, R. 29, 1974, № 4, s. 429–443;

I would like also to mention, for example, the unknown from the previous analyses of Ruthenian-Hungarian marriage ties, concubinage between Prince Bolesław I the Brave († 1025) and Predslava<sup>16</sup> Volodymyrivna († after 1018) (c. 1018), which was well described by the sources<sup>17</sup>.

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J. Bieniak, *Ród Łabędziów* [Łabędzi family], in J. Hertl, J. Wroniszewski [Eds.] *Genealogia*, Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika 1987, s. 25–26; idem, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część III A. Arbitrzy ksiąząt – krąg rodzinny Piotra Włostowicza). Zbiór studiów* [The Polish political elite of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (part III A. Arbitrators of the princes – the family circle of Piotr Włostowicz)], in S. Kuczyński [Ed.], *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, Warszawa, 1990, t. 4, s. 13–107; H. Monikowska, *Princeps fundator w przedłokacyjnym Wrocławiu. Od Piotra Włostowicza do Henryka Brodatego* [Princeps founder in pre-incorporated Wrocław. From Piotr Włostowicz to Henry the Bearded], in E. Opaliński, T. Wislicz [Eds.] *Fundacje i fundatorze w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej* [Foundations and founders in the Middle Ages and modern era], Warszawa, Neriton, 2000, s. 37–57; T. Kiersnowska, *Jeszcze o Piotrze Włostowiczu i pochodzeniu rodu Łabędziów* [Again about Piotr Włostowicz and the origin of the Łabędzi family], in S. Kuczyński [Ed.], *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa, 2001, t. 9, s. 55–64; J. Wenta, *Tradycja o Piotrze* [Tradition about Piotr], in D. Zyrodek [Ed.] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* [Scriptura custos memoriae. The historical works], Poznań, Instytut Historii UAM, 2001, s. 523–538; П. Стефанович, *Петр Влостовичи его связи с Русью: эпизод русско-польских отношений 1118–1145 гг. в освещении русских, польских и немецких источников* [Piotr Włostowicz, and his connections with Rus': the episode of the Ruthenian-Polish relations of 1118–1145 in the light of the Ruthenian, Polish and German sources], in O. Жерноклеев, М. Волощук, I. Гурак [Eds.], *Дрогичинь 1253. Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції з нагоди 755-ї річниці коронації Данила Романовича* [Drogichin 1253. Materials of the International Scientific Conference on the 755<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Daniel Romanovich's coronation], Івано-Франківськ, ЛІК, 2008, с. 142–152 etc.

<sup>16</sup> The name of the Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrovich's sister is mentioned only in the late annals ("И тогда Болеславъ положи себе на ложи Предъславу, дщерь Володимерову, сестру Ярославлю", see: *Летопись по Воскресенскому списку*, in *Полное собрание русских летописей* (further – ПСРЛ), Москва, Языки русской культуры, 2001, т. 7, с. 326).

<sup>17</sup> "Болеслав же бѣжа ис Кыева воизма имѣние . и боѣры Ѧрославлѣ . и сестрѣ его . и Настаса пристави Десатиньнаго къ имѣнию . бѣ бо са ему вѣвѣрилъ лѣстью" (*Лаврентьевская летопись*, in ПСРЛ, Москва, Языки русской культуры, 2001, т. 1, стб. 144; *Ипатьевская летопись*, in Б. Клосс [Ed.] ПСРЛ, Москва, Языки русской культуры, 2001, т. 2, изд. 2, стб. 131); "Igitur inprimis inserendum est seriei, quam gloriose et magnifice suam iniuriam de rege Ruthenorum vindicavit, qui sibi sororem dare suam in matrimonium denegavit [...] Sicut, inquit, in hac hora aurea porta civitatis ab isto ense percuditur, sic in nocte sequenti soror regis ignavissimi mihi dari prohibita corrupetur; nec tamen Bolezlauo thoro maritali, sed concubinali singulari vice tantum coniungetur, quatinus hoc facto nostri generis iniuria vindicetur, et Ruthenis ad dedecus et ad ignominiam putetur" (see: P. W. Knoll, F. Schaer, Th. N. Bisson [Eds.], Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, in J. M. Bak, U. Borkowska, G. Constable, G. Klaniczay [Eds.],

The statistics of this second category of Ruthenian-Polish marriages will not be taken into consideration in the article<sup>18</sup>.

In general, 25 (maybe 26) of 27 matrimonial bilateral relations were contracted between crowned persons. There were four cases when the brides were of the royal line. The other 21 were equal, and there was also another one whose dynastic nature requires proof. At the same time, 17 representatives of the Rurik dynasty were married to the Piasts, instead of eight or nine incidents of marriage to the Rurukids. From the list of all marriages, 21 were fruitful (six – in Rus', 15 – in the lands of the Piasts), five or six – barren (one or two – in Rus', four – in Poland). A lot more Ruthenian brides went to Poland. Apparently, it was also connected with the influence of the Greek bishops or representatives of the local clergy, brought up in the Eastern Church tradition, that sought to limit the “Latin” influence on the territory that was under their control. As Anna Litvina and Fedor Uspensky rightly point out, for unknown reasons, women in the Rurikid lands were deprived of the right to get married for the second time, but instead, in the “Latin world”, there were no such obstacles for them<sup>19</sup>.

The dynamics of the bilateral matrimonial relations over the centuries are the following: three brides were given in marriage from Rus' and two came to Rus' in the 11<sup>th</sup> century; five brides went to Poland and four or five to Rus' in the 12<sup>th</sup> century; eight brides left Rus' and two came to Rus' in the 13<sup>th</sup> century; only one bride married from Rus' and nobody came to Rus' during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The dynamics of the bilateral marriages in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries should be studied separately. I'd like to note that the Mongolian threat, that was permanently maintained during the centuries, even after the incorporation of the legacies of the Kingdom of Rus' by the kings of Poland at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, influenced the change of the dynamics and geography of the bilateral

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*Central European Medieval Texts*, Budapest; New York, CEU Press, 2003, vol. 3, p. 40; Галл Аноним, *Хроника* [The Chronicle], А. Попова [coord.], Москва, Издательство АН СССР, 1961, с. 35–36; *Хроника Галла Анонима* [The Gallus Anonymus chronicle], in Н. Щавелева, *Польские латиноязычные средневековые источники* [Polish Latin-language medieval sources], Москва, Наука, 1990, с. 51).

<sup>18</sup> A thorough investigation during the preparation for this publication has led to some changes in the statistical calculations, having been previously published in one of the author's work (M. Voloshchuk, *Ruthenian-Hungarian matrimonial ...*, p. 28–29).

<sup>19</sup> А. Литвина, Ф. Успенский, *Знатная вдова в средневековой Скандинавии и на Руси: матримониальные стратегии и легенды власти* [The noble widow in medieval Scandinavia and Rus': matrimonial strategies and legends of the power], in П. Гайденко [Ed.], *Древняя Русь: во времени, в личностях, в идеях. Альманах* [The Ancient Rus': in time, in personalities, in ideas. Almanac], Санкт-Петербург; Казань, 2014, с. 12.



marriages during the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore, in particular, the direction of the future bilateral marriages for the Romanovich dynasty with the Krakovian-Sandomirian and Silesian princes changed towards the Masovian rulers, whose lands were hardly affected by the attacks of nomads in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The descendants of Prince Konrad considered it honourable to become relatives with the more powerful and influential Kings of Rus' and Princes of Volodymyr. It is obvious from the examples of the Masovian (Semowit and Troyden) and particular Silesian (Kazimierz) princes of that time.

The brides from the Rurikids came from Kyiv, Chernihiv, Galych, Lutsk, Volhynian Volodymyr, Belz, Kholm or Lviv. Instead, the brides from the Piast dynasty went mainly to Kyiv, Murom, Novgorod, Volhynian Volodymyr (twice), Chernihiv, Dorogichyn and Lviv. The Ruthenian princess arrived in the lands of the Piasts in Kraków, Płock or Czersk, Wrocław (?), Gniezno, Poznań, Dobrzyń, Sieradz and Bytom. At the same time, the brides from the Piast dynasty went to Rus' from the Lednicki Island or Gniezno, Kraków, Płock, Dobrzyń or Łęczyca. In general, the geography of the bilateral marriages in the lands of the Piasts covered all the lands under their control, especially the Lesser and Greater Poland (*Polonia Minor*, *Polonia Maior*), Silesia (*Silezia*), Masovia (*Masovia*) etc. Almost all the rulers of Rus' in Kyivan, Volhynian, Galician lands (*sic!*) maintained family relationships with the Piasts.

At least 44 children (the proportion is 30/14) from Ruthenian mothers were born in the lands of the Piasts. The birth of two sons in the marriage of Prince Bolesław IV the Curly († 1173) is still a question of discussion among the historians, therefore, I am not going to consider it here. There was a clear Ruthenian influence, where a newborn baby in the lands of the Piast dynasty was given the name Yaroslav, Yuriy, Svyatoslav, Olga, Evdokia, Maria, Eufemia. In this case, boys most often were called Bolesław (seven cases), Władysław (six cases) and Mieszko (five cases). Instead, at least 14 children (10/4) were born from Polish mothers and there were not any examples of the Piasts' influence on boys' names, who were mostly called Volodymyr (two cases). At the same time, I will not address the subject of the birth of four sons of Prince Svyatopolk Yaropolkovich-Volodymyrovich († after 1018) from an unknown wife of the Piast dynasty, the possibility of affiliation of Sophia († 1198) to the family of Prince Volodymyr Vsevolodovich († after 1136, possibly 1139–1142), the probability of an unknown daughter to have been born in the marriage of Vsevolod Sviatoslavich the Red († 1215) with the unknown daughter of Kazimierz II the Just († 1194) and the affiliation of Anastasia (1364/1365) to the family of the King of Rus' and

Prince of Volodymyr Yuriy I († 1308 or 1315). The above-mentioned children were also not taken into consideration in the statistics.

Bolesław II the Bold (the Generous) († 1081 or 1082), who was the King of Poland during 1076–1079, was born from the Ruthenian mother Dobronega-Maria Borysivna (unlikely – Volodymyrivna) († 1087). But the future “All-Rus’ autocrat” Roman Mstislavich († 1205) was born from a Polish mother, Agnieszka.

The longest marriage of the Piast dynasty was considered the marriage of the Masovian Prince Konrad with Agafia Sviatoslavna († 1247–1252), 1207/1208–1247 – 39–40 years, they had 10 children (5/5). Instead, in Rus’ the matrimonial union of Izyaslav Yaroslavich († 1078) with the Mieszko II Lambert’s († 1034) daughter, Gertrude († 1108), 1043/44–1078 – 34–35 years – was an example of marital fidelity. At the same time, there were several fruitful marriages, in which three (or four) children were born: the marriage of Princes Mstislav Izyaslavich († 1170) with Agnieszka († after 1182) – three (probably four) sons; Vsevolod the Red with an unknown daughter of Kazimierz II the Just – one son and two (maybe three) daughters, and the matrimonial alliance of the King of Rus’ and Prince of Volodymyr Yuriy I with the daughter of the Kuyavian Prince Kazimierz († 1267), Eufemia († 1308) – two sons and one (maybe two) daughters.

During the very intensive bilateral matrimonial policy, I found out just a few causes of the departure of the Piasts (for example, Władysław II the Exile, † 1159) to the lands of the Rurikids, seeking political asylum and military assistance. At the same time, there are at least 15 similar cases in the nature of the escape of Ruthenian princes and nobles to the lands of the Piasts during the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries (among the most famous: Svyatopolk Yaropolkovich-Volodymyrovich, Izyaslav Yaroslavich probably with his sons, Yaropolk Izyaslavich, David Igorovich, Yaroslav Svyatopolkovich, Izyaslav Mstislavich, Volodymyr Yaroslavich, Oleg Yaroslavich “Настасьич”, Roman Mstislavich, Daniel and Vasyl’ko Romanoviches, Mikhail Vsevolodovich, Rostislav Mikhaylovich, Evstafiy Konstantinovich etc.). The chronology of the departure of the Rurikids to the lands of the Piasts is the following: there are five cases in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, four in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and six in the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup>. During the political or dynastic cataclysms in the lands of the Piasts of the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries they mostly did not

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<sup>20</sup> Andriy Nosenko, specialist of the Centrum Studiorum Mediaevalium, Department of the World History of the Faculty of History, Political Science and International Relations of the Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University is currently preparing his thesis on this topic.

escape to their relatives in Rus', but to the German Empire or to the Bohemian and Moravian Přemyslids, where their relatives also lived.

### CONCLUSION

The matrimonial contacts between the Rurikids and the Piasts were some of the most intense in the Eastern-Central Europe. There are only few exceptions known in the 11<sup>th</sup> and at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries. For example, the Prince Daniel coronation in 1253 as King of Rus' (*Russiae rex*), and the rise of the Kingdom of Rus' (*Regnum Russiae*) in the diplomatic practice added prestige to the Romanoviches in the inter-dynastic relationship, that the neighbouring princes from Kraków, Sandomierz, Masovia, Kuyavia, Sieradz or Silesia did not possess. However, the experience of mutual relations allows us to assert that the Piasts perceived eastern neighbours cautiously, with respect, distrust and fear. Thus, in some critical circumstances for themselves, they preferred to seek support and military assistance not in Rus', but in the neighbouring Western countries, the German Empire. This was also facilitated by the sporadic dependence of part of the Piasts on the German rulers.

The common marriage between the Piasts and the Rurikids could not be accompanied by the negative connotations in the church environment related to "godless Liahs". However, as we can see, it did not prevent the dynamic of the mutual marriages. Undoubtedly, long matrimonial relations after the foundation of the Kingdom of Poland in 1320 and the permanent crisis in the lands of the Kingdom of Rus' since 1323, and especially in 1340, gave Kazimierz III († 1370) the opportunity to include the particular eastern lands in their possession after 1349, and to take part in the military operations against other rivals-heirs of the Romanoviches' heritage. The success of the foreign policy of the kings of Poland, however, ended with the inheritance of a part of the Romanoviches' title and the administrative reform of 1434, according to which, within the historical boundaries of the former Kingdom of Rus' (*Regnum Russiae*) the Ruthenian voivodeship (*Palatinatus Russiae*) was formed, and it existed until the First Division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772.

### A. DYNASTIC MARRIAGES

Several matrimonial alliances associated with the figures of the short-term King of Poland, Mieszko II Lambert and the King of Rus' and Prince of Volodymyr Yuriy I and his family were genealogically the most significant in comparison with the other bilateral marriages during the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

1. The son of the Polish Prince Mieszko II Lambert Kazimierz I the Restorer († 1058) + Dobronega-Maria Borysivna (unlikely – Volodymyrivna) († 1087) (1041)<sup>21</sup>. Ukrainian historian Olena Yasynets'ka recently offered a new view on the Princess' affiliation. Discussing with their predecessors, that considered Dobronega-Maria to be the daughter of the Kyivan Prince Volodymyr Svyatoslavich<sup>22</sup>, Olena Yasynets'ka returned to the popular version (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century) about origin of Princess probable from the marriage of the son of Volodymyr Svyatoslavich Boris to an unknown wife (perhaps Adele) – the grandson of German Emperor Otto I († 973)<sup>23</sup>. This direction of the discourse was

<sup>21</sup> *Ипатьевская летопись*, стб. 142; “Postea vero de Rusia nobilem cum magnis divitiis uxorem accepit”, see: Gallus Anonymus, p. 80; Галл Аноним, *Хроника*, с. 51; *Хроника Галла Анонима*, с. 53; “Kazimer filius Miseconis ducis Polanorum [...] duxitque uxorem Regis Ruscie filiam”, see: *Annalista Saxo*, in *MGH. Scriptores*, Hannoverae, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2006, t. 37, s. 379. See also: I. Назарко, *Доброніга – дочка святого Володимира Великого* [Dobroniga – the daughter of Saint Volodymyr the Great], in “Analecta ordinis S. Basilii Magni”, Romae, 1956, vol. 2 (8), fasc. 3–4, с. 319–324; Е. Пчелов, *Польская княгиня Мария Добронег Владимировна* [The Polish Princess Dobronega Vladimirovna], in *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Древняя Русь в системе этнополитических и культурных связей* [The Eastern Europe in antiquity and the Middle Ages. The Ancient Rus' in the system of the ethno-political and cultural ties]. *Чтения памяти члена-корреспондента АН СССР Владимира Терентьевича Пашуто, Москва, 18–20 апреля 1994 г. Тезисы докладов*, Москва, Институт российской истории РАН, 1994, с. 32–33; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 12; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 139.

<sup>22</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 160–165; В. Пашуто, *Внешняя политика Древней Руси* [Foreign Policy of the Ancient Rus'], Москва, Наука, 1968, с. 39; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 131–139; А. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь на международных путях: Междисциплинарные очерки культурных, торговых, политических связей IX–XII вв.* [The Ancient Rus' on the International Routes: the interdisciplinary essays of the cultural, commercial, political relations of the 9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries], Москва, Языки русской культуры, 2001, с. 572–573, 578–581; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 277 etc.

<sup>23</sup> О. Ясинецька, *До питання про особливості родоводу давньоруської князівни Марії-Добронегі, дружини правителя Польщі (з 1038/1043–1058 рр.)* [To the question of peculiarities of the lineage of the Ruthenian Princess Maria-Dobronega, the wife of the ruler

considered incomprehensible and unsubstantiated by, in particular, O. Balzer, L. Voytovych and others<sup>24</sup>. However, O. Yasynets'ka, re-analysing the well-known evidence of the "Genealogy of the Welfs" of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the so-called "Chronicle of Greater Poland" of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, where Dobronega was called the daughter of the Prince of Rus', the son of Odon, Roman (fili Romani principis Russie, filii Odonis), tried to add some arguments to the affiliation of the future wife of Prince Kazimierz to the family of Prince Boris. The key proof of the researcher is the baptismal name of Boris – Roman and the possibility of his marriage with the German wife<sup>25</sup>. Although the time of the childbirth is not known exactly, it could have happened *terminus ante quem – terminus post quem* 1015–1016. Dobronega could have been born either before or after the death of her father. So at the moment of the marriage, the daughter of the Prince could have been at least 25–26 years old, while at the moment of her death – 71–72 years, which is normal. The name of one of her sons – Otto – could be the additional proof of O. Yasynets'ka's affiliation. This case can be associated with the use of the name of the great-grandfather of Dobronega-Maria – emperor Otto I or the uncle of her husband – one of Bolesław I the Brave's sons, Otto. However, the key problem, which the young scientist could not solve was the answer to the question, of why the *Tale of Bygone years* of the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century called this woman the sister of Prince Yaroslav ("в си же времена вдасть Ярославъ сестру свою за Казимира")<sup>26</sup>. If she belonged to the Prince Boris' family, then she would have been a niece to Yaroslav. However, I do not exclude that under the term "сестра" (sister) the later compiler could have noticed "сестриница"<sup>27</sup> – the niece, whom Dobronega could be to Yaroslav Volodymyrovich. None of our predecessors has suggested such a version. Five children were born in this marriage (in the chronological order): Bolesław the Bold (the Generous) († 1081 or 1082), Władysław Herman († 1102), Mieszko († 1065), Sviatoslava († 1126), Otto († 1048)<sup>28</sup>.

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of Poland (from 1038/1043–1058)], in "Краєзнавство", 2016, № ½ (94/95), с. 175–194.

<sup>24</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 162; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 277.

<sup>25</sup> О. Ясинецька, *До питання...*, с. 177–178.

<sup>26</sup> Лаврентьевская летопись, стб. 154–155.

<sup>27</sup> See: И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка по письменным памятникамъ* [Materials for the dictionary of the Ancient Rus'ian language by the written monuments]: в 3 т., Санкт-Петербург, Отделение русского языка и словесности Императорской АН, 1912, т. 3: Р–Я, с. 341.

<sup>28</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 152–180.

2. Prince Mieszko II Lambert's daughter Gertrude († 1108) + Prince Izyaslav Yaroslavich († 1078) (between March 1, 1043 – February 29, 1044). Three sons who were born in this marriage were well mentioned in sources, particularly in the famous "Gertrude Code", and in historiography: Mstislav († 1069), Yaropolk († 1087), Svyatopolk († 1113)<sup>29</sup>.

3. The son of Prince Lev Danilovich, Yuriy (*Rex Rusie, Princeps Ladimerie*) + the daughter of the Kuyavian Prince Kazimierz († 1267), Eufemia († 1308) (1289/1290, but apparently until the mid- of 1290<sup>30</sup>). It was the second marriage for him<sup>31</sup>, but unfortunately there were not any sources about the marriage from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, excluding only J. Długosz of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>32</sup>. Four children were born in the marriage: two sons – Andriy († 1323) and Lev († 1323), daughter Maria († 1341) and, probably, daughter Anastasia (1364/1365) as well<sup>33</sup>.

4. The Prince of Czerny Trojden († 1341) + the daughter of the King of Rus' and Prince of Volodymyr Yuriy Lvovich († 1308) Maria († 1341) (not later than 1309)<sup>34</sup>. This marriage is known from the "*History of Poland*" by J. Długosz<sup>35</sup>, and was well researched by D. Dąbrowski and J. Tęgowski<sup>36</sup>. At least three sons – Bolesław (Yuriy) († 1340), Semowit († 1381), Kazimierz († 1355), and the daughter Eufemia († 1374) were born in the marriage<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> For the list of the children see: Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, s. 353–355. A daughter Evdokia, added by the Ukrainian scholar to other three sons, which, supposedly, married a son of Bolesław the Bold (the Generous) Mieszko, according K. Jasiński, J. Tęgowski and A. Nazarenko, could not be born in the marriage of Izyaslav Yaroslavich and Gertrude (K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 181; А. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь*, с. 580; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 12).

<sup>30</sup> There is in the brackets the duration of the marriages.

<sup>31</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 134; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 205–217; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 506 etc.

<sup>32</sup> Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa i in [Eds.], *Długossii Joannes, Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*: in 10 lib., Warszawa, PWN, 1975, lib. 9, s. 51. See also: D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 206–217, note 845: there is the most complete bibliography; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 506.

<sup>33</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 134 (the author noted only three children); D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 217 (adds Anastasia to the list of the children).

<sup>34</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 31; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 243, note 998.

<sup>35</sup> Długossii Joannes, lib. 9, s. 215, 222.

<sup>36</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 31.

<sup>37</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, s. 284–297, 442–444.

## B. NOBILITY MARRIAGES

5. The unknown daughter of the Prince Bolesław I the Brave († after 1018), who was the King in 1025, + Prince Svyatopolk Yaropolkovich-Volodymyrovich († after 1018) (between 1005–1012). This marriage, confirmed by the German chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg<sup>38</sup> with, apparently, a tragic breakthrough, is well known by the scholars<sup>39</sup>. Despite its duration, information about the children born in this marriage is controversial. J. Tęgowski proposed to seek the descendants of the spouses among the Pomeranian princes<sup>40</sup>. In this case, the complex study of numerous graffiti of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, performed by Nadia Nikitenko and Vyacheslav Kornienko, is very intriguing. In addition to the serious changes in the church construction date, which the authors proposed in their monograph, they could find some notes about the sons of Sviatopolk – Mikhail († after 1018), Mercuriy-Ivan († after 1018), Stephen († after 1018) and Johannes († after 1018) on the walls of the cathedral<sup>41</sup>. According to the authors, the records appeared with a wide chronological interval from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The historians also have noticed, that it is not clear whether it is about the sons of Prince Svyatopolk from the last unknown wife, or perhaps from one of the previous ones, unknown from the sources.

6. The Polish Prince and during 1076–1079 the King Bolesław II the Bold (the Generous) († 1081 or 1082) + unknown Ruthenian bride († 1089) (till 1069). This marriage was concluded in the time when Bolesław was the Prince, but not the King. The information about it can be found just in some notes by J. Długosz<sup>42</sup>,

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<sup>38</sup> R. Holtzmann [Ed.], *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg* [The Chronicle of the Bishop Thietmar from Merseburg], in *Monumenta Germaniae historia* (further –MGH). *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. Nova Series 9, München, MGH, 1996, s. 530–531. See also: St. Rosik, *Światopełk I, książę Turowa i Kijowa, w świetle Kroniki Thietmara. W kręgu przekazów źródłowych do początku Białorusi* [Sviatopolk I, the Prince of Turow and Kyiv, in the light of the Thietmar's Chronicle. In the circle of the source messages to the beginning of Belarus], in "Studia slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana", Санкт-Петербург, 2011, № 2, с. 3–10.

<sup>39</sup> See for example: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 121–122.

<sup>40</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 10–11.

<sup>41</sup> Н. Никитенко, В. Корниенко, *Древнейшие граффити Софии Киевской и время ее создания* [The oldest graffiti of St. Sophia of Kyiv and the time of its creation], Київ, Інститут української археографії і источниковедення ім. М. С. Грушевського, 2012, с. 160–167, 176; В. Корниенко, *Граффити Софії Київської XI – початку XVIII ст.* [The graffiti of St. Sophia of Kyiv of the 11<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries], Київ, Видавничий дім "Слово", 2014, с. 185–188.

<sup>42</sup> Z. Kozłowska-Budkowiaini [Eds.], Długossii Joannes, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni*

supplemented and extended by no rational argument by Russian historian Vasily Tatishchev in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Dating this marriage in 1065, he considered the bride to be the Chernihiv Prince Sviatoslav Yaroslavich' daughter – Vysheslava<sup>43</sup>. Part of the scientists unanimously have accepted his view<sup>44</sup>. However, the rigorous investigations, conducted by A. Nazarenko proved the impossibility of such union, although the Russian historians do not reject the Ruthenian roots of the woman<sup>45</sup>. Polish researcher Norbert Delestowicz in “*Excursion III. Vysheslava or mysterious wife of Boleslav Agnieszka?*” from his own monograph about this Polish ruler, has returned to an affiliation and origin of his wife (wives). Using not all works dedicated to this problem, he did not propose anything new except the analysis of already known versions about the possibility of two Bolesław's marriages<sup>46</sup>. Just one son Mieszko († 1089) was born in the family of the Prince.

7. The Polish Prince and King Bolesław II the Bold's (the Generous) son Mieszko († 1089) + unknown *Ruthena puella* (probably, Catherine Vsevolodivna, † 1108<sup>47</sup>) (1088). This marriage was contracted after the loss of the bride's father; his royal dignity and subsequent death was noted by Anonymous Gallus<sup>48</sup>. J. Długosz even mentioned the name of the bride – Eudoxia (Evdokia)<sup>49</sup>. The Polish chronicler's version has found support among historians<sup>50</sup>. But it is useless.

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*Poloniae : in 10 lib.*, Warszawa, PWN, 1970, lib. 3–4, s. 95.

<sup>43</sup> В. Татищев, *История Российская: в 3 т.* [The Russian history], Москва, АСТ, 2003, т. 2, с. 84.

<sup>44</sup> Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша (книги I–VI): текст, перевод, комментарии* [The Ancient Rus' in the Polish History by Jan Długosz (Books I–VI): text, translation, comments], Москва, Памятники исторической мысли, 2004, с. 393; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 374.

<sup>45</sup> А. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь...*, с. 581–582.

<sup>46</sup> N. Delestowicz, *Bolesław II Szczodry. Tragiczne losy wielkiego wojownika 1040/1042 – 2/3 IV 1018 albo 1082* [Bolesław II the Generous. The tragic fate of the great warrior 1040/1042 – 2/3 IV 1018 or 1082], Kraków, Avalon, 2016, s. 335–342 with the support of the unregulated versions of Tomasz Jurek (T. Jurek, *Agnes regina. W poszukiwaniu żony Bolesława Szczodrego* [Agnes regina. In the search of the Bolesław the Generous's wife], in “*Roczniki Historyczne*”, 2006, R. LXXII, s. 95–104).

<sup>47</sup> Krzysztof Benyszkiwicz defended this view with a viable argument (K. Benyszkiwicz, *Mieszko Bolesławowic 1069–1089. Źródła i tradycja historiograficzna* [Mieszko Bolesławowic 1069–1089. Sources and historiographic tradition], Kraków, Societas Vistulana, 2005, s. 160–163).

<sup>48</sup> Gallus Anonymus, p. 100; Галл Аноним, с. 59; *Хроника Галла Анонима*, с. 54.

<sup>49</sup> Długossii Joannes, lib. 3–4, s. 161; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 280.

<sup>50</sup> See for example: В. Пашуто, *Внешняя политика...*, с. 43; А. Головки, *Древняя Русь и*



A. Nazarenko and his followers, for example J. Tęgowski and K. Benyszkiewicz, have proved, that from the canonical point of view this woman did not belong to the family of Izyaslav Yaroslavich<sup>51</sup>. However, she could have belonged to the family of his younger brother, Prince Vsevolod (1029/1030–1093). The couple did not have any children, otherwise, according to K. Jasiński, Anonymous Gallus would have certainly mentioned them<sup>52</sup>. Before her husband's death, as K. Benyszkiewicz suggests, the widow returned to Rus', where she died in 1108<sup>53</sup>.

8. The Polish Prince Bolesław III the Wrymouth († 1138) + the daughter of Sviatopolk Izyaslavich Zbyslava († 1114) (1102/1103). This marriage is known from the Ruthenian chronicles<sup>54</sup>. The Polish annals of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, have recently been studied by Wojciech Drelicharz<sup>55</sup>, who mentioned the wife of Prince Bolesław as well<sup>56</sup>. She is known also from the "*Hagiography of Bambergian Bishop Otto*" by a monk and scholar of the Mechelsberger Benedictine monastery Gerbot (1145–1168)<sup>57</sup>, and also with some inaccuracies from the "*Chronicle of Greater Poland*" of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>58</sup>. J. Długosz, working with the Ruthenian chronicles

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*Польша в политических взаимоотношениях X – первой трети XIII вв.* [The Ancient Rus' and Poland in the political relations of the 10<sup>th</sup> – the first third of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries], Киев, Наук. думка, 1988, с. 59.

<sup>51</sup> А. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь...*, с. 580; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 12; K. Benyszkiewicz, *Mieszko Bolesławowic*, s. 164.

<sup>52</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 181.

<sup>53</sup> K. Benyszkiewicz, *Mieszko Bolesławowic*, s. 162.

<sup>54</sup> Лаврентьевская летопись, стб. 276.

<sup>55</sup> W. Drelicharz, *Annalistyka Małopolska XIII–XV wieku. Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych* [The Lesser Poland annals of the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Directions of the development of the large compiled annals], in "Rozprawy wydziału historyczno-filozoficznego", Kraków, PAU, 2003, t. 99, s. 263–380, 313–319.

<sup>56</sup> "1103. Boleslaus tercius duxit uxorem", *Rocznik świętokrzyski dawny* [The ancient Świętokrzyskie annals], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 773; "Item anno 1104. Boleslaus tercius duxit uxorem Rutenam", *Rocznik Kamieniecki* [The Kamieniecki annals], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*, Lwów, Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 778; "Boleslaus autem genuit de Ruthena filium Wlasislaum", W. Kętrzyński [Ed.], *E codicibus Plocensibus*, in X. Liske, A. Lorkiewicz [Eds.], *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, W komisie księgarni Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1888, t. 5, s. 993 etc.

<sup>57</sup> "[...] post annos paucos Ruthenissa uxor Boleslai moritur", *Herbordi vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 74.

<sup>58</sup> "Iste Boleslaus duxit uxorem, de cuius nuptiarum solemnitate praemisum est, filiam regis Haliciae unicum [the author made a mistake in an affiliation of Bolesław's wife. – *Aut.*], de qua genuit Wladislaum secundum et unam filiam", *Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska* [The chronicle of Boguchwał and Godysław Pask], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*, Lwów,

and the Polish sources of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, duplicated the marriage's data in the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>59</sup>. The bride and the groom were second cousins, which was known at the court in Kraków even before the marriage<sup>60</sup>. They gave birth only to one son Władysław, later called the Exiled († 1159) and, probably, unknown daughter during their marriage<sup>61</sup>.

9. The Polish Prince Bolesław III the Wrymouth's daughter Riksa († 1155) + Novgorodian Prince Volodymyr Vsevolodovich († after 1136, maybe 1139–1142) (between 1134/1135 or 1136–1138). This marriage is known not only from the old historiography<sup>62</sup>, but also from argued investigations by D. Dąbrowski<sup>63</sup>. The difference in the views between them is only in the question about the possibility of the birth of their daughter Sofia († 1198) during the marriage. For example, K. Jasiński and later J. Tęgowski, according to the Alberic's "*Chronicle*" from the Three Source Cistercian Monastery of Châlons-sur-Marne Episcopate in Champagne (the 13<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>64</sup>, defended the filiation of this woman to the family of Prince Volodymyr and Riksa<sup>65</sup>. But D. Dąbrowski, using much more sources, for example, of Scandinavian origin, and showing the research flaws in the work of their predecessors with the Alberic's "*Chronicle*", has related this woman to the family of the Prince of Polotsk Volodar Hlibovich († after 1167)<sup>66</sup>. I must note also the occasional, trivial evidence of monk Alberic about the

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Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 494; Н. Щавелева [Ed.], «Великая хроника» о Польше, Руси и их соседях XI–XIII вв. [“The Great chronicle” about Poland, Rus’ and their neighbors of the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries], Москва, Издательство МГУ, 1987, с. 81.

<sup>59</sup> Długossii Joannes, lib. 3–4, s. 210–211; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 293.

<sup>60</sup> Gallus Anonymus, p. 159, see also: G. Pac, *Kobiety w dynastii Piastów. Rola społeczna Piastowskich żon i córek do połowy XII wieku – studium porównawcze* [Women in the Piast dynasty. Social role of the Piast's wives and daughters by the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century – a comparative study], Toruń, Wydawnictwo naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2013, s. 185–186).

<sup>61</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 204, 207.

<sup>62</sup> See: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 210–217 (especially pp. 212–213); J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 16–17.

<sup>63</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 212–213.

<sup>64</sup> P. Scheffer-Boichorst [Ed.], *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium fontium, a monacho Novi monasteris hoiensis interpolato*, in *MGH. Scriptores*, Hannoverae, Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1874, vol. XXIII, s. 841.

<sup>65</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 213, J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 16.

<sup>66</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 742–751.

events outside his homeland, which often raises long-lasting debate in the scientific world<sup>67</sup>.

10. The Masovian Prince Bolesław IV the Curly († 1173) + the daughter of the Novgorodian Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich (1095–1138) Verkhuslava († between 1150 and 1167 (1168?)) (not later than the beginning of 1141)<sup>68</sup>. The marriage is known from the Ruthenian chronicle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>69</sup>, and later from J. Długosz<sup>70</sup>. According to J. Tęgowski, the woman obviously did not give birth to any child, but the prince's descendants are known in the family, according to him – from the second marriage<sup>71</sup>. D. Dąbrowski, partly agreeing with K. Jasiński's point of view<sup>72</sup>, considers at least the sons Bolesław and probably Leszek as well, born by Verkhuslava<sup>73</sup>. But, he did not propose any new arguments

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<sup>67</sup> See the discussions about the last Roman Mstislavich' campaign in the land of the Piasts in June 1205 according to Alberic's "*Chronicle*": О. Головка, *Останній похід князя Романа Мстиславича у джерелах та історичній думці* [The last campaign of the Prince Roman Mstislavich in the sources and historical opinion], in "Український історичний журнал", 2009, № 4, с. 30–31, 34–35; W. Nagirnyj, *Polityka zagraniczna księstw ziem halickiej i wołyńskiej w latach 1198 (1199)–1264* [The foreign policy of the Principalities of Galicia and Volhynia lands in the years 1198 (1199)–1264], Kraków, PAU, 2011, s. 132–138; А. Майоров, *Русь, Византия и Западная Европа. Из истории внешнеполитических и культурных связей XII–XIII вв.* [Rus', Byzantium and the Western Europe. From the history of the foreign policy and cultural ties of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.], Санкт-Петербург, Дмитрий Буланин, 2011, с. 120–130.

<sup>68</sup> In our opinion, not only the marriage, but also the general biography of Verkhuslava, is the best described by J. Tęgowski and D. Dąbrowski, which rightly fixed that the first note annal's about the young Princess appeared after the engagement in 1136. But the wedding was in 1141, because Verkhuslava's fiance did not reached the age of the majority in 1136 from the canonical point of view. The difference between the views of historians is only in the question of the accurate dating marriage (see: J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 16; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów*, s. 202. For more detailed reasoning, see: Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 192–209).

<sup>69</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, стб. 300.

<sup>70</sup> "Boleslaus Polonorum dux et monarcha cognomina Crispus [...] cum Wszewoldimiro Russie tunc principe Halicziensi affinitatem iungit et filiam suam Anastasiam accipit in uxorem. Que cum ampla dote a patre et principibus Russie Cracouiam deducta [...] et nupciarum solennitas pluribus diebus Cracowie habita, prelatis et baronibus Polonie sua presenciam, militibus vero hastarum lusu ceterisque militaribus actibus eam cohonestantibus", Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa i in [Eds.], Długossii Joannes, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae: in 10 lib.*, Warszawa, PWN, 1973, lib. 5–6, s. 49; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 320–321.

<sup>71</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 17.

<sup>72</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 230.

<sup>73</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 209.

over K. Jasiński, who contends that somebody had to be born in such a long marriage life<sup>74</sup>.

11. The Silesian Prince Bolesław V the Tall († 1201) married to the Ol'govich dynasty's representative Zvenyslava Vsevolodivna († between 1155–1163) (1141/1142). The marriage is known from the Ruthenian chronicles<sup>75</sup>, and was genealogically well-studied by K. Jasiński<sup>76</sup> and D. Dąbrowski<sup>77</sup>. The couple definitely gave birth to the son Yaroslav († 1201) and the daughter Olga († 1175–1180), and, perhaps, the daughter Bertha († after 1174), which, according to the scholars, is difficult to prove<sup>78</sup>.

12. The Prince Bolesław III the Wrymouth's daughter, Agnieszka († after 1182) + the Prince of Volodymyr Mstislav Izyaslavich († 1170) (between the end of 1149–1151). After verifying diverse sources on the marriage, I noticed that it was brilliantly researched at first by O. Balzer<sup>79</sup>, then by K. Jasiński<sup>80</sup>, and a few years ago by D. Dąbrowski<sup>81</sup>. The couple gave birth to exactly three sons: Roman († 1205), Vsevolod († 1195) and Volodymyr (1170). Sviatoslav's affiliation († 1182–1184) remains debatable, and has been known by the historians for a long time<sup>82</sup>. D. Dąbrowski is the latest one, who considers that Sviatoslav was born by Agnieszka<sup>83</sup>. The Polish historian means, that, if Sviatoslav was illegitimate, the chronicle's author would surely mention it, as he did in the case of the illegitimate born of Galician Prince Yaroslav's son Oleg, known from the Kyivan chronicle as "Настасьич" (son of Nastasia). However, in our opinion, the Kyivan origin of this passage should be taken into consideration. At first, the Kyivan author was permanently hostile to the Galician Princes from the Rostislavich dynasty, and, secondly – sympathized to the Volhynian Monomakhoviches.

13. The Prince of the Great Poland Mieszko III the Old († 1202) + the Prince Yuriy Volodymyrovich, nicknamed Dolgorukiy's († 1157), or less likely – the Prince Izyaslav Mstislavich' († 1154) daughter Evdokia or Evdoksia († after 1187)

<sup>74</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 229–230.

<sup>75</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, стб. 308, 313.

<sup>76</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, s. 63.

<sup>77</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Piasten und Rjurikiden*, s. 175–178.

<sup>78</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, s. 77–81.

<sup>79</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 321–322.

<sup>80</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 262–263.

<sup>81</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 226–230; Idem, *Piasten und Rjurikiden*, s. 160–175.

<sup>82</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 19, note 60.

<sup>83</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 252.

(between 1151–1154 or 1158–1159)<sup>84</sup>. It was the second marriage for Mieszko III. We can read about his wife's Ruthenian origin in a few notes of the 13<sup>th</sup> century's chronicles. Her name was mentioned next to the husband and the sons' names between the benefactors of the Holy Sepulcher monastery in Miechów<sup>85</sup>, and in the "Book of the Dead" of the monastery in Strzelno 1198, as well etc<sup>86</sup>. They had three sons, Bolesław († 1195), Mieszko († 1193) and Władysław († 1231) and two daughters Salomea (?) and Anastasia († 1240) were born<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> The arguments for the dating of the marriage in 1151–1154 would provide the affiliation of Evdokia to Izyaslav Mstislavich, who was the Kyivan Prince at that moment. The Polish chronicle of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> by Vincentius Kadłubek called him *rex* (see: "filia regis Ruthenorum", *Mistrza Wincentego Kronika polska i jej skrócenie przez bezimennego dopełniacza kroniki Mierzwy zrobione* [The Polish Chronicle by master Wincenty and its shortening by a nameless complement of the Mierzwa chronicles], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH* : in 6 t., Lwów, Nakładem własnym 1872, t. 2, s. 379; B. Kürbis [Ed.], *Misztr Wincenty Kadłubek. Kronika polska* [The Polish Chronicle], Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2003, s. 175; O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 295; Н. Щавелева, *Польки – жены русских князей (XI – середина XII в)* [The Polish women – wives of the Ruthenian Princes (the 11<sup>th</sup> – mid- 12<sup>th</sup> century)], in А. Новосельцев [Ed.], *Древнейшие государства на территории СССР. Материалы и исследования. 1987 год* [The most ancient states on the territory of the USSR. Materials and researches. 1987], Москва, Наука, 1989, с. 56; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 241–242; M. Przybył, *Władysław Łaskonogi książę wielkopolski 1202–1231* [Władysław Łaskonogi the Prince of the Great Poland 1202–1231], Poznań, Wydawnictwo WBP, 1998, s. 14–15; J. Tegowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 19; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 469). However, there are the supporters of another bride's branch version. They consider, that the Princess was the daughter of Yuriy Volodymyrovich (D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów*, s. 780; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 715–725), dating the marriage between 1158–1159 (see: М. Волощук, *Rutheni in Polonia XI–XIII вв.: краткие очерки проблемы* [Rutheni in Polonia in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries: a short descriptions of the problem], in V. Nagirny [Ed.], *Colloquia Russica*, Kraków, 2014, series I, vol. 4. (*Rurikids in dynastic relations: politics, customs, culture, religion (10<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c.). Publication after 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference, Mogilno, 14–16<sup>th</sup> November, 2013*), s. 146). It should be remembered that the *rex* connotation concerning the Ruthenian princes could be used in the medieval Western European narratives, in contrast to the official acts, sometimes quite arbitrarily (P. Boroń, *Kniazowie, królowie, carowie... Tytuły i nazwy władców słowiańskich we wczesnym średniowieczu* [Princes, kings, tsars... The titles and names of Slavic rulers in the early Middle Ages], Katowice, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2010, s. 135–140).

<sup>85</sup> "Mesacho Pollonie dux et prima uxor eius Helizabet et filij eorum Odo et Stephanus; item Eudoxia secunda uxor eius et tres filii eorum Bolezlaus, Meseco, Vlodizlauus", F. Piekosiński [Ed.], *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Malopolski* [The Lesser Polish diplomatic codex] (further – *KDM*), Kraków, Nakładem Akademii umijetności Krakowskiej, 1886, t. 2, s. 16.

<sup>86</sup> "Ilustrissimus dux Mesko Poloniae cum consorte sua Eudoxia", W. Kętrzyński [Ed.], *Liber mortuorum monasterii Strzelnensis ordinis Praemonstratensis*, in *MPH*: in 6 v., t. 5, s. 730.

<sup>87</sup> Stanisław Smolka was one of the first, who named the sons of Mieszko III, born from Evdokia

14. Unknown daughter († not earlier 1198/1199) of the Polish Prince Kazimierz II the Just († 1194) + the Prince of Chernihiv Vsevolod Svyatoslavich the Red († 1215) (1178/1179). We know about the time of the marriage from the Kyivan chronicle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>88</sup>. The chronicle of the Romanoviches (the so-called Galician-Volhynian chronicle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century) notes the kinship ties of the children born in this marriage to the Princes of Masovia<sup>89</sup>. One of the first investigations of this matrimonial union belongs to O. Balzer, although some studies were conducted earlier as well<sup>90</sup>. However, there is still unanimity among historians regarding a number of the children born in the marriage. Undoubtedly the unknown wife gave birth to the son Mikhail († 1246), whose fate is best known from the historical studies of the Canadian scholar Martin Dimnik<sup>91</sup>. Andriy († until December 1288), mentioned in the chronicle of the Romanoviches at the end of 1259, in the opinion of L. Voytovych, was born in this marriage as well<sup>92</sup>. Yet, recent researches by D. Dąbrowski have rejected this possibility, considering that he was rather a son of the Prince Vsevolod Yaropolkovich († until 1261), which was the ruler of Chernihiv during 1246–1261<sup>93</sup>. M. Dimnik does not mention any brothers of Mikhail as well<sup>94</sup>. However, both L. Voytovych and the Canadian researcher tend to see, among two children of Vsevolod the Red, two or three daughters: Agafia († 1238), Vera (?) († after 1207) and, possibly, an unknown one († ?)<sup>95</sup>. In general, despite the current

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(St. Smolka, *Mieszko Stary i jego wiek* [Mieszko the Old and his time], opracował i posłowiem opatrzył J. Dobosz, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2011, s. 233). However, more serious investigations of the prince's family belong to the successors of the scholar. See: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 242, note 57–58; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 725.

<sup>88</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, стб. 612.

<sup>89</sup> *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana*, s. 223 etc.

<sup>90</sup> *О Черниговскихъ князьяхъ по Любецкому синодику и о Черниговскомъ княжестве въ татарское время* [About the Chernihivian Princes by the Lyubech synodic and about Chernihiv Principality in the Tatar time], изслѣдование Р. Вл. Зотова, Санктъ-Петербург, Изд. Археографическа комиссиі, 1892, с. 273.

<sup>91</sup> M. Dimnik, *Mikhail, prince of Chernigov and Grande Prince of Kiev 1224–1246*, in "Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies and Texts", Toronto, 1981, № 52, p. 1–135.

<sup>92</sup> *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana*, s. 411.

<sup>93</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 186; Idem, *Genealogia Mscisławowiczów*, s. 382; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 405.

<sup>94</sup> M. Dimnik, *The dynasty of Chernigov, 1146–1246*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 281.

<sup>95</sup> Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 408; M. Dimnik, *The dynasty of Chernigov*, p. 281. D. Dąbrowski dates the birth of the third, unknown daughter by the name of Vsevolod the

deficient level of the Olgovich dynasty's genealogical researches, it has been partially supported by other colleagues<sup>96</sup>. D. Donskoy's attempts to prove the origin of the daughters from the second wife of the Prince of Chernihiv are unsuccessful in the absence of the proper arguments<sup>97</sup>.

15. The Polish Prince Bolesław the Curly's unknown daughter († after 1173/1174–1178) + Vasyl'ko Yaropolkovich († after 1178 and before 1182) (between 1173/1174–1178). O. Balzer was the first who determined this marriage, by comparing indirect source evidences<sup>98</sup>. Later, K. Jasiński<sup>99</sup> and other scholars subsequently expanded it by additional arguments<sup>100</sup>. But, as D. Dąbrowski brilliantly has demonstrated in his last works, just the identification of the prince left a number of questions<sup>101</sup>. At the same time, the Polish historian is not completely sure (although he did not give convincing arguments) in general, of the existence of this marriage<sup>102</sup>. The main problem is in the method of the genealogical constructions by the predecessors of D. Dąbrowski, who described the events of 1182, using "*The Russian History*" of V. Tatishchev<sup>103</sup> – very disputable work from the point of view of the authenticity of the author's sources, as in 2005 demonstrated Ukrainian scholar Oleksiy Tolochko<sup>104</sup>. However, after the publication of his book, there appeared many serious remarks addressed to the Ukrainian historian. The main ones were about the validity of Tolochko's conclusion, as though the Russian historian of the 18<sup>th</sup> century had "invented" all

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Red, in 1212, and considers her as a future wife of the Vladimir-Suzdal Prince Yuriy Vsevolodovich (D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 83–86).

<sup>96</sup> See: А. Кузнецов, *Владимирский князь Георгий Всеволодович в политической истории первой трети XIII в. Особенности преломления источников в историографии* [The Vladimirian Prince George Vsevolodovich in the political history of the first third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Features of the refraction of the sources in historiography], Нижний Новгород, Издательство Нижегородского университета, 2006, с. 139; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 307.

<sup>97</sup> Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи*, с. 2, 205, 503.

<sup>98</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 330–334.

<sup>99</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 274–275.

<sup>100</sup> See: Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 703, note 3119.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, s. 702–710.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, s. 209.

<sup>103</sup> В. Татищев, *История Российская*, т. 2, с. 399.

<sup>104</sup> А. Толочко, «История Российская» Василия Татищева: источники и известия [“The Russian History” by Vasily Tatishchev: the sources and news], Москва; Киев, Новое литературное обозрение; Критика, 2005, с. 323.

sources<sup>105</sup>. In my opinion, V. Tatishchev could use in his work the faithful genealogical testimony<sup>106</sup>. Nothing is known about children born in the marriages.

16. Mieszko III's son Odon († 1194) + the daughter of called in the "*The Tale of Igor's Campaign*" as "Осьмомисл" Galician Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrkovich (1130–1187)<sup>107</sup>. The historiographical tradition has called her Vysheslava († after 1194)<sup>108</sup> (until 1184/1187). This marriage was reconstructed by comparing the texts of Vincentius Kadłubek's "*Chronicle*" and "*The brothers' book from Lubin*"<sup>109</sup>. Presumably, the matrimonial alliance was contracted, when Odon ruled in Sandomierz<sup>110</sup> – geographically the closest to Galicia. The couple had two sons, Władysław († 1239) and Odon († 1225), as well as a daughter, Riksa († 1238).

<sup>105</sup> See, in particular: A. Майоров, *Русь, Византия и Западная Европа*, с. 19–108.

<sup>106</sup> M. Voloshchuk, *Ruthenian-Hungarian matrimonial connections...*, p. 16–17.

<sup>107</sup> The version of the fatherhood of Odon's bride from Prince Volodymyr Yaroslavich, is among the alternatives, however, little convincing (see: S. Łaguna, *Rodowód Piastów* [The Piasts' Genealogy], in "Kwartalnik historyczny", 1897, t. 11, s. 762–763). There are also other views about the wedding's date, which historians sometimes date in 1177 (J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 22).

<sup>108</sup> One of the first fundamental investigations about the pedigree of the Piast dynasty in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was conducted by O. Balzer. However, the historian did not mention the name of the daughter of the Galician ruler, considering that it was probably unknown (O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Tab. IV). D. Donskoy also does not know, who Odon's wife is (Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи*, с. 222–223). But the rest of the scholars, sometimes incorrectly referring to the O. Balzer's work, but comparing the different documents by their origin, called this woman Vysheslava, without indicating any biographical information about her (see: *Genealogia*, tabl. 31; Н. Щавелева, *Польские латиноязычные средневековые источники*, с. 105, 123; J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Polski piastowskiej: (VIII wiek – 1370)* [The history of the Piasts' Poland: (8<sup>th</sup> century – 1370)], St. Grodziski [Ed.], Kraków, FOGRA Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1999, s. 153; J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część III. C. Arbitrzesi książąt – pełnia władzy)* [The Polish political elite of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (part III C. Arbitrators of the princes – full of the power)], in S. Kuczyński [Ed.] *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa, 1999, t. 8, s. 54–55; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 350).

<sup>109</sup> The Polish chronicler of the 12<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries called Mieszko III's father-in-law of the Galician Prince (dux Galiciae socer filii), see: *Wincentego Kronika polska...*, s. 378; Misztr Wincenty Kadłubek, *Kronika polska*, s. 174). But in "*Lubin brothers' book*" compiled in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, after the main contributors "Dux Bolezlaus. Dux Mesico. Dux Odo cum uxore et filiis [...] Domna Wisseslawa suscepit fraternitam cum filio Wlodizlao", see: F. Papée [Ed.], *Liber fraternitatis Lubinensis*, in *MPH*, t. 5, s. 576, 578. However the name of Odon's wife, is questionable. *Domna Wisseslawa* with his son Władysław did not necessarily belong to the prince's family. This woman is not referred to as *ducissa*. Instead, the *domina* term was used extensively.

<sup>110</sup> J. Bieniak assumed the probability of this (J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część III. C. Arbitrzesi książąt – pełnia władzy)*, s. 53).



17. The Masovian Prince Konrad († 1247) + the daughter of the representative of the Chernihiv-Siversky Ol'goviches Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich († 1210/1211), shortly before the marriage captured in Volhynian Volodymyr – Agafia († 1247–1252) (between 1207–1208/1209)<sup>111</sup>. “*The catalogs of the bishops of Krakow*” and the “*History of Poland*” by J. Długosz informed us about her affiliation<sup>112</sup>. The couple’s married life is well-researched by historians<sup>113</sup>. The parents have brought up ten children, for example five sons (Bolesław († 1248), Kazimierz († 1267), Semowit († 1262), Siemomysł († 1241) and Mieszko († 1237 or earlier) and five daughters (Evdokia († shortly before or after 1266/1267), Ludmiła († ?), Salomea († after 1268), Judit († 1257–1263), Dubrawka († probably 1265))<sup>114</sup>.

18. The Krakovian-Sandomirian Prince Leszek the White († 1227) + unknown daughter of the Prince of Lutsk Ingvar Yaroslavich († before May 1223)

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<sup>111</sup> The marriage dating is very different. According to O. Balzer – between 1207–1210 (O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 478), to Bronisław Włodarski – 1207/8 (B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś (1194–1340)* [Poland and Rus’ (1194–1340)], Warszawa, PWN, 1966, s. 44), to A. Szymczakowa – between 1207–1209 (A. Szymczakowa, *Książniczki ruskie...*, s. 32) to K. Jasiński – nor earlier than 1208 (K. Jasiński, *Genealogia księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita* [The genealogy of the Masovian Prince Semovit], in *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów* [Homines et societas. The times of the Piasts and the Jagiellonians], Poznań, Wyd-wo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół nauk, 1997, s. 117–124; Idem, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 36–37), to J. Tęgowski – “Probably at the same time, when Leszek [the White. – *Aut.*], as Włodarski assumes” (J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 24); to L. Voytovych – 1209 (Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 411), to Henryk Samsonowicz – 1207 (H. Samsonowicz, *Konrad Mazowiecki (1187/88 – 31 VIII 1247)* [The Masovian Konrad (1187/88 – 31 VIII 1247)], Kraków, Avalon, 2008, s. 50) etc.

<sup>112</sup> J. Szymański [Ed.], *Catalogi episcoporum Cracoviensium*, in *MPH*, Series nova, Warszawa, PWN, 1974, t. 10, fasc. 2, s. 90; Długossii Joannes, lib. 5–6, s. 200; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 351.

<sup>113</sup> See: М. Волощук, *До питання присутності русинів при дворі княгині Агафії Святославівни (між 1207/1209–1247/1248) – дружини мазовецького князя Конрада* [To the question of the presence of the Ruthenians at the court of Princess Agafia Svyatoslavna (between 1207/1209–1247/1248) – the wife of the Masovian Prince Konrad], in P. Guzowski, M. Liedke i K. Boroda [Eds.], *Inter Regnum et Ducatum*, Białystok, Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2018, s. 633–657.

<sup>114</sup> K. Jasiński, *Genealogia księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita*, s. 124. However, scientists sometimes offer slightly different data (see: I. Okraszewska, *Agafia (1191/1196–1247), księżna mazowiecka, krakowska i łęczycka* [Agafia (1191/1196–1247), the Princess of Masovia, Krakow and Łęczyca], in M. Malinowski [Ed.], *Niebem i sercem okryta* [Covered by the heaven and the heart], Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2002, s. 70–71), that’s why this issue is still controversial. See also: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 49–94; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 330–331.

(the end of 1207 – the beginning of 1208). D. Dąbrowski, carefully analysing just a single chronicle's record<sup>115</sup>, separated this first marriage of Leszek the White<sup>116</sup>. The couple did not give birth to any children.

19. The Kracovian-Sandomirian Prince Leszek the White († 1227) + the daughter of the former Novgorodian Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrovich' († the end of 1205–1209) Grzymisława († 1258). D. Dąbrowski<sup>117</sup> has proved the affiliation of the bride on the basis of a detailed comparison of the *Novgorodian first chronicles* and the J. Długosz's "*History of Poland*"<sup>118</sup>. The marital life and widowhood of Grzymisława are very well known due to a large number of diverse sources<sup>119</sup>. She gave birth to the daughter Salomea († 1268) and son

<sup>115</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, стб. 720.

<sup>116</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Dwa ruskie małżeństwa Leszka Białego. Karta z dziejów Rusi halicko-wołyńskiej i stosunków polsko-ruskich w początkach XIII wieku* [Two Ruthenian marriages of Leszek the White. A card from the history of Galician-Volhynian Rus' and the Polish-Ruthenian relations in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century], in "Roczniki historyczne", 2006, R. 72, s. 78; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 344–348. The scholar's view has become almost universally acceptable, although some of his opponents, for example, the author of a monograph about the wife of Prince Leszek the White, Wojciech Zabłocki, did not offer anything new to this question (W. Zabłocki, *Grzymisława Ingwarówna, księżna krakowsko-sandomierska* [Grzymisława Ingwarówna, the Princess of Krakow and Sandomierz], Kraków, Universitas, 2012, s. 40–41). Recently, Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio has supported the version about two Ruthenian marriages of the Kracovian-Sandomirian ruler, although she is not sure of the affiliation of the second wife of Leszek the White – Grzymisława, proposed by D. Dąbrowski (A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki. O utrzymanie władzy dla synów (koniec XII w. – początek XIV w.)* [The Piast princess-regents. For maintaining power for the sons (the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century – the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)], Kraków, Avalon, 2016, s. 65–67).

<sup>117</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Dwa ruskie małżeństwa Leszka Białego*, s. 85; Idem, *Genealogia Mscisławowiczów*, s. 588; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 642–648. See also: A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki...*, s. 65–95.

<sup>118</sup> "В то же лето родиша Новеороде у Ярослава дци княгыни на Рожьство богородици", *Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов*, in ПСРЛ, Москва; Ленинград, Издательство АН СССР, 1950, Т. 3, с. 39; "Itaque ex consiliariorum sententia Lesthko Albus virginem et genere et moribus formaque ingenuam Grzymyslawam, filiam Iaroslai ducis Russie, accipit in uxorem, et nupcie sumptu et apparatu magnifico in urbe Cracouiensi celebrantur, quarum celebritas per actus militares et hastarum ludos in dies plures fuit producta. Ea demum affinitate tam Polonis quam Ruthenis certa et optima pax effulsit iugi bello, quo se utrimque collidebat, penitus sublatis, et superioribus iniuriis obliterates, captive quoque in bellis transactis capti, tam ingénue quam aggresstes manudimissi", Długossii Joannes, lib. 5–6, s. 232; Н. Щавелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша*, с. 361.

<sup>119</sup> See: M. Voloshcsuk, *W kwestii obecności Rusinów na dworze księżnej Grzymisławy – wdowy (1227–1258) po księciu krakowsko-sandomierskim Leszku Białym* [Regarding the presence

Bolesław († 1279)<sup>120</sup>.

20. The Masovian Prince Konrad's son Bolesław († 1248) + the former Prince of Belz Oleksandr Vsevolodovich' († after Spring of 1234) daughter Anastasia († after 1249) (the late Spring 1244 – August 17/18, 1245). The circumstances of the marriage are known from the chronicle of the Romanoviches<sup>121</sup>. This marriage has been recently investigated by D. Dąbrowski. The researcher did not find any record on any child<sup>122</sup>.

21. The Volhynian Prince Vasyl'ko Romanovich († 1269) + the Masovian Prince Konrad's daughter Dubrawka († perhaps 1265) (until December 5, 1247). This marriage is known from the content of the Pope Innocent IV's bull of December 5, 1247. The brides and fiancé were in close family ties, mentioned, for example in the chronicle of the Romanoviches<sup>123</sup>. This matrimonial alliance was well-studied by D. Dąbrowski<sup>124</sup>. The wife of Prince Vasyl'ko gave birth to the daughter Olga († after 1288) and son Volodymyr († 1288)<sup>125</sup>.

22. The Masovian Prince Semowit I († 1262) + Pereyaslava († 1283) (1251–1255), probably, the daughter of Daniel Romanovich. The ethnicity of the woman is known by J. Długosz<sup>126</sup>. There is information that the marriage agreement took place during the Masovian Prince Konrad's funeral in Płock on

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of the Ruthenians at the court of Princess Grzymiślawa – widows (1227–1258) by the Krakovian-Sandomirian Prince Leszek the White], in T. Grabarczyk, A. Kowalska-Pietrzak [Eds.], *Tractu temporis. Ludzie – regiony – fakty* [Tractu temporis. Peoples – regions – facts], Łódź; Wieluń, Wieluńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2017, s. 25–65.

<sup>120</sup> A. Szymczakowa, *Księżniczki ruskie...* s. 28; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 39–49.

<sup>121</sup> *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana*, s. 299–300, note 794.

<sup>122</sup> A. Szymczakowa, *Księżniczki ruskie...*, s. 36; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 25; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów*, s. 389–399; see also the bibliography of the previous studios; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 412–417.

<sup>123</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 330, note 1421, and also: *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana*, s. 496–497, 499, 505–507, 509–510, 514–515.

<sup>124</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Małżeństwa Wasylka Romanowicza. Problem mazowieckiego pochodzenia drugiej żony* [The marriages of Vasyl'ko Romanovich. The problem of the Masovian origin of the second wife], in K. Zielińska-Melkowska [Ed.], *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia w polityce Piastów* [The Central and Eastern Europe in the policy of the Piasts], Toruń, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997, s. 221–233; Idem, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 86–95; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 330–331.

<sup>125</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 404–409.

<sup>126</sup> "(P)reislawia ducissa genere Ruthena consors Semowiti Maszovie ducis moritur secundo Idus Aprilis", see: Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa i in [Eds.], *Długossii Joannes, Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae* : in 10 lib., Warszawa, PWN, 1975, lib. 7–8, s. 225.

August 31, 1247<sup>127</sup>. The majority of the historians believed the late medieval chronicler's details, considering her as the representative of the Romanoviches dynasty<sup>128</sup>. D. Dąbrowski recently has denied such affiliation, proposing indirect evidence to his alternative version. In general, the scholar offered other variants of Pereyaslava's penetration to Masovia: from Smolensk, Turov, Pinsk or even Suzdal<sup>129</sup>. However, some historians without the appropriate counterarguments continue to call this woman "Galician Pereyaslava" or "the daughter of the Galician Prince Daniel Romanovich"<sup>130</sup>. Three children were born in the marriage: Konrad († 1294), Bolesław († 1313) and Salomea († 1301)<sup>131</sup>.

23. The ruler of Sieradz Leszek the Black († 1288) + the former Galician Prince from the Olgovich dynasty Rostislav Mikhaylovich' († after 1264) daughter Agripina (another name Griffina) († between 1305/7–1309). The marriage is dated by the *Annals* of Traska on 1265<sup>132</sup> and well-studied by the historians of the 19<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries<sup>133</sup>. Griffina's married life during the 1265–1271/1274, before the death of her former husband in 1288 and after that – *terminus ante quem*

<sup>127</sup> B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś*, s. 172; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 27–28.

<sup>128</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Tablica VI; A. Szymczakowa, *Księżniczki ruskie...*, s. 37; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 27–28; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 67–70; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 501, and also: J. Pakulski, *Zaginiona pieczęć księżnej mazowieckiej Perejasławy z 1276 r. a trzynastowieczne Sigilla księżnych Polski dzielnicowej* [The lost seal of the Masovian Princess Perejaslava from 1276 and the 13<sup>th</sup> century Sigilla of the Princess of the divided Poland], in J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz [Eds.], *Nihil superfluum esse. Studium z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżanowskiej* [Nihil superfluum esse. A study of the Middle Ages history, dedicated for Jadwiga Krzyżanowska], Poznań, Instytut historii UAM, 2000, s. 247–262; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, s. 270–271.

<sup>129</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów*, s. 656–669; Idem, *Генеалогія Мстиславичей*, с. 681–695.

<sup>130</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, s. 270; A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki...*, s. 153–172.

<sup>131</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 69–70, 80, 179. Janusz Grabowski calls only two sons of the married couple: J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, s. 271–275.

<sup>132</sup> "Dux Lestko duxit Griphinam uxorem suam", *Rocznik Traski* [The Traska's annals], in A. Bielowski [Ed.], *MPH*: in 5 t., Lwów, Nakładem własnym, 1872, t. 2, s. 839.

<sup>133</sup> See: O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 581–583; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne...*, s. 28–29; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, s. 99–104; М. Волошук, *Княгиня Грифіна Ростиславівна, її польський шлюб та ймовірне руське оточення двору* [The Princess Griffina Rostislavna, her Polish marriage and the probable Ruthenian surroundings of the court], in "Галичина: науковий і культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис", Івано-Франківськ, 2017, вип. 28, с. 12–19 etc.

1305/7–1309, when the Princess died, is very well known from the Polish narratives<sup>134</sup>, hagiographies<sup>135</sup> and acts<sup>136</sup>, in particular, prepared by her<sup>137</sup>. The generalization and additions to the woman's biography were completed by J. Długosz<sup>138</sup>. The couple had no children, because Leszek could not conceive.

24. The Silesian Prince from Bytom Kazimierz († 1312) + probably, the daughter of Prince Lev Danilovich († 1301) Helena or Olena († 1304/1323). For the first time this woman without any dynastic affiliation, referred to as *Coniuge nostra Hellena*, was mentioned in her husband's document on April 25, 1283<sup>139</sup>. The marriage was concluded, according to K. Jasiński, at the latest in 1278<sup>140</sup>. The Ruthenian origin of the woman, despite the apparently erroneous record by Ludwik Dedek of its Lithuanian roots<sup>141</sup>, was relatively determined by the Polish historians recently<sup>142</sup>. Although Ukrainian historiography did not produce an own position about the Helena's affiliation, L. Voytovych still includes her in the list of the Princess, representatives of the Romanoviches dynasty<sup>143</sup>. Some Slovak scholars share a similar opinion<sup>144</sup>. Five sons were born in the marriage –

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<sup>134</sup> *Rocznik Traski*, s. 839, 841, 843, 846, 851; *Rocznik franciszkański krakowski* [The Krakovian Franciscan annals], in *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, W komisie księgarń Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1878, t. 3, s. 51; *Rocznik malopolski* [The Lesser Polish annals], in *MPH*: in 6 t., Lwów, W komisie księgarń Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1878, t. 3, s. 171, 173–175, 185.

<sup>135</sup> Dr. A. Semkowicz [Ed.], *Vita sanctae Hedwigis ducissae Silesiae* (Vita maior, vita minor, genealogia), in *MPH*, Lwów, W komisie księgarń Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1888, t. 4, s. 650; W. Kętrzyński [Ed.], *Vita et miracula sanctae Kyngae ducissae Cracoviensis*, in *MPH*, Lwów, W komisie księgarń Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1888, t. 4, s. 728.

<sup>136</sup> F. Piekosiński [Ed.], *KDM*, Kraków, Nakładem Akademii umijetności Krakowskiej, 1876, t. 1. (1178–1386), s. 133; F. Piekosiński [Ed.], *KDM*, t. 2, s. 187, 207.

<sup>137</sup> *KDM*, t. 1, s. 159–161; *KDM*, t. 2, s. 189–194, 199–200.

<sup>138</sup> Długossii Joannes, lib. 7–8, s. 146, 175, 189, 206, 235, 247, 254–255, 262–263.

<sup>139</sup> W. Wattenbach [Ed.], *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*: in 36 bd., Breslau, Josef Max & Komp., 1859, bd. 2, s. 17.

<sup>140</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, s. 518. J. Tęgowski agrees with his view however, with the clarifying chronological corridor of 1275–1278 (J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 29). D. Dąbrowski dates the marriage between 1274–1278 (D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 225).

<sup>141</sup> "Dux Boleslaus natus est circa a. 1280. Pater ejus Casimirus, dux de Beuten et Teschen, mater Helena, principissa Lithvanie", L. C. Dedek [Ed.], *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, Strigonii, Typis descripsit Gustavus Buzárovits, 1924, t. 3: *ab a. 1321. ad a. 1349*, s. X.

<sup>142</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 29. St. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich* [Genealogy of the Hungarian Anjou], Kraków, Societas Vistulana, 2015, s. 17, 24.

<sup>143</sup> Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 507.

<sup>144</sup> Perniš, *Vznešená žena stredoveku: princezné v dynastickej politike Anjouovcov* [The noble woman of the Middle Ages: the Princess in the Anjou's dynastic policy], Budmerice, Osudy,

Bolesław († 1328), Władysław († 1328), Semowit († between 1342–1355), Yuriy († after 1327) and Mieszko († 1344), and the daughter Maria († 1317) as well<sup>145</sup>.

25. The Prince of Dobrzyń Semowit († c. 1312) + the daughter of Prince Lev Danilovich or Mstislav (II) Danilovich (1247/1250–1289)<sup>146</sup> Anastasia († 1335) (1296–1300)<sup>147</sup>. This alliance seemed to be traditional in the relations between the Masovian rulers with the neighbouring Ruthenian princely families, because Semowit was the grandson of Konrad and Agafia. However, in the absence of the direct source description of the marriage, since O. Balzer, it was necessary<sup>148</sup> to reconstruct and supplement it by indirect evidence<sup>149</sup>, because even the name of Semowit's wife was first noticed only on February 3, 1306<sup>150</sup>. The couple gave birth to two sons Władysław († 1351/1352) and Bolesław († 1327/1329), although some authors sometimes offered other falsely verified data<sup>151</sup>.

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2003, s. 24.

<sup>145</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, s. 526–535.

<sup>146</sup> A. Teterycz-Puzio has recently summed up the views of the supporters of the version of Anastasia's origin from the Lev Danilovich' family (A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki...*, s. 213, note 3). But D. Dąbrowski defends Anastasia's affiliation to the family of his the youngest brother, according to the historian – Prince Mstislav (II) (D. Dąbrowski, *Czy istniało dwóch synów Daniela Romanowicza o imieniu Mścislaw? Przyczynek do genealogii Romanowiczów, książąt halicko-wołyńskich* [Did exist two sons of Daniel Romanovich named Mstislav? A contribution to the genealogy of the Galician-Volhynian Princes Romanoviches], in "Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego", Seria Nova, 1999, t. 4 (15), s. 177–187; Idem, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 236; Idem, *Genealogia Mścislawowiczów*, s. 377–381; Idem, *Генеалогія Мстиславичей*, c. 399–404). Nowadays, the scholar's point of view about the existence of Mstislav (II) Danilovich is not considered to be universally accepted in historiography, although it is sometimes reflected in the further reconstruction of the Anastasia's affiliation (A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Piastowskie księżne regentki...*, s. 214).

<sup>147</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich*, s. 132.

<sup>148</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 602–606.

<sup>149</sup> The most completed reconstruction of Anastasia's life belongs to K. Jasiński (K. Jasiński, *Księżna dobrzyńska Anastazja i jej regencja* [The Dobrzyńian Princess Anastasia and her regency], in J. Chrobaczyński, A. Jureczko i M. Sliwa [Eds.], *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza* [Closer and further homeland], Kraków, Secesja, 1993, s. 425–433). See also: O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 602–606; B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś*, s. 198; J. Tęgowski, *Kontakty rodzinne*, s. 30; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich*, s. 130–132; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 232–240; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, c. 506–507 etc.

<sup>150</sup> J. Voigt [Ed.], *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus* : in 6 t. Königsberg, Gebrüder Bornträger, 1842, bd. 2, s. 62.

<sup>151</sup> O. Balzer was the first, who identified the sons of Semowit and Anastasia (see: O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Tablica VII. Linia kujawska), and further – L. Voytovych (Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, c. 507). Instead, D. Dąbrowski calls only two children – Władysław and

### C. The marriage whose dynastic nature requires proof

26. Some historians consider an unknown Polish bride († after 1124) as the wife of the Murom Prince Vsevolod Davidovich († after 1127). Her affiliation is still questionable. O. Balzer<sup>152</sup>, further J. Jasiński<sup>153</sup> and later L. Voytovych<sup>154</sup> comparing only one episode from the 12<sup>th</sup> century's Kyivan chronicle in 1124 ("Томъ же лѣтъ . ведоша Лаховицю Мюрому . за Давыдовича . Всеволода"<sup>155</sup>), with another genealogical data, considered her as the daughter of Prince Bolesław III the Wrymouth. However, J. Bieniak believes her to be an unknown woman of non-dynastic origin. The main argument of the scholar was the lack of the evidence on this in the Anonymous Gallus's "*Chronicle*", who lived at the Polish Prince's court and knew all his family members well. Perhaps, as the historian suggested, it was Scaribimir Awdaniec's daughter<sup>156</sup>. Recently the theses of J. Bieniak have been supported by D. Dąbrowski<sup>157</sup>. However, K. Jasiński has admitted that the medieval author could not call the name of this unknown daughter of Bolesław III the Wrymouth, because she was very young<sup>158</sup>. I may add to the scholar's arguments the quite cool attitude of Anonymous Gallus towards the Polish ruler's first wife, Zbyslava, noted above<sup>159</sup>, who eventually could have given birth to this daughter. In this case, she could be her husband's second cousin<sup>160</sup>. The marriage is dated on 1124. But we do not know anything about her

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Bolesław (D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, s. 239). K. Jasiński without a clear conviction still considers their children as two or three sons, and possibly also the daughter Judith (K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich*, s. 132).

<sup>152</sup> O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, s. 246–248.

<sup>153</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 207–208.

<sup>154</sup> Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 376.

<sup>155</sup> Ипатъевская летопись, стб. 288.

<sup>156</sup> J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część II : Wróżda i zgoda)* [The Polish political elite of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (part II: Hostility and consent)], in S. Kuczyński [Ed.], *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa, 1985, t. 3, s. 71.

<sup>157</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Piasten und Rjurikiden*, s. 156–157, note 5.

<sup>158</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, s. 207–208.

<sup>159</sup> G. Pac, *Kobiety w dynastii Piastów*, s. 185–186.

<sup>160</sup> The grandfather of Vsevolod Davidovich the Prince of Chernihiv and Kyiv Sviatoslav († 1076) was the younger brother of Izyaslav Yaroslavich. He was also Zbyslava's unknown daughter's grandfather. The Kyivan Prince Yaroslav Volodymyrovich († 1054) was the common grandfather on both. Such marriages were allowed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, for example, even Zbyslava was a second cousin for her husband, which caused ambiguous judgments at the Krakovian court (*Gallus Anonymus*, p. 159). Anonymous Gallus could completely ignored this second case of close relatives in his narration.

future fate or about the children, which eventually were born in the marriage. That is why I express my reservation on the dynastic nature of this marriage in the subsequent statistical calculations.