

**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\***

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**Abstract:** *The article analyses the statistical indicators of the Ruthenian-Hungarian marriages during the 10<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the context of the matrimonial policy of the Rurik dynasty. The long tradition of the marriages of Ruthenian princesses with Hungarian Kings, Princes and some representatives of the Hungarian nobility, due to close political and economic interests, is presented. The author emphasizes that most of the brides arrived in Hungary from Rus'. The imbalance in the marriages reached its peak in the 13<sup>th</sup> – early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, despite of the rise in 1253 of the Kingdom of Rus', headed by Daniel Romanovich and his descendants. In this respect, is important to mention that the status of Kingdom of Rus' was equal to of the Hungarian Kingdom on the political map of Europe. In our view, such dissonance in the matrimonial relations is due not to the lack of the long royal traditions in the Orthodox Rus', not to the Papacy jurisdiction in the Catholic Hungary, but rather to a certain (sometimes, systemic) crisis of confidence of the Western rulers concerning Rurikids. This could be measurable especially by the example of a considerable number of the Ruthenian seekers of political asylum in Hungary, in comparison with a very small number of Hungarian princes settled in Rus'.*

**Keywords:** *Rus', Rurikovichs, Prince, Hungary, Arpads, Anjou, King, matrimonial policy, marriages, statistics, dynasty, genealogy.*

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**Rezumat: Conexiuni ruteano-maghiare în contextul politicii matrimoniale a dinastiei Rurik în secolele X-XIV: date statistice selectate.** *Articolul analizează indicatorii statistici ai căsătoriilor ruteano-maghiare din secolele X-XIV, în contextul politicii matrimoniale a dinastiei Rurik. Se pune accentul pe tradiția îndelungată a căsătoriilor prințeselor rutene cu regii, prinții, precum și cu unii reprezentanți ai nobilimii maghiare, datorită intereselor politice și economice apropiate. Autorul subliniază că majoritatea miresei au sosit în Ungaria din Rusia. Dezechilibrul în căsătorii a ajuns la punctul maxim în secolul XIII – începutul secolului al XIV-lea, în ciuda ascensiunii în 1253 a Regatului Rus, condus de Daniel Romanovici și descendenții săi. Sub acest aspect, este important de menționat că statusul regatului Rus era egal cu cel al regatului maghiar pe harta politică a Europei. În opinia noastră, o astfel de disonanță în relațiile maritale se datorează nu lipsei tradițiilor regale de durată în regatul ortodox Rus, nici jurisdicției papale în Ungaria catolică, ci mai degrabă unei anumite (uneori, sistematice) crize de încredere a conducătorilor occidentali cu privire la Rurikizi. Aceasta poate fi măsurată în special prin exemplul unui număr considerabil de căutători de azil politic, ruteni, în Ungaria, în comparație cu un număr foarte mic de prinți maghiari stabiliți în regatul Rus.*

**Résumé: Connexions ukrainiennes-hongroises dans le contexte de la politique matrimoniale de la dynastie Rurik aux X-ème – XIV-ème siècles: données statistiques sélectionnées.** *L'article ci-joint analyse les indicateurs statistiques des mariages ukrainiens-hongrois des X-ème – XIV-ème siècles dans le contexte de la politique matrimoniale de la dynastie Rurik. On y met l'accent sur la tradition lointaine des mariages des princesses ukrainiennes avec les rois, les princes, ainsi qu'avec certains représentants de la noblesse hongroise, grâce aux intérêts politiques et économiques proches. L'auteur souligne que la majorité des jeunes mariées arrivèrent en Hongrie de Rus'. Le déséquilibre en mariages arriva à son point maximal au XIII-ème siècle – le début du XIV-ème, malgré l'ascension en 1253 du Royaume Rus', dirigé par Daniel Romanovici et ses descendants. A cet égard, il est important de mentionner que le statut du royaume Rus' était égal avec celui du royaume hongrois sur la carte politique de l'Europe. A notre avis, une dissonance semblable dans les relations de mariage n'est pas due au manque des traditions royales de durée dans le royaume orthodoxe Rus', ni à la juridiction papale dans la Hongrie catholique, mais plutôt à une certaine (parfois, systématique) crise de confiance des dirigeants occidentaux concernant les Rurik. On peut mesurer cela, en spécial, par l'exemple d'un nombre considérable de chercheurs d'asile politique, Ukrainiens, en Hongrie, comparatif à un nombre très réduit de princes hongrois établis dans la royaume Rus'.*

## INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Very active and rich in events, the Ruthenian-Hungarian medieval connections (until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), is represented in the field of the

scientific endeavours of the scholar from the Central European countries.<sup>1</sup> One of its most important components is a long (i.e. initiated at the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries) tradition of the bilateral matrimonial contacts between the Arpad and Anjou families on the one hand and the Rurikids on the other hand. These relations have been researched since the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Some of the best comprehensive genealogical conclusions on this issue belongs to the Hungarian scientist Mór Werthner whose *History of the Arpad family*<sup>3</sup> and a lot of smaller works became classic historical works in Hungarian historiography. In Ukrainian historiography, Leontiy Voytovych from Lviv studied some aspects of the bilateral marriage relations.<sup>4</sup> Of very high quality on this topic are the genealogical studies of Polish researchers Kazimierz Jasiński<sup>5</sup>, Stanisław Sroka<sup>6</sup> and Dariusz Dąbrowski. Dariusz Dąbrowski's *Genealogy of the Galician-Volhynian princes of Romanoviches*, and his Polish and Russian-language versions of the *Genealogy of Mstislaviches* have discovered many shortcomings in the works of their predecessors and demonstrated the urgent need for the further depth interdisciplinary study of the inter-dynasty relations in the so-called *Europa Junior*.<sup>7</sup> Auxiliary ones, which had not significantly influence on

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<sup>1</sup> See also a historiographical generalization: М. Волощук, «Русь» в Угорському королівстві (XI – друга половина XIV ст.): суспільно-політична роль, майнові стосунки, міграції [«Rus'» in the Hungarian Kingdom (11<sup>th</sup> – the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries): the social-political role, property relations, migrations], Івано-Франківськ, 2014, p. 31–40, 46–48, 50–52, 55–57, 59–60.

<sup>2</sup> See P. Katona, *Historia critica Regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae ex fide domesticorum ex exterorum scriptorium* [The critical history of the Hungarian kingdom...], Pesta, 1780, Vol. 3, p. 601; another edition with the same title was published in Posonii et Cassoviae, 1782, seria II, Vol. 5, p. 756.

<sup>3</sup> M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története* [The history of Arpad family], Nagybecskereken, 1892, 629 p.

<sup>4</sup> Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти* [The Princely epoch in Rus': the portraits of the elite], Біла Церква, 2006, 782 с.

<sup>5</sup> See the reprint K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich* [The lineage of the Lesser Poland and the Kuyavian Piasts], in M. Górny [coord.], *Biblioteka Genealogiczna*, Poznań-Wrocław, 2001, Vol. 3, 264 p.; Idem, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów* [The first Piasts lineage], Poznań, 2004, 307 p.

<sup>6</sup> P. Sroka, *A magyar Anjouk családi története* [The history of the Hungarian Anjou family], Kraków, 1998, 76 p.; Idem, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich* [The genealogy of the Hungarian Anjou], Kraków, 2015, 140 p.

<sup>7</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich* [The Galician-Volhynian Romanoviches' lineage], in M. Górny [coord.], *Biblioteka...*, Vol. 6, 348 p.;

the results of our study, we consider the studies of Russian historians Nikolay von Baumgarten and Dmitry Donskoy as well.<sup>8</sup> Even a superficial acquaintance with the published editions, despite the series not fully disclosed in the science questions, allows us to propose probably objective statistics about the several hundred-year matrimonial connections of the Rurik dynasty with the Arpads and Anjou families.

The Pyasts dynasty, with 27 bilateral marriages, hold the **first place** on the general background of the inter-dynastic relations of the rulers of Rus' with their neighbours (during the 10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries): the brides from the Rurik dynasty arrived in Poland 18 times; in return, Piasts came to Rus' 9 times (pro rata – 18/9). According to the calculations of Russian scientists Anna Litvina and Fedore Uspensky, the Cumanian princely families hold the **second place** with 14 bilateral marriages with Rurikids (pro rata – 1/13).<sup>9</sup> The Arpad and Anjou dynasties hold the **thirds place** in the matrimonial contacts with the Rurikids, with 11 bilateral (pro rata – 9/2) and 4 semi-royal marriages: generally 15 cases. In the general list there weren't included 2 another cases, which haven't sufficient sources.<sup>10</sup>

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Idem, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów. Pierwsze pokolenia (do początku XIV wieku)* [The Mstislaviches' genealogy. The first generations (to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)], Kraków, 2008, 816 p.; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей. Первые поколения (до начала XIV в.). Издание исправленное и дополненное* [The Mstislaviches' genealogy. The first generations (to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century). Corrected and supplemented edition], Санкт-Петербург, 2015, 880 с.

<sup>8</sup> N. De Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Ruricides Russep. Du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Genealogies and Western marriages of the Ruthenian Rurikids. From 10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries], Roma, 1928, 94 p.; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи. Исторический словарь* [The Rurikids. A historical dictionary], Москва, 2008, 788 с.

<sup>9</sup> А. Литвина, Ф. Успенский, *Русские имена половецких князей. Междинастические контакты сквозь призму антропонимики* [Ruthenian names of Cumanian Princes. The inter-dynasty contacts through the prism of anthroponymics], Москва, 2013, с. 90. See also a little bit other statistics: M. Michalski, *Ruś Kijowska i połowcy. Wpływ małżeństw mieszanych na kształtowanie się stosunków politycznych, kulturowych i religijnych. Praca doktorska* [Kyivan Rus' and the Cumanp. The mixed marriages influence on the political, cultural and religious relations formp. PhD thesis], Kraków, 2017, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> It's about the marriages between Mikhail († around 990), the son of Prince of the Magyar tribe Taksony and N. for the name Ruthenian girl, which for the first time was discussed by Philip Strahl (Ph. Strahl, *Geschichte der Gründung u. Ausbreitung d. christl. Lehre unter den Völkern des russischen Reiches seit 988 bis jetzt, aus russischen*

### THE PROBLEM FORMULATION

The list of Ruthenian-Hungarian inter-dynasty marriages during the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries has the following form:

1. The Prince Ladislas the Bald († till 1030) + Premislava (the daughter of the Prince Volodymyr?) († 1015) (c. 1000?). It is the first marriage confirmed by the sources of the both dynasties<sup>11</sup>, well researched in historiography. The main discussions is conducted around the affiliation of the bride, her name and the number (or absence) of children in the marriage (except, maybe, the son Bonuzló).<sup>12</sup>

2. The Prince Andrew I († 1060) + Anastasia Yaroslavna († around 1096) (around 1038). It is a well-known and well-studied marriage<sup>13</sup>. The parents

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*Quellen* [The history of the foundation and expansion of the Christian doctrine between the peoples of the Russian Empire since 988 till now, according to the Russian sources], Halle, [P. A.], p. 150), and supported by M. Werthner (M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 22), N. von Baumgarten (N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages...*, p. 8) and by several modern historians (Л. Махновець [translator], *Літопис Руський* [The Chronicle of Rus'], Київ, 1989; F. Makk, *Hungarian foreign policy (896–1196)*, Szeged, 1993, p. 33; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба*, с. 227). The idea about another marriage between N., the daughter (?) of mentioned Taksony († 970) with Kyivan Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich († 972) also hasn't any source evidence, but sometimes nourishes in the scientific literature (see Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба*, с. 231).

<sup>11</sup> *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* [The Hungarian chronicles composed in 14<sup>th</sup> century], in I. Szentpétery [coord.] *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, Budapest, 1937, Vol.1, p. 344.

<sup>12</sup> M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 112–113; М. Юрасов, *Отражение перемен в политической ситуации Венгрии эпохи Арпадов в генеалогии Ласло Сапа* [The changes in political situation of Hungary of the Arpads epoch reflected in Ladislas the Bald's genealogy], in *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Генеалогія, как форма исторической памяти. XIII Чтения памяти члена-корреспондента АН СССР Владимира Терентьевича Паушто*, Москва, 11–13 апреля 2001. Материалы конференции, Москва, 2001, с. 205–207; M. Font, *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek* [The Kings of the Arpads family and the Rurikids princes], Szeged, 2005, p. 127.

<sup>13</sup> M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 117–123; А.В. Назаренко, *Древняя Русь на международных путях: Междисциплинарные очерки культурных, торговых, политических связей IX–XII вв.* [The Ancient Rus' on the international

had, at least, three children (by the birth order): Solomon († 1087), David († after 1095)<sup>14</sup> and, probably, Euphemia († 1111).<sup>15</sup> The future wife of Bohemian Prince Vratislav († 1092), the daughter of Andrew I Adelaida († 1062), in opinion of Jan Tęgowski, was born in the first marriage of her father from mother of unknown origin.<sup>16</sup>

3. N. Hungarian bride (probably the daughter of the Prince Bela, maybe called Lanka) + Rostislav Volodymyrovich († 1067) (c. 1061). There is a very difficult question related to similarity of the names of the wife of Croatian banus and future king Zvonimir († 1089) and of the daughter of the Hungarian King Bela I († 1063), Helena († 6. 1091)<sup>17</sup> with Ruthenian Princess Lanca

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routes: The interdisciplinary essays of the cultural, commercial, political relations of the 9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries], Москва, 2001, с. 504, 520, 537; М. Юрасов, Русско-венгерские отношения второй трети XI в. [The Ruthenian-Hungarian relations in the second third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century], in М. Ароштон [coord.], Венгрия и Россия в историческом прошлом. Материалы междисциплинарного семинара 26 января 2002 г. [Hungary and Russia in the historical past. Materials of the interdisciplinary seminar on January 26, 2002], Сомбатхей, 2003, с. 13–24; М. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 129; Л. Войтович, Княжа доба..., с. 311–312; М. Юрасов Когда Анастасия (?) Ярославна вышла замуж за венгерского королевича Эндре [When Anastasia (?) Yaroslavna married Hungarian Prince Endre], in Мининские чтения. Труды научной конференции. Нижегородский государственный университет им. Н. И. Лобачевского (20–21 октября 2006 г.) [Minin's readings. Proceedings of the scientific conference. Nizhny Novgorod State University. N. I. Lobachevsky (October 20-21, 2006)], Нижний Новгород, 2007, с. 258–267; Д. Донской, Рюриковичи. Исторический..., с. 22.

<sup>14</sup> M. Homza, S. A. Sroka [coord.], *Historia Scepusii* [The history of Spiš], Bratislava, 2009, Vol. 1, p. 603.

<sup>15</sup> B. Krzemińska, *Olomoučtí Přemyslovci a Rurikovci* [The Přemyslids from Olomouc and the Rurikids], in "Časopis Matice moravské", 1987, no. 106, p. 259–260. Slovak scientist Jan Steinhübel mentioned Czech researcher's version in his book (J. Steinhübel, *Nitrianske kniežatstvo. Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska* [Nitra Principality. The Medieval Slovakia emergence], Bratislava, 2016, p. 435).

<sup>16</sup> J. Tęgowski, *W sprawie okoliczności i datacji małżeństwa nieznaney z imienia Piastówny z księciem węgierskim Belą* [To the question of circumstances and a date of the unknown Piast Princess marriage with Hungarian Prince Bela], in E. Bagińska [coord.], *Res gestae Meridionales et Orientales. Studia ad Memoriam Professoris Henrici Rusiński*, Białystok, 2009, p. 187.

<sup>17</sup> M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 162 (scientist dated this marriage between 1063–1066). The modern Croatian and Slovakian historiography recognize this (but not another) marriage in the defined chronology (N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u*

(*ducissa Rutenorum nomine Lanca*), remembered in 1099 in *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*.<sup>18</sup> Analysing the events of the King Coloman Przemysł's campaign of 1099, the Hungarian researcher Alexander Dománovszky mentioned this person, comparing of the fragment with *The Tale of Past Years* «Давыдъ [Igorovich, Volhynian Dux († 1112). – М. V.] же въ тѣ чинѣ пришедъ из Лаховъ. и посади жену свою оу Володара [i. e., in Przemysł. – М. V.]»<sup>19</sup>, considered this unknown woman (he didn't offer any information) as a wife of Volhynian Prince, but not related with Bela's family.<sup>20</sup> Márta Font from Pécs University repeated this assumption.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, some historians since N. von Baumgarten's times<sup>22</sup> connected this Lanca, married to Rostislav Volodymyrovych in 1064, with the Prince Bela.<sup>23</sup> The view of a Russian scientist L. Voytovich recently tried to fix the opinion of a Russian scientist in Ukrainian historiography. He believes, that, at first, the bride was married to a Ruthenian izgoi prince between 1057 and 1060, but after his death on February 3, 1067 she married a Croatian noble.<sup>24</sup> However, we don't consider the views of the Ukrainian colleague completely convincing. He, for example, isn't fixed in David Igorevich's biography, who was this woman, which his husband left in Przemysł during Hungarian army attack.<sup>25</sup>

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*srednjem vijeku* [The Medieval history of Croatia], Zagreb, 1990, p. 116–117; *Historia Scopusii*, p. 603; J. Steinhübel, *Nitriannske kniežatctvo...*, p. 435).

<sup>18</sup> *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, p. 423–424.

<sup>19</sup> Ипатьевская летопись, in Полное собрание русских летописей, т. 2. Москва, 1998, стп. 245.

<sup>20</sup> *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, p. 424.

<sup>21</sup> M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 145.

<sup>22</sup> N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages...*, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Far predecessor of N. von Baumgarten, Vasyl Tatishchev, perhaps was the first of all researchers, who called Rostislav Volodymyrovych's wife the Hungarian Princess. He considered, at the death moment of Prince on February 3, 1067 this women's father was still alive, and, hence, he couldn't be Bela I, which died on September 11, 1063 (В. Татищев, *История Российская* [The history of Russia], Москва, 2003, т. 2, с. 84).

<sup>24</sup> See Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 323; Idem, *Ростиславичі – родичі Арпадів* [Rostislaviches were the relatives of Arpads], in "Галичина: науковий і культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис", 2015, no. 27, с. 53–54.

<sup>25</sup> At the same time we must remember about David Igorevich participation in the Volodar's brother Vasilko Rostislavich blindness in 1098 (*Ипатьевская летопись*, стп. 234–235), what added an extra piquancy to the relationships with the Prince of Przemysł.

The brilliant genealogical studies of the first Piast dynasty rulers' genealogy by K. Jasiński and J. Tęgowski certified the marriage of the Prince Bela with N., probably the youngest daughter, of Mieszko II Lambert († 1034) between 1042–1045.<sup>26</sup> The Hungarian Prince, even in the possession of the father-in-law waited for the birth of his sons – Géza († 1077) and Ladislaus († 1095). Other children (the third son Lampert († 1096), and the daughters Sophia († 1095), Ilona and N. for the name) were born after his return to the homeland, not earlier 1048, but rather in 1050.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, by the time of her birth and the achievement of the required age, Ilona couldn't marry to Prince Rostislav in the chronological interval proposed by L. Voitovich. Of course, this marriage with Ruthenian izgoi prince couldn't realize before the coronation of Bela I in 1060. It would be treated like a *misalliance* and Hungarian kings, as was shown by further historical experience, understood it very well.

But the Hungarian step of Lanca's name (in Hungarian «*lánny*» – the girl), her crowned origin, the behaviour during the Hungarian troops campaign near Przemyśl in 1099<sup>28</sup>, the personal meeting with the King Coloman and the request for him not to destroy the Rostislavich's family<sup>29</sup> (this event primarily used by an editors of Hungarian *Pragesta* of the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> and little bit later of *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*), allows to speak about an affiliation of this women to the Arpad dynasty. We're sure, that otherwise it would be very difficult for her to hope for a personal audience with a very hard character king during his campaign against Ruthenians.<sup>30</sup> N. for the name wife of David Igorovich would hardly have been any motivation to ask for the

<sup>26</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów...*, p. 150; J. Tęgowski, *W sprawie okoliczności...*, p. 187.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ипатьевская летопись*, стп. 245. There were a few publications dedicated to the battle: A. Hodinka, *Kálmán királyunk 1099-iki Peremysli csatája. Az orosz őskronika nyoman* [The battle near Przemyśl of our King Coloman. In the footsteps of ancient Ruthenian chronicle], in "Hadtörténelmi közlemény", 1913, Szeptember, p. 325–346; Idem, *Kálmán királyunk 1099-iki Peremysli csatája. Az orosz őskronika nyoman*, in "Hadtörténelmi közlemény", 1913, December, p. 524–544; Л. Войтович, *Битва під Перемишлем 1099 р.* [The battle near Przemyśl], in "Український альманах 1999 р.", Варшава, 1999, с. 106–111.

<sup>29</sup> «[...] ducissa Rutenorum nomine Lanca ejusdem regis (sic) venit obviam regi, pedibus provoluta obsecrabat regem cum lacrimis, ne disperderet gentem illam», *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV...*, p. 423–424.

<sup>30</sup> Л. Войтович, *Битва під Перемишлем...*, с. 108.

Rostislaviches, because her husband, contrary to the princely congresses decisions, for all life tried to deprive the newly acquired lands of them. This anti-Hungarian alliance was, as the future events showed, openly situational.<sup>31</sup> So, Lanca – was a close relative of Prince Volodar, in our opinion, of his mother. The affinity with the representative of the royal blood, in our opinion, allowed the Volodar Rostislavich's daughter, and accordingly, granddaughter of Lanca, Iryna to marry in 1104 the son of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos's († 1118) – Isaac.<sup>32</sup> It's important, that the father of the bride and his brother were interpreted in the Rurik dynasty as the izgois princes.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the main basis of this advantageous marriage with the Emperor family had to be very convincing for the Komnenos dynasty genealogical argument.

That why, in our opinion, noted Lanca was, rather unknown (probably, bastard) representative of the Arpad dynasty, maybe the Bela's daughter, married before his coronation in 1060. From another side, we haven't got sufficient arguments to identify her with *Helena Lepa*, whose name is clearly known from the several acts of 1078.<sup>34</sup> In addition, why she returned before the death of her Croatian husband to the children of her first marriage, as proposes in the last article L. Voytovych<sup>35</sup>, when in the same time another three children (two daughters and one son) lived in Croatia?<sup>36</sup> Despite very difficult political relations of the Croatian nobility with the Arpads before Zvonimir's death, to leave their children for the sake of the returning in Przemyśl it looks, to say strange, at least.

We are sure that this connection with Arpads “for a mother line” created the basis for the all-round Hungarian effects in Galicia with the genealogical pretences for the heritage of the “first Galician dynasty” since the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century as well.<sup>37</sup> From this marriage of Rostislav and Lanca were born, in the

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<sup>31</sup> Idem, *Княжа доба...*, с. 326–327.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, О. Юревич, *Андроник I Комнин* [Andronikos I Komnenos], Санкт-Петербург, 2004, с. 51; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 333.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 322, 327–328, 330.

<sup>34</sup> М. Kostrenčić [coord.], *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* [Codex of diplomas of the Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia Kingdom], Zagrabiae, 1967, Vol. 1, p. 163–164.

<sup>35</sup> Л. Войтович, *Ростиславичі – родичі Арпадів...*, с. 54.

<sup>36</sup> F. Rački [coord.], *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* [The monuments of the Southern Slavs history], Zagreb, 1877, Vol. 7, p. 66, 146.

<sup>37</sup> М. Волощук, «Русь» в Угорському королівстві..., с. 116.

small time difference three sons – Rurik († 1092), Volodar († 1124) and Vasylko († 1124). We don't exclude that two boys could be twins.

4. The King Ladislaus + N. Ruthenian girl, probably Predslava Svyatoslavna (?) († 1116) (after 1090). Despite the classic opinion of the Hungarian historians about just one marriage of the most famous Hungarian King with the daughter of the German anti-King Rudolph († 1080) – Adelaide († 1090)<sup>38</sup>, the modern Slovak researchers, without valid arguments, believe in the existence of other (first) wife of Ladislaus I, with an unknown name.<sup>39</sup> Ukrainian researcher Leonid Makhnovets suggested and D. Donskoy continued to defend the version of the Hungarian King's marriage life, based on the "Tatishchev's information"<sup>40</sup> (but without any sources verification). They consider, that died in the monasticism in 1116, the second wife of Ladislaus I was the granddaughter of Yaroslav Volodymyrovich († 1054) Predslava Svyatoslavna.<sup>41</sup> In response, L. Voytovych summed up: «This hypothesis has no any source justification».<sup>42</sup> Yet, we're sure, that was happened.

In historiography, starting from M. Werthner, firmly was entrenched the view about the marriage of an unknown daughter of a Hungarian king with the Prince Yaroslav Svyatopolkovich († 1123). This view is based on the Ladislaus I diploma (1091) about the foundation of Somogy Abbey of St. Gill witnesses' list.<sup>43</sup> This man, in opinion of M. Werthner, in 1091 could note between the witnesses like *Gerazclavus filius regis Rutenorum gener ipsius*.<sup>44</sup> His father Svyatopolk Izyaslavich († 1113), continues Hungarian historian, sent him in Hungary to search the allies against the Rostislavich family. In this case, researchers directly translated the term *gener*, which does mean «son-in-law» (the main sense). Another argument of the affiliation of the mentioned man (*Gerazclavus*) served the difficult relationship of the future Prince of Kyiv with the Rostislaviches at the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 190.

<sup>39</sup> *Historia Scepusii...*, p. 603; compare M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 141.

<sup>40</sup> В. Татищев, *История Российская...*, с. 150.

<sup>41</sup> *Літопис Руський...*, с. 176; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи...*, p. 523. See also: *Ипатьевская летопись*, стп. 284.

<sup>42</sup> Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 375.

<sup>43</sup> G. Györffy [coord.], *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia*, Budapest, 1992, Vol. 1, p. 268.

<sup>44</sup> M. Werthner, *Szent László királynak orosz veje* [Ruthenian son-in-law of the Saint King Ladislaus], in "Turul", 1890, Vol. 8, p. 125–129; Idem, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 205–210; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 104, 135; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 357).

The Prince Svyatopolk used for their suppression the alliance with the Arpads. The future Kyivan Prince soon became a father-in-law for the Hungarian Prince Almos (see further).

Alexander Nazarenko expressed the doubts about the probability of this marriage, because the brides were in very close blood-related ties – 2:2. Russian historian didn't exclude an extra-marital birth of the Prince Svyatopolk as well. In addition, the term *gener* translates also like «shudder», «wife's brother». We can very simply find this brother of Predslava between her relatives in Rus'. He was Yaroslav Svyatoslavich, which could be noted in Latin-language act of the King Ladislaus I like *Gerazclavup*. Their father Svyatoslav Yaroslavich († 1076), owing to him authority outside the lands of the first Rurik dynasty generations of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, completely could be note like *rex Rutenorum*. This tradition was quite famous in the cases of another relative of him. And, although M. Werthner reviewed this view<sup>45</sup>, he has chosen another main version, in our opinion false, analysing the future matrimonial Arpad dynasty policy till 1301 (see further). Thus, the conclusions of our predecessors about the marriage of Yaroslav Svyatopolkovich with N. for the name of Hungarian King's daughter<sup>46</sup>, in our opinion, are not justified. It's more logical opinion proposed by L. Makhnovets (and supplemented by us) about the marriage (after 1090) between the King Ladislaus I with, probably, Predslava Svyatoslavna (?). We can't propose any sources information about the children in this marriage.

5. The Prince Álmos († 1127) + Predslava Svyatopolkivna († after 1104) (1104). The marriage is well known from *The Tale of Past Years* passage<sup>47</sup> and the further investigations of historians.<sup>48</sup> The daughters Adelaida († 1140), Yadviga and the son Bela (II) († 1141) were born in this marriage. According to the editors of *Historia Scopusii*, from the fornication of the Prince Álmos and

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<sup>45</sup> M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 207.

<sup>46</sup> This version is promoted by Márta Font (M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 104, 135), L. Voytovich (Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 357), and M. Homza (*Historia Scopusii...*, p. 603).

<sup>47</sup> Ипатьевская летопись..., стп. 256.

<sup>48</sup> M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 248–249; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 136–137; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 358; М. Юрасов, *Русско-венгерские отношения начала XII в.* [The Ruthenian-Hungarian relations at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century], Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики, 2006, no. 3 (25), с. 47–55; *Ibid.*, *Русско-венгерские отношения начала XII в.* [The Ruthenian-Hungarian relations at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century], in “Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики”, 2006, no. 4 (26), с. 67–78.

young wife of the King Coloman, Euphemia Volodymyrivna gave birth the son Boris († 1154).<sup>49</sup>

6. The King Coloman († 1116) + Euphemia Volodymyrivna († 1139) (1112). It was the most scandalous marriage, well known from narratives<sup>50</sup> and historical investigations.<sup>51</sup> The King shortly before the marriage accused his wife

<sup>49</sup> *Historia Scopusii...*, p. 603–604.

<sup>50</sup> *Ипатьевская летопись...*, стп. 273; *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV...*, p. 429.

<sup>51</sup> K. Gorski, *Boris ustęp z dziejów XII wieku* [Boris, the fragment of the 12<sup>th</sup> century history], Lwów, 1876, 38 p.; A. Hodinka, *Kálmánfi (Kolománovics) Boris* [Boris, the son of Coloman], in “*Történelmi Tár*”, Budapest, 1889, p. 421–433; M. Werthner, *Boris und Rostislav. Beitrag zur Geschichte der russisch-polnisch-ungarischen Beziehungen* [Boris and Rostislav. To the question of the Ruthenian-Polish-Hungarian relationships history], Berlin, 1889; Idem, *Az Árpádok családí története...*, p. 222–225; С. Розанов, *Евфимия Владимировна и Борис Коломанович. Из европейской политики XII в.* [Euphemia Volodymyrivna and Boris Kolomanovich. From the European policy of the 12<sup>th</sup> century], in “Институт АН, VII серия, Отдел гуманитарных наук”, Ленинград, 1930, no. 8, с. 585–599; Idem, *Евфимия Владимировна и Борис Коломанович. Из европейской политики XII в.* [Euphemia Volodymyrivna and Boris Kolomanovich. From the European policy of the 12<sup>th</sup> century], in “Институт АН, VII серия, Отдел гуманитарных наук”, Ленинград, 1930, no. 9, с. 649–671; F. Makk, *Borisz, egy XII. századi trónkövetelő* [Boris, the 12<sup>th</sup> century throne claiming], in “*Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Antiqua Archaeologica*”, 1987, Vol. 6, p. 61–65; П. Толочко, *Історичні портрети* [Historical portraits], Київ, 1990, с.157–184; М. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 137; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 459; М. Юрасов, *Последствия женитьбы Калмана Книжника на Евфимии Владимировне для освоения русскими Закарпаття* [The consequences of the marriage of the King Coloman and Euphemia Volodymyrivna for the Transcarpathia lands development by the Ruthenians], in “*Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики*”, 2007, no. 3 (29), с. 129; Idem, *Кто помогал Борису Калмановичу в 1132 г. в его борьбе за венгерский престол с Белой II* [Who helped Boris Kolomanovich in his struggle with Bela II for the Hungarian throne in 1132?], in “*Княжа доба: історія і культура*”, Львів, 2008, no. 2, с. 93–97; Idem, *Русско-венгерские отношения в годы киевского княжения Владимира Мономаха* [The Ruthenian-Hungarian relations in the period of the Kyivan rule of Volodymyr Monomakh], in “*Отечественная история*”, 2008, no. 3, с. 4; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи...*, p. 302–303; Z. Orságová, *The marriages between the Árpáadian kings and Princesses from the Rus'*, in “*Colloquia Russica*”, Kraków, 2012, series I, vol. 1: *Principalities in lands of Galicia and Wolhynia in international relations in the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries.*

for adultery and sent her to the homeland. We don't know about the legally born children in this marriage.

7. The King Géza († 1161) + Euphrosyne Mstislavna († 1193) (1146). The marriage of the Kyivan Prince Mstislav-Garald Volodymyrovych's († 1132) daughter with the Hungarian King is well known from the sources<sup>52</sup> and different genealogical investigations of D. Dąbrowski.<sup>53</sup> The parents gave birth of the eight children: four sons – Stephen (III) († 1172), Bela (III) († 1196) – the future Kings, and Géza († 1210) and Árpád as well, and also four daughters – Elizabeth († 1189), Odola, Ilona († 1199) and Maria.<sup>54</sup>

8. The Prince Andrew (*dux Galitiae*) († winter 1233/34) + Maria Mstislavna († after 1226/27) (1226/27). The marriage of the third son of the King Andrew II († 1235) – Andrew (*Dux Galitiae*) with the daughter of the Galician Prince Mstislav Mstislavich († 1227) – Maria is covered by the sources<sup>55</sup> and genealogically investigated.<sup>56</sup> Probably the parents didn't have any children, or they died in the age of infants.<sup>57</sup> Anna († after 1270) + Rostislav Mikhaylovich († after 1264) (1242/43). The fact of this matrimonial allies of the former Galician Prince Rostislav with the King Bela IV's daughter († 1270) is well known by the sources<sup>58</sup> and historical explorations.<sup>59</sup> It was still considered, that the

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*Publication after 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference, Ivano-Frankivsk, 20–22<sup>th</sup> October 2011, p. 51 etc.*

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, *Ипатьевская летопись...*, стп. 384, 405–408, 420, 434, 450–451, 482–483; *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV...*, p. 458.

<sup>53</sup> M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 311–315; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 166–175; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 643; Д. Донской, *Рюриковичи...*, p. 305; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściślawowiczów...*, p. 166–175; Z. Orságová, *The marriages...*, p. 52.

<sup>54</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 175.

<sup>55</sup> A. Theiner [coord.] *Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram Illustrantia* [The ancient monuments to the sacred Hungarian history], Roma, 1859, Vol. 1, p. 33.

<sup>56</sup> M. Werthner, *Die Allianzen der Arpaden. Politisch-genealogische Studien* [The Arpads Alliances. The politic-genealogical studies], Wien, 1887, p. 7; Idem, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 454; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 213; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 526; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściślawowiczów...*, p. 566–570; Idem, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 592–596; О. Головка, *Князь Мстислав Мстиславич «Удатний» і його доба* [The Prince Mstislav Mstislavich “the Daring” and his epoch], Кам'янець-Подільський, 2017, с. 135.

<sup>57</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 596.

<sup>58</sup> *Ипатьевская летопись...*, стп. 794, 800.

parents gave birth for six children: two sons – Mikhail († 1269) and Bela († 1272) and four daughters – Anna († after 1257), Kunigunda († 1285), Griffina († after 1303) and Margareta (after 1290).<sup>60</sup> But, we're sure, that Procop († 1295) was the third son, and so he was the seventh child of the parents, nominated in 1293 to be the bishop of Kraków.<sup>61</sup>

9. Lev Danilovich († 1301) + Konstancia († after 1287/88) (1246). This marriage is well known from the *Galician-Volhynian chronicle* (*The Romanovich's chronicle*)<sup>62</sup>, and is also dated on 11 November (without a precise year) in «Tatar letter» from Bela IV to the Pope Innocent IV († 1254) about the marriage of Daniel Romanovich's († 1264) the oldest son Lev, with the Hungarian Princes. In this letter, Bela IV informed the Papal curia about few marriages, which humiliated his royal dignity, but he had to realize this due to the constant threat from the nomads.<sup>63</sup> The researchers good investigate this matrimonial union.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ф. Палацкий, *О русском князе Ростиславе, отце чешской королевы Кунгуты и роде его* [About the father of Czech Queen Kunigunda, Ruthenian Prince Rostislav and his family], in «Чтения в Московском Обществе Истории и Древностей Российских», 1846, no. 3, с. 11–12; G. Wenzel, *Rosztizlaw galicziai herczeg, IV. Béla magyar királynak veje* [The Galician Prince Rostislav, the son-in-law of the Hungarian King Bela IV], in «Értekezések a történelmi Tudományok köréből», Budapest, 1887, Vol. 13, no. 8, p. 4; M. Werthner, *Boris und Rostislav; Ibid., Az Árpádok család története...*, p. 463–475; Ѓ. Харди, *Наследници Кијева између краљевске круне и татарског јарма: студила о државно-правном положају Галиче и Галичко-Волинске кнежевине до 1264. Године* [The successors of Kyiv between the kings crown and Tatar burden: the studies about the Galician-Volhynian Principality state-legal position till 1264], Нови Сад, 2002, p. 165; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 245; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 418; D. Dąbrowski, *Stosunki polityczne między królem Węgier Belą IV, niektórymi książętami polskimi i Romanowiczami w latach 1242–1250 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kwestii matrymonialnych)* [The political relations between the Hungarian King Bela IV, some Polish Princes and the Romanoviches during 1242–1250 (with the detailed analysis of the matrimonial questions)], in Л. Войтович [coord.], *Україно-угорські етюди*, Львів, 2010, вип. 16, с. 165.

<sup>60</sup> Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 420.

<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, the materials of the International Conference «*Poland, Rus' and Hungary in the International relations of the 10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>st</sup> centuries*» (Institute of history of Polish Academy of the science, Warsaw, 16–17 June 2014) haven't been published yet. During the Conference we presented the topic «*Bishop of Krakow Procopius de Russia (1293–1295 pp.): his ethnicity and genealogical affiliation*» (in print).

<sup>62</sup> Ипатьевская летопись..., стп. 809.

<sup>63</sup> P. Toru, *IV. Béla külpolitikája és IV. Ince pápához intézett «tatár-levele»* [Bela IV's

At least three children were born in the marriage – son Yuri (I) († between 1308 and 1315) and two daughters Olena († between 1304 and 1323) and Svyatoslava († 1302) as well.<sup>65</sup>

10. Charles Robert († 1342) + Maria Lvivna (?) († around 1308 or around 1306). This is one of the most mysterious and most debatable matrimonial union, nonetheless with two independent sources confirmations<sup>66</sup> and plenty supporters in the science, for example by Gyula Kristó<sup>67</sup>, Jaroslav Perniš<sup>68</sup>, L. Voytovich<sup>69</sup>, M. Homza<sup>70</sup> etc. Among sceptics, instead, are S. Sroka<sup>71</sup> and

foreign policy and the “Tatar-letter” addressed to the Pope Innocent IV], in “Századok”, 1987, Vol. 121, no. 4, p. 588–594.

<sup>64</sup> M. Werthner, *Az Árpádok családi története...*, p. 485–487; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów...*, p. 108–113; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 250, 263; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 501; P. Maliniak, *K sobášnej politike Bela IV. Dynastická svadba vo Zvolene a jej reflexie v historiografii* [About the matrimonial policy of Bela IV. dynastical wedding in Zvolen and it's historiographical reflections], in “Historický časopis”, 2008, Vol. 56, no. 1, p. 125–135; Д. Донской, *Указ. соч...*, p. 435; D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mścislawowiczów...*, p. 356; Л. Войтович, *Князь Лев Данилович (Славетні постаті середньовіччя. – Вип. 1)* [The Prince Lev Danilovich (Medieval glorious persons – Vol. 1)], Львів, 2014, с. 51–54; Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей...*, с. 371–372.

<sup>65</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów...*, p. 113.

<sup>66</sup> L. Blazovics, L.Géczi [coordp.] *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* [The Archive of the Anjou epoch], Budapest-Szeged, 2000, Vol. 10, p. 60; Т. Живковић, В. Петровић, А. Узелац [coords.], *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis. Анонимов опис Источне Европе* [The Anonymous description of the Eastern Europe], Београд, 2013, с. 131.

<sup>67</sup> G. Kristó, *Károly Róbert első felesége* [The first wife of Charles Robert], in “Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta historica”, 1988, Vol. 86, p. 27–30; Idem, *Aba Sámuel és Károly Róbert családi kapcsolatairól* [About the family relations of Aba Sámuel and Charles Robert], in “Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta historica”, Szeged, 1992, Vol. 96, p. 25–30; Idem, *Orosz hercegnő volt-e Károly Róbert első felesége?* [Was it the Ruthenian Princess the first wife of Charles Robert?], in “Aetas”, 1994, no. 1, p. 194–199; Idem, *Károly Róbert családja* [The family of Charles Robert], in “Aetas”, 2005, no. 4, p. 14–28.

<sup>68</sup> J. Perniš, *Karol Róbert z Anjou a jeho manželky* [Charles Robert from the Anjou family and his wives], in “Historický časopis”, 1997, Vol. 45, no. 2, p. 177–194; Idem, *Prvá piastovská prinzezná v rodine uhorských Anjouovcov* [The first Princess from the Piast dynasty in the family of the Hungarian Anjou], in “Slovanský přehled”, 2000, Vol. 86, no. 4, p. 559–566.

<sup>69</sup> Л. В. Войтович, *Ще одна загадка генеалогії Романовичів: Чи існувала королева Марія Львівна* [One more mystery of Romanoviches genealogy: did the Queen Maria

D. Dąbrowski.<sup>72</sup> We're count ourselves to the first group. Our opponents, defend the version about the Hungarian King's first marriage with the Silesian bride, but didn't explain the presence in her environment at least a few persons, identified as Ruthenians.<sup>73</sup> In our opinion, these nobles arrived in Hungary with a court of the first Hungarian King's bride – the Ruthenian Princess Maria, and after Queen's death around 1308 were «inherited» by her niece – a new wife of Charles Robert, born from the Ruthenian mother Olena Lvivna. In the first marriage of the King any child wasn't born.

It's important, that is well known about at least four marriages between the relatives of the Rurik dynasty and the persons of a lower social status as well. At first, there is the marriage around 1117 between the Prince of Przemyśl Volodymyrko Volodarevich († 1152/53) and N. Hungarian girl (not the daughter of the King Coloman and not the daughter of the King Bela II), which entered to the royal family, as proposed N. von Baumgarten.<sup>74</sup> But, in that case, there is a lack of the source evidences. The compromise version was proposed by Mikhaïl

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Lvivna existed?], in Збірник праць на пошану члена-кореспондента НАН України Миколи Федоровича Котляра з нагоди його 70-річчя [A collection of works to honor Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Nikolai Fedorovich Kotlyar on the occasion of his 70th anniversary], Київ, 2002, с. 161–164; Idem, Княжа доба..., с. 507–509; Л. Войтович, О. Целуйко, Правлячі династії Європи. Генеалогічно-хронологічний довідник [The ruling dynasties of Europe. Genealogical-chronological guide], Біла Церква, 2008, с. 11; Л. Войтович, Галицько-Волинські етюди [The Galician-Volhynian etudes], Біла Церква, 2011, с. 337–341.

<sup>70</sup> Historia Scopusii..., p. 607–608.

<sup>71</sup> S. Sroka, *A Hungarian-Galician Marriage at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century?*, in "Harvard Ukrainian Studies", Cambridge, 1992, no. 16, p. 261–268; Idem, *Ki volt Károly Róbert első felesége?* [Who was the first wife of Charles Robert?], in "Aetas", 1994, no. 1, p. 187–193; Idem, *Wokół mariażu Karola Roberta z Piastówną Śląską Marią* [Around the marriage of Charles Robert with Silesian Piast Maria], in "Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego", 1994, no. 1, p. 1–5; Idem, *A magyar Anjouk családi története*, p. 16–24; Idem, *Genealogia Andegawenów Węgierskich* [The Hungarian Anjou genealogy], Kraków, 1999, p. 25–28; Idem, *Чи існувала руська дружина угорського короля Карла Роберта на початку XIV ст.* [Did the Ruthenian wife of the Hungarian King Charles Robert existed at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century?], in "Княжа доба : історія і культура", Львів, 2010, Vol. 3, с. 268–277; Idem, *Genealogia Andegawenów...*, p. 13–29.

<sup>72</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów...*, p. 275–277.

<sup>73</sup> М. Волошук, «Русь» в Угорському королівстві..., с. 195–196, 198.

<sup>74</sup> N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages...*, p. 15.

Yurasov: «[...] absolutely deny the possibility of the wedding of Volodymyr Volodarevich with a Hungarian noble is not correct. But it should be stipulate, that she didn't belong to the Arpad family, otherwise it would be reflected in the sources».<sup>75</sup> In the marriage exactly was born the son Yaroslav, nicknamed in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* like *Osmomysl* († 1187). The possibility of birth of two daughters Maria-Anastasia and N. in this marriages as well, like consider N. von Baumgarten and L. Voytovich<sup>76</sup>, in our opinion, is unconvincing, because of the sources absence. In general, we emphasize the urgent need for a farther study of the Rostislavich dynasty genealogy.

The next well known by the sources and genealogical studies marriage was concluded 1150<sup>77</sup> between the son of the Kyivan Prince Mstislav-Garald Volodymyrovich Volodymyr († 1171) and N. daughter of the Serbian noble and Hungarian banus Beloš († after 1163), wrongly noted in historiography Olena († till 1155/56).<sup>78</sup> The best studies of this casus provided in *Genealogy of Mstislaviches* by D. Dąbrowski. Since winter of 1155/1156 the Prince Volodymyr married again, and his wife gave birth him three children. That is why «the origin of the mother of the older son Mstislav, – historian concludes, – it's impossible to find out».<sup>79</sup>

Another case was represented by the marriage between the Hungarian noble Dmytro (perhaps from Aba family) († after 1263) and Anastasia († after

<sup>75</sup> М. Юрасов, *Была ли жена Владимира Володаревича венгеркой?* [Was the wife of Volodymyrko Volodarevych from Hungary?], in «Слово о полку Игоревім» та його доба. Матеріали Міжнародної науково-теоретичної конференції. Галич, 24 жовтня 2007 р. [“The word about the regiment of Igor”. Materials of the International Scientific and Theoretical Conference. Halych, October 24, 2007], Галич, 2007, с. 139.

<sup>76</sup> N. De Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages...*, p. 15; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 346–347.

<sup>77</sup> Ипатьевская летопись..., стп. 407–408.

<sup>78</sup> M. Wertner, *A középkori délszláv uralkodók genealogiai története* [The history of genealogy of Medieval South Slavic rulers], Temesvár, 1891, p. 14–18; M. Font, *Árpád-házi...*, p. 171; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба...*, с. 463; М. Юрасов, *Бан Белуш – один из возможных прототипов былинного героя Дюка Степановича* [Banus Beloš – is one of the possible prototypes of an epic hero Duce Stepanovich], in “Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики”, 2013, no. 3 (53), с. 162; N. Kartalija, *Serbian Grand Prince Beloš as a Participant in the Hungarian-Rus' relations in the Mid-12<sup>th</sup> Century*, in “Colloquia Russica”, Krakov–Bratislava, 2015, p. 95.

<sup>79</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściławowiczów...*, p. 178–179, 183.

1248), the daughter of the former Prince of Belz, Oleksandr Vsevolodovich's († after 1234), concluded in 1248. The marriage, known by a single *Romanovich chronicle's* passage<sup>80</sup>, is very well studied by D. Dąbrowski.<sup>81</sup> For the Ruthenian princess, it was a second marriage before the death of her first husband – Mazovian Prince Boleslav († 1248). Polish historian allows that a son, Petro, could be born in this marriage.<sup>82</sup> One of the last of all known this group marriages was matrimonial union between the Hungarian noble Joachim from the Gutkeled family († 1277) and Maria Romanivna († after 1270). Maria Romanivna was the daughter of the Ruthenian prince on the Austrian throne during 1252–1253, Roman Danilovich († 1258/59) and Gertruda Babenberg († 1288), abandoned by her husband before the birth of her daughter. Although this incident is well known by the sources, it has relatively recently fallen into the sight of the historians.<sup>83</sup> N. for the name daughter was born in the marriage.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Ипатьевская летопись..., стп. 810.

<sup>81</sup> D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów...*, p. 394–399, 417–422; K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich...*, p. 55.

<sup>82</sup> Д. Домбровский, *Генеалогия Мстиславичей*, с. 422.

<sup>83</sup> H. Meier, *Gertrud Herzogin von Österreich und Steiermark* [Gertrud, the Princess of Austria and Styria], in "Zeitschrift des Historischen Versinst für Steiermark", Graz, 1927, Vol. 23, Heft. 1–4, p. 20–21; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów...*, p. 230–231; N. Mika, *Walka o spadek po Babenbergach w latach 1246–1278* [The struggle for the Babenbergs heritage during 1246–1278], Racibórz, 2008, p. 51, 66, 82 (see also a sources list with this marriages description); D. Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Mściśławowiczów...*, p. 360–361, 377. See also about the Austrian life's period of Maria's father, А. Мартынюк, «Благородный муж Daniel Prutenus» – отголосок договорной грамоты Даниила Галицкого? [“The honorable man Daniel Prutenus” – echo of the agreement's letter of Daniel Halyskyi?], in *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье письменность как элемент государственной инфраструктуры. XXVIII Чтения памяти члена-корреспондента АН СССР Владимира Терентьевича Пашуто Москва, 20–22 апреля 2016 г. Материалы конференции* [Eastern Europe in ancient and medieval writing as an element of state infrastructure. XXVIII Reading of the Memory of Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Vladimir Terentyevich Pashuto Moscow, April 20–22, 2016 Conference proceedings], Москва, 2016, с. 169–174; Idem, «Австрийский стол» князя Романа Даниловича [“The Austrian throne” of the Prince Roman Danilovich], in "Colloquia Russica", Ивано-Франківськ-Краків, 2017, series II, v. 3, с. 133–143.

<sup>84</sup> A. Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és allatvalóik* (Magyarország története 1301-ig) [The Arpads and their dependents (The History of Hungary till 1301)], Debrecen, 1997, p. 143–144.

The statistical indicators of this second category of the Ruthenian-Hungarian marriages will not be counted in the article. After all recorded cases of the bilateral inter-dynasty matrimonial connections of the Rurik and Arpad families we'd like to propose some statistical generalizations. Eleven analysed cases have a next figuration in the bilateral marriages dynamics: during the 10/11<sup>th</sup> century three persons were married from Rus', but in Rus' just one bride arrived. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century three persons were married from Rus' in Hungary, but in Rus' – anyone. During the 13<sup>th</sup> century two persons (including the Prince Rostislav Mikhaylovich, which arrived to live in Hungary like a “son-in-law”) from Rus' were married in Hungary, one Hungarian princess was married in Rus'; finally, one bride from Rus' was married in Hungary in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but in Rus' – anyone.

The Ruthenian-Hungarian inter-dynasty matrimonial ties since the 10/11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries from the point of view of the quantitative and qualitative indicators give the next statistical data:

1. The percentage of the Rurik dynasty blood in the royal Hungarian dynasties, especially Arpads, was one of the highest, comparing with other neighbours, approximately the same as the percentage of the German blood.<sup>85</sup>

2. At least four Hungarian Kings married the daughters of the rulers of Rus': Ladislaus I in the second marriage, Coloman in the second marriage, Géza II and Charles Robert.

3. Just one Hungarian princess was married to the Ruthenian Prince (the marriage of Konstancia and Lev Danilovich in 1246).

Most of the brides married to Hungary were often from Kyiv, at least three – Premislava (the daughter of the Prince Volodymyr?), Anastasia Yaroslavna, probably Predslava Svyatoslavna, Predslava Svyatopolkivna), Pereyaslav (Euphemia Volodymyrivna), Galich (Maria Mstislavna), Lviv (Maria Lvivna) and several other princely places, not identified finally. Instead, the Hungarian brides arrived in such centres like Novgorod or Volhynian Volodymyr (N. for the name of Rostislav Volodymyrovich's wife), potentially to Galich (Anna, the daughter of Bela IV), Lviv (Konstancia the daughter of Bela IV). It's interesting (*sic!*), that crowned Hungarian Princess never married in the most famous princely residences of Rus', like Kyiv, Chernigov, Pereyaslav, Suzdal, Vladimir-on-Kliazma.

From the point of the Rurik dynasty branches view, the absolute majority of the marriages of the Hungarian rulers were made with brides from Kyiv and gravitated to the Kyivan grand throne of the Ruthenian Princes (Volhynian, for

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<sup>85</sup> *Historia Scepusii...*, p. 603–609.

example) – we have clearly five such cases.<sup>86</sup> We also have three cases of marriages with the daughters of the Galician Princes or the Princes of so-called “Great” Galicia, for example in Przemyś.<sup>87</sup> We’re fixed one marriage of the Hungarian King with the sister of the King of Rus’ (*Regnum Russiae*) (Charles Robert and Maria Lvivna). Other cases are controversial.

We include to the “peculiar” and “unique” marriages the case with the candidate for the Hungarian throne Andrew, staying in exile in Kyiv, who married in 1038/1039, probably, the oldest daughter of the Kyivan Prince Yaroslav – Anastasia. At this moment, the Prince-fugitive, having no chances and perspectives to return at homeland and become the King, became a son-in-law of a powerful ruler of Rus’. By the way, the Prince Yaroslav didn’t married, under similar circumstances, his another daughter Elisiv (Elizaveta) with farther Norwegian Konung Harald Haardrada.<sup>88</sup>

The marriage of the exile-challenger for the Galician throne Rostislav Mikhaylovich (near 1242/1243) with the most beloved Bela IV’s daughter Anna, was accompanied by a getting in his possession of Hungarian Mačva, with the decision to stay forever here, with the “son-of-law status”. This is a single case in all the Rurik dynasty history. The Bela IV’s son-of-law began a very active policy in his lands, receiving in 1257 the title *imperator Bulgarorum*.<sup>89</sup>

According to the results of all marriages, eight boys and seven girls were born in Hungary by the Ruthenian mothers, instead, in Rus’ were born by the Hungarian mothers seven boys and six girls. Ruthenian mothers gave birth four

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<sup>86</sup> Ladislas the Bald and Premislava (Volodymyrivna?), the prince Andrew and Anastasia Yaroslavna, the king Ladislaus and N. Ruthenian bride, probably, Predslava Svyatoslavna, the King Géza II and Euphrosyne Mstislavna.

<sup>87</sup> The prince Andrew and Maria Mstislavna, Anna and Rostislav Mikhaylovich, Lev Danilovich and Konstancia.

<sup>88</sup> Т. Джаксон, *Елизавета Ярославна, королева норвежская* [The Norwegian Queen Elizaveta Yaroslavna], in Т. Н. Джаксон, Е. А. Мельникова [coords.], *Восточная Европа в исторической ретроспективе. К 80-летию В. Т. Пашуто* [Eastern Europe in a historical retrospective. To the 80th anniversary of V. T. Pashuto], Москва, 1999, с. 63–71.

<sup>89</sup> Ђ. Харди, *О Мачви средином XIII века. Прилог питању стауса Мачве у доба владавине њеног господара Ростислава Михайловича* [About Mačva in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. To the question of Mačva’s stature during the rule of the dominus Rostislav Mikhaylovich], in “Споменица историјског архива Срем”, Сремска Митровица, 2011, no. 10, с. 32–42.

Hungarian Kings – Solomon, Bela II, Stephen III and Bela III. Hungarian Princes gave birth to the famous Yuri I, *Rex Russiae*.

We've noted, between another interesting results of the bilateral matrimonial contacts, three causes (from all nine marriages) of the childless marriages in Hungary (probably we don't know about that, as well). The separate position in the frame of general data takes – with a high probability – the extra-marital birth of the child Boris "Kolomanovich". We haven't got any childless marriages from two cases of Hungarian brides arrived in Rus'. The farther bishop of Krakow Procop (1292–1295) was born in the marriage of Rostislav Mikhaylovich and Anna around 1245–1248 or 1248–1250. He was a single Catholic Bishop, whose father was the Ruthenian Prince. And also, we know about two situations in Hungarian history, when semi-Ruthenian princes by origin, the grandsons of Lev Danilovich and Konstancia, were Hungarian bishops. There were the sons of Olena (Helena) Lvivna and Casimir of Bytom (1253/1257–1312): Boleslav – the Archbishop of Esztergom (1321–1328) and his younger brother Mieszko – the bishop of Nitra (1328–1334) and the bishop of Veszprem (1334–1344).<sup>90</sup>

The longest were the marriages of Lev Danilovich with Konstancia – 40–41 year, Andrew I with Anastasia – around 23 years, Rostislav Mikhaylovich with Anna – 21/22 years and Géza II with Euphrosyne Mstislavna – 15 years. The most fruitful were the marriages of Géza II with Euphrosyne Mstislavna – eight children (four boys and four girls) and Rostislav Mikhaylovich with Anna – seven children (three boys and four girls).

It's interesting, that we note in the context of very active bilateral matrimonial policy just two cases of the Arpad dynasty relatives, of escape or departure in Rus' (Andrew and his brother Levente and little bit later Ladislaus I) in order to get political asylum and help. Instead, we note also more than twelve similar cases of the Ruthenian princes and nobles to escape to Hungary during the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this respect, among the most famous are the following: Rostislav Volodymyrovich, probably David Igorevich, Volodymyr Yaroslavich and his sons, Yaroslav Svyatoslavich, Daniel Romanovich, Roman Igorevich, Oleksandr Vsevolodovich, Mikhail Vsevolodovich and his son Rostislav, the Ryazan Prince or boyar Constantine, many representatives of the

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<sup>90</sup> М. Волощук, *Католицькі єпископи з династії Рюриковичів XII–XIV ст.* [The Catholic bishops from the Rurik dynasty of the 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries], in "Colloquia Russica", Kraków, 2018, series I, Vol. 8: *Religions and beliefs of Rus' (9<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries)*. Publication after 8<sup>rd</sup> International Conference, Lviv, 15–18<sup>th</sup> November 2017 (in print).

Galician nobility etc. We also have two cases of direct participation of independent or auxiliary Ruthenian princes in the struggle for the Hungarian royal throne (around 1040 and at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century). But, at the same time, we have no less than ten situations of the Hungarian troops participation (invited by the Ruthenian rulers) in inter-princely wars (the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the middle – the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century).

It's interesting also to compare the given statistical indices with the similar ones of the more intensive Ruthenian-Polish matrimonial ties of the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, which we'd like to present in the separate publication. The 25 (maybe 26) bilateral matrimonial contacts from the 27 causes between crowned persons were concluded during this period. The relatives of the Rurik dynasty married with the Piasts in 18 cases, and in 9 cases brides from the Piast family married the Rurikids. There was one marriage with a misalliance element as well: Silesian noble Petrus Vlast († 1153) married with the representative of Chernigov Olgovichs Maria Olegivna († 1146). We note also, and it is unknown in the Ruthenian-Hungarian matrimonial relationships of the same time, a concubinage of the Prince Boleslave the Brave († 1025) with Predslava Volodymyrivna (around 1018). The 21 marriages from all list of the cases were fruitful (six – in Rus', 15 – in the Piasts' lands), six – non-bearing (two – in Rus', four – in Poland). The dynamics of them during the centuries had a next figuration: three persons were married from Rus' in 11<sup>th</sup> century, two persons arrived in Rus'; six persons married the Piasts in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, five persons married the Rurikids; eight brides were departure from Rus' in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but arrived only two; instead only one bride was married from Rus' in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but anyone arrived in Rus'. Ruthenian mothers gave birth at least for 42 children in the Piasts' lands (proportionality 32/10) with a clear Ruthenian influence in a giving of the name for the child (Yaroslav, Yuri, Svyatoslava, Olga, Eudockia, Maria, Euphemia). Instead, Polish mothers gave birth at least for 17 children (12/5) without any influence of the Piasts in the giving name time.

The longest matrimonial unions in the lands of the Piasts were marriages of the Mazovian Prince Konrad († 1247) with Agafia Svyatoslavna († around 1248), 1207/1208–1247 – 39–40 years, of Mieszko III the Old († 1202) and Eudockia Izyaslavna (probably Yuriivna) († around 1187), 1151/1154–1187 – 33–36 years and of Casimir of Bytom († 1312) and Helena (Olena) Lvivna († between 1304–1312), 1275/1278–1304/1312 – 26/29–34/37 years. The most fruitful in the lands of the Piasts was the marriage of the Mazovian Prince Konrad with Agafia Svyatoslavna, which gave birth at least for ten children

(5/5). Instead, the examples of the matrimonial loyalty were the marriages of Vsevolod Svyatoslavich the Red († between 1212–1215) with the N. daughter of Casimir the Just († 1194), 1178/1179–1215 (?) – 33–36 years, of Izyaslav Yaroslavich († 1078) with the daughter of Mieszko II († 1034) Gertrufa († between 1086–1108), 1043–1078 – 35 years, and of Mstislav Izyaslavich († 1172) with the daughter of Boleslaus III the Wry-mouthed († 1138) Agnieszka († after 1182), 1151–1172 – 21 year as well. Instead, the most fruitful in Rus' was the marriage of the King of Rus' Yuri with the daughter of the Kuyavian Prince Casimir († 1267) Euphemia († 1308) – 4 children (2/2).

### CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing our statistical calculations, we'd like to notice, that the Ruthenian-Hungarian bilateral marriages in the context of the matrimonial policy of the Rurikids were one of the most active in so-called *Younger Europe*, being caused by strong Slavic influences from each side. The matrimonial contacts were more or less equal till the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The Hungarian rulers didn't consider the Rurikids equal in the status since the 12<sup>th</sup> century and till 1253, which is noted in sources and in the marriage policy dynamics. It's no accident, that any Hungarian Princess didn't marry any authoritative Ruthenian Prince until 1246. The situation didn't change even before the Kingdom of Rus' (*Regnum Russiae*) emergence in 1253. The rulers of this new Kingdom were equal in their status to other contenders on the Hungarian throne for "the mother line", which expanded the prospect of the matrimonial relations with the rest of the Latin West rulers. The Charles Robert's intention to become a relative with the Romanovich family is explaining just by an attempt of the genealogical tightening of the claims to the Hungarian throne, and no more.

The feudal hierarchical system of the Latin West allowed the matrimonial alliances with the Ruthenian rulers, first of all, for the avoidance of the close blood relations with each other. Accordingly, it's showed by very intense unions with the Piasts and the high dynamics of the marriages of the Ruthenian princely daughters with the Arpads. The Rurikids were a very attractive party in this case, because they were one of the most branched European families. However they were evaluated lower than kings in the status (and emperors as well) at the same time, and also, by not finally established circumstances, which deserve a separate, special publication, enjoyed less respect and trust. This is clearly

visible from the personal and interfamily contacts dynamic during the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, matrimonial character connections etc., especially on a comparative background of the Hungarian rulers' relationships with the Piasts in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries.